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Rediscovery of Ocean heritage and
its sustainability

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How to Make Use of Marine Heritage: Taking Shanghai Jinshan Fishing Village as an Example

MA chi

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China is the most populous coastal country in the world, spanning tropical, subtropical and temperate zones. China, with its long coastline and numerous bays, bordering southeastward on the Bohai Sea, the East China Sea and the South Sea. China's vast seas are abundant in marine resources, especially fishery resources. Considering population, China's marine resource per capita is under the world average level. As we all know, sea areas under national jurisdiction per capita, the ratio of sea area to land area, and the coastline coefficient, as an important measurement index of marine advantage, together influence a country's total marine resources, marine economy and the convenience in its entrance to seas. China's sea area per capita ranks 122rd in the world, which is under the world average level. China's ratio of sea area to land area is 0.31 to 1, ranking 108th in the world. Though China has an over 18,000-kilometer mainland coastline and an over 14,000-kilometer island coastline, but the ratio of coastline and land area is only 0.0018, ranking 94th in the world.

Because of the increasing population and industrialization, marine environment related to marine resources has become an increasingly serious issue in China in recent years. As a result of the further development of marine resources in coastal areas on a large scale, a series of ecological problems has appeared, with marine ecological system damaged to varying degrees in different sea areas. At present, the assimilative and self-purification capacities of seas have already exceeded the critical point. Seas have a large amount of discharged industrial effluent. The wastes of all kinds into offshore waters every year reaches about 15 million tons, leading to a decline in the quality of coastal waters and an increase in pollution and damage. Water quality in cultured water areas and the fishery resources in offshore seas have been degrading, and some rare marine species are on the verge of extinction. The parts in offshore areas whose water quality is inferior to case 2 waters reach more than 200,000 square kilometers. Because of unreasonable reclamation of land from seas, deforestation, and excavation of reef and gravel, 80% of the reef and 80% of the mangrove have been destroyed and 70% of the sandy coast has been eroded. In the meanwhile, part of the coastline has regressed, and sea water has intruded. Environmental disasters have continued to arise, and people's

life and production have been constantly threatened.

According to the researches by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and scholars at home and abroad, in terms of the mesopelagic fishery resources in the undeveloped oceans all over the world, the total allowable catch reaches 200 million tons to 300 million tons every year, while the total allowable catch in China's offshore waters and open seas reaches 3.5 million tons every year, merely accounting for 1.16% to 1.75% of the world fishery. Moreover, the biological productivity in China's sea areas is less than satisfactory, with the productivity in offshore waters reaching 3.18 tons per square kilometer every year. However, the productivity in the coastal waters of the South Pacific reaches 18.2 tons per square kilometer every year, and the productivity in the offshore waters in West Africa reaches 8.3 tons per square kilometer every year. There are about 200,000 species in the oceans all over the world, and 60 to 62 among them have yearly productivity of 100,000 to 1 million tons. There are about 40 species in China's offshore waters with yearly productivity of 10,000 tons, and there is no large quantity of the species with yearly productivity over 1 million tons. The above data remind us that we should not only make a reasonable use of marine resources but also protect them and pursue a sustainable development. This is an issue facing all of us in our social and economic development.

Jinshanzui Fishing Village is the earliest village in Shanghai. It is also the last preserved village in Shanghai. The Village is close to Hangzhou Bay and the north of Shanghai-Hangzhou Highway. There is a high speed train in downtown directly connected to Jinshan. The village lies off Three Islands of Jinshan. Jinshanzui Fishing Village is very famous. It boasts very prosperous fishery. In early Republic of China, there were numerous shops and workshops in the town, more than ten among which were shops of fishery trades. In the rain seasons of spring and autumn, the proliferation of fish attracted a great number of visitors and merchants to the Village. In the 1980s, the Village reached its peak with more than 1000 fishermen and 45 fishing boats of a tonnage of 1650. The yearly productivity reached 5.8 tons. The fishing area expanded from Hangzhou Bay to distant seas, southwards to Diaoyu Island and northwards to Jeju Island in South Korea. It became a main area of fishery production. In the late 1980s, because of the emergence of chemical companies, the effluent into Hangzhou Bay and overfishing, fishery resources have declined, resulting in the unemployment of fishermen. In history, Jinshanzui Village is an underdeveloped area because the ancestors there depended on fishery for their livelihood. But in recent years, the Village is going through changes under the idea of reasonable protection of marine resources and sustainable development. Fishermen no longer merely depend on fishing, and the

economic patterns there have changed obviously. Old streets have been restored. Many marine culture centers, old fishermen's houses, fishing tackles centers, Mazu culture centers, private collection centers, fishing village museum, and the marine culture themed restaurants have been open to the public, together with sea food streets as a scenic spot in Jinshan, thus rejuvenating the old village. Besides, the village-centered Jinshan Cultural and Creative Park has been launched. The Park is developed with a focus on four aspects: fishing village preservation in a metropolis, exploration of fishing culture, integration of cultural creativity, and benefits to people's life. The Park characterizes "metropolis of Shanghai and small fishing village", which extols marine culture.

Jinshanzui, as a town of Chinese folk arts, has a traditional Chinese basis of folk music. Tea houses in Jinshanzui Fishing Village makes full use of folk resources, regularly promoting dramas of fishing village. In the future, tourists are expected to order the shows they like through menus. The Village also introduces a group of famous Shanghai painters. At present, the studios of Shanghai artists such as Lishan, Zhao Yifu and Zhang Jianjun have officially been open to tourists.

Moreover, Jinshan Cultural and Creative Park attempts to cooperate with institutions of higher learning, for example Shanghai Maritime University, to set the practice bases of production and academy in Jinshanzui and develop marine cultural designs and creative products in the Park, thus attracting more enterprises of marine culture inside and outside Shanghai to the Park. Once the research and development service platform related to marine cultural products is built, the tourist resources of Shanghai marine culture will be enhanced, and more relevant enterprises will be attracted, which will contribute to the design and development of extended products of marine culture, Liangzhu culture and folk culture, thus indirectly producing marine products and tourist culture and creating economic value for Jinshan and surrounding areas.

The industrious fishermen throughout history have created not only a large amount of material wealth with their hands but also endless spiritual wealth of Hangzhou Bay marine culture with their wisdom. The ancient village inherits, integrates, develops and promotes folk culture by drawing precious resources from marine culture. Likewise, we can also learn lessons from the ups and downs of Jinshan Fishing Village to take very good care of our earth and oceans and promote scientific development.

如何利用海洋遗产——以上海金山余村为例

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中国是世界上人口最多的沿海国家,国土跨越热带、亚热带和温带,东南濒临渤海、黄海、东海和南海,岸线漫长,港湾众多,海域辽阔,广袤的海洋蕴藏着极其丰富的海洋资源,特别是渔业资源。但如果按照人口计算,中国海洋资源平均值低于世界平均水平。我们知道,人均管辖海域面积、海陆面积比值、海岸线系数,这三个指标影响着—个国家的海洋资源总量、发展海洋经济和进入海洋的方便程度等方面,它们是衡量海洋资源优势的重要指标。我国人均占有海域面积位居世界第122位,低于世界平均水平;我国海域面积与陆地国土面积的比值为0.31:1,排在第108位;我国虽拥有长18000多千米的大陆岸线和14000多千米岛屿岸线,但海岸线与陆地面积之比的系数仅为0.0018,排在第94位。

由于人口增长及工业化进程,中国近几年来与海洋资源相关的海洋环境问题日益严重。由于沿海地区海洋开发活动的深度和广度与日俱增,在开发利用过程中产生了一系列的生态环境问题,海洋自然和生态破坏情况在各海区均有不同程度的发生。目前的海洋污染排放和海洋的纳污能力、自净能力已经超出平衡临界值,沿海地区工业废水直接入海量数量庞大,每年通过不同途径进入近海海域的各类污染物质约1500万吨。因此,沿岸海域环境质量普遍下降,突发性污损事件频发。养殖水域水质退化,近海渔业资源衰退,部分海洋珍稀物种濒临灭绝;近海劣于二类海水水质标准的面积超过20万平方千米;不合理的围海、砍伐、挖礁、挖砂,致使80%的珊瑚礁遭到破坏,80%的红树林被砍伐,70%的沙质海岸受到侵蚀。同时部分海岸、海滩侵蚀后退,海水渗透倒灌,环境灾害不断,甚至危及人民生活和生产。

据联合国粮农组织及国内外学者研究,世界海洋渔业资源的可捕量,在没有开发大洋中层鱼类资源的情况下,每年约为2~3亿吨,中国在近海和外海的可捕量,每年约350万吨,海洋渔业可捕量仅占世界海洋渔业总可捕量的1.16~1.75%;中国海区的生物生产力也不是世界上最好的,近海鱼类生产力平均为3.18t/km²·年,而南太平洋沿海为18.2t/km²·年,西非近海为8.3t/km²·年;世界海洋中的生物共约20万种,中国海20278种;世界海洋中年产量在10~100万吨之间的品种有60~62种,中国近海历史上年产量超过1万吨的有40种左右,没有年产量超过100万吨的大宗品种。这些数据提醒我们:既要合理发掘利用好海洋资源,同时又要做到合理保护海洋资源及做到可持续发展,这是我们社会、经济发展中亟待要解决掉问题。

上海金山嘴渔村是上海市沿海陆地最早的渔村,也是上海目前保存的最后一个渔村。金山嘴渔村滨临杭州湾畔,沪杭公路北侧,高速铁路直通金尚卫,与大海仅一步之遥,与海中的金山三岛隔海相望。金山嘴是上海地区有名的渔港,历史上海洋渔业十分兴旺。在清末民初,小镇上有众多商店、作坊,仅经营渔货的渔行就有10多家:每逢春、秋两

汛，大黄鱼、海蜇旺发，来观潮的、买鱼的、经商的游客、商贾云集，海塘上人流摩肩接踵，热闹非凡。

上世纪八十年代，金山嘴渔村达到顶峰，有出海渔民1000多人，拥有大小渔船45条，1650吨位，年产渔货116万担，捕鱼范围也从杭州湾走向远洋，南至钓鱼岛，北近韩国济州岛，是上海市渔业生产主要地区。但自80年代后期起，由于众多化工企业的兴建，大量污水流入杭州湾，再加上过度捕捞，渔业资源逐步衰竭，形成了渔船搁沙滩，渔民上岸来的状况。

历史上的金山嘴渔村，由于历代先民以捕鱼为生，这一地区经济与社会发展并不发达。但仅限年来，金山嘴渔村在合理保护海洋资源及可持续发展理念引领下，却有了很多变化。渔民已经不再以捕鱼为唯一职业，渔村的经济业态发生了明显变化：金山嘴老街修缮一新，开设了海渔文化馆、渔民老宅、渔具馆、妈祖文化馆、民间收藏馆、渔村博物馆、渔具发展史等颇具海洋文化特色的展厅，与金山嘴海鲜城、海鲜一条街等，作为金山黄金海岸线的一个旅游点，使古老的渔村重新焕发出崭新的活力。以渔村为内核的金山嘴海洋文化创意园区已经创立，园区的开发建设从保留都市渔村、深挖海渔文化、融合文旅创意、惠及百姓生活四个方面进行拓展，处处凸显“大上海、小渔村”的特色，传颂“海文化”，书写“海文章”。

作为中国民间文化艺术之乡，金山嘴也拥有着深厚的民乐底蕴，渔村茶馆充分挖掘这一资源，定期推出“渔村一台戏”。将来游客还有望通过“点菜单”方式来自选择演出节目。渔村还积极引进一批沪上知名画家入驻，目前，李山、赵以夫、张健君等海派艺术家的工作室已经对游客正式开放。

此外，园区还正在和上海海事大学等高校合作，将产学研实践基地能落户金山嘴，将涉及海洋文化的设计、创意成果在金山嘴海洋文化创意园内孵化，进而带动上海乃至周边区域的海洋文化相关企业入驻。“金山嘴海洋文化创意园”海洋延伸产品研发设计技术服务平台建成后，将极大提升上海海洋文化旅游资源，吸引国内外相关产业的集聚，为我国“海洋文化”、“良渚文化”、“民俗文化”延伸产品的设计研究作出贡献，间接为金山区滨海及周边地区创造海洋产品、旅游文化及其经济价值。

勤劳的渔村人民，在悠久的历史长河中，不仅用双手创造了巨大的物质财富，又用聪明的智慧，创造了取之不尽、用之不竭的精神财富——杭州湾海洋文化，古老的渔村从宝贵的海洋文化中，继承、整合、发展、繁荣民族民间文化；我们也能从渔村的兴衰中，总结经验、汲取教训，为我们今后善待地球、善待海洋、科学发展提供可靠的依据。

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: ocean heritage, cultural heritage, the UNESCO World Heritage Convention

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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, was also 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 natural reserve area of the Wuhu Basalt 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.

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 worshipping 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 "Worshipping 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 worshipping 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 Horkhemier, 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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灣海洋遺產的再發現與可持續性

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摘要

台灣四面環海，又因地理位置、地質條件和歷史發展等時空背景之交織激盪下，不僅蘊育出特殊的生態、地形與人文風采，更造就出多元且豐沛的海洋文化與遺產。根據聯合國的世界遺產公約與我國「文化資產保存法」的規範，台灣有形的海洋遺產包含有野柳地質公園、澎湖玄武岩自然保留區、東沙環礁國家公園等多處自然遺產，與及澎湖石滬、恆春古城門、淡水紅毛城等多處文化遺產；另外在無形的文化遺產方面，如大甲媽祖繞境、金山蹦火仔、芳苑海牛耕蚵田亦都是彌足珍貴的無形海洋遺產。爲了能讓這些海洋生態環境和海洋文化遺產的維護朝向全面性與持續性的正向發展，除設置權責單位進行調查、發現和保存外，亦需制定相關法規及政策，進行維護、活化或再利用。此外，政府更應積極培育專業人才、擴大公共參與、強化公私協力，進而結合觀光資源、整合文化資產與創意產業，創造出具有地方特色的海洋文化產業，發揮文化的軟實力和影響力，方能增進台灣觀光魅力並促進地方繁榮永續

關鍵詞：海洋遺產、文化資產、世界遺產公約

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一、引言

文化是一群集體習慣的表現，在面對新異的文化時，人類會經由接觸、溝通與相互學習，進而產生文化之遷移；而人類遺產在文化移遞的過程中，能驗證其文化傳統或文明之特徵，故我們必須接受其意涵、差異並維護其存在的價值。

～ 露絲·潘乃德(Ruth Benedict)《文化模式》³

文化遺產(cultural heritage)蘊含著一地居民特有的精神價值與思維方式，體現著民族的生命力和創造力，不僅是各民族智慧的結晶，也是人類文明的瑰寶。文化遺產既然是人類為延續生存而在生活空間上所遺留的活動與物跡，不僅具團體的認同及歸屬感，亦具傳承延續與再造創新之價值，故其普世性值得重視與保存(張政亮，2013)。然隨著人類開發的擴張與環境的變異，許多史蹟與遺址面臨破壞與消失的危機，例如1959年埃及規劃在尼羅河上興建亞斯文水壩(Aswan Dam)，便引發可能淹沒著名古蹟阿布辛貝(Abu Simbel)神殿的爭議；因此聯合國教科文組織(UNESCO)於1972年11月在巴黎通過《保護世界文化和自然遺產公約》(Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage)，致力避免世界各地的文化和自然遺產受到各種自然與人為因素的破壞而殞滅。

1994年UNESCO的世界遺產委員會(World Heritage Committee)開始推動重大的全球政策，主要目的在催生兼具代表性、均衡性與公信力的世界遺產評估名單以利進行維護與管理，截至2018年為止UNESCO評選登錄的世界遺產共有1092個，

³ 潘乃德為美國著名的人類文化學家及哥倫比亞大學教授，主要觀點是認為：人類社會的各種行為，經歷長久的融合演變，會漸合為一致的模式，表現於外而成為習俗和制度，其經典著作有《文化模式》、《菊花與劍》等。

其中跟人文活動有關的文化遺產有845處，自然遺產有209處，而兼具兩者特性之複合遺產則有38處；另被列入瀕危名單有54處。此外，維護文化資產的觀念與時俱進，故聯合國教科文組織（UNESCO）於2003年又通過《保護無形文化遺產公約》（Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage），這些項目包括語言、文學、音樂、舞蹈、神話、禮儀、習慣、手工藝等非物質的遺產，迄2017年止，共有366項無形文化遺產入選登錄，因這些亦是人類重要的資產，故有保存、繼續與傳承給下一世代的責任與義務。然而隨著全球氣候暖化和現代化進程的加快，文化生態正在發生巨大變化，文化遺產及其依存的環境正受到嚴重威脅，一些尚未獲得充分資源的地區特色遺產亟待再發現、而一些瀕危或閒置的遺產，則有待調查研究或加以保護、活用和再利用。

約占地球表面積的百分之七十的海洋地區，不僅富藏多樣的生物與礦物資源，更對於全球氣候與能量系統的傳遞和迴圈，扮演著舉足輕重的角色；且海洋豐富的生態和便利的交通，除了利於人類的居住外，亦能帶動經貿的繁榮，故全球約有60%以上的人口和近70%的大中城市均位於沿海地區，因此人類文明的發展與文化的形塑，都深受海洋的薰陶與影響（林谷蓉，2015）。唯近年來受全球暖化和環境汙染的影響，海洋溫度升高、海平面上升和海洋垃圾等問題，不但對沿海的生物和人類帶來重大的災難，對海洋遺產的破壞亦日與遽增；例如澳洲大堡礁有93%珊瑚發生白化，南島民族吐瓦魯也可能因海水上升而淹沒而亡國，德國「波茨坦氣候影響研究中心」（Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research）的研究人員就警告若氣候繼續增溫，則全球將有1.1%的陸地深陷水中，其中雪梨歌劇院、水都威尼斯等136處世界文化遺址都將會慘遭滅頂⁴。因此UNESCO於2005年開始啓動「海洋世界遺產計畫」（World Heritage Marine Programme），目的便是在有效保

⁴ 引自：莊瑞萌報導，〈海平面上升136處世紀遺址遭殃〉，台灣醒報，2014.3.6。
網址：<https://anntw.com/articles/20140306-iMW8>

護現有和潛在具有遺產價值的海洋地區，以利海洋生態和環境的永續發展。

二、臺灣海洋的自然與文化遺產

台灣四面環海，在地理上因位處東北亞和東南亞交通來往的樞紐位置，在地質屬歐亞大陸板塊和太平洋板塊的碰撞帶，在歷史上則歷經許多不同族群的經略治理，這些獨特時空背景之交織激蕩下，蘊育出寶島台灣這片土地上有著豐富特殊的生態、地形與人文色彩，更造就出多元且豐沛的海洋文化與資產，舉凡觀光休憩、產業活動、文藝創作、民俗生活都深具特色與內涵，吸引無數中外遊客前來尋幽訪勝；根據世界經濟論壇（WEF）公布最新的2017年全球旅遊競爭力評比中，台灣在全球136個國家或地區中排名第30名，使「福爾摩沙」（Formosa）的美譽，中外馳名。

由此可知，台灣擁有非常優良的條件來推動屬於自己的海洋文化遺產，並可轉換成爲文化觀光資產，Richards（2001）便認爲文化所代表的是地方的獨特性，若能將文化遺產轉化爲文化觀光資源，不但能夠使遺產本身的保存，能獲得經濟上的挹注和支持，還能增進人民對地方文化的驕傲及認同感，也更會有責任和是命去保護該地區的自然與文化遺產。台灣於1982年制定「文化資產保存法」，主要目的即在於「保存及活用文化資產，充實國民精神生活，並發揚多元文化」；2005年文化資產保存法進行修正，將「自然文化景觀」名稱改分成「文化景觀」與「自然地景」，文化景觀由行政院文化建設委員會（今文化部）主管，自然地景由農委會主管。而爲了與世界遺產公約接軌，2016年「文化資產保存法」再次進行修訂，將「自然地景」和「自然紀念物」合稱爲自然資產類別，其中自然地景區分爲「自然保留區」及「地質公園」兩種，自然紀念物區分爲「珍貴稀有植物」、「珍貴稀有礦物」、「特殊地形及地質現象」三種。

目前登錄的自然資產中，與海洋和海岸地區有關的，如臺灣北海岸的野柳海岸地質公園及台灣南部墾丁國家公園的珊瑚裙礁（fringing reefs）海岸，均可稱爲

鬼斧神工的海岸瑰麗奇景。此外，離島馬祖的「藍眼淚」乃是四到九月在其沿海出現大量的渦鞭毛藻（夜光藻），並在夜間時近岸聚集所發出美麗藍色螢光的現象，美國有線電視新聞網（CNN）將其譽為為世界15大奇景之一；而台灣目前唯一露出水面的活火山島嶼－宜蘭龜山島，也於2015年被知名國外旅遊網站「When on earth」選列為世界上12處外型最特別的島嶼。另外，澎湖玄武岩自然保留區是火山熔岩流在冷卻時體積收縮，形成玄武岩所特有的六角柱或多角柱之節理，隨後由於海蝕及其他風化作用的影響，形成許多高低起伏、變化多端的地景。值得一提的是在2007與2009年，台灣分別誕生了第七個東沙環礁國家公園及第八個台江國家公園，這兩處新設的國家公園都是兼具了陸域及海域範圍的國家公園；其中東沙環礁國家公園也是台灣第一座海洋國家公園，其環礁（atoll）地形是由珊瑚礁形成的環狀島嶼鏈，中間則為被圍繞的潟湖環境，東沙環礁是我國唯一發展完整的大型環礁，且其西側的最大環礁島－東沙島亦是一個環礁地形，故是世上罕見的複合「雙環礁」地景，繽紛多樣的潟湖生態與型態特殊的環礁環境，實是稀世珍貴的自然遺產；至於位於台灣本島極西之地的台南台江國家公園，具有海埔地、沙洲與溼地等特殊地形地質景觀，其中曾文溪口濕地與四草濕地乃為國際級濕地，與附近海域孕育著豐富生物資源，並勾繪出人地精采的互動生機，是珍貴的生態及文化資源，值得保育與推廣。

在文化景觀的類別方面，依《世界文化與自然遺產保護公約執行指導方針》則將文化景觀分為三種（王淳熙、傅朝卿，2010），分別是「人類刻意設計及創造的景觀」（landscape designed and created intentionally by man）、「有機地演變的景觀」（organically evolved landscape）與「聯想的文化景觀」（associative cultural landscape）。台灣的「文化資產保存法施行細則」則以條列方式，正面列舉了數項文化景觀的類別，涵蓋有：神話傳說之場所、歷史文化路徑、宗教景觀、歷史名園、歷史事件場所、農林漁牧景觀、工業地景、交通地景、水利設施、軍事設

施及其他人類與自然互動而形成之景觀等。其中與海洋文化較有關連的，例如：「石滬」乃以石砌成矮牆，漲潮時被海水淹沒，退潮時露出水面，將魚群困於石牆內，是1980年代以前許多台灣和澎湖離島沿海居民賴以維生的天然捕魚方法，其中澎湖320公里的海岸線，「石滬」數量曾高達600多個，數量與密度都是世界數一數二，其中以七美島的雙心石滬最為著名，而石滬數量最多的是澎湖群島北方的吉貝嶼，擁有116座石滬，目前尚有三分之一仍在使用中，這些傳統漁法不僅構成出當地特殊的人文地景，亦是珍貴的文化結晶與資產。另外，引領船隻在海上航行的燈塔，不僅確保航行安全，且具強化國家主權的象徵；又燈塔通常建於山巔海媚之處，景色絕美，常具觀光價值。根據交通部資料，台灣燈塔從清朝始建以來，已逾150年的歷史，目前我國共有35座燈塔，其中臺灣本島有19座，而許多燈塔歷經各個時代，建築風格各異，文史資料豐富，深具文化資產價值，例如1778年興建的澎湖縣漁翁島燈塔，是台灣最早的燈塔，已列為國家二級古蹟，1881年建造的鵝鑾鼻燈塔，是台灣島最南的燈塔，也是世界獨一無二的武裝燈塔；另台灣島最北的富貴角燈塔則是日本人1896年在台灣興建的第一座燈塔。為了再發現及再定義燈塔的地理與歷史地位，文化部於2016年、2017年分別將馬祖東引島燈塔、金門烏坵嶼燈塔升格為國定古蹟，其中1904年興建的東引島燈塔是台閩地區位置最北的一座古蹟，而烏坵嶼燈塔建於1874年已經有143年歷史。

除此之外，由於地理位置的特殊性，從十七世紀以來，台灣便受過荷蘭、西班牙、清帝國及日本等的治理，故歷史的發展便兼具海洋性與國際性的雙重性格，所以在台灣許多地區都遺留有防禦的古堡、舊城門與砲台，忠實記錄一地當時的時空背景與環境，例如台南市的安平古堡（1624年建）和赤崁樓（1653年建）、新北市的淡水紅毛城（安東尼堡，1644年建），都見證了當時西方列強殖民台灣的史實。又清朝所建的城池如鳳山縣舊城（又稱左營舊城，1722年建）、台南府城（1725年建）都有近三百年的歷史，而1875年建造的恆春古城池仍保留最完整

的所有城門；著名的台北府城於1884年完工，目前僅有北門唯一保持建城原貌，是臺灣新式城門的代表作，也是國家的一級古蹟，其餘均被拆除或改建，此亦顯示出文化遺產保存的重要性。至於砲台是軍事防禦上的重要設施，許多海防要塞均有砲台的建築，台灣本島北端的「港都」基隆，三面環山、北面迎海，是天然的良港，也是經貿交通之要衝，故從清代台灣巡撫劉銘傳開始，便在此周遭制高點處興建砲台以利防守，隨後日軍和國民政府遷台均加強此區的砲陣地工事，故今日基隆擁有全台最多的砲台遺址，市內大小砲台加起來共有13座之多，如大武崙砲台、白米甕砲台、獅球嶺砲台、槓子寮砲台、二沙灣砲台、木山砲台、社寮西砲台等，其中5座砲台已列入古蹟，無論砲盤、營房、陣地等昔日軍事設施，均大致保存，基隆市政府亦已著手規劃闢建砲台博物館，為基隆戰略史作見證並活化古蹟之再利用。

三、臺灣海洋的非物質文化遺產

所謂文化資產又可分為有形文化資產及無形文化資產，而無形文化資產亦可稱為「非物質文化遺產」（Intangible Cultural Heritage），此乃因「與具有傑出普世價值，直接相關或實質相關的事件或生活傳統、思想或信仰、藝術或文學作品」的標準日益受到重視，故UNESCO考量1989年的《保護民間創作建議書》、2001年的《教科文組織世界文化多樣性宣言》和2002年第三次文化部長圓桌會議通過的《伊斯坦布爾宣言》(Declaration of Istanbul) 中，有關非物質文化遺產的重要性一再被強調，同時顧及無形文化遺產與有形文化遺產之間相互依存的關係，以及無形文化遺產對於人類文化多樣性與人類創造性有所貢獻，故2003年《保護非物質文化遺產公約》的成立，即是保護並維繫各地方族群與其歷史、環境與社會生活密切相關之知識、技術和儀式等得以世代相傳；然以人為主體與媒介的無形文化資產，往往因為非具象的存在以及須於特定時間與場域呈現，增加了掌握及

保護的難度，所以更加值得關注。

而海洋文化與沿海居民活動的歷史有關，並且通常表現在風俗習慣、宗教信仰、節慶禮儀和文學藝術等方面，故多屬於無形文化資產。例如台灣的中元祭、搶孤、燒王船、媽祖遶境等儀式都是重要的海洋文化象徵。因漁民需「靠天吃飯」、「與海搏鬥」，所以對於宗教信仰格外虔誠，也自然而然會產生了一些與漁業相關的信仰習俗與節慶活動，中國東南沿海和台灣的海神代表是「媽祖」，以女性的慈悲謙柔，聞聲救苦、撫慰人心，對當時臺灣艱困孤立的墾殖社會，產生重大的安撫與寄託，所以媽祖不僅是航海守護神，更具除瘟疫、病蟲害、降雨、治病、救災、婚姻、生育等多重功能，故其信仰深植臺灣民心，藉由虔誠的尊崇及典儀，凝聚生命的共同體，每年到農曆三月媽祖的聖誕，全台各地皆有舉行遶境進香的慶祝活動，形成俗稱的「三月瘋媽祖」的民俗活動，其中以台中大甲鎮瀾宮的大甲媽祖遶境及苗栗白沙屯拱天宮的進香活動最具代表性。以大甲媽祖遶境為例，九天八夜的行程、150萬信眾參與、400餘個文武陣頭、330餘公里距離、停駐臺中、彰化、雲林、嘉義等二十幾個鄉鎮市…，這不僅是臺灣重要宗教文化活動，也被國際新聞媒體（Discovery）列為世界三大宗教盛事，2010年5月聯合國教科文組織(UNESCO)正式媽祖信仰文化列入「人類非物質文化遺產」，臺灣媽祖遶境之儀式，反映唐山過臺灣的歷史背景，也是海洋文化的典型表徵。

除了眾所皆知的媽祖遶境進香活動外，臺灣南部以「王爺」為名的遶境廟會也十分盛行，敬拜王爺的祭典儀式各宮廟名稱不盡相同，如臺南歸仁的仁壽宮稱五朝王醮，臺南西港慶安宮的香科醮典，俗稱「西港仔刈香」，屏東東港的東隆宮是「迎王」建醮祭典，臺南安定區蘇厝的長興宮則稱瘟王祭，其中又以「南東港，北西港」因規模較大、陣頭眾多而最被稱頌，這些祭典儀式中，以燒王船是最具代表性的儀式。燒王船的原意是送瘟出境，如今已演變成祈安降福的活動，以三年一科的西港慶安宮為例，整個醮典過程均循古禮，包含刈香遶境、王醮、

鄭王祭、鹿耳門謁祖、送媽祖、燒王船等活動，當然最後一天的燒王船是整個「做醮」的高潮，2009年文建會以西港仔刈香具有：（1）.風俗習慣之歷史傳承與內容顯現人民生活文化典型特色；（2）.人民重要信仰儀式，顯示藝能特色；（3）.民俗藝能之發展與變遷，其構成上具有地方特色，且影響人民生活等三項理由，將其評定為國家級重要的無形文化資產（林谷蓉，2015）。

海洋文化資產也與漁業生產活動有關，例如捕魚方法、漁船建造、養殖技術等活動有關而形成的文化形態與樣貌，也常是一種無形文化遺產，例如彰化芳苑沿海的潮間帶，昔日都出現漁婦揮著手鞭，趕著牛車下海採載蚵回家的情景，這些黃牛到海裡協助搬運牡蠣，故而稱之為「海牛」，而此「海牛耕蚵田」不僅有百年以上的悠久歷史，全世界也難找到這種「農耕方式」，故牛車和蚵農構築出的人文地景，成為彌足珍貴的漁村文化資產，也吸引了英國國家廣播公司(BBC)等國內外媒體的採訪和報導，並成功轉換為一種文化觀光的新亮點，2016年6月「海牛耕蚵田」的「芳苑潮間帶牛車採蚵文化」，通過彰化縣政府審議委員會的審查，正式登錄成為「國寶級」無形文化遺產。另外，還有像台灣北海岸的萬里、金山、石門一帶在日據時代的傳統「蹦火仔漁法」（當地人稱為「抓ㄟㄟ仔」），是由船上看見魚群的火長利用礮石加水，瞬間點燃發出“ㄅㄨㄛ”的爆聲後在海面燃燒時，驚擾魚群並誘集趨光性的青鱗魚，待魚群躍起瞬間，其他船員再持叉手網將於撈起，這種漁法在點火、引導、收網的每個環節都需要純熟的技術經驗和分工合作的團隊默契，惜這種較低耗能、低汙染，且對海洋環境和生態壓力較小的漁法，漸被現代先進漁業所取代；此種世界獨一無二的特殊傳統漁法，直到近年來才因被報導而重視並蔚為文化觀光的風潮，到了2015年9月「金山蹦火仔」通過新北市文資審議委員會之審議，正式登錄為新北市的無形文化資產。

四、臺灣海洋文化遺產的保存利用與永續發展

文化遺產是人類社群與其生存環境、大自然互動及生存歷史條件所創造累積的世代文化傳統，故需藉由詳實的調查研究、基本資料建檔、定期追蹤紀錄以保存文化資產的價值與脈絡；而文化遺產保存(preservation)與維護(conservation)之目的在於關懷具文化價值的地方，它們的結構物、材料與文化意義，並藉以教育這一代與未來的世代，有關過去的事物與先民的文化，了解文化自明性的涵構，且在過去、現在與未來之間的連續性上，留存實質的證物（傅朝卿，2009）。因此登錄並設置各類的地景或海景保護區是有其必要性，然而管理此保護區並非聚焦於自然保護區本身，而是在於引導人類進程，使得該區域及其資源能夠受到妥善保護及有效管理，並有能力以可持續性的方式，進行發展自然與人類直接互動的環境和文化價值（Phillips，2002；劉正輝，2008），故中央主管機關應持續與地方政府合作，共同保存維護全國文化資產。然因我國未能加入聯合國組織，無法申請登錄UNESCO的世界遺產，然為推動文化遺產的保存與維護觀念，行政院文化建設委員會於2002年開始根據聯合國教科文組織所規範的世界遺產評定準則選出的12處台灣世界遺產潛力點，到2009年新增5個潛力點，到2010年底，台灣的世界遺產潛力點調整並增至為18處，其中與海洋文化資產有關的計有：「金門戰地文化」、「馬祖戰地文化」、「紅毛城及其周遭歷史建築群」、「澎湖玄武岩自然保留區」、「澎湖石滬群」、「蘭嶼聚落與自然景觀」等6處。

文化資產既然是人類為延續生存而在生活空間上所遺留的活動與物跡，不僅具團體的認同及歸屬感，亦具傳承延續與再造創新之價值，故其普世性值得重視與保存。而將文化視為一種遺產或世襲財產(Heritage)的觀念是逐漸形成的，如同Ashworth（1997）所言：「文化遺產」著重在歷史傳承的時代意義，不同時期對文化遺產的詮釋與作法亦有所差異，這暗示當代價值觀的決定會影響「文化遺產」

的生成。「文化遺產」在今日更被視為是「古為今用」的一種媒介，甚至已成為一種可被消費的產品。歐美世界在1980年代逐漸崛起的「遺產產業」(Heritage Industries)及文化產業(Culture Industry)概念即是運用「過去」以為今用，甚至使其成為一種「商品」(蔡明志，2014)；而文化產業(Culture Industry)的蓬勃發展，一方面是由於壟斷式資本主義和全球化的齊一化、標準化對地方文化消抹的壓力，促成地方主義者對地方文化保護的重視，重新追求地方的認同，重視地方的獨特性(Adorno and Horkhemier, 1979)；一方面則是因世界各國在政府組織再造下，利用企業化經營的理念使文化藝術政策的精神從原本的「補助」轉變為「投資」，並促進經濟復甦與都市的再生(McGuigan,2001；劉新圓，2004)。尤其近年來，因地全球化(Logloblization)與文化觀光人口迅速成長，具地方傳統性、節慶性與及生產活動有關的文化遺產或文化產業漸受青睞；這種強調區域性的生活與價值精神內涵的活動，不僅眷護了地方襲產，也彰顯出文化產值的魅力，吸引遊客「慕名而來」。

因此，故許多國家皆將文化遺產轉化為文化產業並結合文化觀光視為復甦地方經濟發展上重要的一環；例如文化資產結合觀光行銷已經為歐洲多數城市帶來經濟效益並創造符號價值和品牌。Harvey(1990)便明白指出歷史文物之襲承與街區古蹟建物的再利用是一種經濟力量，亦即是一種當今成長最迅速的產業及財富資源；因此文化產業的發展，不只是文化產品的再生產，而成為地方創造財富的新策略，也直接或間接影響該地區的發展。故對於文化遺產除了維護保存外，如何思考活化和在利用才能促使其永續發展，所以一座古蹟或歷史建築整修完善之後，如果是廟宇或是仍使用中的建物，通常還是能依原來使用的方式繼續使用，但若是原本荒廢或想要有新的用途就要有再利用的規劃，通常會在修復前的規劃設計時就應考慮到修好之後的使用方向；再利用才是古蹟修復的最重要目的，能賦予古蹟新生命的修復才有意義，因此像台灣許多的「文化創意園區」(如台北

的松山和華山文創園區)即是政府將原本產業不合時宜,已停止生產或運作之建物或指定為古蹟、歷史建築類型者加以活化再利用,以「舊瓶裝新酒」的重新包裝形式進行行銷,促進國人體驗文化與創意消費、參與各項展演活動及推動文化美感教育、提供文化及創產業研發與合作平台。因此目前台灣海洋遺產的保存與推廣首要的任務就是徹底瞭解、調查及再發現,將各地具獨特性海洋特色的有形及無形文化資產,一一順利地羅列後納入遺產保護名單內,並依相關法規及政策,進行維護、活化或再利用,確保重要的海洋自然和文化遺產都能永續發展,以避免遺珠之憾,並讓台灣特有的海洋文明能薪火相傳、生生不息並創造輝煌。

而為了能順利讓海洋遺產得以永續發展,目前台灣文化部具體的行動策略,可歸納以下幾點:1.「海洋遺產的傳承教育」—積極與教育部共同推動並落實將海洋教育與海洋文化內涵融於教育體系中,除了透過大專院校培育海洋專業人才、建立更詳細與完整的研究能力與調查體系外,在中小學、海洋科技博物館、海洋生態館及民間海洋博物館,應協調結合海洋知能進入教育和生活現場,提升學生及民眾對海洋文化的理解,成為名副其實的海洋國家公民。2.「海洋遺產的社會參與」—藉由公共參與、多樣平權、公私協力等方式,集聚民眾對於海洋遺產內容的探討,集思廣益、協調合作,以利訂定海洋遺產的相關政策並確保各項保存工作的有效執行。3.「海洋遺產的支持體系」—藉由文化產業的轉型和海洋觀光的推展,讓海洋遺產的發展得到完善與全面的支持,自從《國際觀光憲章》提出文化觀光能對文化資產的保存發揮貢獻後,世界各國紛紛採取策略來行銷文化資產,沿海各地方政府為維護傳統空間再生與區域經濟振興,也盼由海洋文化遺產的保存與創新,建構地方特色魅力,促進觀光和經濟產業之發達。因此,展望未來,政府須以整體思考方式去看待有價值的海洋遺產,亦即不再侷限單個海岸地景、歷史建築或宗教活動來界定其遺產的意義與價值,而是需整體宏觀考量人類為生活所保存的相關行為及環境,如此管理和維護海洋遺產,才會朝全面性和

持久性的正向發展。

五、結語

文化資產包含有形與無形資產，其體現族群、地域傳統和生活美學的「獨特性」、「真實性」、「在地性」，具不可取代性，是現在與將來文明社會發展的基石；而台灣四周環海，在地理位置和歷史發展的過程中，蘊育出豐富珍貴的有形及無形的海洋遺產，故思維如何調查發現、妥善保存及活化再利用，方能追求文化精彩的多樣性，持續發揮地方的創造力，增進在地居民文明的福祉。所以隨著二十一世紀「知識經濟」的來臨，台灣既然標榜海洋立國，政府及民間就宜重視並增添更多的海洋文化因素，結合觀光資源，整合文化資產與創意文化，創造出具有地方特色的海洋文化產業，發揮文化的軟實力和影響力，增進台灣觀光魅力並促進地方繁榮永續。

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**Rediscovery of marine culture from the ancient Japanese
literature”Nihon Eitaigura”by Saikaku
~”Snapper” and “Boat racing” at a Nishinomiya-Ebisu shrine ~**

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Abstract

1. Introduction

"Ihara Saikaku (1642 ~ 1693)"(Fig.3) is the Japan's leading novelist from the 17th century.

"Nihon Eitaigura" (Fig.4) ⁴⁾is one of the most celebrated short story novels by Saikaku. The novel consists of 30 short stories, each of which depicts humorous aspect of the towns people in Edo period living their days ups and downs surrounded by various financial affairs.

2. Plot summary of the tale of “Gennai”⁵⁾

“Gennai” was an intelligent whale fishing who lived in “Taichi-village” in Wakayama prefecture. (Fig.5-6)

With his cleverness, Gennai invented a way to capture as many whales with a net as possible, and became a millionaire “Amimoto” in the fishing village.

In addition, Gennai was well known for being a pious member of the temple and shrine worshipping “Nishinomiya Ebisu”. For twenty years, he had never missed an occasion of “Haya Mairi” on top of regular festival “Toka Matsuri” held in “Nishinomiya Ebisu shrine.”⁶⁾

On one of the days of “Haya Mairi”, Gennai ended up oversleeping. He hurried to Nishinomiya riding “Kobayabune” which is driven with twenty oars. However, he arrived at the event way too late, and had to sail back without being able to participate in the event. On the way back, “Ebisu Sama” appeared in Gennai’s

4) “Nihon Eitaigura” ,owned by Kwansei Gakuin University Library

5) The original title is “Tenguwa Ienano Kazaguruma” (“Nihon Eitaigura” Volume2-4)

6) “Haya Mairi” and “Toka Matsuri” : for the centuries, It has been a famous traditional festival held on January 10th every year in “Nishinomiya Ebisu” , to compete men for a short distance running. The winner who reaches to the main building of the shrine fastest is given a title “Lucky man” , awarded prizes by “Nishinomiya Ebisu” .

dream, and left him a message about obtaining fortunes.

“Ebisu Sama” taught Gennai a method of stabbing "Snappers" with a needle for anesthesia, and transporting snappers while keeping them alive⁷⁾. When Gennai tried to treat snappers as told by Ebisu Sama, he was able to ship fresh snappers and Gennai became extremely richer.⁸⁾

3. Relationship between “Ebisu-Sama”, “Snapper”, and “Nishinomiya Ebisu Shrine” in the Edo period

The history of “Nishinomiya Ebisu Shrine” (Fig.7) is not fully understood. However, according to relative historical documents, the shrine was established during Heian period (8C-12C). Its symbolic god is “Ebisu-Sama”.

Currently, there are tens of thousands of local shrines under the name of “Ebisu” in all over Japan, but the head shrine is “Nishino Miya Ebisu”.

The first Japanese literature to mention about “Ebisu-Sama” are “Kojiki” (712) and “Nihon-Shoki”(720) in which, “Ebisu-Sama” is described as God of fishing and protection of sea (Kaijin 海神).

“Ebisu-Sama” is also referred to as a God of happiness and good fortune. In Japanese proverb, saying “fishing shipper with shrimp” which means you can catch a high grade of fish like a snapper with merely a shrimp which is a low leveled fish that even a child can easily bring. This expression is modern day equivalent of earning profits from nothing to start with.

“Ebisu-Sama” is often visually depicted as a very joyful man holding a fishing rod in his left arm, and a snapper in his other arm as seen from the various of paintings (Fig.8).

Since hundreds years ago, “Ebisu Mai” (Traditional dance) and Bunraku (intangible cultural heritage, traditional Japanese puppet theatre) have been performed in “Nishino Miya Ebisu” to express happiness, fortune, and festivity. (Fig.9-10).

4. Nishino Miya Ebisu shrine and Haya Mairi from sea

Important aspect to keep in mind from Gennai is that Gennai sailed to Nishinomiya on "Kobayabune" which has twenty oars.

Actually, majority of the current Nishino Miya Ebisu region is soil, and there is no

7) This fishery technology that keeps the fish in a state of asphyxiation and keeps the freshness was already popularized during the Edo era

8) The story of Gennai was written based on a true story and a real person who was called “Taichi Kakuemon (1623-1699)”.He was also an expert of whale fishing, lived in the same age as Saikaku

historical record proving that the Nishino Miya Ebisu was located by the seaside. Even now, Haya-Mairi is a popular festival where hundreds of thousands from all over the country participate in. The current rule is, the participants stand and wait in front gate of the shrine and dash toward the goal line after the signal. However, in the Edo era, the Nishino Miya Ebisu was surrounded by the sea unlike the present time, and the participants were instead competing with their boats to the beach as described in Genai's story.

It is very interesting to point out that the people still continues the tradition even after the geological changes.

“Kobayabune” (Fig.12) is a high-speed ship that was originally used for whales fishing. Using 20 oars allows total of 40 passengers on board, 20 of whom row at a time. Rotating around once a day. Although there may be some influences from the tide and the weather, number of oars used in the ship shows how fast the ship can sail through the sea.

In the story of Gennai, Gennai was able to move from Wakayama to Nishinomiya only within a day (Fig.11).

Considering the high speed in which “Kobayabune” can sail, it is never an exaggeration.

For every Haya Mairi of Nishino Miya Ebisu, it is right to assume that the event was quite crowded with “Kobayabune” and people including participants from all over Japan during the Edo era.

Approximately 330 years ago, men who are one with the sea, competed in a blood-rushing "boat racing" around Nishinomiya Ebisu shrine(Fig.13)——— However, there is no existing historical document suggesting that Nishino Miya Ebisu was actually surrounded by water, and thus the boat competition was actually ever held.

However, rediscovery of such marine culture was possible through ancient literature such as Nihon Eitaigura by Saikaku.

5. Epilogue –Rediscovery of Marine Culture from ancient literature –

Not all literature pieces from all over the world were fabricated stories. Some literature pieces were strictly based off of real historical events.

After becoming deeply inspired by the epics of Homer, an ancient Greek poet, a German businessperson, Schliemann (Heinrich Schliemann 1822-90) ultimately

discovered the remains of Troy which the writing had mentioned, proving that what Homer had written were indeed based off of historical fact. In addition, he discovered Mycenae Tiryns and revealed the existence of Aegean civilization. In many occasions, literature writings can serve as valuable historical tools to excavate new maritime cultures yet to be found.

古典文学（西鶴『日本永代蔵』）からの海洋文化再発見

～西宮^{にしのみや}えびす^{しんじや}神社の「鯛」と「ボートレース」～

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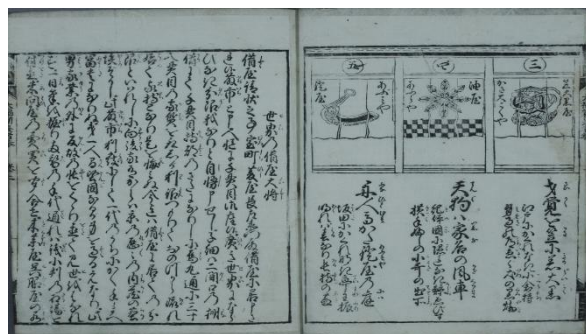
1. はじめに

17世紀日本を代表する小説家「井原西鶴」(図1・ 1642～1693)は、多くの短編集を書いているが、その中でも名著とされる『日本永代蔵』(図2)は世界文学の中でも名だたる経済小説として注目されている。内容は、その副題に「大福新長者教」とあるように、「とてもめでたい(大福)」「今の世(新)」に「大金持ち(長者)」になる「教科書(教)」として、全30話をあげているが、本当に自らの知恵・才覚で大金持ちになる話は3分の1ほどで、初代は苦労して大金持ちになったのに、二代目で破産する話や、金持ちになったもの人を欺して手に入れた方法で罰が当たり零落する話なども3分の1ほどになっている。残りの3分の1は、奇跡的に金持ちになって幸福に暮らす話であるが、その多くがモデル小説とされ、実在の人物がそのまま登場する話(三井越後屋呉服店を創業した「三井高利」)などあり、全体的に金銭に振り回されて日々を生きる庶民の姿をユーモラスに描いている。

図1



図2



2. 西鶴『日本永代蔵』巻二の四の梗概

そのような話の中に巻二の四「天狗は家名風車」がある。その梗概は以下である。

和歌山の太地村の「天狗」が家名の「源内」は、「風車」の旗印のもと、鯨突きの名人として人一倍の鯨を捕獲し、浜は賑わい、活況を呈していた。源内は頭も良く、棄てられた鯨の骨を砕き、鯨油をとり、次第に大金持ちとなっていく。その上、源内は網で鯨をとる漁法を確立し、大金持ちの網元として、太地以外の付近の漁民を従え、君臨する存在となり、尊敬を集めていた。

源内はまた、寺社への信心深さが篤く、中でも「西宮えびす」を信仰していた。特に今に続く、「十日えびす」の例祭「早朝参り」は二十年来欠かしたことがなかった。ところが、ある年、不覚にも寝過ごしてしまい、「十日えびす」の早朝に目を覚ました。それでも何とか例祭に間に合うようにと、二十挺の櫓を持った「早船」で、ようやく和歌山の太地から西宮の広田の浜までこぎ着けるが、夜になってしまっていた。毎年賑わう例祭であったが、拝殿にたどりついて、他に参拝客もなく、ろくに社人なども相手にしてくれず、腹を立てながら、帰途につく。船中、ふて寝していると、夢か現か、えびす様が源内に残り福を告げにやってくる。そのお告げは、「鯛」を針で刺して眠らせて、生きたままで遠方まで輸送する方法であった。その通りに行くと、活きのいい鯛を出荷できたので、源内はまた儲けて、さらに大金持ちになって栄えたという話である。

3. 江戸時代の「鯨漁」と西宮神社の「えびす神と鯛」

この太地の網元「源内」のモデルが、鯨漁を銚だけに頼るそれまでの突取法を改良し、銚と網を併用する網捕り法を創案し、名声を得た「太地(たいち)角(かく)右(う)衛門(えもん)(1623~1699)」であることは、多くの研究者が指摘している。西鶴と同時代人であり、その鯨の網取り法が考案されたのも1677年頃とされることから、当時の読者も衆知のカリスマ的漁師であったといえる。ちなみに『日本永代蔵』巻二の四の挿絵(図3)は現存する日本最古の鯨漁の図とされている。ただ、源内が太地角右衛門とすると、角右衛門が「鯛」の物流に貢献したという資料は未見である。

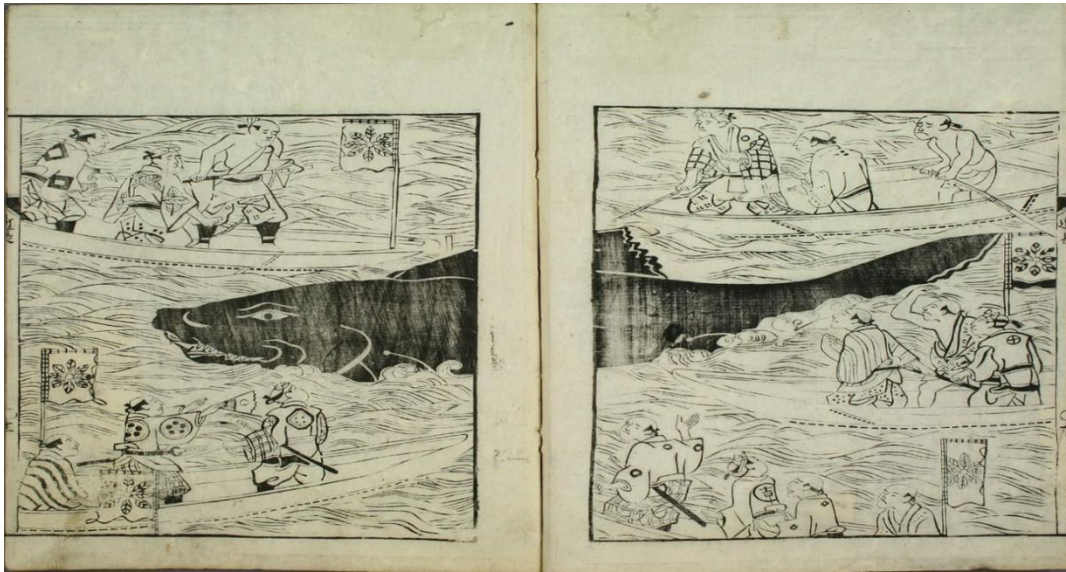


図3

ところで「鯛」の話は「えびす」信仰と関係している。現在、一般的には「西宮神社」と省略して呼ばれているが、西宮神社「本殿造営棟札」(1663年5月)には、「上棟 摂津国西宮蛭子大明神社 征夷大將軍左大臣源朝臣家綱公御造営」とあるところから、西鶴の活躍時期の17世紀の正式な名称は「西宮蛭子大明神社」と呼ばれていたことがわかる。さらに『日本永代蔵』の記述から、西宮神社はすでにその頃から、福の神「えびす様」の総本社として、全国から遍く崇敬を集め、商売繁盛の神様として信仰されていたと考えられる。以上の経緯から、本稿では「西宮えびす」とした。

「えびす」信仰とされる「えびす神」は『古事記』や『日本書紀』に出てくる。日本を創ったとされるイザナギ・イザナミ二柱の神さまの御子としてお生まれになったものの、不具のため、海へ流され、蛭児神として「海神」（海上守護と大漁を保障する神様）として西宮に祀られることになったのである。その後、海を生活の場とする船乗りたちや漁業関係者によった日本全国に「えびす様」として社殿が作られ、信仰が広がっていた。おそらく全国には、何千、何万それ以上の「えびす神社」が建てられているであろうが、それらの総本社が、今も昔もこの「西宮えびす神社」(図4)なのである。この「えびす神」が像や絵になるときは、必ず、満面に笑顔をたたえ、釣り竿を右肩に掲げ、鯛を左脇下に抱え、丸々と太った幸福あふれる姿に描かれるのが特徴(図5)である。例外はほとんどない。その理由は長い伝承の内に、海産物の中でその味が誰からも愛され、高級魚とされ、ハレの場で神に捧げる供物として最もふさわしい「鯛」を釣り上げた時の歓びを大きさに表現することで、生活に密着した「福の神」の存在として象徴化しようとした海民たちの強い意志と共通意識があったためであろう。

ちなみに、陸の農民たちの「福の神」は「稲荷神」である。この信仰も農民を中心に

「えびす神」同様の大きな拡がりを見せ、その総本社が京都の「伏見稲荷大社」である。

簡単に言えば、両者は「大漁」と「豊作」の神であるが、大漁ならば皆が幸福になれる、豊作ならば皆が幸福になれる、つまりは「福の神」信仰となったのである。ところが、貨幣経済が浸透すると、その共同体としての幸福祈願よりも、個人によっては金銭の儲けによって金持ちになれることを祈願する現世利益としての「福の神」となってしまうのである。江戸時代がまさにそうなのである。



図4



図5

また、「西宮えびす神社」は、日本の伝統芸能として世界遺産にも認定されている「文楽」発祥の地としても有名である。先述したように、えびす様は竿を肩に担いでいるが、餌は「小えび」である。浜に行けば、子どもでつかまえられる「えび」で高級魚「鯛」が釣れた。元手なしで大儲けできた。この歓びの舞が「えびす舞」(図6)である。

この「めでたい」舞を老若男女にわかりやすく伝えるために人形劇で演じるようになった。やがて、この「えびす人形舞」は全国に拡がり、演じる人たちは「傀儡師」として一つの大きな集団を形成するようになった。その元締めが西宮えびす神社にいて、その集団を全国ネットで派遣するようになった。中世では、この集団は政府のスパイとして暗躍をしたとも伝えられている。ただ、この「えびす人形舞」にも音楽がつくようになる。当時流行っていた「浄瑠璃節」であるが、そのため、「人形浄瑠璃」と呼ばれるようになり、様々なストーリーが様々な音楽に合わせて、見事な人形劇として人気となる。この「人形浄瑠璃」の最も有名な劇作家が近松門左衛門(1653~1725)なのである。

その後、「人形浄瑠璃」は近代になって「文楽」(図7)と呼ばれて今日も親しまれている。



図6



図7

さて、『日本永代蔵』の源内と鯛の話であるが、源内にえびす様が夢のお告げで教えたことは、釣り上げた鯛を船中で殺さず、仮死状態で港まで運ぶという方法であった。

「鯛」の鮮度が保たれ、好評となるのであるが、現在でも「しめる」と呼ばれ用いられている。麻酔と同じで韓国のテレビドラマ『大長今』最終話でも出てくる魚の「ツボ麻酔」と同じ原理である。大量消費時代に入っていた江戸時代、この方法で「鯛」を売りさばき、大儲けした人物は源内ではなかったであろうが、実在したモデルがあったことは十分に考えられる。ちなみに源内の故郷、和歌山は今も昔も「鯛」の好漁場なのである。

4. 西宮えびす神社と海からの「早まいり」

ところで、この話でもう一点注目したい挿話がある。源内が行っていた、西宮えびす神社の「十日えびす」への海上からの「早まいり」である。現在、西宮えびす神社では、毎年1月10日の早朝、開門とともに足自慢の若人が門から社殿までの短い距離を全力で駆け抜け、優勝者をその年の「福男(ふくおとこ)(Lucky Boy)」として讃え、賞品を与えている。その歴史は古いが起源は不明とされている。ところが『日本永代蔵』では、その頃は海からの「早まいり」であるとしている。すでに森田雅也の[「西鶴と西宮えびす—西鶴説話の生成方法への一考察—」 『人文論究』第60巻4号(関西学院大学人文学会)2011年3月]でもそのことは論じているが、決定的な資料が未見である。ただ、早まいりに寝過ごしたからと言って源内が仕立てた「二十挺の櫓」を持った「早船」は現実味を帯びる。本来は鯨船として用いられた高速船で、小回りがよく、現在では祭礼時のボートレース(図9)として用いられている。普通は左右六挺ずつの「小早船」(図8)が一般的であった。最大で四十挺のものがあったが、これは江戸時代特有の大名による参勤交代さんきんこうたいの海路で用いられ、先頭と最後尾の船の連絡係を結んで活躍したが、常時高速で漕がれていたわけではない。ところがこれは中途半端な「二十挺の櫓」であった。お

そらく、漕ぎ手は40人乗り込み、20人ずつ交代で昼夜漕ぎ続けたのであろう。そうすれば、潮の強さや悪天候のような条件を排除すれば、一昼夜で太地から西宮まで間に合ったという『日本永代蔵』の記述が誇張ではないことを先述の森田の論文で証明している。これは非常時の「二十挺の櫓」の「小早船」の話であるが、江戸時代の西宮えびす神社の「早まいり」は日本全国から駆けつける「小早船」でさぞ賑わったであろう。今から約330年前、毎年1月10日西宮えびす神社のある西宮浜まで男たちが船に乗り、一番乗りを競って、勇壮な「ボートレース」を行っていた。——このことは古典文学に書かれているが、事実であろう。文学であるからすべてが虚構であるとはならないはずである。

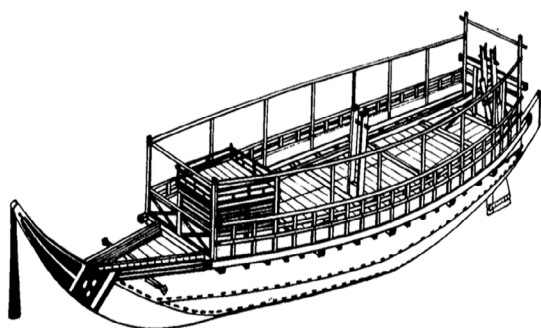


図8



図9

5. まとめー古典文学からの海洋文化再発見ー

かつて、ドイツ人のシュリーマン(Heinrich Schliemann 1822-90)は、古代ギリシャの詩人であるホメロスの叙事詩を史実と信じて、トロイアの遺跡を発見。また、ミケーネ・ティリンスを発掘し、エーゲ文明の存在を明らかにした。日本に限らず、各国の古典文学や伝承を信じるのが新たな海洋文化再発見に繋がるのではなかろうか。そのように提言して結びとしたい。

引用文献(1) 谷協理史著『経済小説の原点『日本永代蔵』』 清文堂書店 2004年刊。

(2) 西宮神社宮司 吉井良隆編『広田神社御鎮座壱千八百年記念 広田・西宮両宮史の研究 史料篇』 西宮神社 2001年刊。

(3) 岡田米夫著「西宮神社と海神信仰」 『西宮神社の研究』 西宮神社社務所 1976年刊。

(4) 西宮神社編『西宮神社』 学生社 2003年刊。

- (5) 西宮町教育委員会編『西宮町誌』 1926年刊。
- (6) 野間光辰著『西鶴と西鶴以後』 岩波書店 1959年刊。
- (7) 石井謙治著『和船<1><2>』 法政大学出版局 1995年刊。
- (8) 図録『特別展 大名の旅—徳島藩参勤交代の社会史—』 徳島市立徳島城博物館 2005年刊。

고전문학 사이카쿠(西鶴)의 니혼에이타이구라(日本永代蔵)로부터의 해양문화 재발견: ~니시노미야 에비스신사(西宮えびす神社)의 도미(鯛)와 조정 경기~

모리타 마사야
간세이가쿠인대학

1. 처음으로

17세기 일본을 대표하는 소설가 이하라 사이카쿠(井原西鶴, 1642~1693, 그림1)는 많은 단편집을 남기고 있는데 그 중에서도 손꼽히는 『니혼에이타이구라(日本永代蔵)』(그림2)는 세계문학 중에서도 유명한 경제소설로 주목받고 있다. 내용은 제목이 “大福新長者教”에서 알 수 있듯이 「매우 순조로운(大福)」 「현재(新)」에 「큰 부자(長者)」가 되는 「교과서(教)」라는 뜻으로 총 30화를 다루고 있는데, 진짜 자기의 지혜·뛰어남으로 부자가 된 이야기는 3분의 1 정도로, 초대는 고생하여 부자가 되었으나 2대째에 파산하는 이야기나 부자가 된 사람을 속여서 손에 넣는 방법으로 벌을 받아 몰락하는 이야기가 3분의 1 정도이다. 나머지 3분의 1은 기적적으로 부자가 되어 행복하게 사는 이야기인데, 그 대부분이 모델 소설로서 실제 인물이 그대로 등장하는 이야기(미쓰이 에치고야 포목점(三井越後屋呉服店)을 창립한 미쓰이 다카토시(三井高利))등으로 전반적으로 금전에 휘둘러 하루하루를 살아가는 서민의 모습을 유머러스하게 그리고 있다.

2. 사이카쿠 『니혼에이타이구라』 권2-4의 개요

이러한 내용 중 권2-4에 「天狗は家名風車」가 있는데, 대강의 줄거리는 다음과 같다.

와카야마(和歌山)의 다이지 마을(太地村)에 통칭 텐구(天狗)라고 불리는 “젠나이(源内)”라는 사람이 “風車”라는 깃발 아래, 고래잡이의 명인으로 남보다 갑절의 고래를 포획하여 항구는 북적이고 활기를 띄고 있었다. 젠나이는 머리로 좋아서 버려진 고래 뼈를 부수어서 고래 기름을 짜내 점차 큰 부자가 되었다. 게다가 젠나이는 그물로 고래를 잡은 어법을 확립하여 갑부 선주로서 다이지 이외의 인근 어민들을 거느리고 군림하는 존재가 되어 존경받았다.

또한 젠나이는 절과 신사에 대한 믿음이 깊었는데, 그중에서도 “니시노미야 에비스”를 믿고 있었다. 특히 지금도 계속되고 있는 “토오카에비스(十日えびす)”의 제례 중 “새벽참배(早朝参り)”는 20년간 거른 적이 없었다.

그런데 어느 해 실수로 늦잠을 자버려 “토오카에비스” 당일 아침에 눈을 뜨고 말

왔다. 그래도 어떻게든 제례에 시간을 맞추려고 스무 자루의 노를 가진 하야부네(早船)로 겨우 와카야마의 다이지에서 니시노미야의 히로다(広田) 해변까지 간신히 이르렀으나 밤이 되고 말았다. 매년 왁자지껄한 제례였으나 배전(拜殿)에 이르러서도 다른 참배객은 없고, 사찰의 사람들도 제대로 상대해주지 않아 화를 내며 돌아오고 있었다. 배에서 심통이 나서 누워있으니 꿈인지 생시인지 에비스 신이 겐나이에겐 남은 복을 알려주러 왔다. 그 계시는 “도미”를 바늘로 찔러 잠들게 한 뒤 산채로 먼 곳까지 수송할 수 있는 방법이었다. 그대로 행해보니 싱싱하고 좋은 도미를 출하할 수 있어 겐나이는 다시 한 번 돈을 벌어 더욱 큰 부자가 되어 번창했다고 하는 이야기이다.

3. 에도시대의 “고래잡이”와 니시노미야 신사의 “에비스 신과 도미”

다이지의 선주 “겐나이”의 모델이 고래잡이를 작살에만 의지하던 기존의 방식을 개량하여 작살과 그물을 병용하는 방식을 창안하여 명성을 얻은 다이치카쿠우에몬(太地角右衛門, 1623~1699)라는 것은 많은 연구자들이 지적하고 있다. 사이카쿠와 동시대인으로 그가 그물로 고래를 잡는 법을 고안한 것도 1677년경인 것으로 보아 당시의 독자들도 알고 있던 카리스마적인 어부였다고 할 수 있다. 덧붙여 『니혼에이타이구라』 권2-4의 삽화(그림 3)는 현존하는 일본 최고(最古)의 고래잡이 그림으로 알려져 있다. 다만, 겐나이가 다이치카쿠우에몬이라면 카쿠우에몬이 “도미”의 물류에 공헌했다고 하는 자료는 발견되지 않았다.

그런데 “도미” 이야기는 “에비스” 신앙과 관계가 있다. 현재 일반적으로는 니시노미야 신사로 간략하게 불리고 있으나, 니시노미야 신사 “본전조영상량(本殿造營棟札)”(1663년 5월)에는 “上棟 撰津国西宮蛭子大明神社 征夷大將軍左大臣源朝臣家綱公御造營”이라는 내용으로 보아, 사이카쿠가 활약한 17세기의 정식 명칭은 “니시노미야 에비스 다이묘 신사(西宮蛭子大明神社)”라고 불렀던 것을 알 수 있다. 더욱이 『니혼에이타이구라』의 기술에서 니시노미야 신사는 이미 그 무렵부터 복신인 “에비스”의 총 본사로, 전국에서 널리 숭배 받아 장사 번영(商壳繁盛)의 신으로 믿어지고 있었다고 생각된다. 이러한 경위로 본고에서는 “니시노미야 에비스”라고 칭하고자 한다.

“에비스” 신앙의 에비스 신은 『고사기』와 『일본서기』에 등장한다. 일본을 만들었다는 이자나기·이자나미 두 신의 자식으로 태어났으나 불구였으므로 바다에 버려져 히루코신(蛭児神)으로 “해신”(해상 수호와 만선을 보장하는 신)으로 니시노미야에 모셔지게 되었다고 한다. 그 후 바다를 업으로 삼은 뱃사람들이나 어업관계자들에 의해 일본 전국에 “에비스 신”의 신전이 만들어져 신앙이 퍼지게 되었다. 적어도 전국에는 몇 천, 몇 만 그 이상의 “에비스 신사”가 세워져 있으나 그 총 본사가 예나 지금이나 이 “니시노미야 에비스 신사”(그림 4)인 것이다.

이 “에비스 신”이 조각이나 그림으로 표현될 때는 반드시 만면에 웃음을 띄우고

낙숫대를 오른쪽 어깨에 걸치고 도미를 왼쪽 곁에 끼운 둥글둥글하고 살찐 행복이 넘치는 모습으로 그려지는 것이 특징(그림 5)이다. 예외는 거의 없다. 그 이유는 오랜 전승 속에서 해산물 중에서 그 맛이 모두에게 사랑받고, 고급 어류로 이야기되며, 신에게 바치는 공물로 가장 적합한 “도미”를 낚았을 때의 기쁨을 과장하여 표현한 것으로, 생활과 밀착된 “복신”의 존재로서 상징화하려고 한 어민들의 강한 의미와 공통의식이 있었기 때문일 것이다.

참고로 육지의 농민들에게 “복신”은 “이나리 신(稻荷神)”이다. 이 신앙도 농민을 중심으로 “에비스 신”처럼 큰 확산을 전국적으로 보이며 총 본산은 교토에 있는 “후시미이나리대사(伏見稻荷大社)”이다.

간단히 말하자면 두 신은 “풍어”와 “풍작”의 신으로, 물고기를 많이 잡으면 모두가 행복해진다, 풍작이면 모두가 행복해진다는 즉, “복신”신앙으로 발전한 것이다. 그런데 화폐경제가 침투하면서 공동체의 행복을 기원하기보다는, 개인이 돈벌이를 통해 부자가 되는 것을 기원하는 현세이익(現世利益)으로서의 “복신”이 되어버리고 만다. 에도시대의 바로 그러하다.

또한 “니시노미야 에비스 신사”는 일본의 전통예능으로서 세계유산으로 인정받은 “분라쿠(文楽)”의 발상지로도 유명하다. 앞서 말했듯이 에비스는 낙숫대를 어깨에 걸치고 있는데 먹이는 “작은 새우(일본어 발음으로 코에비)”이다. 해변에 가면 아이들도 잡을 수 있는 “새우”로 고급 어류인 “도미”를 잡을 수 있다. 밑천도 없이 대박이 났다. 이런 기쁨을 나타낸 춤이 “에비스마이(えびす舞)”(그림 6)이다. 이 “축하하는” 춤을 남녀노소 알기 쉽게 전하기 위해 인형극으로 공연하게 되었다. 머지않아 이 “에비스 인형극”은 전국으로 퍼져 연기하는 사람들은 “쿠구쓰시(傀儡師)”라는 하나의 큰 집단을 형성하게 되었다. 그 우두머리가 니시노미야 에비스 신사에 있어서 그 집단을 전국망으로 파견하게 된 것이다. 중세에는 그 집단이 정부의 스파이로 암암리에 활약을 했다고도 전해지고 있다. 다만 이 “에비스 인형극”에도 음악이 붙게 된다. 당시 유행했던 것이 “조루리부시(浄瑠璃節)”인데 이 때문에 “닌교조루리(人形浄瑠璃)”라고 불리게 되어 다양한 스토리가 다양한 음악과 만나 훌륭한 인형극으로 인기를 끌었다. 이 “닌교조루리” 중 가장 유명한 극작가가 치카마쓰문자에몬(近松門左衛門, 1653~1725)이다. 그 이후 “닌교조루리”는 근대에 “분라쿠”(그림 7)로 불리며 오늘날에도 사랑받고 있다.

한편 『니혼에이타이구라』의 겐나이와 도미의 이야기 중 겐나이에게 에비스 신이 꿈에서 내린 신탁은, 낚아올린 도미를 배에서 죽이지 않고 가사(假死)상태로 항구까지 옮기는 방법이였다. “도미”의 신선도를 보존할 수 있어 호평을 받았을텐데 현재에도 “しめる”라고 하여 사용되고 있다. 마취와 같이 한국의 드라마 『대장금』 최종화에서도 나오는 물고기를 『급소 마취』 시키는 것과 같은 원리이다. 대량소비시대에 들어선 에도시대에 이 방법으로 “도미”를 판매하여 큰돈을 번 인물이 겐나이는 아니었겠지만, 실존한 모델이 있었다는 것은 충분히 생각할 수 있다. 참고로 겐나이의

고향 와카야마는 예나 지금이나 “도미”가 잘 잡히는 어장이다.

4. 니시노미야 에비스 신사와 바다에서 온 “새벽 참배”

한편 이 이야기에서 한 가지 더 주목할 만한 점이 있다. 겐나이가 행했던 니시노미야 에비스 신사의 “토오카에비스” 중 해상에서 접근하는 “새벽 참배”이다. 현재 니시노미야 에비스 신사에서는 매년 1월 10일 새벽, 문이 열림과 동시에 발이 빠르다고 자부하는 젊은이들이 문에서 신전까지의 짧은 거리를 전력으로 질주하여 그 우승자를 그 해의 “행운남(Lucky Boy)”로 정하여 상품을 준다. 그 역사는 오래되었으나 기원은 알 수 없다. 그런데 『니혼에이타이구라』에서는 그 당시 바다에서 접근하는 “새벽 참배”였다는 것이다. 이미 모리타 마사야의 [「西鶴と西宮えびす—西鶴説話の生成方法への一考察—」 『人文論究』 第60卷4号(関西学院大学人文学会)2011年3月]에서도 그에 대해 언급하고 있는데, 결정적인 자료는 발견되지 않았다. 다만 새벽 참배에 늦잠을 잤다고 하면서 겐나이가 준비한 “스무 자루의 노를 가진 하야부네”는 현실감을 띤다. 본래 포경선으로 사용되었던 고속선으로 작은 회전 반경이 좋아 현재에도 재래 때 조정 경기(그림 9)에 사용되고 있다. 보통은 좌우 여섯 자루씩 노가 달린 “코하야부네(小早船)”(그림 8)가 일반적이다. 최대 사십 자루가 달린 것도 있는데, 이것은 에도시대 특유의 참근교대(参勤交代)의 해로에서 사용되어 선두와 가장 끝에 있는 배의 연락책을 맡아 활약했으나, 항상 고속으로 배를 저었던 것은 아니다. 그런데 이것은 어중간한 “스무자루의 배”였다. 아마 노꾼들은 40명이 탑승하여 20명씩 교대로 밤낮 노를 저었을 것이다. 그렇게 하면 강한 조류나 악천후와 같은 조건을 제외하면 만 하루면 다이지에서 니시노미야까지 시간에 맞추어 갔다고 하는 『니혼에이타이구라』의 기술이 과장이 아님을 앞선 모리타의 논문에서 증명하고 있다. 이것은 비상시에 “스무 자루짜리 코하야부네”에 대한 이야기이나 에도시대 니시노미야 에비스 신사의 “새벽 참배”는 일본 전국에서 질주해 온 “코하야부네”로 시끌벅적하였을 것이다.

지금으로부터 약 330년 전 매년 1월 10일 니시노미야 에비스 신사의 한 해변에서 남자들이 배를 타고 가장 빠름을 경쟁하는 웅장한 “조정 경기”를 겨루었던 것이다. - 이것은 고전문학에 쓰여 있지만 사실일 것이다. 문학이라고 해서 모든 것이 허구인 것은 아니다.

5. 마무리 - 고전문학에서의 해양문화 재발견 -

일찍이 독일인 쉘리만(Heinrich Schliemann 1822-90)은 고대 그리스의 시인인 호메르스의 서사시를 사실로 믿고 트로이의 유적을 발견했다. 또한 미케네·티린스를 발굴하여 에게 문명의 존재를 밝혔다. 일본뿐만 아니라 각국의 고전문학이나 전승을 믿는 것이 새로운 해양문화의 재발견으로 이어질 수도 있지 않을까. 이러한 제언으로 본고를 맺고자 한다.

Rediscovery of Ocean heritage and its sustainability

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1. Ocean Heritage & World view of Liquid History

What is heritage? It is a fusion and convergence concept covering overall legacy of nature and humans. Among the heritage of nature and humans, ocean heritage is so extensive, it will be all right to call ocean heritage “The Great Ocean Heritage”. The human and natural heritage are managed as sustainable heritage worldwide by naming them “World Heritage”. The reason why the special concept, “World Heritage”, appeared is because heritage have universal values belonging to all humans, regardless of specific locations. UNESCO adopted the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (CPWCNH) in 1972 to discover, protect, and conserve natural and cultural heritage having universal values of humans.

Heritage is common asset inherited from our ancestors, in which humans live within it, and handed down to our descendants. Natural and cultural heritage are the source of life and inspiration that cannot be replaced with any other things. World heritage is the heritage having outstanding universal values defined by the CPWCNH. According to the characteristics of world heritage, the natural and cultural heritage are classified into natural heritage, cultural heritage, and mixed heritage. They are the heritage designated by UNESCO acknowledging they have cultural and natural values to protect for humans. UNESCO also designate the memory of the world and intangible heritage of humanity and protect them, aside from the world heritage.

The world heritage includes ocean heritage scattered to coasts and islands. Ocean heritage can be divided and explained into ocean cultural heritage and ocean natural heritage. The natural outcomes created by sea are the natural heritage themselves and should be protected, and they are essentially needed for sustainable ocean’s future. Cultural heritage in the human civilization history is the greatest heritage alongside natural heritage. UNESCO has selected more than 100 maritime (interchangeable with ocean) heritage up to date. Almost all sites are outstanding, and they need ecological and landscape conservation. They are mostly islands and coasts whose values are acknowledged. In the UNESCO’s 802 world

cultural heritage list, the maritime heritage are about 110 including castles, port trading cities, buildings of colonial era, Viking's historic sites, cathedrals and churches, and slave-related historic sites.

Maritime heritage is a concept established, when humans more actively see from the perspective of sea. Maritime heritage is established, when humans see it from the perspective of "Liquid History". The perspective of "Liquid History" means civilization historic paradigm shift from land-centered thinking to ocean-centered thinking. The earth is a water globe, and 70% the earth is filled with water. Sea, where living things were born, is the origin of living things, and it is the only unknown world on earth. Most humans live in the coastal areas and islands of the water globe, and most mega cities belong to coastal areas and islands. Maritime heritage type is unique and also varies. Although the world heritage category dealt with UNESCO is regarded as embracing all categories, the reality is different. Even though many maritime heritage are located beyond UNESCO-controlled category, rediscovery of ocean heritage's hidden domains, whose existence itself is so important, it will be truly significant work from the point of view of liquid history perspective.

This presentation aims to extract ocean heritage by analyzing, centered on UNESCO World Heritage. However, there are more than UNESCO's model for ocean heritage. In the IALA's Historical Lighthouse Conservation Panel (Lighthouse Conservation Manual, 1996) and FAO's Globally Important Agricultural Heritage Systems, enhancement of international interest in fishery heritage designation and sustainable conservation, underwater heritage conserved underwater, and paying attention to the unexplored fields such as salt pan heritage, ship heritage, and fishing technology heritage are demanded. However, this presentation is focused on UNESCO World Heritage in consideration of limited time. The category of world heritage is huge, and many ocean heritage are also included in the category. Nonetheless, UNESCO World Heritage is very limited from the ocean point of view, and therefore more attention to world ocean heritage should be paid on the basis of the oceanic world view.

2. Ocean Heritage of World Cultural Heritage

1) Archeological site of OCEAN Heritage

As for Europe, many ancient maritime cities and ports built by Phoenicia, Greek and Roman civilization have been selected. These heritage are widely distributed

in North Africa and Asia Minor, as well Europe. In addition to the view of history, centered on Europe, ocean heritage of Africa, Persia, and Arabian Peninsula, Asian ocean heritage including India and China, and American native people's ocean heritage should be included.

○ Archaeological Sites of Mycenae and Tiryns(Greece) : The Mycenae and Tiryns are the imposing ruins of the two greatest cities of the Mycenaean civilization, which dominated the eastern Mediterranean world from the 15th to the 12th century B.C. and played a vital role in the development of classical Greek culture. These two cities are indissolubly linked to the Homeric epics, the Iliad and the Odyssey.

○ Archaeological Site of Cyrene(Greece) : A colony of the Greeks of Thera, Cyrene was one of the principal cities in the Hellenic world. It was Romanized and remained a great capital until the earthquake of 365. A thousand years of history is written into its ruins, which have been famous since the 18th century.

○ Butrint(Albania) : Inhabited since prehistoric times, Butrint has been the site of a Greek colony, a Roman city and a bishopric. Following a period of prosperity under Byzantine administration, then a brief occupation by the Venetians, the city was abandoned in the late Middle Ages after marshes formed in the area.

○ Tipasa(Algeria) : The Mediterranean Tipasa was an ancient Punic trading-post conquered by Rome and turned into a strategic base for the conquest of the kingdoms of Mauritania. It comprises a unique group of Phoenician, Roman, palaeochristian and Byzantine ruins alongside indigenous monuments such as the Kbor er Roumia, the great royal mausoleum of Mauretania.

○ Kasbah of Algiers (Algeria) : The Kasbah is a unique kind of medina, or Islamic city. It stands in one of the finest coastal sites on the Mediterranean, overlooking the islands where a Carthaginian trading-post was established in the 4th century BC.

○ Qal' at al-Bahrain – Ancient Harbour and Capital of Dilmun(Bahrain) :

Qal' at al-Bahrain is a typical tell – an artificial mound created by many successive layers of human occupation. The strata of the 300 × 600 m tell testify to continuous human presence from about 2300 BC to the 16th century AD. It used as a residential, public, commercial, religious and military. They testify to the importance of the site, a trading port, over the centuries.

○ Ancient City of Damascus (Syrian) : Founded in the 3rd millennium B.C., Damascus is one of the oldest cities in the Middle East. In the Middle Ages, it was the centre of a flourishing craft industry, specializing in swords and lace. The city has some 125 monuments from different periods of its history – one of the most spectacular is the 8th-century Great Mosque of the Umayyads, built on the site of

an Assyrian sanctuary.

○ Nan Madol, Ceremonial Centre (Eastern Micronesia) : Nan Madol is a series of more than 100 islets off the south-east coast of Pohnpei that were constructed with walls of basalt and coral boulders. These islets harbour the remains of stone palaces, temples, tombs and residential domains built between 1200 and 1500 CE. These ruins represent the ceremonial centre of the Saudeleur dynasty, a vibrant period in Pacific Island culture.

○ Okinoshima (Japan) : Located 60 km off the western coast of Kyushu island, the island of Okinoshima is an exceptional example of the tradition of worship of a sacred island. The archaeological sites that have been preserved on the island are virtually intact, and provide a chronological record of how the rituals performed there changed from the 4th to the 9th centuries AD.

2) Historical OCEAN City & Town, Harbour Heritage

Not only many ocean city and town heritage in the medieval period and modern, and contemporary ages, but colonial city heritage in Latin America, according to empires' great voyage, take up some portion of the category of the ocean city and town heritage. The changes of ancient and medieval ocean cities and towns occurred occasionally according to coastline change and movement, and collapse and prosperity of cities. Some of those cities and towns continue to exist up to the modern and contemporary eras, due to excellent harbor location including the Hanseatic League. Cities in the Hanseatic League continued to generally exist until the modern era, and many of them prosper as a harbor city in the 21st century. Among the ocean cities in the modern and contemporary eras, many colonial harbors or small and medium-sized residential towns in Latin America, Asia, and Africa are included, as colonial cities and according to the expansion and rule of imperialism.

○ Lamu Old Town (Kenya) : The oldest and best-preserved Swahili settlement in East Africa, retaining its traditional functions. Built in coral stone and mangrove timber, the town is characterized by the simplicity of structural forms enriched by such features as inner courtyards, verandas, and elaborately carved wooden doors. Lamu has hosted major Muslim religious festivals since the 19th century, and has become a significant centre for the study of Islamic and Swahili cultures.

○ Venice and its Lagoon(Italy) : Founded in the 5th century and spread over 118 small islands, Venice became a major maritime power in the 10th century. The whole city is an extraordinary architectural masterpiece in which even the smallest building contains works by some of the world's greatest artists such as Giorgione,

Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese and others.

○ Historic Centre of Brugge(Belgium) : Outstanding example of a medieval historic settlement. As one of the commercial and cultural capitals of Europe, Brugge developed cultural links to different parts of the world. It is closely associated with the school of Flemish Primitive painting.

○ The village of Ninstints (Canada) : Located on a small island off the west coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands (Haida Gwaii). Remains of houses, together with carved mortuary and memorial poles, illustrate the Haida people's art and way of life.

○ Historic Centre of the Town of Olinda (Brazil): Founded in the 16th century by the Portuguese, the town's history is linked to the sugar-cane industry. Rebuilt after being looted by the Dutch, its basic urban fabric dates from the 18th century.

○ Historic Centre of Salvador de Bahia(Brazil) : As the first capital of Brazil, from 1549 to 1763, Salvador de Bahia witnessed the blending of European, African and Amerindian cultures. It was also, from 1558, the first slave market in the New World, with slaves arriving to work on the sugar plantations. The city has managed to preserve many outstanding Renaissance buildings.

○ Historic District of Old Québec (Canada): Founded by the French explorer Champlain in the early 17th century. It is the only North American city to have preserved its ramparts, together with the numerous bastions, gates and defensive works which still surround Old Québec.

○ Historic Quarter of the Seaport City of Valparaíso(Chile) : The colonial city of Valparaíso presents an excellent example of late 19th-century urban and architectural development in Latin America.

○ Old City of Dubrovnik (Croatia) : The 'Pearl of the Adriatic', situated on the Dalmatian coast, became an important Mediterranean sea power from the 13th century onwards. Although severely damaged by an earthquake in 1667, Dubrovnik managed to preserve its beautiful Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque churches, monasteries, palaces and fountains.

○ Historic Area of Willemstad, Inner City and Harbour, Curaçao (Netherlands) : The people of the Netherlands established a trading settlement at a fine natural harbour on the Caribbean island of Curaçao in 1634. The town developed continuously over the following centuries. The modern town consists of several distinct historic districts whose architecture reflects not only European urban-planning concepts but also styles from the Netherlands and from the Spanish and Portuguese colonial towns with which Willemstad engaged in trade.

○ Old Havana and its Fortification System(Cuba) : Founded in 1519 by the

Spanish. By the 17th century, it had become one of the Caribbean's main centres for ship-building. Its old centre retains an interesting mix of Baroque and neoclassical monuments, and a homogeneous ensemble of private houses with arcades, balconies, wrought-iron gates and internal courtyards.

○ Historic Centre of Macao (China): A lucrative port of strategic importance in the development of international trade, was under Portuguese administration from the mid-16th century until 1999, when it came under Chinese sovereignty. With its historic street, residential, religious and public Portuguese and Chinese buildings, the historic centre of Macao provides a unique testimony to the meeting of aesthetic, cultural, architectural and technological influences from East and West.

○ Colonial City of Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic): After Christopher Columbus's arrival on the island in 1492, Santo Domingo became the site of the first cathedral, hospital, customs house and university in the Americas. This colonial town, founded in 1498, was laid out on a grid pattern that became the model for almost all town planners in the New World.

○ Historic Centre (Old Town) of Tallinn (Estonia) : Date back to the 13th century, when a castle was built there by the crusading knights of the Teutonic Order. It developed as a major centre of the Hanseatic League, and its wealth is demonstrated by the opulence of the public buildings and the domestic architecture of the merchants' houses.

○ Levuka Historical Port Town (Fiji): The town and its low line of buildings set among coconut and mango trees along the beach front was the first colonial capital of Fiji, ceded to the British in 1874. It developed from the early 19th century as a centre of commercial activity by Americans and Europeans who built warehouses, stores, port facilities, residences, and religious, educational and social institutions.

○ Old Rauma (Finland): Situated on the Gulf of Botnia, Rauma is one of the oldest harbours in Finland. Built around a Franciscan monastery, where the mid-15th-century Holy Cross Church still stands, it is an vernacular architectural heritage.

○ Historic Centre of Riga (Latvia): A major centre of the Hanseatic League, deriving its prosperity in the 13th-15th centuries from the trade with central and eastern Europe.

○ Melaka and George Town, Historic Cities of the Straits of Malacca (Malaysia) : Developed over 500 years of trading and cultural exchanges between East and West in the Straits of Malacca. The influences of Asia and Europe have endowed the towns with a specific multicultural heritage that is both tangible and intangible.

○ City of Valletta (Malta) : Inextricably linked to the history of the military and charitable Order of St John of Jerusalem. It was ruled successively by the Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs and the Order of the Knights of St John.

○ Historic Jeddah, the Gate to Makkah(Saudi Arabia): Historic Jeddah is situated on the eastern shore of the Red Sea. From the 7th century AD it was established as a major port for Indian Ocean trade routes, channelling goods to Mecca. It was also the gateway for Muslim pilgrims to Mecca who arrived by sea. These twin roles saw the city develop into a thriving multicultural centre, characterized by a distinctive architectural tradition, including tower houses built in the late 19th century by the city's mercantile elites, and combining Red Sea coastal coral building traditions with influences and crafts from along the trade routes

3) Architecture & Industrial Technology of Ocean Heritage

Of course, buildings are included in harbors or ocean cities and towns. However, monumental castles or buildings have been designated independently. Castles, religious structures, and small and medium-sized harbor facilities and canal facilities built in and around islands and coasts are included.

○ Antigua Naval Dockyard and Related Archaeological Sites (Antigua and Barbuda) : The site consists of a group of Georgian-style naval buildings and structures, set within a walled enclosure. The construction of the Dockyard by the British navy would not have been possible without the labour of generations of enslaved Africans since the end of the 18th century.

○ Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications(Sri Lanka) : Founded in the 16th century by the Portuguese, Galle reached the height of its development in the 18th century, before the arrival of the British. It is the best example of a fortified city built by Europeans in South and South-East Asia, showing the interaction between European architectural styles and South Asian traditions.

○ Mont-Saint-Michel and its Bay(France): Perched on a rocky islet in the midst of vast sandbanks exposed to powerful tides between Normandy and Brittany stand the 'Wonder of the West', a Gothic-style Benedictine abbey dedicated to the archangel St Michael.

○ Sceilg Mhichil(Israel): An outstanding, and in many respects unique, example of an early religious settlement deliberately sited on a pyramidal rock in the ocean, preserved because of a remarkable environment. It illustrates, as no other property can, the extremes of a Christian monasticism characterizing much of North Africa, the Near East, and Europe.

- Historic Bridgetown and its Garrison(Barbados): Historic Bridgetown and its Garrison, an outstanding example of British colonial architecture consisting of a well-preserved old town built in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, which testifies to the spread of Great Britain's Atlantic colonial empire. Also includes a nearby military garrison which consists of numerous historic buildings.
- Monastery of the Hieronymites and Tower of Belém in Lisbon(Portugal): Standing at the entrance to Lisbon harbour, the Monastery of the Hieronymites(1502) exemplifies Portuguese art at its best. The nearby Tower of Belém, built to commemorate Vasco da Gama's expedition, is a reminder of the great maritime discoveries that laid the foundations of the modern world.
- Fort Jesus, Mombasa(Kenya) : Built by the Portuguese in 1593-1596 to the designs of Giovanni Battista Cairati to protect the port of Mombasa, is one of the most outstanding and well preserved examples of 16th Portuguese military fortification and a landmark in the history of this type of construction. The Fort's layout and form reflected the Renaissance ideal that perfect proportions and geometric harmony are to be found in the human body.
- Island of Mozambique (Mozambique) : The fortified city of Mozambique is located on this island, a former Portuguese trading-post on the route to India. Its remarkable architectural unity is due to the consistent use, since the 16th century, of the same building techniques, building materials (stone or macuti) and decorative principles.
- Portuguese City of Mazagan (Morocco): The Portuguese fortification of Mazagan, now part of the city of El Jadida, 90-km southwest of Casablanca, was built as a fortified colony on the Atlantic coast in the early 16th century. It was taken over by the Moroccans in 1769. The fortification with its bastions and ramparts is an early example of Renaissance military design.
- Sydney Opera House (Australia) : Inaugurated in 1973, the Sydney Opera House is a great architectural work of the 20th century that brings together multiple strands of creativity and innovation in both architectural form and structural design. The Sydney Opera House comprises three groups of interlocking vaulted 'shells' .
- The Grand Canal(China): A vast waterway system in the north-eastern and central-eastern plains of China, running from Beijing in the north to Zhejiang province in the south. Constructed in sections from the 5th century BC onwards, it was conceived as a unified means of communication for the Empire for the first time in the 7th century AD (Sui dynasty). This led to a series of gigantic construction sites, creating the world's largest and most extensive civil engineering project prior to the Industrial Revolution.

3. Ocean Heritage of World Natural Heritage

1) Wetland: Coral reef, Tidal Area, Mangrove forest, Lagoon

Coastal wetlands include coral reefs, tidal areas, mangrove forests, lagoons, and sand dunes. The coastal wetlands are called the “Lungs of the Earth”, and they are generally become urbanized and undergo desertification and artificialization. Conservation and sustainability of coastal wetlands become important standards for the future of the maritime environment. Australia’s Great Barrier Reef and coral reef colonies in the Pacific Ocean, the multi-layered complex functions of mangrove forests scattered around the world, as well as Asia, unlimited value of tidal areas beyond economic logic, lagoons destroyed and disappearing due to tourist attractions, and sand dunes gradually diminishing because of indiscreet collecting sand are designated as natural heritage, and their sustainability is tested. The coastal wetlands become the base of those who live around the coastal wetlands by supplying foods and foundation for survival.

○ Great Barrier Reef (Australia) : The Great Barrier Reef is a site of remarkable variety and beauty on the north-east coast of Australia. It contains the world’s largest collection of coral reefs, with 400 types of coral, 1,500 species of fish and 4,000 types of mollusc.

○ Belize Barrier Reef Reserve System (Belize) : The coastal area of Belize is an outstanding natural system consisting of the largest barrier reef in the northern hemisphere, offshore atolls, several hundred sand cays, mangrove forests, coastal lagoons and estuaries. A significant habitat for threatened species, including marine turtles, manatees and the American marine crocodile.

○ Tubbataha Reefs Natural Park (Philippines): The Tubbataha Reef Marine Park covers 130,028 ha, including the North and South Reefs. It is a unique example of an atoll reef with a very high density of marine species; the North Islet serving as a nesting site for birds and marine turtles. The site is an excellent example of a pristine coral reef with a spectacular 100-m perpendicular wall, extensive lagoons and two coral islands.

○ Aldabra Atoll(Seychelles) : The atoll is comprised of four large coral islands which enclose a shallow lagoon; the group of islands is itself surrounded by a coral reef. Due to difficulties of access and the atoll’s isolation, Aldabra has been protected from human influence and thus retains some 152,000 giant tortoises, the world’s largest population of this reptile.

○ Wadden Sea(Denmark & Germany): The largest unbroken system of intertidal sand and mud flats in the world. The site covers the Dutch Wadden Sea

Conservation Area, the German Wadden Sea National Parks of Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein, and most of the Danish Wadden Sea maritime conservation area.

○ The Sundarbans(Bangladesh) : Mangrove forest, one of the largest such forests in the world (140,000 ha), lies on the delta of the Ganges, Brahmaputra and Meghna rivers on the Bay of Bengal. The site is intersected by a complex network of tidal waterways, mud flats and small islands of salt-tolerant mangrove forests, and presents an excellent example of ongoing ecological processes.

○ Rock Islands Southern Lagoon (Palau): Rock Islands Southern Lagoon covers 100,200 ha and includes 445 uninhabited limestone islands of volcanic origin. Many of them display unique mushroom-like shapes in turquoise lagoons surrounded by coral reefs.

○ West Norwegian Fjords (Norway): The two fjords, among the world's longest and deepest, are considered as archetypical fjord landscapes and among the most scenically outstanding anywhere. Their exceptional natural beauty is derived from their narrow and steep-sided crystalline rock walls that rise up to 1,400m from the Norwegian Sea and extend 500 m below sea level.

○ Namib Sand Sea (Namibia) : The only coastal desert in the world that includes extensive dune fields influenced by fog. The desert dunes are formed by the transportation of materials thousands of kilometres from the hinterland, that are carried by river, ocean current and wind. It features gravel plains, coastal flats, rocky hills, inselbergs within the sand sea, a coastal lagoon and ephemeral rivers, resulting in a landscape of exceptional beauty.

2) Islands and Coast

Islands and coasts are the ocean ecosystem's treasure. They are the spaces where organic matters, the most important to marine life for propagation and growth, are acquired. The islands and coasts are also the interim base where creatures including migrant birds pass through. Islands and coasts are exposed to rapidly progressing global ecosystem changes such as climate change, and they are facing destruction caused by urbanization. Many islands and coasts including Galapagos Islands are designated as ocean heritage.

○ Galápagos Islands(Ecuador) : Situated in the Pacific Ocean some 1,000 km from the South American continent, these 19 islands and the surrounding marine reserve have been called a unique 'living museum and showcase of evolution' .

○ Phoenix Islands Protected Area (Kiribati) : 408,250 sq.km expanse of marine and

terrestrial habitats in the Southern Pacific Ocean. The property encompasses the Phoenix Island Group, one of three island groups in Kiribati, and is the largest designated Marine Protected Area in the world. PIPA conserves one of the world's largest intact oceanic coral archipelago ecosystems, together with 14 known underwater sea mounts and other deep-sea habitats.

○ Jeju Volcanic Island and Lava Tubes(KOREA) : Jeju Volcanic Island and Lava Tubes together comprise three sites that make up 18,846 ha. It includes Geomunoreum, regarded as the finest lava tube system of caves anywhere, with its multicoloured carbonate roofs and floors, and dark-coloured lava walls; the fortress-like Seongsan Ilchulbong tuff cone, rising out of the ocean, a dramatic landscape; and Mount Halla, the highest in Korea, with its waterfalls, multi-shaped rock formations, and lake-filled crater. The site, of outstanding aesthetic beauty, also bears testimony to the history of the planet, its features and processes.

○ Lord Howe Island Group(Australia): A remarkable example of isolated oceanic islands, born of volcanic activity more than 2,000m under the sea, these islands boast a spectacular topography and are home to numerous endemic species, especially birds

○ Aeolian Islands (Italy) : The Aeolian Islands provide an outstanding record of volcanic island-building and destruction, and ongoing volcanic phenomena. Studied since at least the 18th century, the islands have provided the science of vulcanology.

○ Yakushima (Japan): Yakushima exhibits a rich flora, with some 1,900 species and subspecies, including ancient specimens of the sugi (Japanese cedar). It also contains a remnant of a warm-temperate ancient forest that is unique in this region.

○ Brazilian Atlantic Islands: Fernando de Noronha and Atol das Rocas Reserves(Brazil) : Peaks of the Southern Atlantic submarine ridge form the Fernando de Noronha Archipelago and Rocas Atoll off the coast of Brazil. Extremely important for the breeding and feeding of tuna, shark, turtle and marine mammals. The islands are home to the largest concentration of tropical seabirds in the Western Atlantic.

○ Le Morne Cultural Landscape (Mauritius) : A rugged mountain that juts into the Indian Ocean in the southwest of Mauritius was used as a shelter by runaway slaves, maroons, through the 18th and early years of the 19th centuries. Protected by the mountain's isolated, wooded and almost inaccessible cliffs, the escaped slaves formed small settlements in the caves and on the summit of Le Morne. An important stopover in the eastern slave trade, also came to be known as the "Maroon republic" because of the large number of escaped slaves who lived on

Le Morne Mountain.

○ Surtsey (Iceland) : A volcanic island approximately 32 km from the south coast of Iceland, is a new island formed by volcanic eruptions that took place from 1963 to 1967. It is all the more outstanding for having been protected since its birth, providing the world with a pristine natural laboratory. Free from human interference, Surtsey has been producing unique long-term information on the colonisation process of new land by plant and animal life.

○ Komodo National Park (Indonesia) : These volcanic islands are inhabited by a population of around 5,700 giant lizards, whose appearance and aggressive behaviour have led to them being called 'Komodo dragons'.

○ Sub-Antarctic Islands (New Zealand) : The New Zealand Sub-Antarctic Islands consist of five island groups (the Snares, Bounty Islands, Antipodes Islands, Auckland Islands and Campbell Island) in the Southern Ocean south-east of New Zealand. The islands, lying between the Antarctic and Subtropical Convergences and the seas, have a high level of productivity, biodiversity, wildlife population densities and endemism among birds, plants and invertebrates.

○ Discovery Coast Atlantic Forest Reserves (Brazil) : The Discovery Coast Atlantic Forest Reserves, in the states of Bahia and Espírito Santo, consist of eight separate protected areas containing 112,000 ha of Atlantic forest and associated shrub (restingas). The rainforests of Brazil's Atlantic coast are the world's richest in terms of biodiversity.

○ Mistaken Point (Canada): This fossil site is located at the south-eastern tip of the island of Newfoundland, in eastern Canada. It consists of a narrow, 17 km-long strip of rugged coastal cliffs. Of deep marine origin, these cliffs date to the Ediacaran Period (580–560 million years ago), representing the oldest known assemblages of large fossils anywhere.

○ Kvarken Archipelago (Finland) and High Coast (Sweden) : Situated in the Gulf of Bothnia, a northern extension of the Baltic Sea. The 5,600 islands of the Kvarken Archipelago feature unusual ridged washboard moraines. The Archipelago is continuously rising from the sea in a process of rapid glacio-isostatic uplift. The High Coast has also been largely shaped by the combined processes of glaciation, glacial retreat and the emergence of new land from the sea.

○ Schokland and Surroundings (Netherlands)

Schokland was a peninsula that by the 15th century had become an island. Occupied and then abandoned as the sea encroached, it had to be evacuated in 1859. But following the draining of the Zuider Zee, it has, since the 1940s, formed part of the land reclaimed from the sea. Schokland has vestiges of human habitation going back to prehistoric times. It symbolizes the heroic, age-old

struggle of the people of the Netherlands against the encroachment of the waters.

3) Ocean Creature and Species Diversity

Conservation of species diversity and protection of various creatures' base can be one of the most important factors for environmental protection. Various marine mammals such as turtles, dugongs, and elephant seals are on the decline, and especially humans need to pay attention to whale's extinction in the future. Species diversity of living things enriches seas and offers various benefits to humans living around oceans.

○ Shark Bay (Australia) : Shark Bay, with its islands and the land surrounding it, has three exceptional natural features: its vast sea-grass beds; its dugong ('sea cow') population; and its stromatolites (colonies of algae which form hard, dome-shaped deposits and are among the oldest forms of life on earth). Shark Bay is also home to five species of endangered mammals.

○ Ningaloo Coast (Australia) : The 604,500 hectare marine and terrestrial property of Ningaloo Coast, on the remote western coast of Australia, includes one of the longest near-shore reefs in the world. On land the site features an extensive karst system and network of underground caves and water courses. Annual gatherings of whale sharks occur at Ningaloo Coast, which is home to numerous marine species, among them a wealth of sea turtles.

○ Whale Sanctuary of El Vizcaino (Mexico): Located in the central part of the peninsula of Baja California, the sanctuary contains some exceptionally interesting ecosystems. The coastal lagoons of Ojo de Liebre and San Ignacio are important reproduction and wintering sites for the grey whale, harbour seal, California sea lion, northern elephant-seal and blue whale. The lagoons are also home to four species of the endangered marine turtle

○ Islands and Protected Areas of the Gulf of California(Mexico) : Comprises 244 islands, islets and coastal areas that are located in the Gulf of California in north-eastern Mexico. The Sea of Cortez and its islands have been called a natural laboratory for the investigation of speciation. The site contains 39% of the world's total number of species of marine mammals and a third of the world's marine cetacean species.

4. Intangible culture of Ocean Heritage

Humans become more interested in traditional technologies such as traditional fishing methods and salt manufacturing methods. Traditional technologies are mainly based on manual labor, and they are acknowledged as small scale fishery, compared with mass production and overfishing. Traditional fishery exists in many places around the world such as pearl oyster gathering in the Persian Gulf closely related with local economy and abalone gathering by female divers in Korea. The intangible industrial technical values are essential for sustainable human civilization.

In Korea, there is an intangible cultural asset protection system under the Intangible Cultural Asset Act. Korea is focused on consolidating various promotion policies that may increase social demand for intangible culture. The Korean Intangible Cultural Asset Act is classified into the following seven categories:

- Traditional technologies on traditional performances, arts, crafts, and art
- Traditional knowledge on Korean herb medicine, farming, and fishing
- Oral tradition and expressions
- Traditional habits of life including food, clothing, and shelter
- Social rituals such as folk beliefs
- Traditional pastime, festivals, handicrafts, and martial arts

Cases of Korean Intangible Culture of Ocean Heritage

- Fishing technology heritage: fishing by heaping up stones (Dolsal), bamboo weirs (Jukbangryeom), sack-shaped fishing net (Huri)
- Navigation heritage: traditional lighthouse, Tewoo and TTebae (a sort of raft made of logs), and natural breakwater
- Food heritage: traditional seafood
- Female diver heritage: open-air dressing room (Bulteok) and a round object for female diver to float on the sea (Taewak)
- Salt heritage: salt made by boiling sea water (Jayeom) and salt warehouse
- Festival heritage: folk games and sea festivals
- Ocean myth and folktale heritage: exorcism praying to village god for village' s peace and rich year (Byeolsingut), ritual praying for village' s wellbeing and abundance, sea myths and sea legends
- Craft technology heritage: lacquerware inlaid with mother-of-pearl and ship building technology

○ Pearling, Testimony of an Island Economy (Bahrain) : The site is the last remaining complete example of the cultural tradition of pearling and the wealth it generated at a time when the trade dominated the Gulf economy (2nd century to the 1930s). It also constitutes an outstanding example of traditional utilization of the sea's resources and human interaction with the environment, which shaped both the economy and the cultural identity of the island's society.

○ Red Bay Basque Whaling Station(Canada) : Red Bay, established by Basque mariners in the 16th century at the north-eastern tip of Canada on the shore of the Strait of Belle Isle is an archaeological site that provides the earliest, most complete and best preserved testimony of the European whaling tradition.

○ Aasivissuit - Nipisat. Inuit Hunting Ground between Ice and Sea(Denmark): Located inside the Arctic Circle in the central part of West Greenland, the property contains the remains of 4,200 years of human history. It is a cultural landscape which bears witness to its creators' hunting of land and sea animals, seasonal migrations and a rich and well-preserved tangible and intangible cultural heritage linked to climate, navigation and medicine.

○ Arc-et-Senans, the Production of Open-pan Salt (France): The Royal Saltworks of Arc-et-Senans, near Besançon, was built by Claude Nicolas Ledoux. Its construction, begun in 1775 during the reign of Louis XVI, was the first major achievement of industrial architecture.

5. Conclusion

As above, the reality of ocean heritage in the UNESCO World Heritage List at global level has been presented. The conclusion and tasks are as follows:

1. There are many cases that ocean heritage is regarded as less important or is ignored at global level. Therefore shift into ocean-centered thinking is required.
2. Ocean heritage, which is more important in other countries than in Europe, is actually intangible heritage. Shift from tangible-focused thinking into intangible culture is demanded.
3. Currently Europe-centered view of history is strongly influencing, and thus heritage of Asia, Latin America, and Africa are relatively underestimated.

In Asia, independent ocean heritage discovery and sustainable cooperation are required. I hope for this international conference to become an opportunity to actively rediscover the ocean heritage of Asia-Pacific region and promote cooperation in the region.

Key word : Worldview of liquid history, Rediscovery of Ocean heritage, Unesco, World Cultural heritage, World Natural heritage, Intangible heritage

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The State and Empowerment of Indonesian Maritime Culture: The Case of Traditional Marine Resource Management

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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 m² of its territory is marine water. Our sea is three times larger than the land, which is only 1.9 millions m². 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 its coastline (95.181 km). With these geo-spatial characteristics, it is a nature call for Indonesian, 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 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 is 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 whom fishing knowledge and skill learned from their fellow fishers of older generation or their peers.

Figure 1.
Some Fishing Boats in Indonesia



Every type has different knowledge and skills of making and operation, fishing gear and targeted species



Photos: Personal collections

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 use to sing the following song:

Nenek moyangku orang pelaut
gemar mengarung luas samudra
menerjang ombak tiada takut
menempuh badai sudah biasa

[My ancestors are sailors]
[happy to wade through the ocean]
[crashing the waves are not afraid]
[taking a storm is normal]

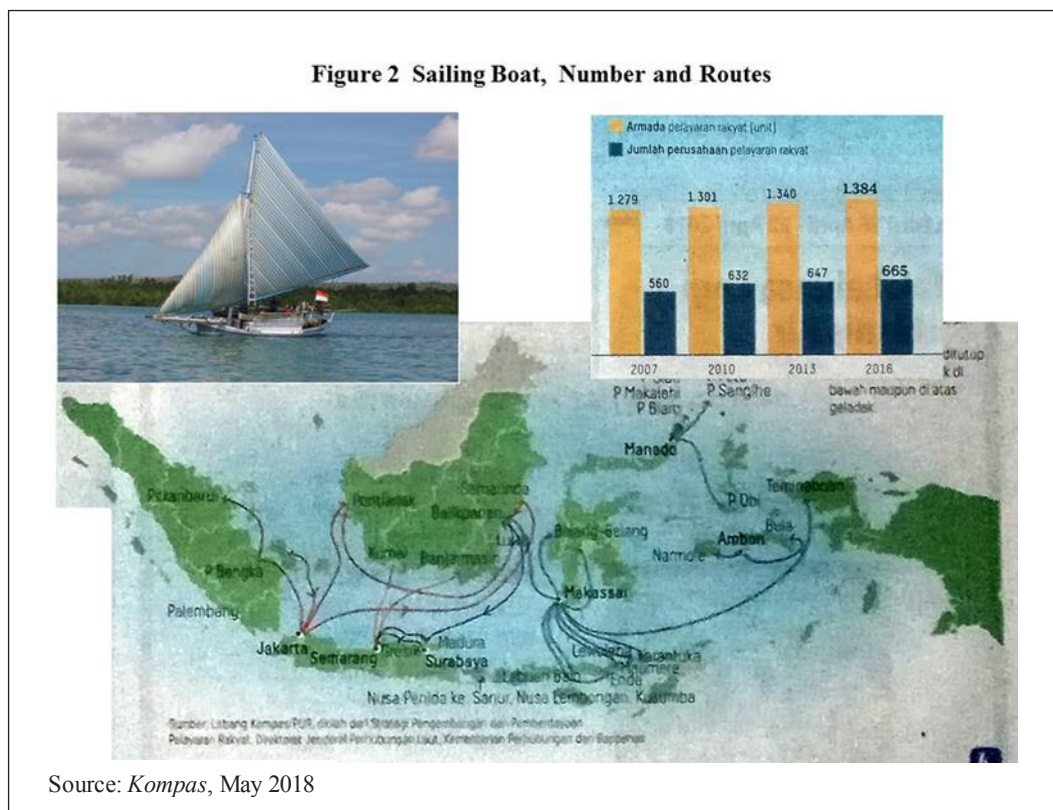
angin bertiup layar terkembang
ombak berdebur di tepi pantai

[the wind blew the sail expanded]
[waves crashing on the shore]

pemuda b'rani bangkit sekarang
 ke laut kita beramai-ramai
 nenek moyang ku seorang pelaut

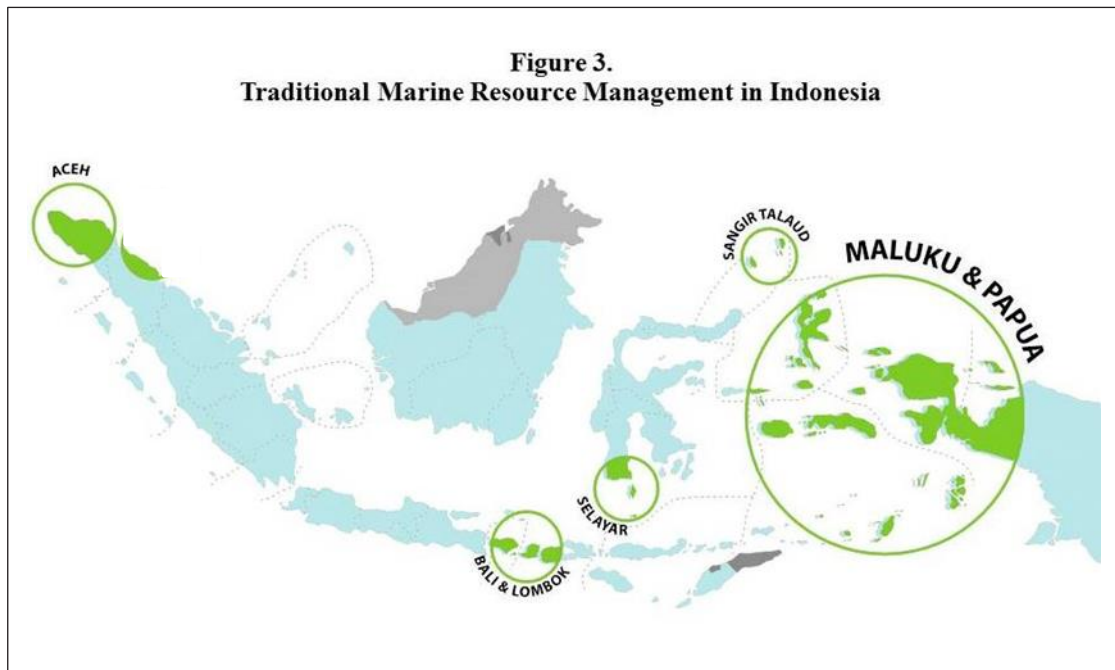
[brave youths rose now]
 [to the sea we are abuzz]
 [my ancestors were sailors]

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' 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, our statistics are as follows, 140 millions out of 250 millions of Indonesian are living in coastal areas and 297 of 540 districts/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 tradition scatered from the western tip of the country, Aceh to the eastern most, the Papua (Figure 3).



A comprehenship 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 comprehenship 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.

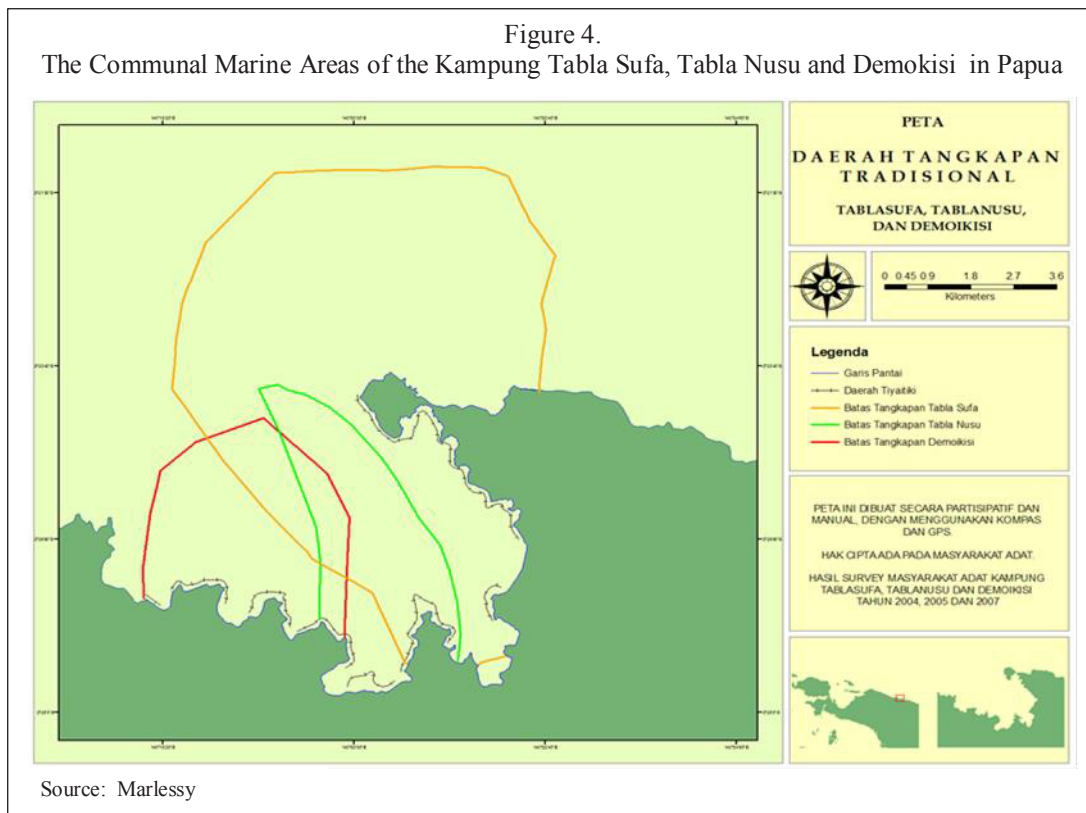
The practice of traditional marine resource management in Papua lies in two main concepts, *wilayah adat laut* (communal marine territory) and *kiripup*¹. *Wilayah adat laut* refers to the coastal water that is subject to communal property right. In Papua, every coastal water is claimed to be owned by 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 rights). The *hak makan* is the right to make use and catch fish in the sea area. This right is shared to all members or even those other's but have some associations with the community. *Hak milik* is a stronger type of right. *Hak milik* also includes *hak makan* and the right to manage the waters. These include the right to exclude others from fishing and determine open-close fishing seasons. These rights are the exclusive rights of the owner, a particular *keret*.

In practice, nonetheless, the daily management of the communal marine territory is led by village government² 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 kampong* (kampong 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

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.

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.

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.

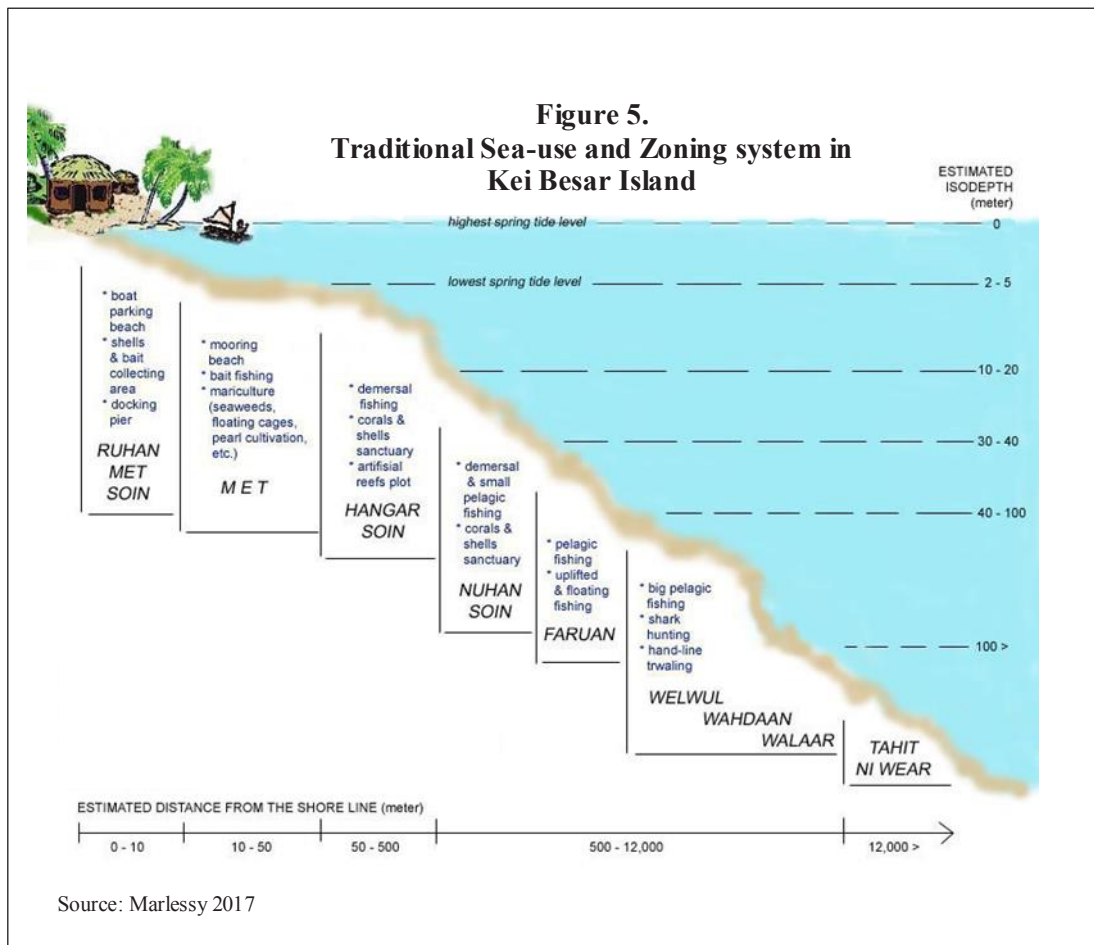


The concept of *kiripup* refers to the tradition of temporary closing/opening of the communal marine area for exploitation. In time of need, coastal people in Papua usually close a particular part of their village marine territory for exploitation. The closing season can last for months or a year depending 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 uplifting the prohibition when the time comes for communal fish harvesting. The fish will, then, be used for the intended ritual/festival.

Maluku

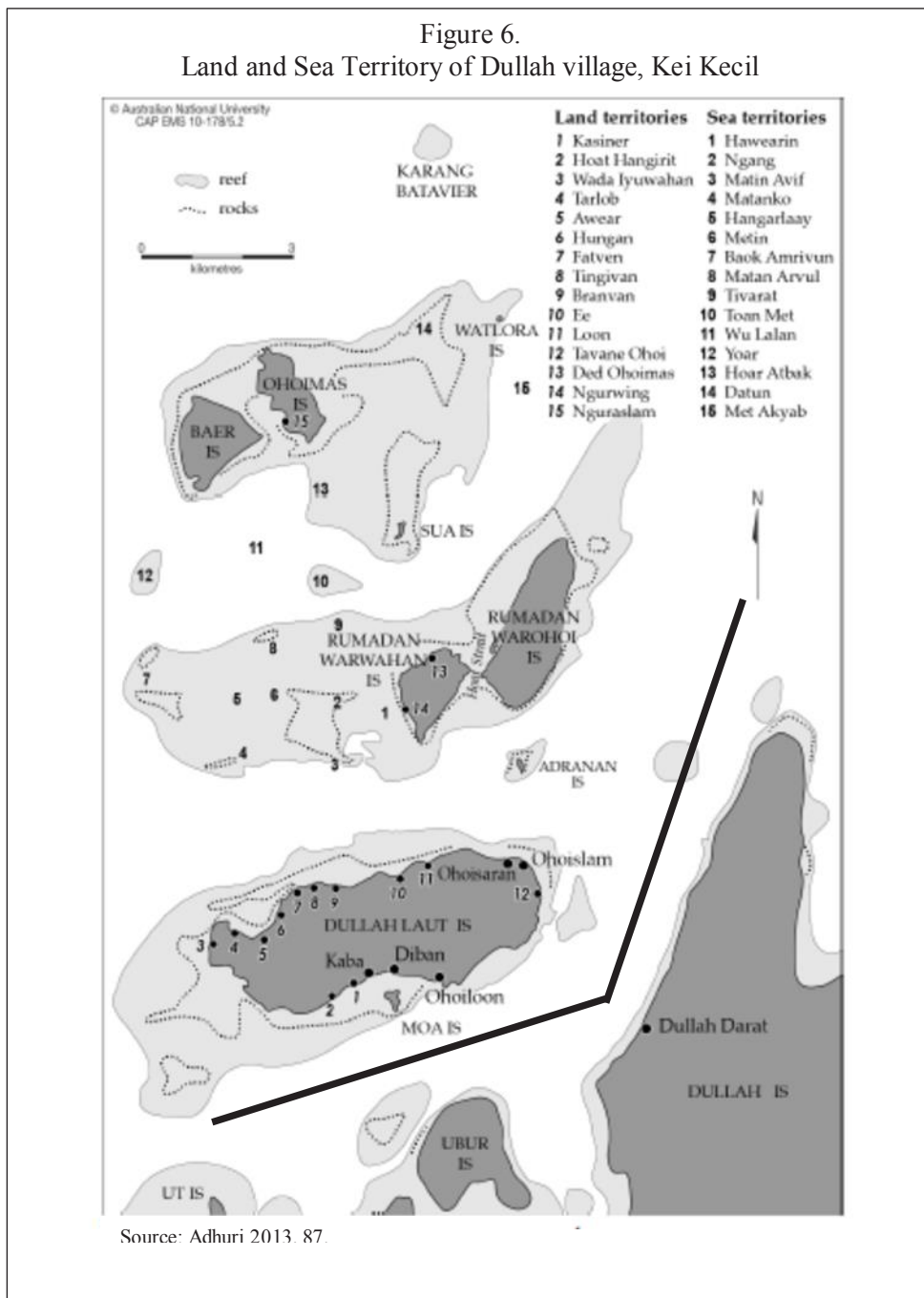
Similar to the practice in Papua, traditional marine resource management in Maluku also lies in two main concepts. The first concept is *petuanan laut* (sea estate). Similar to the concept of *wilayah adat laut* in Papua, *petuanan laut* is also communally owned marine area. A slight difference is on 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). Also the same as in Papua, 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 core clans (*Fam*).

As a sign of their familiarity, a basis of their territorial claim as well as for management purposes, in Maluku, people usually develop 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 aqua-culture activities. As the picture depicts the zonation goes on until the forest 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 particular narrative that explains the establishment of a particular village or any traditional domain. Wada Iyuhan, 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 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*³ (Adhuri 20013). 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 a period of time. *Tutup Sasi* ritual will be performed, since then no one can harvest the targeted species until the opening sasi is carried out as the declaration of the lifting of the prohibition. Unlike Sasi Lompa, for Sasi Lola or *Tripang*, only certain people who are allowed to fish. They are either

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 Sospelisa (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.

all villagers—no outsiders-- or even some village representatives. The money from selling the harvest will be shared between the fishers and village government as village income. The money is used for construction of public facilities. In the former time, before 1970s, the *Bia Lola Sasi* could last until three years. Since 1970an until know people harvest the *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 is 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 my market economy. Traditional norms and leaders were no longer important. In fact, tended to be disregarded.

It was not until 1980s concern on traditional marine resource management emerged. Interestingly it started in Maluku with concern on *Sasi*. Inspired by widespread environmental and social movements, NGO workers 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 distribution of such practices. These efforts were formally acknowledged when Kalpataru –the medal for special achievement in environmental conservation was awarded to two villages 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 of traditional marine resource in Maluku in the same period. Lokolo (1988, 1994), Bailey and Zerner (1992) and Nikijuluw (1994) and (Pannell 1997) are some examples of such concern. 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 below shows some of these laws and regulations.

Tabel 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		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-awig</i> as part of the arrangement. Some of the stipulations are: - <i>Awig-awig</i> management is an inter-community

Management, No. 9/2006		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-awig</i> management area
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Reading the Laws and regulations above, 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.

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.

In regards to traditional marine resource management, this paper tries to show that it is common practice in several places of Indonesia, scattered from the Western tip of the country, Aceh up to the eastern most, Papua. Focusing on the practice in Papua and Maluku, this paper 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.

Finally, 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.

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Revaluation of 「Kobe」 as a medieval international harbor
~ The ambition of 「Tairano Kiyomori」 and his visionary
maritime capital ~

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Abstract

1. Japan's sea road ~"Setonaikai" and "Owadanodomari" as the center of marine defense and maritime traffic.

Since ancient times, Japan has chosen Nara and Kyoto as the capital. Its geographical advantage of being located in a mountain prevents potential attacks by enemies attacking from the sea route called "Setonaikai". (Fig.1)

In the 8th century, several harbors called "Seppan-Gohaku" (Fig.2) were built along the coast of the Setonaikai. Amongst all, "owadanodomari" (currently known as Kobe harbor) was the strongest port in terms of marine defence and traffic.

"Owadanodomari" and "Tairano Kiyomori", two of the biggest contributions to Kobe's maritime trade, were essential components to Kobe's history of being an international marine city.

2. The prosperity and decline of Tairano Kiyomori and Kobe as a medieval international maritime city

Tairano Kiyomori (1118-1181), historically well-known Bushi (warrior clan) who gained mighty power surpassing that of the royal family and courtier clan for the first time as a Bushi.

Consequently, Kiyomori pioneered the Bushi administration that lasted 700 years thereafter. (Fig.4-5)

(1) Tairano kiyomori and history of Heishi clan

During the late 12 century, the main duty of a Bushi was to escort the royal family and the courtier clan. Their social and political status was extremely low.

It was Kiyomori's father, Tadamori (1096 - 1153) who dramatically expanded the power of Heishi clan. With enthusiastic confidence from "IN 院" (cloistered

emperor), who was the highest authority of royal family, Tadamori took part in the central government as the chief secretary in various regions of Japan. Also, upon disbanding the pirates in the west side coast, pirate who are also marine experts were upgraded to "authorized military" and were placed under Heshi's control.

Many of the pirates back then were expert maritime intellectuals who were familiar with tides, topography, astronomy, steering, shipping, economics, and etc.

The origin of Heishi is "Isenokuni", which had been considered one of the important maritime traffic spots for a long time, and Ise was also the place where silver and pearls were produced. Centered around Ise, Heishi had been proactively involved in the marine business. Over the years, ocean and Heishi had become one.

(2) **Accomplishments of Tairano Kiyomori**

After Tadamori's death, Kiyomori became Heshi's new Leader. From there his remarkable career launches off.

Kiyomori believed that trade is the best way to enrich the nation, and he kept it as a lifetime aspiration to lead Japan to engage more in Japan-Song trade by himself.

However, Kiyomori's ideals were not accepted by other courtier clans in the old political system. Therefore Kiyomori fought hard for his own belief in order to gain strong political power to achieve his own vision. He had won the two battles at "Hogenno-Ran" and "Heizino-Ran", showing his unrestricted power to the public. Ultimately, he had defeated his long-time rival Genji and became the top of the Bushi's. His career advancement went on, and he finally was promoted to the highest posture there was, "Dajyo-daijin", which was the modern equivalent of "Chief Minister".

One of the remarkable achievements by Kiyomori is the development facilities alongside Setonaikai in order to vitalize "Japan-Song trade", such as "Sode harbor" in Hakata, "Ondo strait" in Hiroshima, and large-scale construction of "Itsukushima shrine" (Fig.6), which were regarded as the guardians of the sea.

All of the structures mentioned above are very high quality construction works representative of Kiyomori's precise nature observation and creativity and strong love for the sea.

At this time, Kobe was called "Fukuhara". From much before, Kiyomori had seen geographical potentials of Fukuhara. The most accurate response for "Why Fukuhara?", is the existence of Owadanodomari", a major port of Setonaikai. Kiyomori planned to position Owadanodomari as the center of Japan-Song trade. He started working on innovating it intending to develop Fukuhara as Japan's capital. One of the works is the construction of artificial island "Kyoga Island" in order to defend against strong winds and rough waves (Fig.9-10).

[Episodes related to the works of Owadanodomari.]

- ① To complete the construction as soon as possible, when the day was about to be over, Kiyomori tried to bring the sun light back by his fan (Fig.7).
- ② When the construction met difficulties, he was advised to "make a human being as a pillar for construction (人身御養)" from superstitious people, but he declined it. Instead,

he transcribed the scriptures for each stone and carried out the foundation work by sinking them into the sea (Fig.8).

In 1170, a direct ship from Song that did not pass Hakata entered the Owadanodomari for the first time. Due to this event, Fukuhara finally settled down as the main international port for Japan-Song trade.

[Items traded during "Japan-Song Trade"]

- ① Exported items from Japan: Silver, Pearl, Sand gold, woods, crafts such as Japanese sword and lacquerware
- ② Imported items from Song: Song's Copper coin, silk, publications, stationery, fragrance, medicines, arts such as ceramics and paintings

3. Transferring to ocean capital "Fukuhara" and setback

(1) Kiyomori's retirement and the launch of " The new Heishi's dynasty " in Fukuhara

In 1168, Kiyomori resigned from all political positions and entered a Buddhist monastic one. Soon after, he migrated to Fukuhara with the aim of maintaining the political prestige from the remoted place.

(2) The visionary capital, Fukuhara

In 1179, Kiyomori eventually raised a military coup. The following year 1180, Kiyomori's grandson, Antoku Emperor who was born between Kiyomori's daughter Tokuko and post emperor Takakura was given the throne. It is the birth of the first emperor having Bushi's blood. In other words, finally, Kiyomori achieved the goals of transferring of capital to Fukuhara, and the launch of the new Heishi's dynasty.

However, Fukuhara's rise as the maritime capital lasted only for five months. The nationwide revolt against Heishi's monopoly on authorities one after another left Kiyomori with no option but to return the capital to Kyoto to alleviate the situation.

At the age of 64 years, Kiyomori, obsessed with suppressing the revolt and rebuilding politics, faced unexpected death from illness.

The death of Kiyomori immediately resulted in the demolition of Heishi.

Heishi who lost a great leader, gradually became weaker, then eventually died out in April of 1185, after the Genpei's last battle at Danoura.

Any detailed historical information regarding capital of Fukuhara were left unclear, for Genji burned down all of the critical records and remnants (Fig.12).

4. The history of "Kobe" after that

Although Kobe was regarded once as a "Japan-Ming trade" major port during the Muromachi period (14C), from the Kamakura period (late 12C) to Edo period (15C), Kobe did not attract much attention as an international one for hundreds years after destruction of Heishi.

At the end of Edo period, Edo Bakufu stopped national isolation policy and opened port of Kobe to foreign nations. As the result, Kobe eventually developed as a modern international maritime city (Fig.13).

In 1995, due to the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, Hanshin - Awaji island, including Kobe suffered great damage. However, the region fully restored after around two years, and has started growing once again as an international harbor (Fig.14).

5. Epilogue

According to the text "The tale of the Heike", Kiyomori was depicted as a "tyrant", a "dictator", and a "rebel" which represents a very dishonorable figure in

the history. However, Kiyomori was the only one who clearly executed his vision in which a maritime trade with the East Asian countries develops centered on international maritime city "Kobe".

Tairano Kiyomori was a revolutionist and had made significant contribution to development of medieval international harbor "Kobe". His will and wish has been handed down to the prosperity of Kobe, once considered the Japanese capital.

His tomb is presumed to be in Yamada (a part of Kobe), located near the sea of Akashi strait. Can be imagined, that he is resting in that land while listening to the fog whistle of ships sailing through the ocean of Kobe forever (Fig.15).

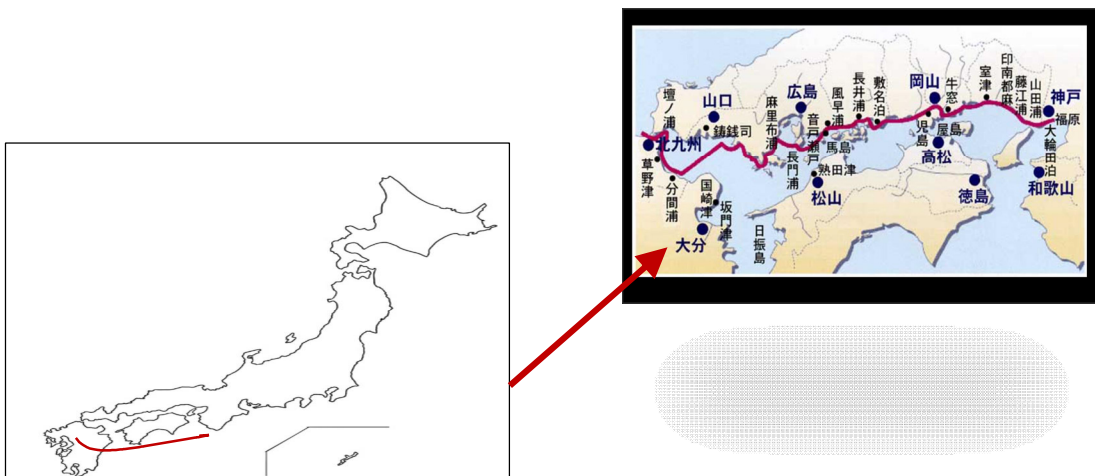
中世国際港「神戸」の再評価 ～平清盛の野望と幻の海の都～

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1. 島国日本の海の道 ～海防と海洋交通の要所「瀬戸内海」と「大輪田泊」

四方を海に囲まれた日本は、二千年もの昔より大陸との文化交流を通して栄えてきた。日本が安寧の歴史を歩み続けて来られたのは、海が自然の盾となり、海上ルートを使って攻め来る外敵の侵入を防ぐことができたからである。それゆえ、大和朝廷以来（4世紀～）、政治の中枢部である都（Capital）は、外洋との沿岸から瀬戸内海（Setonaikai）【図1】を経た安全な山の中の盆地にある現在の奈良（Nara）・京都（Kyoto）に置かれてきた。加えて、瀬戸内海沿岸の諸港は、中国（China）・朝鮮（Korea）への使節（遣唐使・遣新羅使）が内界（畿内(Kinai)）から外界へ向け乗り出す際に欠かせない海外交易の要所としての役割をも果たしてきたのである。

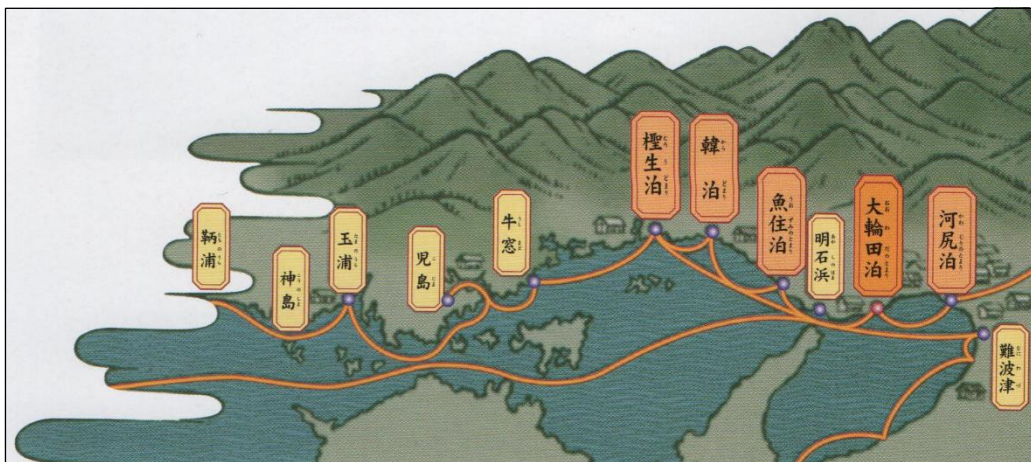


【図1：古代の瀬戸内海ルート】

8世紀頃、瀬戸内海沿岸の主要な港となる摂藩五泊（Seppan-Gohaku）が築かれた【図2】。古くより瀬戸内海を行き来する船は、日中のみ航海し、夜はこの五泊に停泊して風待ち・潮待ちを行っていた。五泊はいずれも現在の兵庫県内に位置し、西から室生泊（Muroudomari）、韓泊（Karadomari）、魚住泊（Uozuminodomari）、大輪田泊（Owadanodomari）、河尻泊（kawazirinodomari）の5つの港のことを指す。大輪田泊は現在の神戸（Kobe）に位置し、瀬戸内海を通過して運ばれる各地からの貢納物や商品

は、ここで荷揚げされたあと川船に積みかえられ、淀川をのぼって京都へと運ばれた。また、大陸との交易の拠点としても大輪田泊は栄えてきた。

国際海洋都市「神戸」(Kobe)の歴史を語るうえで、神戸に隣接するこの「大輪田泊」と、「平清盛」(Tairano-Kiyomori)は欠かせないKey wordsといえよう。



【図2. 摂藩五泊（神戸海洋博物館所蔵）】

2. 平清盛 (Tairano-Kiyomori) と中世国際海洋都市「神戸」(Kobe)の繁栄と衰退

(1) 平清盛と平氏一門 (Hei-shi clan) の歴史

平清盛 (1118 - 1181) は、武士 (Bushu) として初めて王家をもしのぐ権力を握り、その後700年余り続く武士の世を築いた人物として名高い。

清盛が生まれた平氏一門は、代々伊勢国 (現在の三重県一帯) を拠点として活躍した9)。

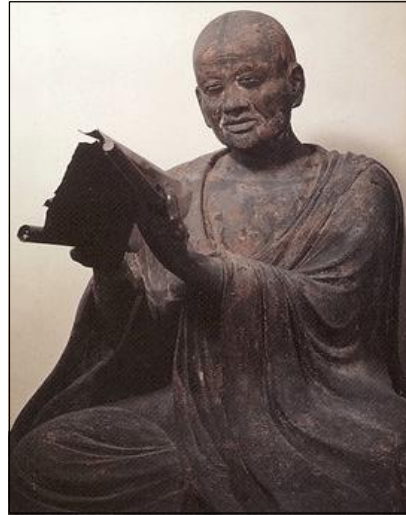
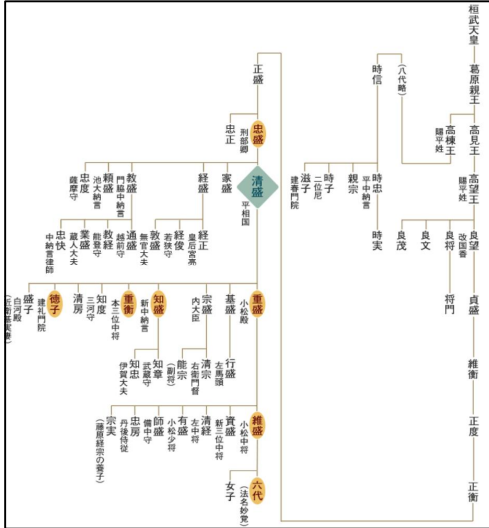
伊勢国は、平安時代以来東国へと通じる海上交通の要衝地として発展し、平氏はこの地を拠点に海洋進出に積極的に携わり、海民・水軍との連携をとおして造船、海上交通路の整備に努めた。清盛の祖父・正盛 (Masamori)、また父の忠盛 (Tadamori)、そして清盛が、海への志向を絶やさず、海の恩恵のもとで繁栄した要因は、こうした平氏一門のRootsにもとめることができる。

もとをたどれば、平氏は桓武天皇の血をひく歴とした皇室の子孫である10) 【図4】。

9)日本史学では、桓武天皇 (736-806) の子孫で軍事貴族に分類される氏族 (脚注2) のうち、伊勢方面へ進出し栄えた平清盛の一門を「伊勢平氏」呼ぶ。さらに、平清盛の代で公卿の家柄となつてのちは「平氏」から「平家」へと呼び改めることが一般的であるが、本稿では便宜上「平氏」で統一する。

10)桓武天皇の治世より、皇族の自立を促すための賜姓制度が頻繁に行われ、臣籍に降下された際に与えられた氏名のひとつが「平氏」や「源氏」である。

しかしながら、12世紀頃までの平氏は低い官職にとどまったまま王家や貴族に仕えていた。当時彼ら武士が「王家の犬」と揶揄されていたことから、その低迷ぶりがしれる。



【図4．平氏系図（『大辞林』古典の世界）】

【図5．平清盛坐像（京都六波羅蜜寺蔵）】

平氏一門の勢力を飛躍的に拡大させたのが、清盛の父・忠盛（1096 - 1153）である。忠盛は、当世最高権力者として君臨していた白河法皇の寵を得て、白河法皇亡き後は、その孫にあたる鳥羽院の近臣として中央政権に地歩を築いた。海賊追討使に任せられた際は、瀬戸内海、淡路島、四国に君臨していた海賊の平定に努め、その過程で、彼らを「海賊」（Pirate）から「水軍」（Navy）、すなわち正規軍（Authorized army）として格上げさせたともいわれている。

当時の海賊は、潮流はもとより、地形、天候、天文、操舵、海運、交通、海上法、経済の情報力を持った海洋知識人でもあった。忠盛は、こうした海賊を支配下におき、彼らの知識を利用することで、一門の海洋進出の足掛かりを築いたのである。彼はまた、王家の管轄下で宋との商いを取り仕切っていた備前国神崎荘（Bizen-Kanzaki）を管理する立場を利用して、独自に宋との交易を行い蓄財に励んでいった。

（2） 平清盛の業績その一「中央政権への進出」

忠盛の死後、先代からの政治的基盤および財と共に平氏の棟梁の座を継いだ子の清盛は、やがて目覚ましい出世を遂げていくこととなる。

保元の乱¹¹⁾並びに平治の乱¹²⁾の二つの戦乱を勝ち抜き、急速な昇進を遂げ、のみなら

11)

保元の乱(1156)：皇位継承に不満をもつ崇徳上皇と藤原頼長がむすびつき、後白河上皇と関白

ず、同じ武門として長年のライバル関係にあった源氏（Genji）の棟梁・源義朝（Minamoto no Yoshitomo）を破り、ついに武士の覇者となった。二つの乱の勝利をとおして、王家と貴族にとって武士の力が欠かせぬものであると世に示したともいえる。

清盛は、備前（Bizen・現岡山県）、安芸（Aki・現広島県）、播磨（Harima・現兵庫県）の国守（中央長官）を歴任し、太宰大貳（太宰府の長官）に抜擢され、現在の九州一帯を一門の直接支配下においた。

現博多（Hakata）・太宰府（Dazaifu）は、遣唐使派遣の7世紀頃には海外からの使節を受け入れる迎賓館「筑紫館」（Chikushikan）が造営され、遣唐使派遣停止(894)後は「鴻臚館」（Kourokan）と名を改め、唐の官人、商人たちを迎えるなど対外交易で栄えた国際港である。大宰府の統括権を得ることで、いよいよ日宋貿易を礎にした国造りが始まっていくのである。

清盛自身の急速な出世にともない、一門の者も悉く高位の官職に就き、平氏の政治的・経済的地位はゆるがないものとなっていく。平氏の繁栄を容易にしたもうひとつの要因が、王家・貴族の有力者と姻戚関係を結ぶことで朝廷との結びつきを強めた婚姻政策である¹³⁾。

(3) 平清盛の業績その二「日宋貿易を要とした国造り」

清盛は、貿易こそが国を富ませ、人々を豊かにすると考えていた。これを生涯の志とし、日宋貿易を要とした国造りを目指した。特筆すべきは、瀬戸内海一帯の湾岸施設の整備である。博多の港「袖の湊」（Sode no Minato）を改修し、瀬戸内海航路の難所であった現広島県の「音戸の瀬戸」（Ondo no Seto）の開削工事も清盛によるものであると伝えられている。また、一門の栄華の到来を厳島の守り神に依るものと信じ、厳島神社（Itsukushima shrine）の大造営を行った【図6】。厳島神社の造営に関しては、権勢誇示や宗教上の動機によるところが大きいだが、この海域が瀬戸内海の交通、水軍編成のうえで重要視されていたことも見逃せない。

・忠通と対立した。崇徳天皇方は平清盛・源義朝を擁し、上皇方は清盛の伯父・忠正、義朝の父・為義をしたがえ戦った。戦いは一日で上皇方の勝利に終わったが、以後武士の実力が重要視される。【『日本歴史館』（平氏の栄華）】

12)

平治の乱(1159)：保元の乱後の恩賞をめぐる不満を募らせていた源義朝と藤原信頼による軍事クーデター。熊野詣中の清盛の留守の際に、後白河上皇の近臣・信西入道を殺害。これに対し急ぎ帰京した清盛により源頼朝を筆頭に源氏一門が打ち敗れた。平治の乱は平氏の栄華の出発点といえる。【『日本歴史館』（平氏の栄華）】

13)婚姻政策：清盛は、娘・盛子を関白藤原基実の室とし、同じく娘・徳子（のちの建礼門院）を義妹・慈子（建春門院）と後白河上皇の間に生まれた高倉天皇の中宮として入内させ、後の安徳天皇をもけた。安徳天皇の即位により、清盛は天皇の外祖父の地位を得たのである。



【図6．厳島神社（広島県）】

いずれも当時の技術力をもっては実現の可否が疑われるほど高度な建設工事であったが、真偽のほどはさておき、清盛の緻密な自然観察と創造性、海への強い情熱をうかがわせる偉業であるといえる。

清盛は、現神戸の福原（Fukuhara）の潜在的可能性にいち早く目をつけていた。なぜ福原であったか。その理由のひとつが「大輪田泊」の存在である。

先述の通り、大輪田泊は瀬戸内航路の要港であり、国内海上交通と対外交易の拠点として古くから発展してきた。大輪田泊を望む福原の領地を手に入れた清盛は、やがて大輪田泊を第二の博多、つまり日宋貿易の拠点地とすべく、大規模な改修に乗り出した。

改築工事は、強風と波浪が港湾施設を破壊するのを防ぐため、近隣の塩槌山（Shiotsuchi yama）を崩し、その土砂をもって港の前面に人工島を築造するといった大がかりなものであった。工事は困難を極めたとされ、そのためであろうか、様々なEpisodeが伝えられている。じき完成というところで日が暮れようとしたが清盛が沈む夕日を扇で招き返した、又、迷信深い周囲の人々から人柱（人身御養）を立てようという意見を一蹴し、「一切経」を写経させて石を小舟に積み、これらを沈め島の基礎を築いた、などというものである。この経石にまつわる伝説ゆえ、この島は「経ヶ島」（Kyoga Island=The island of Buddhist scripture）と呼ばれるようになったといわれている【図7～10】。



【図7. 日招像(広島県呉市)】



【図8. 経石(尼崎教育委員会蔵)】



【図9. 「経ヶ島縁起」(東京国立博物館所蔵)】



【図10. 大輪田泊改修工事の様・模型(神戸海洋博物館所蔵)】

大輪田泊の改修にともない、清盛主導の日宋貿易はいよいよ本格化することになる。

1170年、博多を通らない宋よりの直行船が初めて大輪田泊へ入港した。これにより福原は、宋の品々の取引場ならびに宋銭の主な搬入口となり、名実ともに国際港としての地位を確立したのである。

この「日宋貿易」において取引された品々について簡単に触れておく。日本からの輸出品は、平氏の拠点であった伊勢国で産出される「銀」や「真珠」、平泉（現岩手県）を主産地とする「砂金」、その他、杉、松、檜などの木材や日本刀・漆器などの工芸品であった。宋からは、宋銭、絹、書籍、文具、香料、薬品、陶磁器・絵画などの美術品などが輸入された¹⁴⁾。

3. 平清盛による海の都「福原」への遷都、そして挫折

(1) 平清盛の福原退隠と「平氏系新王朝」の始動

やがて清盛は、当時としては人身の極みとも例えられる太政大臣にまで昇進する。その在位期間はわずか三か月であったが、在任中、一門の者の官職を上げられるだけ上げて、政治の中枢部における平氏の力をゆるぎないものにした。

1168年、清盛50歳の時。病を得て死の淵をさまようも奇跡的に回復した清盛は出家を決意する。出家後まもなく福原での隠居生活に入ることになり、以来11年間、ほとんど上京することなく福原に常住した。ところが、出家・隠居とは名ばかりで、依然有力政治家として朝廷への強い影響力と発言権を有し続けていた。

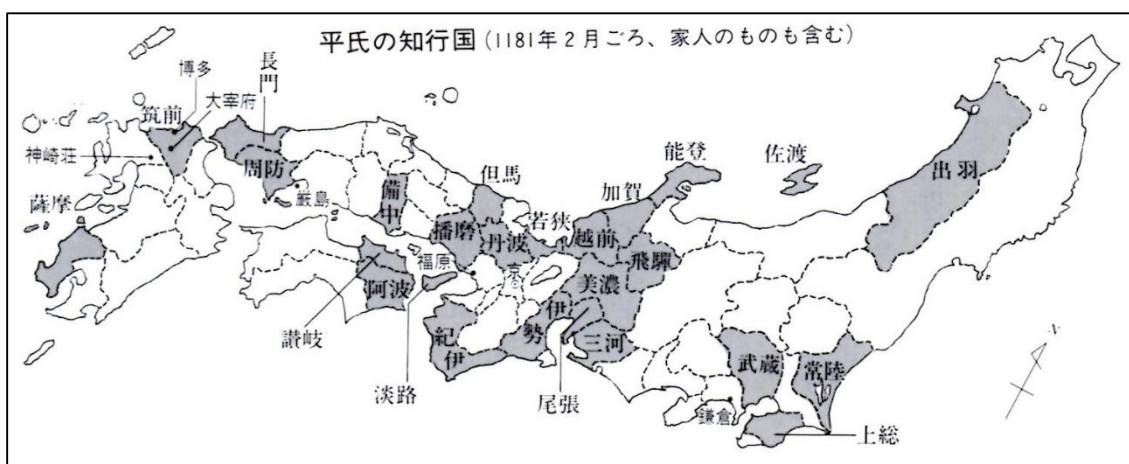
ここで、清盛の福原退隠の意図について触れておくことにする。

平氏一門による知行国の増加や要職の独占など、平氏に政治的権力が集中することに対し、王家や貴族たちは次第に牽制と反発の念を募らせていった【図11】。貴族にいたっては、平氏の絶大なる武力・財力が朝廷にとって欠くべからずものと認めながらも、未だ武士を卑しい存在と蔑み、政を担わせることを渋っていた。さらに、日宋貿易を要とする国造りを実現するため、音戸の瀬戸の開削、大輪田泊の改修、厳島神社の造営、宋船の内海入港制など、既存の慣例を破って次々と新しい施策を推し進める清盛の存在は、「万事先例が大事」の他の貴族たちにとっては忌々しく、目障りなものであった。清盛としては、このような周囲の不理解と反発心と対峙しては自身の構想する国造りは遅々として進まないといき立っていたはずである。思案の結果、清盛は福原へ居を移すことで、中央政権との空間的・心理的距離をおきつつ、依然として強い権力をもって遠く福原の地より政治を意のままに操る道を選択したのである。福原の地は、次第に平氏の政治力の安定と自律性を保証する拠点となり、やがてもう一つの都 = 平氏の都 (The

14)

宋と取引された品々を直接示す文献資料は残っていないが、「わずかに『平家物語』が、平家の繁栄を語るのに「揚州の金・荊州の珠・呉群の綾・蜀江の錦・七珍万宝一つとして欠けたる事無し」と中国の贅沢品をあげている」【『平清盛 福原の夢』 高橋昌明】。

new capital=Heishi's capital)として台頭していくのである。



【図11．平氏の知行国（『日本歴史館』(小学館・1993)）】

1179年、平氏に対し反発していた既成勢力による平氏打倒の事件が起きた¹⁵⁾。未然に露見し鎮圧されたが、この事件が発端となり、清盛はついに「軍事クーデター」という暴挙に出た。平氏の莫大な軍事力をもって、白河院－鳥羽院－後白河院の三代にわたって布かれていた旧政治体制（院政）を停止し、いよいよ清盛による独裁政治、「平氏系新王朝」¹⁶⁾が始まったのである。

(2) 幻の福原の都

翌1180年、さきの軍事クーデターにより一国の君主に相当する地位を得た清盛は、高倉天皇と娘・中宮徳子との間に生まれた言仁親王を即位させた。武士の血をひくはじめての天皇・安徳 (Antoku Emperor) の誕生である。同年6月2日、清盛は、安徳天皇をはじめ、高倉上皇、後白河法皇を引き連れて福原入りを決行した。天皇の御座す場所、これすなわち一国の都である。これが世にいう「福原遷都」(Transferring of capital to Fukuhara)、高倉上皇と安徳天皇を頂とする「平氏系新王朝」(The new Heishi's dynasty) の樹立である。

いささか衝動的とも思える慌ただしい遷都であったが、清盛は、新しい世にふさわしい新都の造営に邁進するはずであった。ところが、反平氏の気運は高まる一方で、平治の乱にて滅ぼされた源氏の嫡流・源頼朝 (Minamoto no Yoritomo)、および源義仲の

15) 鹿ヶ谷の陰謀：1177年、平氏の強権に不満を持つ後白河院の意を受け、藤原成親、西光、成経、俊寛の近臣らが京都東山鹿ヶ谷の俊寛の山荘で行った平氏打倒の密議。多田行綱の密告により露見し、一味は平氏によって捕らえられた。西光は死罪になり、成親は備前へ、成経、俊寛、康頼は鬼界ヶ島へ流された。【『日本歴史館』(平氏の栄華)】

16) 【『平家の群像 物語から史実へ』 高橋昌明】

挙兵をはじめとする全国規模の反乱が相次いで勃発した。清盛は反乱の鎮圧に奔走するはめになり、新都の整備どころでなくなってしまった。そして、一門の者たちの懇願を受け、しぶしぶと都帰りを決断するのである。

国際貿易港「大輪田泊」をとりこむ海の都・福原の構想は、わずか5か月で潰えてしまった。未完に終わったうえ、のちに敵軍・源義仲による焼き打ちを受け灰燼に帰したため、福原の都の正確な場所を含め、建設がどの程度まで進行されていたかなど、その詳細は不明なまま歴史の向う岸に消えてしまったのである【図12】。

都帰りの翌年1181年、反乱軍の鎮圧と政治体制の立て直しに注力するさなか、清盛は熱病によりこの世を去ることになる（享年64歳）。

平清盛という巨大なLeaderを失った平氏一門は、その後凋落の一途を辿り、1185年の4月、壇ノ浦（Danoura）における源平最後の合戦の果て、ついに滅亡するのである。



【図12. 福原の都のCG再現・模型（神戸海洋博物館蔵）】

3. その後の「神戸」の歩み

鎌倉時代（Kamakura period・12世紀後半～14世紀中）に入り、「大輪田泊」は次第に「兵庫津」（Hyogono-tsu）と呼ばれるようになった。平氏滅亡後に源氏（Genji）によって開かれた鎌倉幕府は、二度にわたる蒙古襲来を受けより一層海防に注力するようになった。幕府のもと日宋貿易は中止され、貿易の拠点としての神戸の存在はしばし忘れ去られていくことになる。

室町時代（Muromachi period・15世紀）、第三代将軍・足利義満（Ashikaga Yoshimitsu）のもと積極的な対外貿易が推し進められるようになり、神戸の地は「日明

貿易」¹⁷⁾を中心として再び繁栄をみるのである。中国、朝鮮、琉球王国との交易船が頻繁に往来し、足利義満自身も「兵庫津」において明の使節団を出迎えたとされる。

戦国時代を経て、江戸時代 (Edo periode・17世紀～18世紀)に入ると、畿内の経済的中心地は堺 (Sakai) へと移行していき、国際港として神戸の威光は失われていった。

時代は流れ、江戸時代後期 (17世紀後半)。当時鎖国政策をとっていた江戸幕府に対し、欧米諸国は下田・横浜・函館の主要港の開港を求めてきた。神戸においては、その国際港としての利便性に注目していたAmerica、Nederland、Englandの連合艦船が来航し開港を迫ったが、京都に近い神戸の地理的重要性を鑑み、朝廷は開港をしぼっていた。しかし、1867年、15代将軍・徳川慶喜の尽力によりついに神戸港の開港が実現する。開港によって、近代国際海洋都市「神戸」へと第一歩を踏み出すことになるのである【図13】。



【図13.「摂州神戸海岸繁栄之図」(神戸市立博物館蔵)】

1995年に発生した「阪神淡路大震災」(The Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake)により阪神・淡路島一帯は甚大な被害を被った。神戸 (Kobe harbor) の港としての機能は停止に追い込まれ、関西地域のみならず日本経済全体に及ぼした影響は計り知れない。しかしながら、わずか2年で復興を果たし、再び国際港としての繁栄を歩み続けることになったのである【図14】。

17) 「日明貿易」：日本からは、硫黄、銅、銀、工芸品が輸出され、中国からは銅銭、薬品、絹織物、生糸などが、また、朝鮮からは綿、経典などが輸入された。



【図14. 現在の神戸港】



【図15】 明石海峡大橋

4. まとめ

王家・貴族をものぐ権力をもって、やがて時代の覇者となっていく平氏一門。その中心に、平清盛がいた。しかし後の世は、武士でありながら数々の悪行・強引な政策により中央政権を掌握し、当世の人々を苦しめた「暴君」「独裁者」「逆臣」とし、清盛に対する評価はさほど芳しくない。

しかしながら、清盛こそが国のあるべき姿を明確に描いていた。「海上貿易を要とした豊かな国を武士の手で造りあげる」、その一言に尽きる。勿論その構想の核心たるものが国際海洋都市「神戸」を拠点とした東アジア諸国との海上貿易である。貿易によって国を富ませ、北は北海道から南は沖縄まで、一つの輸送路と情報網で結ばれた豊かな国の姿こそが、清盛が夢見た先の世である。清盛の先見性と創造性は、当時、古い慣習に捉われ己の保身しか考えない既存の為政者には理解しがたいものであったことは容易に想像できる。それゆえ、周囲の反発と孤立無援の状況下、神戸首都化の構想はわずか5か月で水泡に帰し、やがては一門もろとも滅びていったのである。

清盛の遺骨は、その遺言にしたがい山田（神戸）の法華堂に納められた。くしくも、死んで後ようやく、生前夢見た海の都・神戸の地に帰って来たのである。淡路島と明石海峡を一望する山田は、今でも瀬戸内海各地を結ぶフェリーや外国の貨物船が頻繁にとおる【図15】。

清盛の法名は「静海」（Jo-kai）または「浄海」（Jo-kai）であるが、明石海峡を行き交う船の霧笛を聴きながら、静かなる海・浄らかなる海を願い永遠の眠りにつくことを望んだのかもしれない。海に生き、海に散った清盛にとって、これほど相応しい墓所はないといえよう【高橋昌明著『平家の群像 物語から史実へ』より】。

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Maritime Culture Empowerment under Indonesian Ocean Policy

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1. 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 between the archipelago are an inseparable union. 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 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 *Djuada* Declaration of 13th December 1957 and through difficult multilateral negotiations for more than a decade whereby the

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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 become 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 continent, 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 produces 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, avision in maritime sectors have become a requirement and neecessity for Indonesia. Such vision is embodied through Indonesia's vision as Global Maritime Fulcrum, wich 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.

Global Maritime Fulcrum can be realized if there are precise, effective and competitive policies and programs. These programs of maritime development are widespread within various Miniterial and Nn-Ministerial government istitutions. 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 reslts can be measured.

Indonesia's nature in itself has astrategic 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 Global Maritime Fulcrum. 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 Global Maritime Fulcrum

2. 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.

The Development of Maritime Fulcrum includes: (1) Establishing Indonesian maritime culture; (2) Maintaining sea and marine resources, with a focus on building sovereignty of seafood through the development of the fishery industry by placing fishermen as the main pillars; (3) Giving priority to the development of maritime infrastructure and connectivity by building sea tolls, deep seaports, logistics and shipping industry, and maritime tourism; (4) Strengthening maritime diplomacy, maritime cooperation, eliminating sources of marine conflicts such as fish theft, sovereignty offenses, territorial disputes, piracy, and marine pollution; and (5) Establishing maritime defense forces to safeguard maritime sovereignty and property as well as responsibility for safeguarding shipping and maritime security.

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 Constitution 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 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 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 mutual 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-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, Timor, 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 be 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 fulfil national interest and accordance with national and international laws.

3. 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 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 and unity of the.

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.



Figure 2. Maritime Culture Pillar of Indonesian Ocean Policy

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.

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. 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.

1. 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 worlds 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 indigenous 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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“德物岛”海域在中古东亚海上交通中的重要作用

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【内容提要】唐高宗出兵百济时的“德物岛”与“登州海行入高丽渤海道”中的“得物岛”，在不同语境中的地理指向并不相同，分别指的是今韩国大阜岛和德积岛。但就地理学范畴而言，“得物岛”实际上应该指的均为“德积岛”，但由于唐代中国对朝鲜半岛的海洋地理认知不清晰、信息来源不确定、信息翻译和传播过程中的偏差等因素，形成了不同史籍中“德物岛”和“得物岛”的不同记载。这正是“德物岛”海域在中古东亚海上交通中重要地位和作用的直接体现，“德物岛”海域是中古东亚海上交通中的“十字路口”。

【关键词】德物岛海域；海洋地理认知；东亚海上交通

显庆五年（660年），唐高宗以百济“恃高丽之援，数侵新罗”为由，派苏定方率“水陆十万以伐百济”。史载苏定方从当时莱州的成山出海，在百济西部海中的“德物岛”停留休整后，沿海岸线南下到达熊津江入海口，溯流而上攻占了百济都城泗泚城。《新唐书·地理志》载有贾耽“登州海行入高丽渤海道”，其中通往新罗的一段路程为：“又过秦王石桥、麻田岛、古寺岛、得物岛，千里至鸭绿江唐恩浦口。乃东南陆行，七百里至新罗王城。”“得物岛”是这条航线的海上最后一站。

中古东亚海上交通是学界关注较多的领域，高楠顺次郎、木宫泰彦、严耕望、张泽咸、樊文礼、朴天申、孙光圻、崔根植、牟元珪、申滢植、严明哲、金光明等¹⁸⁾学者均有深入研究，部分学者的研究涉及到了“德物岛”和“得物岛”，但就笔者所见，尚无学者对二岛所在海域进行专门研究。

“得物岛”最早出现在《新唐书·地理志》，且只在中国史籍关于东亚海上交通的

18)

高楠顺次郎：《以唐为中心的对外航海交通》1、2，《史学杂志》14-4、6，1903年；木宫泰彦著，陈捷译：《中日交通史》，上海商务印书馆1931年版；严耕望：《唐代交通图考》第六卷，上海古籍出版社2007年版，第1981-2086页；张泽咸：《唐代工商业》，中国社会科学出版社1995年版，第455-466页；樊文礼：《登州与唐代的海上交通》，《海交史研究》1994年第2期，第25-34页；樊文礼：《唐代“登州海行入高丽道”的变迁与赤山法华院的形成》，《中国历史地理论丛》2005年第2期，第114-125页；朴天申：《八至九世纪东亚交易航线考察》，《唐史论丛》2008年第10辑，第217-227页；孙光圻：《公元8-9世纪新罗与唐的海上交通》，《海交史研究》1997年第1期，第30-42页；崔根植：《〈道里记〉“登州海行道”의 검토와 장보 交关船의 항로》，《史从》第49辑，高大史学会1999年，第1-23页；牟元珪：《唐宋时期中韩海上交通述论》，《东北亚历史地理研究》，中州古籍出版社1994年版，第316-322页；申滢植：《韩国古代의 西海交涉史》，《国史馆论丛》2，国史编纂委员会1989年，第1-40页；严明哲：《高句丽海 洋 交 涉 史 연구》，成均馆大学博士学位论文，1993年；金光明：《试论新罗遣唐使朝贡道的几个问题》，延边大学硕士学位论文，2010年。

内容中出现；“德物岛”最早见于《三国史记》，朝鲜半岛史籍多有因袭。为何不同国家的史籍中会出现“得物岛”与“德物岛”两个音同字异、容易混淆的记载？“得物岛”与“德物岛”指的是是否为同一岛屿？其所处海域在中古东亚海上交通中发挥着怎样的作用？本文拟在前人研究基础上，对这些问题试作解答。

一、“德物岛”的地理位置

唐高宗显庆五年（660年），苏定方率水陆十万大军出兵百济，“自成山济海，百济据熊津江口以拒之”，¹⁹⁾唐军在熊津江口大败百济军，并沿熊津江溯流而上攻占了百济都城泗泚城。

苏定方并非从成山向东直航到达熊津江口，而是在朝鲜半岛西部海中的“德物岛”进行了停留休整。《三国史记》卷五《新罗武烈王本纪》称“定方发自莱州，舳舻千里，随流东下”，武烈王遣太子金法敏“迎定方于德物岛”。²⁰⁾卷二十八《百济义慈王本纪》：“苏定方引军自城山济海，至国西德物岛。”²¹⁾卷四十四《金仁问传》：“遂与定方济海，到德物岛，王命太子与将军庚信、真珠、天存等以巨舰一百艘载兵迎延之”²²⁾。

唐军到达德物岛后，苏定方与金法敏约定：“吾欲以七月十日至百济南，与大王兵会，屠破义慈都城”。七月九日，苏定方在伎伐浦大败百济军，七月十二日“唐罗军围义慈都城”。²³⁾唐军从六月二十一日到达“德物岛”，至七月九日在“熊津江口”大败百济军，历时约18天。“德物岛”至“熊津江口”航行时间以最多2天计，那么唐军在“德物岛”停留了约16天的时间，“德物岛”无疑是十万唐军的海上休整之地。

唐济战争中，唐军多次经“德物岛”往返。占领百济都城后，苏定方“虏百济王及臣僚九十三人、卒二万人，以九月三日自泗泚泛船而归，留郎将刘仁愿等镇守之”，²⁴⁾《三国史记·新罗武烈王本纪》也称“郎将刘仁愿以兵一万人留镇泗泚”，“定方以百济王族臣僚九十三人、百姓一万二千人，自泗泚乘舡回唐”。²⁵⁾因百济旧部的反抗，高宗又派孙仁师“率兵四十万，至德物岛，就熊津城”，²⁶⁾支援驻守百济的唐军。后孙仁师与刘仁愿从百

19)

《资治通鉴》卷二〇〇《唐纪十六》高宗显庆五年，中华书局1956年版，第14册，第6320-6231页。

20)

金贞培校勘，李丙焘监修：《校勘〈三国史记〉》卷五《新罗武烈王本纪》，民族文化推进会影印本，1982年，第48页下。

21)

《校勘〈三国史记〉》卷二八《百济义慈王本纪》，第202页下。“城山”当为“成山”之误，《元和郡县图志》卷一一《河南道七》登州文登县：“成山，在县东北一百八十里。”见（唐）李吉甫撰，贺次君点校：《元和郡县图志》卷一一《河南道七》，中华书局，1983年，上册，第312页。

22) 《校勘〈三国史记〉》卷四四《金仁问传》，第369页上。

23) 《校勘〈三国史记〉》卷五《新罗武烈王本纪》，第48页下。

24) 《校勘〈三国史记〉》卷四二《金庾信传（中）》，第359页下。

25) 《校勘〈三国史记〉》卷五《新罗武烈王本纪》，第50页上。

26)

《校勘〈三国史记〉》卷六《新罗文武王本纪》，第54页上。孙仁师“率兵四十万”当误，《新唐书·百济传》载孙仁师“发齐兵七千往”，见《新唐书》卷二二〇《百济传》，中华书局1975

济返回，不久高宗又“遣刘仁愿率兵渡海，与旧镇兵交代”，²⁷⁾刘仁轨“以新罗、百济、耽罗、倭国使者浮海西还”。²⁸⁾笔者认为，唐军在唐与百济之间多次往返，均是沿“成山—德物岛—熊津江口—泗泚城”航线行进的，“德物岛”是唐水陆大军的中转站和休整地。²⁹⁾

日本学者津田左右吉认为，“德物岛”位于今“南阳湾”和“仁川湾”之间的海上，唐军从成山先至“德物岛”然后再迂里前往“熊津江口”。³⁰⁾但根据唐与百济战争的形势、唐水军的行进路线和“德物岛”在战争中所发挥的作用来看，“德物岛”不会在“南阳湾”附近，而应为今韩国华城市西部海中的德积岛，这也是史学界较为一致的观点。《菊露秋写朝鲜历史》称“德物岛，在今仁川西方，即德积岛镇”。³¹⁾“德物岛”又名德勿岛、仁物岛，魏源《海国图志》：“德勿岛（Tokjok-do），即德积岛。”³²⁾《大东地志》“德积镇”条：“德勿岛，一云仁物岛。”³³⁾



图1 “德物岛”至熊津江口图

德积岛现属韩国仁川广域市翁津郡，东北距仁川市约50千米，正东距华城市海岸约45千米，南偏东距秦安郡约40千米，面积约21.9平方千米，四周港湾众多，“内有汉港，可藏舟舡”、“田甚肥沃，有耕稼之利”，³⁴⁾非常合适船只停泊和补给。唐水军在此停留休

年版，第20册，第6201页。

27) 《旧唐书》卷八四《刘仁轨传》，中华书局1975年版，第8册，第2795页。

28) 《资治通鉴》卷二〇一《唐纪十七》，高宗麟德二年，第14册，第6344页。

29)

拜根兴、金光明亦持类似观点。见拜根兴：《朝鲜半岛现存金石碑志与古代中韩交往》，《陕西师范大学学报（哲学社会科学版）》2007年第4期，第51页；金光明：《试论新罗遣唐使朝贡道的几个问题》，延边大学硕士毕业论文，2010年，第23页。

30)

[日]津田左右吉：《满鲜历史地理研究》（一），《津田左右吉全集》第一一卷，岩波书店1964年版，第181页。

31) 姜璘：《菊露秋写朝鲜历史》卷二，高丽大学藏木活字本1928年版，第68页。

32)

魏源：《海国图志》卷三《亚细亚洲各国图》，《魏源全集》，岳麓书社2005年版，第159页。

33)

[朝鲜]金正浩：《大东地志》卷四“德积镇”条，高丽大学藏写本电子版，第2册，第101页。

整，既可避开可能来自岸上的袭扰，又非常有利于南下熊津江口。

德积岛西与“中国登、莱正相对”，一直是朝鲜半岛西部的海上门户。《海东绎史》称“德物岛”是新罗入唐的海上门户之一，“唐时，新罗渤海诸国亦皆航海朝贡，新罗则今南阳之德勿岛、丰川之椒岛皆为往来之门户”。³⁵⁾朝鲜时期，因“德物岛”“南控安兴，北际海州，为海路要冲”，³⁶⁾又被称为“京师咽喉”。

“德物岛”虽有良港和“耕稼之利”，可能无法承载唐军的庞大舰队。《三国遗事》引《乡记》称唐军有“十二万二千七百十一人，船一千九百只”，³⁷⁾人数虽与《资治通鉴》和两《唐书》所载“水陆十万”不同，但唐军舰队规模庞大却是事实。唐军的停留和驻扎之地，应该还包括“德物岛”的周边岛屿。据《朝鲜王朝实录》记载，德积岛傍的小岛苏爷岛，“即唐将苏定方领舟师来泊处”。³⁸⁾

二、“得物岛”的地理指向

贾耽所说的“登州海行入高丽渤海道”，是唐时中国与东亚国家海上交通的重要航线。《新唐书·地理志》载有这条航线的具体走向：

登州东北海行，过大谢岛、龟歆岛、末岛、乌湖岛三百里。北渡乌湖海，至马石山东之都里镇二百里。东傍海孺，过青泥浦、桃花浦、杏花浦、石人汪、橐驼湾、乌骨江八百里。乃南傍海孺，过乌牧岛、贝江口、椒岛，得新罗西北之长口镇。又过秦王石桥、麻田岛、古寺岛、得物岛，千里至鸭绿江唐恩浦口。乃东南陆行，七百里至新罗王城。自鸭绿江口舟行百余里，乃小舫溯流东北三十里至泊沟口，得渤海之境。又溯流五百里，至丸都县城，故高丽王都。又东北溯流二百里，至神州。又陆行四百里，至显州，天宝中王所都。又正北如东六百里，至渤海王城。³⁹⁾

“得物岛”是通往新罗的海上最后一站。

关于“得物岛”的地理位置，吴承志等认为是由灵兴岛、小部岛、大富岛、月尾岛组成的“大富群岛”，⁴⁰⁾分别对应今韩国京畿道安山市西部海中的灵兴岛、仙才岛、大阜

34) 同上。

35) 韩致斋：《海东绎史》卷四十《交聘志八》，京城朝鲜光文会1912年版，第13册，第5页。

36) 《大东地志》卷四“德积镇”条，第2册，第101页。

37)

[高丽]一然撰，[韩]李东欢校勘，李丙焘监修：《三国遗事》卷一《纪异第一·太宗春秋公》，民族文化推进会2009年影印本，第93页。

38)

《朝鲜王朝实录》卷四九《英宗大王实录》英宗十五年（1739）五月三十日条，太白山史库本，第24页。

39) 《新唐书》卷四三《地理志七下》，第4册，第1147页。

40)

吴承志：《唐贾耽记边州入四夷道里考实》卷二，第263页；章巽：《我国古代的海上交通》，新知识出版社1956年版，第22页；曹东升：《唐代的东方门户——登州》，《唐史论丛》第八辑，第386页；芦苇：《中外关系史》，兰州大学出版社1996年版，第107页；魏存城：《汉唐时期中国通往朝鲜半岛和日本的文化线路及文化交流》，《吉林大学社会科学学报》2008年第1期，第89-95页。

岛和仙甘岛。韩镇等学者认为“德”“得”古通用，“得勿岛”即为“德勿岛”，今为德积岛。⁴¹⁾

笔者认为，就“登州海行入高丽渤海道”的走向和航行原则来看，“得物岛”的地理指向不会是今德积岛。

从“都里镇”开始，“登州海行入高丽渤海道”均“傍海壖”而行。而德积岛之东还有紫月岛、灵兴岛、仙才岛、大阜岛和仙甘岛等多个岛屿，大阜岛与海岸线的距离还有“水路十里”，⁴²⁾因此并不在“海壖”范围之内。在学界普遍认为“麻田岛、古寺岛”是今乔桐岛和江华岛的情况下，从“麻田岛、古寺岛”迂回德积岛前往“唐恩浦口”，比直接前往“唐恩浦口”远了近一倍的路程，无疑是舍近求远之举，也是不符合当时的航海条件。因此，从“麻田岛、古寺岛”前往“唐恩浦口”，没有理由舍弃距离近又安全的“傍海壖”航线，而选择距离远且危险、绕道今德积岛的远海之路。因此，“登州海行入高丽渤海道”中“得物岛”，不应是今德积岛。



图2 “得物岛”等关系位置简图

就古代中国的海洋认知而言，“得物岛”不会是群岛，而应是单个岛屿。

中国古代对海洋地理的认知中，有“洲”“岛”“屿”的概念，据《释名》，“水中可居者曰洲。洲，聚也，人及鸟物所聚息之处也”，“海中可居者曰岛。岛，到也，人所奔到也，物所赴如鸟之下也”，⁴³⁾《初学记》称“海中山曰岛，海中洲曰屿”。⁴⁴⁾但并无“群岛”概念，唐代也无有关群岛的记载。即使在高丽和朝鲜时期的史书中，吴承志所说的灵兴岛、小部岛、大富岛、月尾岛等均各有其名，并没有被称为“大富群岛”。《高丽史·地理志一》“唐城郡”有“大部岛、小牛岛、仙甘弥岛、灵兴岛”等12个岛，⁴⁵⁾如此多的岛屿是分别列出，

41)

[朝鲜]韩镇：《海东绎史续》卷七《地理考七：新罗》，新文馆1913年版，124页。[韩]权惠永：《古代韩中外交史：遣唐使研究》，一潮阁1997年版，第201页；[韩]崔梦龙：《德积群岛的考古学 调查研究》，首尔大学校博物馆2000年版，第35页。

42) 《大东地志》卷四“南阳”条，第2册，第91页。

43) (汉)刘熙：《释名》卷一《释水》，四库全书本，第9页。

44) 《初学记》卷六《海第二》，中华书局1962年版，第1册，第115页。

并没有被冠以群岛之名；《新增东国輿地胜览》《大东地志》同样只列单个岛屿不记群岛。⁴⁶⁾就笔者所见，绘制于1874年的《大清一统海道总图》将德积岛及周边岛屿标注为“因皮理阿尔列岛”，且明显为外来词，是最早将“德物岛”及周边岛屿标注为群岛的地图。

同时，“登州海行入高丽渤海道”中的“大谢岛”（山东省烟台市长岛县南长山岛）周边有庙岛、大黑山岛、小黑山岛、烧饼岛、马枪石岛（以上五岛均为今名）等多个岛屿，但“大谢岛”并不是群岛；“麻田岛”和“古寺岛”分别为今韩国的乔桐岛和江华岛，二岛周边还有西检岛、弥法岛、席毛岛、惠音岛、注文岛、东检岛（以上六岛均为今名）等岛屿，二者同样均为单个岛屿。

笔者认为，“登州海行入高丽渤海道”中“得物岛”，指的是韩国安山市西部海中的大阜岛。⁴⁷⁾



图3 《大清一统海道总图》(1874年)中的“德物岛”海域

大阜岛，又称大部岛，今属韩国京畿道安山市，岛之东南是今韩国的牙山湾，位于牙山湾东北部的华城市即是新罗唐恩郡所在地，“登州海行入高丽渤海道”中的“唐恩浦口”即位于此处。按照“登州海行入高丽渤海道”中“傍海壖”的航行原则，从“麻田岛、古寺岛”前往“唐恩浦口”，先经永宗岛（今为仁川机场所在地）到达大阜岛后，再沿海岸线向东南航行，即可到达“唐恩浦口”。

大阜岛在周边岛屿中面积最大，因其优越的地理位置，一直是朝鲜半岛西部海域的重要门户，是朝鲜半岛西部沿海的“海道要冲”。⁴⁸⁾古代大阜岛之东还有仙甘岛、佛岛等

45) 《高丽史》卷五六《地理志一》，第2册，第232页。

46)

《新增东国輿地胜览》卷九“南阳都护府”条，首尔大学藏奎章阁本，第15-16页。[朝鲜]金正浩：《大东地志》卷四“南阳”条，第2册，第91页。

47)

林士民、陈尚胜、牟元珪、王赛时等持此观点，见林士民：《北洋航路拓展与朝鲜半岛制瓷文化的交流》，《中外关系史论丛》第4辑，天津古籍出版社1994年版，第186页；陈尚胜：《唐代的对外开放政策与唐罗关系》，《韩国学论文集》第三辑，北京大学韩国学研究中心1994年，第9页；牟元珪：《唐宋时期中韩海上交通述论》，孙进己主编：《东北亚历史地理研究》，中州古籍出版社1994年版，第316页；王赛时：《山东海疆文化研究》第五章《航海与海上交流》，齐鲁书社2006年版，第333页。

48) 《大东地志》卷四“南阳”条，第2册，第91页。

小岛，现大阜岛已与仙甘岛、佛岛等已连为一体，加之岛对面沿海地区的填海造地，大阜岛与华城市之间现仅有一条宽约600米的狭长海面相隔。

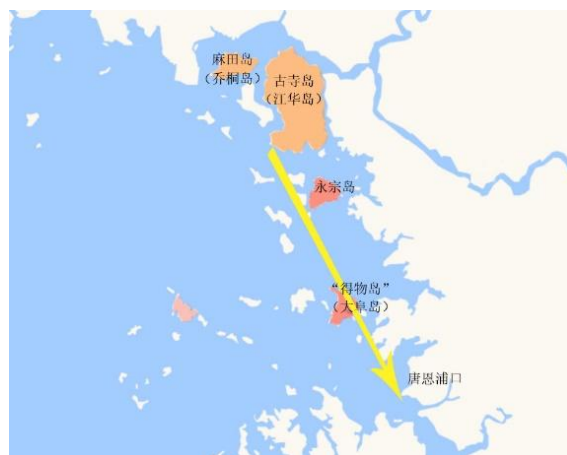


图4 “古寺岛”至“唐恩浦口”的实际航线走向

三、不同语境中的“德物岛”、“得物岛”

“得物岛”最早见于《新唐书》所引贾耽《道里记》，此后中国史书多有因袭，指的是今“大阜岛”，《高丽史·地理志》称“大部岛”，⁴⁹⁾朝鲜时期开始称“大阜岛”并沿用至今。而被称为“德物岛”的今德积岛，最早见于《三国史记》，此后在朝鲜半岛的史籍中多次出现，虽几易其名，但指的始终为今德积岛。

关于“德物岛”与“得物岛”的关系，不少学者认为二者是同一岛屿，其中部分学者认为是今德积岛，⁵⁰⁾部分认为是今大阜岛。⁵¹⁾

按照古代地名形成的规律，一般不会将相距较近的两座岛屿分别冠以音同字异容易混淆的名称。笔者认为，从历史事实和地理学范畴来说，“得物岛”与“德物岛”是同一岛屿，即为今韩国西部海中的德积岛；但就“登州海行入高丽渤海道”的具体语境而言，其实是把“大阜岛”误当成了“得物岛”。

这种现象是由古代中国对朝鲜半岛地理认知上的不足造成的。

唐代中国对朝鲜半岛的认知虽较前代有所深入，但并没有太多变化，⁵²⁾且这种认知

49) 《高丽史》卷五六《地理志一》，第2册，第232页。

50) [韩]崔梦龙：《德积群岛의 考古学 调查研究》，首尔大学校博物馆2000年版；[韩]权惠永：《古代韩中外交史：遣唐使研究》，一潮阁1997年版，第201页；[日]松井等：《隋唐二朝远征高句丽的地理》，姜维东、高福顺译著：《中朝关系史译文集》，吉林文史出版社2001年版，第262页；金光明：《试论新罗遣唐使朝贡道的几个问题》，第19-24页。

51)

岑仲勉：《隋唐史》卷下，高等教育出版社1957年版，第589页；姜维东：《唐丽战争史》，吉林文史出版社2001年版，第216页；牟元珪：《唐宋时期中韩海上交通述论》，载《东北亚历史地理研究》，中州古籍出版社1994年版，第316-322页。

52)

多是通过间接途径实现的。贾耽的地理著作并不是其亲自实地考察的结果，而是多来源于各国使者和唐出使四夷归来者，“凡四夷之使及使四夷还者，必与之从容，讯其山川土地之终始”，⁵³⁾因此其内容的准确程度，取决于各国使者对自己所介绍地理的了解程度。但贾耽所“从容”的对象，不一定对其所来或所到之处的地理完全熟知，同时在讲述、翻译与记录的过程中，多少会出现一些偏差，“得物岛”可能是在这种情况下被错误地安置于“大阜岛”的。史书关于“得物岛”和“德物岛”的记载，更能说明其所处海域在中古东亚海上交通中具有十分重要的地位和作用。

这种现象在有关朝鲜半岛地理的记载中较为常见。如关于唐军与百济军首战发生地，《资治通鉴》《旧唐书》称“熊津江口”，⁵⁴⁾《新唐书》《三国史记·金仁问传》称“熊津口”，⁵⁵⁾《三国史记·新罗武烈王本纪》记载为“伎伐浦”⁵⁶⁾，《金庾信传》记载为“依伐浦”，⁵⁷⁾《三国遗事》对“伎伐浦”的注释为“即長岩，又孫梁，一作只火浦，又白江”，对“白江”的注释为“白江，即伎伐浦”。⁵⁸⁾不同史籍的记载各异，甚至同一史籍的记载也不相同。但大战之地只有一个，这种现象背后反映了不同国家的人们对同一地点认知上的差别。相对而言，朝鲜半岛史籍的记载应更接近于史实。

因此，信息来源不确定、地理认知不清晰、翻译和传播过程中的偏差等因素，是造成“得物岛”与“德物岛”不同记载的主要原因，也是造成“熊津江口”“熊津口”“白江”“伎伐浦”不同名称的根源所在。同时也是朝鲜半岛诸多地名记载较为混乱且考证不易的原因之一。

四、“德物岛”海域：中古东亚海上交通的十字路口

虽然“德物岛”与“得物岛”实际上应为同一岛屿，但二者在不同语境中的地理指向却并不相同，分别是今德积岛和大阜岛，且二岛都位于今韩国京畿道西部海中，东西相距约35千米，连同周边岛屿可以称之为“德物岛”海域。

学界关于唐代的东亚海上交通已有定论，日本与中国之间的海上航线有南路和北路之分，而北路又有北路南线和北路北线之别。“德物岛”海域是北路北线与北路南线的交汇点，也是连接中国、日本、高丽、新罗、百济之间海上航线的十字路口和交通枢纽，在东亚航海中发挥着重要作用。

史念海：《隋唐时期域外地理的探索及世界认识的再扩大》，《中国历史地理论丛》1988年第2期，第73-110页。

53) 《旧唐书》卷一三八《贾耽传》，第12册，第3784页。

54)

《资治通鉴》卷二〇〇《唐纪十六》，高宗显庆五年条，第14册，第6321页；《旧唐书》卷八三《苏定方传》，第8册，第2779页。

55)

《新唐书》卷一一一《苏定方传》，第13册，第4138—4139页；《校勘〈三国史记〉》卷四四《金仁问传》，第369页下。

56) 《校勘〈三国史记〉》卷五《新罗武烈王本纪》，第49页下。

57) 《校勘〈三国史记〉》卷四二《金庾信传（中）》，第359页上。

58) 《三国遗事》卷一《纪异第一·太宗春秋公》，第91页。

第一，“德物岛”海域是唐与百济海上交通的重要休整地。

南北朝时期，为避开高句丽与南朝通好，百济开辟了经“德物岛”海域向西横渡黄海到达山东半岛东部、再沿海岸线航行前往南朝都城的航线，并经这条航线使东晋6次，使南朝27次。唐高宗从海路出兵百济，水军也是沿这条航线航行的。以唐军的进行路线反推，则“泗泚城—熊津江口—德物岛—成山”航线是百济入唐的海上航线之一，“德物岛”是这一航线的重要中转站和休整地。

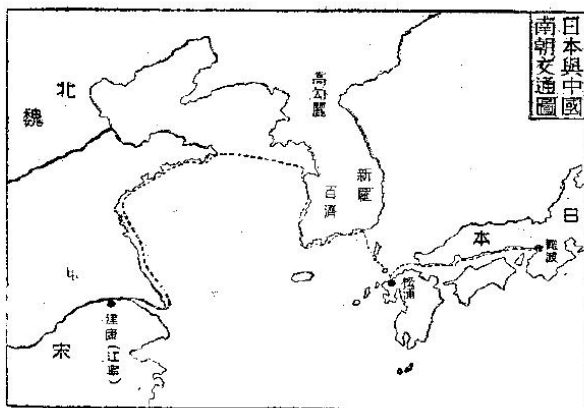


图5 木宫泰彦所绘《日本与中国南朝交通图》

百济入唐的另一条航线，是从“泗泚城”乘船到达“德物岛”海域后，向北航行到达今朝鲜的长渊郡，然后沿“登州海行入高丽渤海道”反向航行，最后在登州登陆。唐代登州黄县北二十里有大人故城，李吉甫在《元和郡县图志》称“今新罗、百济往还常由于此”。⁵⁹⁾《元和郡县图志》成书于唐宪宗元和八年（813年），此时百济早已经亡国，这里的“今新罗、百济往还常由于此”指的应为百济未亡时的入唐通道。这一航线的走向应该是：从百济都城泗泚城乘船出发沿熊津江到达入海口，转而向北傍海而行到达“德物岛”海域，再从“德物岛”北上，到达今朝鲜的长渊郡海域后沿“登州海行入高丽渤海道”反向航行，前往登州或大人故城。很明显，“德物岛”海域也是这一航线的必经之地。

第二，“德物岛”海域是唐与新罗之间多条海上航线的必经之地。

“登州海行入高丽渤海道”虽名为“入高丽渤海道”，但只在“渤海道”中提到了高丽，“至丸都县城，故高丽王都”，而在“高丽道”中却两次提到新罗，因此“登州海行入高丽渤海道”实际上是从登州出发通往新罗和渤海的交通线路。笔者在第二部分已经说明，得物岛”是至新罗航线的海上最后一站。

显庆五年（660年）唐出兵百济之前，新罗派金仁问赴唐乞师，此时新罗与高丽战事正紧，金仁问应是横渡黄海入唐的。唐高宗曾向金仁问咨询“道路险易、去就便宜”，从金仁问“应对尤详”⁶⁰⁾可知，其对新罗与唐之间的航线非常熟悉。金仁问“先遣从者文

59)

（唐）李吉甫撰，贺次君点校：《元和郡县图志》卷一一《河南道七》，北京：中华书局1983年版，上册，第313页。

泉”向新罗王汇报唐军信息，说明文泉对从成山经“德物岛”前往新罗之路同样较为熟悉。唐出兵百济时，苏定方与金仁问从成山出发到达“德物岛”，金仁问应该起到了向导的作用。此时党项津是新罗入唐的海陆衔接地，那么唐初新罗入唐航线之一可以概括如下：从新罗都城陆路行至“党项津”后，乘船入海向西航行，经过“德物岛”横渡黄海，在山东半岛的成山附近登陆。“德物岛”无疑也是这条航线的重要停靠地。

新罗占统一朝鲜半岛后，入唐航线的后航点为“唐恩浦口”，在山东半岛的登陆地还包括“之罘”（今山东烟台芝罘区）。新罗国无染禅师曾于长庆年间随新罗王子金昕入唐，“舫舟唐恩浦”，于“之罘山麓”登陆。⁶¹⁾在这条航线中，“德物岛”也是必经海域。

第三，“德物岛”海域是唐与日本海上交通北路的必经之地。

南北朝时期，日本先后8次遣使南朝，均“道径百济”，无疑是沿百济通南朝的航线，横渡黄海前往南朝的。第一期、第二期遣唐使也是经由百济往返，其中第一期走的是北路北线，即从难波的三津浦出发，在筑紫的博多津稍作停留，经壹岐、对马、耽罗，到达今韩国的仁川西部海域，然后进入“登州海行入高丽渤海道”前往登州。第二期走的是北路南线，到达仁川西部海域后向西横渡黄海在山东半岛一角登陆。⁶²⁾

圆仁回国时走的即是北路南线。圆仁于大中元年（847年）九月二日午时从赤山浦乘船“向正东行”，“至三日平明，向东望见新罗国西面之山”，然后又“侧帆向东南行一日一夜”，“至四日晓”行至“新罗国西熊州西界”。⁶³⁾而“德物岛”即位于熊州北偏西海中，正好处在圆仁航行路线之东。可见，日本与唐之间的北路航线，无论是北路南线还是北路北线，“德物岛”海域始终是无法绕开的必经之地。

第四，“德物岛”海域是朝鲜半岛国家之间及与日本海上交通的中转地。

《三国史记》载，唐高宗咸亨元年（670年），高丽酋长剑牟岑“自穷牟城至溟江南，杀唐官人及僧法安等，向新罗。行至西海史冶岛，见高句丽大臣渊净土之子安胜，迎至汉城中，奉以为君”，并遣“小兄多式”向新罗求援。⁶⁴⁾“溟江”即“登州海行入高丽渤海道”中“贝江口”之“贝江”，“史冶岛”为今德积岛东南方的苏爷岛，《大东地志》：“土也串岛，《三国史》云史冶岛（一云苏爷）。”⁶⁵⁾《朝鲜王朝实录·英宗大王实录》载：“德积岛距京都为半日程，而与中国登莱相对，其傍小岛名曰苏爷岛，即唐将苏定方

60) 《校勘〈三国史记〉》卷四四《金仁问传》，第369页上。

61)

《唐文拾遗》卷四四《有唐新罗国故两朝国师教谥大朗慧和尚白月葆光之塔碑铭并序》，《全唐文》第十册，中华书局1983年影印版，第10869页下。

62) [日]木宫秦彦著，陈捷译：《中日交通史》，第48-53页。

63)

[日]圆仁著，小野胜年校注，白化文、李鼎霞、许德楠修订校注：《入唐求法巡礼行记校注》卷四，第514-515页。

64)

《校勘〈三国史记〉》卷六《新罗文武王本纪上》，第58页下。此处与中国史书记载不同，《资治通鉴》：“高丽酋长剑牟岑反，立高藏外孙安舜为主。以左监门大将军高侃为东州道行军总管，发兵讨之。安舜杀剑牟岑，奔新罗。”见《资治通鉴》卷二〇一《唐纪十七》高宗咸亨元年，第14册，第6363-6364页。

65) [朝鲜]金正浩：《大东地志》卷四“南阳”条，第2册，第91页。

领舟师来泊处。”⁶⁶⁾“汉城”并非今首尔，而是位于今朝鲜黄海南道的载宁郡，《三国史记·地理志四》：“汉城郡（一云汉忽，一云息城，一云乃忽）”，⁶⁷⁾“安州，本高句丽息城郡（一云汉城郡，一云汉忽，一云乃忽）”。⁶⁸⁾以上史料说明，从“溟江”乘船航行，经“德物岛”“傍的“史冶岛”可以前往新罗。

高丽安胜于唐高宗总章二年（669年）二月“率四千余户投新罗”，⁶⁹⁾剑牟岑于咸亨元年（670年）六月之后在“史冶岛”遇到安胜，之后二人一起回到“汉城”，八月新罗文武王封高安胜为高丽王，⁷⁰⁾唐高宗咸亨二年（日本天智天皇十年，671年）正月安胜派遣的“上部大相可娄等”到达日本进调。⁷¹⁾从669年二月至671年八月，剑牟岑、安胜等在高丽之“溟江”和汉城、新罗、日本之间频繁活动，说明“德物岛”及“史冶岛”是连接以上国家和地区的重要中转站和必经之地。

五、结语

综上所述，“德物岛”海域是中古东亚海上多条航线在朝鲜半岛西部海域的交汇点：从“德物岛”海域出发，向西可至中国成山、赤山、之罘、登州等地；向北可达“溟江口”，并沿“溟江”上行到达高丽平壤城，从“溟江口”沿“登州海行入高丽渤海道”反向航行，到达鸭绿江入海口后，向西“傍海孺”而行可达辽东半岛和山东半岛北部的登州，向北沿鸭绿江溯流而上可达“渤海王城”；从“德物岛”海域向东航行到达“唐恩浦口”，再东南陆行可至新罗都城；从“德物岛”海域向南航行可达熊津江入海口，溯流而上可至百济都城泗泚城，从熊津江入海口向南航行可前往日本。“德物岛”海域无疑是东亚各国海上交通网络的十字路口和交通枢纽。

66) 《朝鲜王朝实录》卷四九《英宗大王实录》英宗十五年（1739）五月三十日条，第24页。

67) 《校勘〈三国史记〉》卷三七《地理四》，第322页上。

68) [朝鲜]郑麟趾：《高丽史》卷五八《地理三》，第2册，第266页。

69) 《校勘〈三国史记〉》卷二二《高句丽保藏王本纪》，第170页下。

70) 《校勘〈三国史记〉》卷六《新罗文武王本纪上》，第59页下。

71)

《日本书记》卷二七《天智天皇》，经济杂志社1915年版，第576-578页。《大日本史·高句丽传》：“按《东国通鉴》，高丽已亡，新罗私封高安胜为高丽王，其称高丽朝贡者，盖是也。”此次高丽使者应是安胜所派，见《大日本史》卷二三四《高句丽传》，东京：德川笃敬1990年影印本，第97册，第19页。

Destination Marketing: 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 Northern Taiwan flowing into the Taiwan Strait through the Tamsui area. Bali and Tamsui are located on both banks of the Tamsui estuary. The Shihsanhang Museum and Tamsui Historical Museum are the landmarks of Bali and Tamsui, respectively. The two museums developed the ecomuseum operations, but the performance is different. 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. The development of the Greater Taipei area is closely related to the Tamsui River, which length of the main stream and the drainage area of the river is the third largest river in Taiwan. Tamsui River that has spawned the most prosperous part of Northern Taiwan flows into the Taiwan Strait through the Tamsui area. As early as 1629 when the Spaniards landed in Taiwan, they entered Tamsui River along the coast, named the Tamsui river as Casidor, and built Santido Minigo at the waterfront of Tamsui River, thus opening up the cross-strait trade in Taiwan. The Dutch rebuilt the castle, named Antonborg, near the original site in 1644, and it was rented by the British government for the office of the British consulate in 1867. It was until 1980 that the property rights of the castle were transferred to Taiwan.

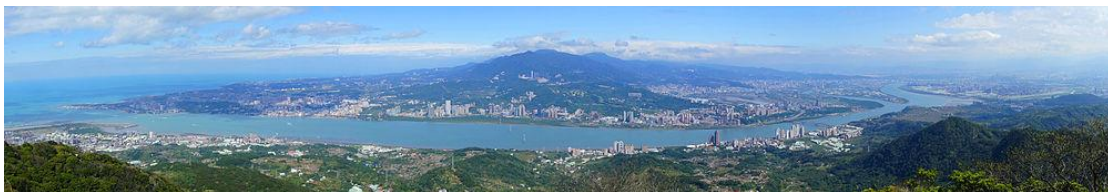


Figure 1. Tamsui Estuary

Bali and Tamsui are located on both banks of the Tamsui estuary, and the sunset on both banks has attracted many tourists to stop by. Tamsui is a small town located at

the mouth of the Guanyin Mountain and the right bank of the Tamsui River. The natural landscape is bred by the Tamsui River and Guanyin Mountain, creating a rich and diverse waterfront and mountain ecosystem. Due to its geography, it has been influenced by the cultures of Japan, Spain, Dutch, and the United Kingdom, which cultivates the unique local culture and leaves many centuries-old Western monuments. With more convenient transportation and commercial activities, Tamsui has always been the most important tourist attraction in the Greater Taipei area. Bali is the left bank of the Tamsui River. The Shihshanhang Museum of Archaeology (hereinafter called Shihshanhang Museum), a landmark of Bali, is surrounded by the diverse heritage sites, natural reserves, waterfront landscapes, historical folklore, industrial culture and public facilities. 4.5 million tourists visited Tamsui in 2017 and 0.96 million visited the Tamsui Historical Museum. 3.2 million tourists visit Bali in 2017 and 0.6 million people visited the Shihshanhang Museum (New Taipei City, 2017). Both Tamsui museums and the Shihshanhang Museum were unanimously positioned at the ecomuseum. The tourism contrast between the left bank and the right bank of Tamsui River calls the interest of the study. With the Tamsui estuary historical sites as the research context, this study aims to inject the development of tourism destinations into the tourism resources in addition to the mindset of ecomuseum.

Interwoven ecomuseum and local culture

Traditionally, the museum plays the role of collection, display, education and research. There are three types of the museum. The first is task-oriented museums, which are mostly public and large-scaled museum with professionally curators. There is no need to consider the commercial market. The major task is to educate people's professional knowledge, and local issues are not the focus. The second is a shared museum. The owners of such museums are amateurs, interested in sharing their exhibits. The museum has less interactions with local residents or other museums such as Lee Tianlu puppet drama museum, Miaoli Railway Exhibition, Shanhua Sugar Factory, and the Lee Meishu Memorial Hall. The third type regards individuals, organizations, communities, and NGOs in the society as virtual curators. The museums are dependent on substantial active voluntary efforts of the museum and the community which is driven by the local identities and sense of place. By exploring local humanities, art, history, culture, folklore, crafts, landscapes, ecology, industrial resources, etc., local cultural institutions interpret community cultural assets in the most appropriate way through the involvement of local communities and the promotion of community building. In addition to enabling the local communities to understand local histories and identify places, it also provides cultural tourism information for the community and promotes

in-depth cultural tourism (Lin, 2013).

Rivière (1985) argues that the audience of the museum should not be limited to the audience, the tourists and residents near the museum are the visitors. When the museum 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 professionals, equipment and resources, and the local communities use their personal resources to showcase the local collective memory, heritage and cultural identity, and direct visitors know about local stories, customs, and characteristics, etc. 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, prepare their own space, and present local cultural assets in a way that can make local communities and visitors appreciate.

The traditional 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 expert to manage the museum operations or the community management, it is easy to operate without performance. 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 if the ecomuseum is positioned as an amateur museum. The enthusiasm and interest of the stakeholders leads to exploring more related issues about their collections or the cultural assets. The stakeholders have richer stories to share with the others which helps the collection and display of the museums. Furthermore, the sharing boosts the education and research of the museum.

Tourism Attractions of Tamsui Estuary

Tamsui is not only the place with the highest cultural asset density in Taiwan, but also the highest density of museums. Tamsui Historical Museum is a museum family was government-owned and collectively-run by the city government since 2005, including Fort Santo Domingo (established in 1644), Hobe Fort (established in 1886) and Little White House (the former Tamsui Customs Officer's Residence established in 1858) etc. Moreover, there are several private cultural heritages built after the twentieth century in Tamsui. Tamsui Historical Museum connecting with private heritages form a museum alliance to make Tamsui a borderless ecomuseum. In addition to the Tamsui Heritage Museums, popular tourism spots contain Fishermans' Wharf, Fuyo Temple, Golden River Bank, Hobe Mackay hospital, Longsan Temple, Tamsui Old Street, Tamsui Oxford College (now as Aletheia University), Yisan Temple etc. According to the annual report of the Tourism and Travel Department, New Taipei City Government,

the number of visitors in Fishermans' Wharf and Golden River Bank are much more than the number of visitors in Tamsui Heritage Museums.



Fort Santo Domingo (1644)



Hobe Fort (1886)



Tamsui Customs Wharf
(1862)



Tamsui Oxford College (1882)



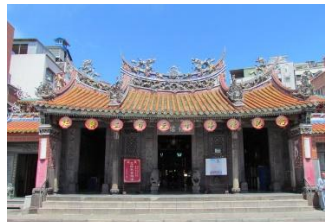
The House of Reverends,
Aletheia University (1906)



House of Maidens, Aletheia
University (1906)



Little White House (1858)



Longsan Temple (1858)



Former Residence of Tada
Ryoji (1937)



Tamsui Shell Warehouse (1894)



Yisan Temple (1822)



Cheng Family Adobe (1884)



Hobe Mackay Hospital (1872)



Presbyterian Church (1933)



Fuyo Temple (1732)



Sunset at the Golden River Bank



Fishermans' Wharf



British Consular Residence (1891)

Figure 2. Tourism resources of Tamsui

Table 1. Number of visitors

Year	Golden River Bank, Tamsui	Fisherman's Wharf, Tamsui	Fort Antonio, Tamsui	Little White House, Tamsui	Hobe Fort, Tamsui	The Left Bank Park, Bali	Shihsanhang Museum, Bali
2013	2,953,000	3,067,505	919,999	274,261	174,631	2,745,000	841,309
2014	3,402,500	3,094,808	1,057,217	311,052	171,627	3,018,500	969,677
2015	3,369,776	2,877,807	1,218,807	314,723	204,396	3,292,500	981,301
2016	4,553,901	3,012,568	963,434	217,135	147,504	3,252,177	655,779
2017	4,716,000	2,497,891	744,472	159,865	96,793	3,464,000	568,900

Source: Tourism and Travel Department, New Taipei City Government

Bali port located on the left bank of the Tamsui River was opened earlier than Tamsui and was the first commercial port in northern Taiwan. Before the era of commercial port, there exists the Shihsanhang cultural relics from which excavated pottery, ironwork, tombs and other rich prehistoric relics are one of the important archaeological sites in northern Taiwan. The Shihsanhang Museum is situated at the junction of the river and the sea where one side faces Guanyin Mountain and the Shihsanhang relics and the other side faces Taiwan Strait, Tamsui estuary, and the Wazihwei Mangrove Reserve. The famous scenic zone in Wazihwei Mangrove Reserve called the Left Bank Park. The number of visitors in the Left Bank Park is five to six times of the number in Shihsanhang museum.



Shihsanhang Museum (2003)



Wazihwei Mangrove Reserve



Sunset at the Left Bank Park

Figure 3. Tourism resources of Bali

Table 1. Number of visitors

Year	Fort Antonio, Tamsui	Little White House, Tamsui	Hobe Fort, Tamsui	Golden River Bank, Tamsui	Fisherman's Wharf, Tamsui	Shihsanhang Museum, Bali	The Left Bank Park, Bali
2013	919,999	274,261	174,631	2,953,000	3,067,505	841,309	2,745,000
2014	1,057,217	311,052	171,627	3,402,500	3,094,808	969,677	3,018,500
2015	1,218,807	314,723	204,396	3,369,776	2,877,807	981,301	3,292,500
2016	963,434	217,135	147,504	4,553,901	3,012,568	655,779	3,252,177
2017	744,472	159,865	96,793	4,716,000	2,497,891	568,900	3,464,000

Source: Tourism and Travel Department of 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, including accessibility, activities, amenities, attractions, ancillary service, and available package, namely six As framework (Buhalis, 2000). 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 Shihsanhang Museum and Tamsui Heritage Museums were directed by the ecomuseum, it is a pity that the Shihsanhang museum operation has returned to the professional field which is inclined to a closed system rather than an open system (Lin, 2013). The number of visitors to Shihsanhang museum is decreasing and the connection with community residents is weakening (Lin, 2012).

To increase the eco-museological 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 Shihsanhang 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 New Taipei City Government. The tourism affairs are administered by the Tourism and Travel Department of the New Taipei City Government (NPCG). 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 NPCG is 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 Shihsanhang 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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**Savior who comes from the Sea and Earth:
the Jinin (眞人) of Korea and Miroku (ミロク) of Japan**

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I. Introduction

In the Buddhist scriptures, the deity Maitreya is both the Buddha residing in Tushita Heaven as well as the bodhisattva promised to achieve complete enlightenment in the future. There are two strains of belief within amongst Maitreya faith. Certain practitioners believe that bodhisattva Maitreya ascends to Tushita and follows the path leading to enlightenment in order to save the unenlightened. Other practitioners believe that in 5,600,007,000 years Maitreya will descend to the saḥā world of the suffering, attain the Buddhahood and redeem the unenlightened. Amongst the various beliefs in Maitreya's return to earth, the deity is often ascribed a messianic role, whereby Maitreya appears as a savior who saves people from apocalyptic dread and delivers them to a new world.

In the East Asian Mahayana Buddhism tradition of Buddha and Bodhisattva faith, there are multiple examples where the meaning of Buddhist doctrine and the appearance and practice of faith in the real world diverge. The typical example is Maitreya religious faith. Maitreya removed from the teaching and scholarship of the Buddhist scriptures has been interpreted in various ways and has transformed in appearance as it was adapted to different human needs and desires. In China, Maitreya became the figurehead for a society of religious rebellion. In the late Chosŏn Dynasty, it emerged a symbol for challenging the King among groups of Maitreya believers. Maitreya faith also transformed into the figure of the Jinin of the sea,⁷⁵⁾ while in the island regions of Japan, Maitreya was worshiped as a harvest god who alleviated hunger.

This paper compares the cases of Korea and Japan to demonstrate how common people actively interpreted and utilized Maitreya belief to solve real life problems. My primary target of analysis is Maitreya stone statues scattered around the mountains of Korea and Maitreya's transformation into a Jinin of the sea. I also examine instances of Mirokukami on the Japanese archipelago,⁷⁶⁾ and consider the

75) In Korean, Jinin means a wise sage-like person.—Trans.

historical context of Maitreya religious faith in both Korea and Japan. Considerable research has been conducted on Maitreya religious belief in Korea and Japan, respectively. As for comparative studies, the work of Hiroko Tabata stands out.⁷⁷⁾

Common to religious phenomena, Maitreya faith changes in morphology and kind according to time and place. An analysis of all these detailed phenomena is only appropriate for a longer work which would require extensive investment in time and the exhaustive collection of primary materials. This contribution limits its scope to particular places in Korea and Japan during the early modern period and compares the varied instantiations of Maitreya belief. In the process, I attempt to reveal the universality of religious faith among people that exceeded the differences occurring across cultures of Maitreya belief.

2. Maitreya of the Earth – The Buddha Buried in the Ground

The vow of bodhisattva Maitreya is to observe the Buddhist precepts and strive for enlightenment while avoiding the violence that accompanies the degeneration of human society, the overthrowing of the current order, and finally revolutionary change. According to the Buddhist texts, Maitreya does not descend to earth during times of destruction and demise. Rather, Maitreya will return to deliver the Buddhist teachings of salvation once humans have made a world pure and free from evil on earth in accordance with the religious precepts of Buddhism.

In regards to Maitreya's return to earth, accounts differ among different Buddhist texts. However, accounts generally converge on the time of 5,600,007,000 years in the future and the space of the Bodhi tree. Believers in Maitreya's descent to earth trust that Maitreya will hold three assemblies under the Bodhi tree whereby the people will be saved through Maitreya's expounding of the dharma.

In Buddhist scriptures, Maitreya's descent to earth occurs after 5,600,007,000 years. However, when reviewing religious history, periods a popular belief in Maitreya as a messiah who will save the world are often accompanied by political upheaval and rampant religious corruption. Moreover, there is an endless occurrence of religious rebellions where religious leaders claiming to be Maitreya promise to establish a religious kingdom reminiscent of Maitreya's earthly heaven. In Korea, the short rule of King Gung Ye is a paradigmatic example.⁷⁸⁾

76) Mirokukami is the Japanese term for Maitreya.—Trans.

77) Tabata, Hiroko, "Miroku shinkō: Okinawa to kankoku no miroku setsuwa no hikaku kenkyū," *Okinawa bunks kenkyū* 29 (2003). This article introduces the existing literature on Mirokukami in Japan and analyses the lyrical content of the two folk songs "Mirokuyō" and "Mirokuka."

Periods when Maitreya faith was prevalent tended to be times of social confusion and transition. For example, the turbulent times at the end of the Silla period; the military peasant rebellions of the late Goryeo period; the period of Mongol invasion, the forty or so years of intrusions by Japanese raiders at the end of the Goryeo period; and late Chosŏn society after the second Manchu invasion of Korea in 1836 are all periods where Maitreya faith was popular. In addition to the Yŏ Hwan led uprising under King Sukjong, there is also a record of a women called Maitreya Saint by her followers. Together they performed worshipping ceremonies and believed they would ascend to the world of Maitreya.⁷⁹⁾ Is it not likely that followers of Mahayana Buddhism—who desperately craved the return of Maitreya to save them from the hopelessness of the current world—would have looked to other Buddhists texts for answers?

When the Buddha said this all the lands of the great manifold cosmos in the saḥā world quaked and the earth split. From out of this crevice there simultaneously appeared incalculable thousands of myriads of koṭis of bodhisattva mahāsattvas. All of these bodhisattvas had golden bodies endowed with the thirty-two marks and radiating immeasurable rays of light. They had all previously been living in the space under the earth of the saḥā world. Having heard the sound of Śākyamuni’s teaching, all of these bodhisattvas emerged from below.⁸⁰⁾

The above passage from “Bodhisattvas Emerging from the Earth” in *The Lotus Sutra* teaches that an innumerable number of bodhisattva mahāsattvas, who had been living in an empty space under the world, heard the teachings of Śākyamuni and poured forth from a split in the ground. In this passage, Maitreya receives the prophecy of attaining Buddhahood from Śākyamuni in front of numberless bodhisattvas and their retinue who have spouted from the earth. The following except is from the same chapter and illustrates another important scene relevant to the view of time in Buddhism.

78) Another example of this is the Daesungjŏk rebellion and Wu Zetian rebellion of 515. Both rebellions show that these Maitreya believers did not expect the arrival of Maitreya in the far distant future, but instead substitute this doctrine for a belief of Maitreya’s imminent return to earth. In Chinese Buddhism, the religious uprising concerning this belief in Maitreya is called “Robbing of Maitreya Teachings.”

79) *Ilseongnok*. January 18, 1786.

80) Tsungnari Kuba and Akira Yuyama, trans., *The Lotus Sutra* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research: 2007), 209.

All these bodhisattva mahāsattvas, having emerged from the earth, praised the buddhas with various bodhisattva eulogies. While they did, fifty intermediate kalpas passed. During this time the Buddha Śākyamuni sat in silence; and the fourfold assemblies were also silent while the fifty intermediate kalpas passed. Because of the Buddha’s transcendent powers, the great assemblies believed that the time that had passed was only half a day.⁸¹⁾

The above passages describes a scene where the limits of physical time are transcended in the sacred space where Śākyamuni’s teachings are being preached. Due to the Buddha’s transcendent powers, the great assemblies felt that the passing of 50 kalpas had taken only half a day.⁸²⁾ In the Mahayana scriptures, transcendence of spatial and temporal limits through the magnificence of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas and the power of their teaching appear commonly. In this sense, in spaces where Buddha and Bodhisattvas appear, the unimaginably long time of 5,600,007,000 years can be condensed into shortened temporalities more immediate for believers.

Therefore, the time of 5,600,007,000 years that begins after Buddha Śākyamuni’s ascent to nirvana is replaced by an insistence on the here and now. As a result, Maitreya faith becomes a belief that paradise will be constructed on earth.⁸³⁾ Moreover, the very place (here/now) at which the Buddha and Bodhisattvas “emerge from the earth” allows for the realization and transformation of a pure land without bondage on earth. I believe that for leaders of uprisings and a public who longed for change, the image of the Maitreya Buddha emerging from the earth would have been the most attractive and convincing element of the Buddhist scriptures.

Let’s attempt to transplant these two scenes—Buddha and Bodhisattvas emergence from the earth and the passing of 50 kalpas in half a day—to the land of Korean Maitreya belief.

According to records of the stone statue of Maitreya at Gwanchoksa Temple, a large boulder emerging from the earth symbolizes Maitreya’s appearance. Moreover, such symbolism is based on the belief in Maitreya’s earthly return passed down since the Baekje period (18 BC – 660 AD). Korean scholar Ch’oe Chong-rye gives the name “Buddha emerging from the earth” to Maitreya idols which “give the effect of surging out of the ground.”⁸⁴⁾ The Buddha emerging from the earth is often a statue of Buddha

81) *The Lotus Sutra*, 210.

82) In Buddhist cosmology a kalpa refers to a long period of time.—Trans.

83) Chang Chi-hun, *Hanguk kodae mirŭk sinang yŏngu* (Seoul: Chipmuntang, 1997), 54.

84) Ch’oe Chong-rye, *Mirŭk ūi nara* (Seoul: Uri, 2006): 325.

with the knees or waist submerged in the ground. Therefore, in the case of a stone Buddha statue whose upper body is comparatively larger to that of its lower body, it is assumed the statue was originally designed and carved to be placed in the ground. Korean scholar Chu Kang-hyŏn has called such Maitreya statues “Buddha with lower body buried.”⁸⁵⁾

In Korea, there still exist many half buried Maitreya statues. For example, the Mipyong Village statue of the healing Buddha in Yongin, Gyeonggi Province; the Sinan Village standing stone Buddha statue in Yeongdong County, Chungcheong Province; the Kusu Hamlet grandmother Maitreya statue in Guam village, Mujang Township, Gochang County, North Jeolla Province; the standing Buddha statue of Okdae Village in Youngju, North Gyeongsang Province; the Maitreya statue in Nambok Village, Gobu Township, Jeongeup City, North Jeolla Province; the stone standing Maitreya statue of Gwanhoksa Temple; the Maitreya statue in Gueup Village, Gunnae Township, Pocheon City, Gyeonggi Province; the Maitreya statue in T’osa Village, Tongjin Town, Gimpo City; and the boulder Maitreya in Gayang Village, Hongsan Township, Buyeo County, South Chungcheong Province. In addition to these statues, there are likely other instances of stones naturally sticking out of the ground having been worshiped as idols of Maitreya

Entering the Chosŏn Dynasty, Buddhism was maintained by the civilian class, and the strain of Maitreya faith never disappeared from the foundations of popularized Buddhism. In addition to the Japanese invasion of Chosŏn in 1592 and the Qing invasion of Chosŏn in 1636, common people suffered structural inequalities due to the caste system and military service system. Indeed, common people would have felt they were living in an era of great decline. As a result, Maitreya religious faith in the Chosŏn period is defined by a strong belief that Maitreya, as the future Buddha, would descend to earth to deliver people from the pain and suffering of the present.

Ultimately, Maitreya who springs from the earth is a projection of the people’s spiritual desire for the establishment of the wondrous world of Maitreya on earth. Leaders of Maitreya-inspired rebelling associations understood this zeitgeist well and manipulated the teachings of Maitreya and Jinin to make them accessible to the people.

3. Maitreya of the Ocean—The People Waiting for the Jinin of the Sea

It is without a doubt that physical and mental injuries inflicted on the people by the Japanese Invasions of Chosŏn (1592 and 1598) were extensive. These events also

85) Chu Kang-hyŏn, *Maül ro kan mirük 2* (Seoul: Taewŏnjŏngsa, 1995).

had a measurable effect on politics, culture, and society. Although Japan-Korean diplomatic relations were recommenced after their cessation in 1607, issues of cultural superiority and trauma related to war persisted, meaning complete resolution was impossible.⁸⁶⁾ The multi-layered feelings of Koreans towards Japanese are complexly reflected in such prophetic texts as *Chōnggamnok*.

In the fourth year of King Yeongjo's rule (1728), leaders of various ostracized political factions led large scale military uprisings in in Chungcheong Province, Jeolla Province and Gyeongsang Province. Some of these leaders fled to islands such as Ulleung Island and were continually associated with prophecies of the "Jinin from the island on the sea." This prophecy became popular in the late 17th century, and was one type of prophecy which stated that a Jinin would emerge from an island in the sea and bring about a new world. Such a tale was completely unique for its time, as it postulated a savoir figure that was a practitioner at the highest level of Taoism who would cross the ocean onto land. Such tales of a Jinin from an island on the sea continually appear in relation to uprisings based on a variety of prophecies and writings of divination in the late Chosŏn period.⁸⁷⁾

In records documenting the Yi Chisŏ rebellion in the 24th year of King Yungjo, there is mention of rebellious factions who gather on islands.

Yi Chi-sŏ talking, 'Although the weather these days is fair, what is the reason for not raising a signal fire? By the people's account, there is much panic and chaos, with some saying that the Japanese are coming. When in truth, those coming are not Japanese but made up to look like fake Japanese people. They are remnants of the rebellion who have gone to an island at sea.'⁸⁸⁾

In this excerpt, the phrase "not Japanese but made up to look like fake Japanese" appears. This confession reveals an irresolvable contradiction on the part of the speaker: it displays a psychological want to imitate the strength of

86) Hong Sŏng-tŏk, "Chosŏn hugi taeil insik ũi sahoejŏk t'uyŏng sarae: ch'uangŭpgukan ũl chungsim ũro," *Kangwŏnsahak* 24 (2017): 50.

87) According to historical understandings, the 'prophecy of a Jinin from the island at sea' describes a Jinin who lives on an island. The 'prophecy of a Jinin who raises an army on the island at sea' describes the gathering of an army on an island. The 'southern Jinin prophecy' similarly relates to a Jinin living on an island in the southern sea. The armies led by Jinin were believed to be the descendants of the Ming dynasty which had been destroyed by the Qing Dynasty, as well as the remaining powers of uprisings such as the Mushin rebellion. See Han Sŏng-hun, "chŏngŭntae hanguk ũi mesianijŭm: chosŏn hugi jinin ch'ulhyŏn sŏl ũi hyŏngtae tŭlgwa kŭ kongganjŏk chŏlnak," *Chonggyo wa munhwa* 27 (2014), 43.

88) *Yŏngjo sillok*. May 23, 1748. Vol. 67.

Japanese invaders who threatened the Chosŏn dynasty, while still acknowledging that to identify with the Japanese is impossible. Put differently, this passage embodies the concerns of rebellious forces. Although they want to imitate Japanese strength—which forced King Sunjo’s retreat to Uijo and the emptying of the royal palace—they know better than to identify with Japanese invaders.

Moreover, the mentioning of Ulleung Island and Japanese people in reference to the rebellion is intimately related to the tale of the “Jinin who raises an army on the island at sea” from the prophetic Korean text *Chŏnggamnok*. After the 18th century, Ulleung and other islands were considered social problems because they were places of assembly and exile for drifting migrants, thieves, escaped slaves and those plotting to commit treason. Islands which were beyond the control of the Chosŏn government were implicated with the symbolism of Japanese invaders and were associated with treason and revolt.⁸⁹⁾

The “Jinin who raises an army on the island at sea” prophecy can be seen as an extension of both the “Jinin from the island on the sea” prophecy and the “Jinin from the south” prophecy. The savior who would emerge in the “Jinin who raises an army on the Island at Sea” tale is both a military leader and the one who will save the people from their painful existence. In short, the tale is heavily messianic in nature.⁹⁰⁾ Up until the end of the 17th century, saviors generally appeared either in other worlds or on land. However, beginning in the 18th century, islands take on this function. This change is predicated on the movement of common people to islands and the government’s lack of control over these areas in the 17th and 18th centuries.⁹¹⁾ Migrants who moved to islands either minted money, traded with vessels of uncertain nationality, and even seized cargo vessels. In the Honam region, migrants flocked to islands and even formed loose affiliations. At Byeon Mountain in Buan County, pirates held their territory while plundering in broad daylight and even chased a Buddhist monk out of a large temple and occupied the temple as their base of operations.⁹²⁾

In the uprisings of the 17th and 18th centuries, the concepts of “Jinin of the sea” and “the Jŏng family line” overlap. The Jŏng Jinin who came from

89) Hong Sŏng-tŏk, 65.

90) Kim U-ch’ŏl, “Chosŏn hugi pyŏllan esŏui chŏngssi chinin suyong kwajŏng: ‘chŏnggamnok’ t’ansaeng ūi yŏksajŏk paegyŏng,” *Chosŏn shidae sahakpo* 60 (2012), 137.

91) Pak Sang-hyŏn, “‘Haedo chinin sŏl’ ūi pyŏnhwa yangsang kwa ūimi,” *Yŏksa wa hyŏnshil* 96 (2015), 225.

92) *Yŏngjo sillok*. October, 1727. Vol. 14.

an island far in the south made the sea black with the warships he brought and came to bring forth a new world. This can also be interpreted as the projection of a magnificent power onto the Jinin of the sea by the people—a power needed to overthrow the King, who was seen by the people as weak for fleeing and surrendering when attacked by outside forces.

In the 11th year of King Jeongjo, Kim Dong-ik and other Buddhist monks were beheaded for treason. In the record of this incident, mentions of islands appear. The belief which spurred the uprising was a prophecy of a Jinin from an island that would bring enough ships to turn the sea black, seize the thrown, and save the people while bringing about a new age.

Kim Tong-ik and fellow traitors met their executions obediently. [...] It was said, “Kim Chŭng-yŏl had gone out with a Buddhist monk. For many years the monk had been making trips to the land of bliss of Amitabha Buddha in the west, but he had been hiding this fact and told no one. Now I have heard that they raised an army on an island in the ocean and in reverence for Chŏng Hŭir-yang’s grandson Chŏng Ham, they planned to follow through with everything on the 11th and everyone across the country responded to the call.” [...] “Before Kim Chŭng-yŏl left, he met a wise Buddhist monk in Chungju, and the monk insisted they travel together out onto the ocean. Kim Chŭng-yŏl did not follow at first, but after the coming of the bitter cold of the southeast wind, he regarded it as the word of the wise monk and fled with the monk.”⁹³⁾

The above record of Kim Chŭng-yŏl following a wise Buddhist monk to an island in the ocean indicates that in 18th century Chosŏn society, belief in the prophecies contained with the book *Chŏnggamnok* was prevalent.

In the end of the 17th century, prophecies of the appearance of the living Buddha and of a Jinin began to combine with the prophecies of the fall of the Yi family and the rise of the Jŏng family. The union of the living Buddha prophecy and the appearance of the Jinin prophecies is visible in the 1691 living Buddha incident brought about by shamans. In this incident, a living Buddha appears as a symbol of healing and fortune who will receive the future

93) *Yŏngjo sillok*. June 14, 1735. Vol. 23.

nation. Maitreya's earthly incarnation as a living Buddha displays Maitreya's transformation in the minds of the people into the one who will replace the Chosŏn Dynasty.⁹⁴⁾

The Jinin with the family name Jŏng was received as both an idol of the people and as a liberator who will bring about an egalitarian society free of pain and suffering. The people believed that the Jŏng Jinin would at any moment arrive from an island across some ocean to free them from feudal oppression.⁹⁵⁾ The Jinin who would raise an army on an island, penetrate deep into the heart of Chosŏn and overturn the dynasty to establish an egalitarian society was also the Maitreya Buddha who would establish a wondrous paradise of Maitreya on earth. Both leaders of rebellions and common people projected their expectations of an imminent savior Buddha in the form of Maitreya onto the Jinin of the island in the ocean who held real military power. In the end, the marriage of the “military force” of Jinin of the ocean with the “saving force” of Maitreya in the imaginations of the people attests to the inseparability of Maitreya belief and societies of rebellion in the late Chosŏn period.

4. Japan's Maitreya of the Ocean—Mirokunoyo and Mirokukami

After passing through China and Korea, Maitreya faith penetrated Japan where it was combined with traditional spirituality and became rooted in common people's beliefs.⁹⁶⁾ By the Nada period in Japan, temples worshipping Maitreya Buddha as the principle icon began to appear, and near the end of the Heian period the doctrine of Maitreya paradise had spread widely. It wasn't until the Muromachi period that Hotei—one of the seven gods of fortune who bring luck and wealth—began to be thought of as an embodiment of Bodhisattva Maitreya.⁹⁷⁾ Regardless of the identity of Maitreya as Buddha and Bodhisattva within Buddhist teaching and scholarship, among common people in Japan Mahayana Buddha and Bodhisattva deities became integrated

94) However because the prophecy of the living Buddha was propagated mainly by shamans and monks, it was not developed into a more systematic doctrine for continuous resistance. This is because the Jŏng living Buddha they advocated was limited by its reliance on religious ceremonies such as “Sky Ceremony between the Mountains.” See Pak Sang-hyŏn, 225.

95) Chu Kang-hyŏn, *Yut'op'iaüi t'ansaeng: sŏm-isanghyang/iŏdo üi shimsŏngsa* (Paju: Tolbegae, 2012).

96) Miyata, Noboru, “「 yonaoshi 」 to miroku shinkō—Nihon ni okeru 「 yonaoshi 」 no minzokuteki imi” *Minzokugaku kenkyū* 33/1 (1968), 32.

97) Sudo, Yoshihito . “Ryukyu shoto ni okeru ‘miroku’ kan ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu: miroku kamen ga raihō shita kaijo no michi o saguru shiten,” *Okinawa daigaku chi'iki kenkyūjo nenpō* 18 (2003), 146.

with local gods and beliefs.

This paper discusses ‘Maitreya who came from the ocean,’ and is primarily concerned with belief in the deity Mirokukami⁹⁸⁾ in Okinawa and the surrounding archipelago, as well as the islands of the Kanto region.

Kashima in the Kanto region is the most paradigmatic example of Miroku belief. In the Kashima region, a good harvest is expressed as ‘Mirokuyugahu’ and the year of a good harvest is called ‘Mirokunoyo.’ Villagers represent gods playing and dancing at an annual festival, and this activity is called ‘Mirokuohdori.’ Originally, Mirokunoyo referred to an eventual world where Maitreya would descend and save the people, but villagers use the same word to refer to a year of good harvest. Even if merely a simple concept of utopia, Mirokunoyo served as a definite doctrine of salvation according to which villagers would be saved from the hunger and pain in the earthy realm.

The majority of inhabitants of Kashima were farmers and fishermen and they placed their hopes for a god to come across the ocean and deliver a good harvest and plentiful fishing in the Mirokuohdori ritual. Additionally, Miroku’s importance as a harvest deity mixed with the indigenous beliefs of Kashima.⁹⁹⁾ To reiterate, Mirokukami is the concept of the Buddhist deity Maitreya as it was fused with the local fishing and farming deities of the Kashima region.

Next, if you examine the various forms of the Mirokuohdori ritual dispersed throughout the Okinawa region and Yaeyama Islands, we can observe that Miroku has the characteristics of a Japanese joy-bringing spirit.¹⁰⁰⁾ This claim is reflected in the belief that, “Once a year the Miroku spirit collects grain seeds from the ocean in the East, then rides a ghost ship filled with Mirokunoyo and comes to bring a good harvest.” Moreover, depending on the place, Miroku is also called ‘Miruku.’ This is presumed to be a change resulting from the linguistic particularities of the Ryukyu Islands.

Conventionally, the Miroku of the Yaeyama Islands appears in parades to pray for good harvests held in a town square or at the plaza of a citizen meeting hall in the middle of June. A big Miroku mask is worn, there is a large inflated ship, and people wear yellow clothes and carry a Japanese war fan in the right hand and a cane and a gourd dipper in the left hand while wearing wooden shoes.¹⁰¹⁾ The people of Yaeyama Islands express the ripening and plentiful harvest of the rice plant and the image of

98) Mirokukami is the Japanese term for Maitreya.—Trans.

99) Miyata, Noboru, *Miroku shinkō no kenkyū*. (Tōkyō: Miraisha, 1975), 211.

100) Miyata, Noboru (1975), 269.

101) Miyata, Noboru (1975), 270.

Maitreya bringing the Mirokunoyo harvest through a fantastic costumed parade.

Traditionally, villagers would gather, sing a variety of songs and dance loudly at this harvest ceremony in order to welcome the spirit who brought a good harvest from across the ocean in the East. Among the many folk songs, many of the lyrics emphasized the anticipation of the coming of ‘Mirokunoyo’ brought by the spirit Miroku.

Of the 21 songs of ‘Mirokuota’ of the Yaeyama Islands, Maitreya is the only spirit who becomes the object of worship for good harvest.¹⁰²⁾ The following excerpt is an excellent example of lyrics about Maitreya.

Bring the world of good harvest, our Buddha’s miraculous ship
Where, where will the ship land? our Buddha’s miraculous ship
Did the ship dock in front of the village? our Buddha’s miraculous ship
If it’s full of millet or full of rice, no matter it will be plentiful¹⁰³⁾

Looking at the above excerpt, also in Maitreya’s ship is Mirokunoyo, a world of good harvest. Therefore, it is observable that villagers believe that on the land where Maitreya’s boat docks they will reap a plentiful harvest. Maitreya’s visit was not the actual bringing of rice and grain, but rather a guarantee and a promise of plenty, showing that in this regard Maitreya belief contained an aspect of the cargo cult phenomenon. Additionally, at various festivals on the Yaeyama Islands, the Miroku deity was worshiped as a woman, who would travel with children and partake in parades with a basket full of rice plants. As can be seen, this Maitreya is a completely different interpretation from that of the Buddhist Maitreya. Villagers of the Yaeyama Islands projected a savoir image of Maitreya onto their indigenous concepts of fertility and harvest gods. Therefore, how exactly did Maitreya of Tushita Heaven come to be a harvest god who brought a plentiful rice harvest?

The identification of a world of plentiful rice farming with ‘Mirokunoyo’ expanded alongside the spread of rice farming.¹⁰⁴⁾ It is claimed that the belief that ‘Mirokunoyo’ equaled a world of plentiful rice farming emerged in the interactions and negotiations between Okinawa and South China. The Annam region, known as a rice producing district, was envied by those in Okinawa as a land of fertile farmland.¹⁰⁵⁾ Therefore, the meanings behind village festivals in Okinawa reflected a belief that

102) Tabata, Hiroko, 67.

103) Tabata, Hiroko, 68–69.

104) Miyata, Noboru, “Okinawa no mirokugami,” *Minzokugaku kenkyū* 36/3 (1971), 254.

105) Miyata, Noboru (1971), 254.

Maitreya would come from the plentiful lands across the ocean from the direction of Annam—most likely stoking villagers’ imaginations about a deity who would arrive from a far off island.

The costumed festival associated with Mirokukami on the Ryukyu Islands involved a ship blown up like a balloon, the exposing of the belly button, and a smiling, double chin face resembling a full moon—precisely the image of the deity Hotei. The process by which Hotei became accepted as a being that would bring plenty is still uncertain, but Miroku faith in Okinawa and the Yaeyama Islands bears a strong resemblance to similar types of worship in rice farming areas of East Asia where deities appear at harvest ceremonies to guarantee a plentiful harvest.¹⁰⁶⁾ An influential theory holds that Miroku faith on the Ryukyu Islands did not arrive from the Japanese mainland but was likely the result of influence by South China which understood Hotei to be an embodiment of bodhisattva Maitreya.¹⁰⁷⁾ In this view, Hotei Maitreya faith expanded from South China to the Annam province in Indochina before finally spreading to the Ryukyu Islands.

Additionally, in the Ryukyu Islands there was a concept of a utopian ocean paradise called ‘Niraikanai’ in the ocean to the east where deities were said to live. It was believed that the deities living there would visit island hamlets and bring plentiful grain.¹⁰⁸⁾ There is an opinion that Ryukyu Islands people combined the Buddhist Maitreya faith with the indigenous Niraikanai faith which resulted in the belief in ‘the joy-bringing spirit Miruku who brings a plentiful harvest.’¹⁰⁹⁾ At the same time, when considering the Buddhist Maitreya faith in the concept of paradise in Tushita, its mutual fusion with Niraikanai belief is not difficult to imagine.

Ultimately, faith in an ocean paradise, Maitreya faith, and Hotei as an embodiment of Maitreya were represented in Kashima, Okinawa, and the Ryukyu Islands through harvest deities and Niraikanai. These deities were transmitted over the ocean and Maitreya who resided in Tushita was reinterpreted as the deity who, in the image of Hotei, would bring Mirokunoyo to the people.

5. Savoir from the Sea: Miroku and Jinin

106) Miyata, Noboru (1971), 255.

107) Sudo, Yoshihito, 146.

108) Sudo, Yoshihito, 145.

109) Sakihara, Kōshin, “Kayō ni miru miruku shinkō,” *Shimauta* 06 (1979), 84-88.

In the late Chosŏn period, medieval order collapsed and in the resulting social chaos, the people's desperate demands for a revolutionary utopia spread. Two examples are the nation of Yul-do in the tale of *Hong Gil-dong* authored by Heo Gyun, and the deserted island in the novel *Hŏsaengjŏn* by Park Chi-wŏn.¹¹⁰⁾

As stated earlier, in late 17th century Chosŏn, the purely mythical prophecies of the “Jinin from the Sea” and “Jinin who raises an army on the island at sea” played an important role in supporting uprisings and conspiracies against the King. The Jŏng Jinin from the sea takes on the symbolism of Maitreya, and became the unseen leader of a rebellion in response to the desires of the people for a new world.

In Japan, after the Onin War (1467-77) of the Morumachi period, society was thrown into confusion and people suffered from poverty. At this moment, Maitreya belief quickly gained popularity. Around this time, it appears that in certain documents ‘Maitreya 2 year’ was adopted as an era name.¹¹¹⁾ This can be seen as a reflection of the mentality of the people, who when facing an era of great decline, were desperate for the appearance of Maitreya to deliver a new world.

In Chosŏn society, people uprisings occurred while waiting for the arrival of the Jinin of the ocean. Likewise, in the early modern period of Japanese society,¹¹²⁾ people's struggles to bring about a new world coalesce in the Yonaoshi movement. Yonaoshi was directly relevant to the lives of people of that time, as Yonaoshi brought continual affluence and good harvest to island people who could never sufficiently fill their boats with grain. In precisely this context, Mirokunoyo, meaning a good harvest, is linked with Yonaoshi. Villagers did not simply wait for the harvest to come, but rather called Mirokukami to the village. The people's Yonaoshi beliefs accompanied theories about the end of the world. Seeing things that threatened their lives such as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, tsunamis, floods and other radical changes in the environment—villagers believed that the Yonaoshi they longed for would allow for a life without hunger and natural disaster.

Just as in Korea, in Japanese people's awareness of living in an era of great decline influenced their understanding of the Maitreya prophecy and prohibited believers from waiting the promised 5,600,007,000 years before Maitreya's return. In order to receive salvation in the here and now, believers summoned Maitreya from the future.¹¹³⁾

110) Hwang Sŏn-myŏng, “Shipsŭngjigo,” *Chonggyo wa munhwa* 5 (1999), 169.

111) Yanagita, Kunio, *Kaijō no michi* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 2005), 132.

112) Generally, the early modern period in Japan is considered to be the time of the Edo Bakufu feudal government lasting from 1603 to 1867.

113) In the *Book of Maitreya's Return* the time of Maitreya's descent to earth is linked to the era of great decline, and therefore established the belief that even in the here and now Maitreya can return to earth to save the unenlightened masses and establish a blissful paradise. See Kim Myŏng-hŭi, “Chŭngsando ūi mirŭk shinang suyong kwa chŏn'gae kwajŏng,” *Han'guk pulgyohak*

Both Miroku in Okinawa and the Jinin of the sea from Chosŏn were beings that could solve societal injustices resulting from political instability and alleviate hunger resulting from environmental disruptions. As such, they were similar messianic figures. However, a concrete analysis of each deity reveals that they also differed in many ways.

First, The Miroku called forth to bestow a good harvest by the people of Okinawa and Yaeyama Islands can actually said to be not Maitreya Buddha but rather a joy-bringing spirit wearing the mask of Miroku. If we look at Miroku belief in Kashima and the Okinawa area, it contains both aspects of indigenous harvest gods while also having the appearance of Hotei—a result of interaction and influence with China and East Asia.

In comparison, the Jinin of the sea who appears in the Korean prophetic book *Chŏnggammok* can be said to be a military rebellion leader who contains aspects both of a practitioner of Buddha-dharma who has reached the highest stage of Taoism, as well as a bodhisattva Maitreya. Maitreya's revolutionary symbolism, embodied in Maitreya's savoir status as the one who will established a new beautiful world is projected onto the Jŏng Jinin who will raise an army on an island far out at sea.¹¹⁴⁾

In Korea, Maitreya morphs into not just a Jinin of the ocean, but also appears as a stone statue worshiped by villagers, as well as a Buddha half buried in the ground. Comparatively, in Japan, Hotei—one of the seven gods of fortune—becomes accepted as an embodiment of Maitreya, an obvious difference to Korea. Only recently in Korea can you find stone statues of Hotei in temples. Traditionally, examples of Hotei worship are almost nonexistent in Korea. This shows that Hotei worship from Chinese Buddhism did not have an opportunity to take root in Korea due to the existence of stone Maitreya statues scattered all throughout Korea.

6. Conclusion

Maitreya as summoned in the Buddhist scriptures is the future savior who will rescue the unenlightened masses through the teachings delivered at the three assemblies of Yonghwa after Maitreya descends to earth 5,600,007,000 years after Śākyamuni enters nirvana. Maitreya belief merges with belief in the decline of humankind and an eschatological view of history. Consequently, Maitreya—who in the Buddhist doctrine in no way resembles a military leader—emerges as a symbol of revolt, and leaders of

61 (2011), 81.

114) According to the *Book of Buddhist Teachings on Maitreya's Return*, at Maitreya's first Dharma assembly after returning to earth, 96 million of the unenlightened will attain nirvana, at the second assembly 94 million, and at the 3rd assembly 92 million will attain nirvana.

rebellions project the image of Maitreya onto themselves.

The leaders of people's uprisings in the late Chosŏn period advocated Maitreya belief, while also summoning the "Jinin of the Ocean" from the prophetic book *Chŏnggammok* who resembled Maitreya in character. Prophecies of a "Jinin from the Ocean" or "Jinin from the South Sea" coming from a distant island with an army and innumerable number of ships to bring about a new world served as a catalyst for people's uprisings. In contrast to the stone Maitreya statues sticking out of the earth which became objects of worldly worship, Jinin of the sea were endowed with the characteristics of strong military leaders who would right the wrongs of the present age.

In Kashima in the Kanto region and the Okinawa area, belief in Miroku was expressed in ceremonies such as Mirokuohdori. Moreover, judging from the fact that it was believed Mirokukami rides a ghost ship to bring Mirokunoyo (meaning good harvest) to villagers, it can be surmised that Miroku is another instance of Maitreya belief that places Maitreya in the ocean.

In Okinawa and the Ryukyu Islands, Mirokukami was believed to be a deity who would bring a good harvest from Nirai Kanai—a paradise on the far side of the ocean. In particular, such beliefs were extremely prevalent in the Yaeyama Islands. Mirokukami was a combination of the deity Hotei, an embodiment of Maitreya, and harvest deities indigenous to the Ryukyu Islands. Therefore, Mirokukami can be seen as a reflection of the people's desire for a world without hunger and starvation.

Just as Hotei, one of the seven gods of fortune, was worshiped as a god who could satisfy the earthly needs of Japanese people, Mirokukami in Okinawa and Kashima also had the characteristics of a harvest god who came from far across the ocean to bring eternal good harvests.

In both Korea and Japan, Maitreya appears in a variety of forms: Buddha buried in the ground, Hotei, Mirokukami, and as the Jinin of the ocean. Maitreya was religious and social symbol which reflected the most pressing needs of the people at the time. Likewise, it can be said it held a striking universality.

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Maritime Heritage and Eco-Culture Society

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The sea is so important. The sea is not only the hometown of the creature, but also the role of regulating the climate and maintaining the life of the earth. The sea is also a source of culture. The sea was very important, especially in the remote cultural exchange. Even though culture had originated on the earth, it could spread and spread through the sea and grow bigger.

The era of such backward over-development that the interests of speculation by the construction clan dictates must be completed as soon as possible. It is necessary to establish a prospect of an eco-culture society that pursues culture keeping nature and history, thoroughly grasping and reforming problems of over-development. Considering the problem of local decline/extinction, the task of 'real advancement' demanded by the times is the formation of an eco-culture society through disruptive innovation of the construction state. The future of the region is no longer in factories or high-rise buildings. Nature and history condensed into maritime heritage are the best assets of the maritime region.

If we pursue an eco-culture society that faces the ecological crisis and respects nature, a new development of human history will begin even sooner. The eco-culture society means

an ecological cultural society. It is a cultural society that respects and uses nature. This is the way to overcome the problems of the risk-accident society, overcome the limitations of the welfare state, and overcome the decline/extinction of the region. As a global example showing this fact, 'Suncheon Bay' can be mentioned.

It is not difficult to create an eco-culture society, that is, a way of genuine development that overcomes the ecological crisis. The maritime heritage is a huge ecological-cultural foundation of the eco-culture society. Keeping the maritime heritage well is the key to creating an eco-culture society. Furthermore, 'maritime eco-culture society' extends our perception from land-based thought to land-ocean linking thought, and from Korean peninsula centered thought to Korea-surrounding Sea linking thought. With doing this, we will further promote peace in Northeast Asia, and as a result we will be able to dream and achieve a more free and affluent life.

해양 유산과 생태문화사회

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1. 지구는 푸른 별

‘하늘은 어둡고, 지구는 파랗습니다.’ 1961년 4월 12일 인류 최초로 우주비행선을 타고 고도 302km로 올라가서 지구를 돈 유리 가가린은 지구의 관제탑과 나눈 첫 통신에서 우주에서 지구를 본 소감을 이렇게 말했다. 우주에서 지구가 푸르게 보이는 이유는 바다가 햇빛의 붉은 빛을 흡수해서 약하게 만들기 때문이다. 지구는 표면이 물로 뒤덮이다시피 한 별이다. 지구 표면의 70%가 바다로 덮여 있다.

<사진> 우주에서 본 지구



바다는 너무나 중요하다. 바다는 생물의 고향일 뿐만 아니라 지구의 기후를 조절하고 생명을 유지하는 역할을 하기 때문이다. 바다에서 증발된 수증기가 땅에 비로 내려서 식물을 키운다. 흔히 물을 생명의 원천이라고 하지만 거의 모든 물이 바로 바다다. 바다는 지구 물의 무려 97.4%를 차지한다. 바다는 육지에 대해서도 생명의 원천이다. 지구가 생명의 별인 것은 바다가 있기 때문이다.

바다는 문화의 원천이기도 하다. 특히 원거리 문화 교류에서 바다는 대단히 중요했다. 땅에서 문화가 생겨났어도 그것은 바다를 통해 널리 퍼지고 섞여서 크게 자라날 수 있었다. 이미 고대 세계에도 사람들은 대양을 오가며 문화를 키웠고, 콜럼부스의 대서양 항해 이후에는 지구의 모든 바다가 뱃길로 이어졌다.

아주 제한된 범위의 교류 외에는 서로 고립되어 발전해오던 세계의 여러 문명권들이 15세기 이후 바다를 통해 급작스럽게 상호 소통하기 시작했다. 특히 콜럼부스의 항해 이후 수십 년의 짧은 기간 동안 전세계 모든 지역이 바다를 통해 연결됨으로써 진정한 세계사 혹은 지구사의 흐름이 형성됐다. 그런 점에서 오늘날 우리가 살아가는 이 근대세계는 바다에서 태어났다고 해도 과언이 아니다(주경철, 2009: 5).

2. 연안의 중요성

바다는 지구의 표면을 덮다시피 하고 있는 물의 집합체다. 바닷물은 짜다. 태초에 지구의 대기에 염소 성분이 많이 있었고, 염소는 비에 녹아 바다로 들어갔다. 태초의 바다는 염소 성분이 많은 산성 바다였다. 여기에 암석에 섞여 있던 나트륨 성분이 녹아 들어갔다. 그 결과 염소와 나트륨이 결합되어 소금이 만들어졌다. 이렇게 해서 바다는 짜졌다. 그러나 그 짠 물에서 생명이 만들어졌다.

우리는 바닷물을 마시고 살 수 없다. 그러나 바다는 우리를 살리는 생명의 원천이다. 많은 사람들이 직접 바다에 의지해서 살아가고 있으며, 바다에서 수많은 인간적-사회적 활동이 이루어지고 있다. 따라서 우리는 물리적-생태적 차원을 떠나서 바다를 살펴볼 필요가 있다. 여기서 가장 기본적인 것은 법적 차원에서 바다가 어떻게 파악되고 규정되고 있는가이다. 법에서 바다는 무엇인가?

해양(海洋)은 근해(sea)와 원양(ocean)을 뜻한다. 원양은 보통 ‘공해’(公海, high sea), 즉 “영유권이나 배타권이 특정 국가에 속하지 않는 바다”다. 공해는 ‘국제 해양법’(해양에 관한 유엔 협약)에 따른다. 우리의 삶에 밀접한 바다는 근해 또는 연해다. 이에 대해서는 1999년 2월에 제정된 ‘연안관리법’으로 규정하고 있다. 이 법에 의해 ‘연안통합관리기본계획’이 수립/시행된다.

제2조(정의) 이 법에서 사용하는 용어의 뜻은 다음과 같다.

1. "연안"이란 연안해역(沿岸海域)과 연안육역(沿岸陸域)을 말한다.
2. "연안해역"이란 다음 각 목의 지역을 말한다.

가. 바닷가[「공간정보의 구축 및 관리 등에 관한 법률」 제6조제1항제4호에 따른 해안선으로부터 지적공부(地籍公簿)에 등록된 지역까지의 사이를 말한다]

나. 바다[「공간정보의 구축 및 관리 등에 관한 법률」 제6조제1항제4호에 따른
 해안선으로부터 영해(領海)의 외측한계(外側限界)까지의 사이를 말한다]

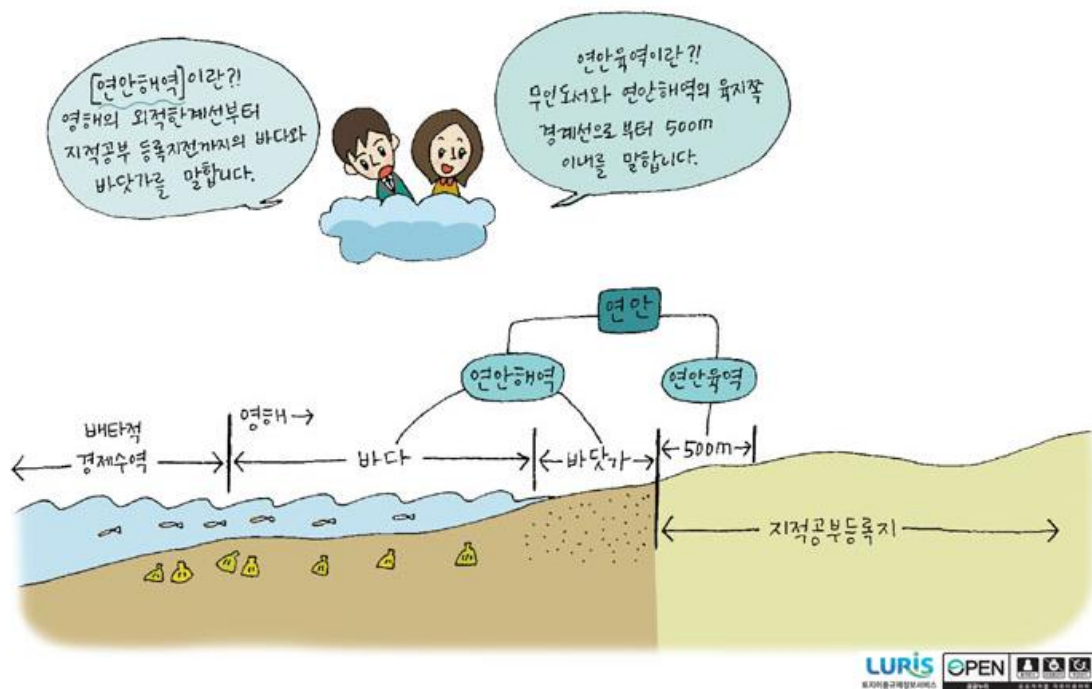
3. "연안육역"이란 다음 각 목의 지역을 말한다.

가. 무인도서(無人島嶼)

나. 연안해역의 육지쪽 경계선으로부터 500미터(「항만법」 제2조제1호에 따른 항
 만, 「어촌·어항법」 제2조제3호가목에 따른 국가어항 또는 「산업입지 및 개발에
 관한 법률」 제2조제8호에 따른 산업단지의 경우에는 1천미터) 이내의 육지지역
 (「하천법」 제2조제2호에 따른 하천구역은 제외한다)으로서 이 법 제6조에 따른
 연안통합관리계획에서 정한 지역

한국의 면적은 100,363km²인데 연안 면적은 91,000km²이다(해양수산부, '연안 포
 털'). 우리가 접하는 바다는 대체로 연안, 정확히는 연안 해역이다. 연안 해역은 바
 닷가와 바다(영해)로 이루어진다. 연안은 우리의 삶을 지탱하는 중요한 물리적-생태
 적 기반이다.

연안



한국은 공수(公水) 제도를 채택하고 있어서 바다, 하천, 지하수 등 모든 자연의
 물은 국가의 소유이다. 연안 해역의 어업은 수협과 어촌계를 통해서만 할 수 있다.

3. 해양 유산의 구성

해양 유산은 근해와 원양의 존재들 중에서 후손에게 물려줄 귀중한 것을 뜻한다. 그것은 크게 자연 유산과 인공 유산으로 이루어진다. 자연 유산은 그 위치에 따라 해변, 해중으로 나눌 수 있고, 인공 유산은 그 상태에 따라 유형, 무형으로 나눌 수 있다. 한국은 삼면이 바다인 나라이고, 동해, 서해, 남해의 생태적-사회적 차이도 커서 다양한 해양 유산을 갖고 있다. 우리의 해양 유산은 그 자체로 귀중한 생태적, 역사적, 문화적, 경제적 가치를 갖고 있어서 소중히 지켜지고 물려줘야 한다.

자연 유산과 인공 유산의 관리는 분리되어 있다. 인공 유산은 ‘문화재’로서 문화재청이 관리하지만, 자연 유산은 환경부, 해양수산부, 문화재청 등 세 부서에서 관리한다. 참고로 자연 유산과 관련해서 가장 중요한 제도는 환경부의 ‘자연환경보전지역’이다. 현재 전체 국토의 11.8%(12,527.2km²)가 지정되어 있다. 또한 유엔의 결정으로 1948년에 설립된 국제자연보존연맹(IUCN)의 ‘세계 보호지역’ 정책에 따른 ‘한국 보호지역’이 있다. 5개 정부 부·청에서 관리하는 2,071개의 보호지역¹¹⁵⁾이 있는데, 그 면적은 전체 16,854.8km²이고, 육상 11,599.3 km²(전체 육지의 11.57%)·해양 5,255.5km²(전체 해양의 1.40%)이다.¹¹⁶⁾

자연 유산 중에서 가장 큰 비중을 차지하는 것으로 ‘갯벌’을 들 수 있다. 흔히 우리의 서해 갯벌을 ‘세계 5대 갯벌’의 하나라고 하지만 1960년 이래 대규모 난개발로 말미암아 우리의 갯벌은 크게 훼손되어 버렸다.

<지도> 세계 5대 갯벌



갯벌은 아무 바닷가에나 만들어지는 것이 아니다. 갯벌은 조수 간만의 차이, 주

115) 중복을 무시하고 보면, 5개 정부 부·청의 15개 법에 의한 17개 유형 2,320개의 보호지역이 지정되어 있다(‘우리나라 보호지역 지정 현황’).

116) ‘한국 보호지역 통합 DB관리시스템’에서 지도의 형태로 자세한 내용을 제공하고 있다. 한국의 보호지역 면적은 OECD 평균에 크게 미달한다(관계부처 합동, 2015: 8).

변 하천의 상태 등이 다 맞아야 만들어진다. 갯벌은 절대 흔한 것이 아니라 귀한 자연의 선물인 것이다. 더욱이 갯벌에는 수많은 생명체들이 산다. 이 때문에 갯벌은 더할 나위 없이 귀한 자연의 선물이다.

<표> 한국의 갯벌

구분	면적	비율	비고
합계	2,489.4km ²	100.0%	
인천·경기지역	872.7km ²	35.1%	서해안 : 2,080km ² 남해안 : 409.4km ²
충청남도	358.8km ²	14.1%	
전라북도	117.7km ²	4.7%	
전라남도	1,036.9km ²	41.7%	
경남·부산지역	103.3km ²	4.1%	

우리의 갯벌은 일제에 의해 본격적으로 파괴되기 시작해서 개발독재 때 대대적으로 파괴되었다. 그런데 민주화 이후에도 이 문제는 해소되지 않고 더 악화되었다. 전두환 독재 때 시작된 새만금, 시화호, 영종도 등의 갯벌 간척 사업을 중단하지 못하고 지속한 결과였다.

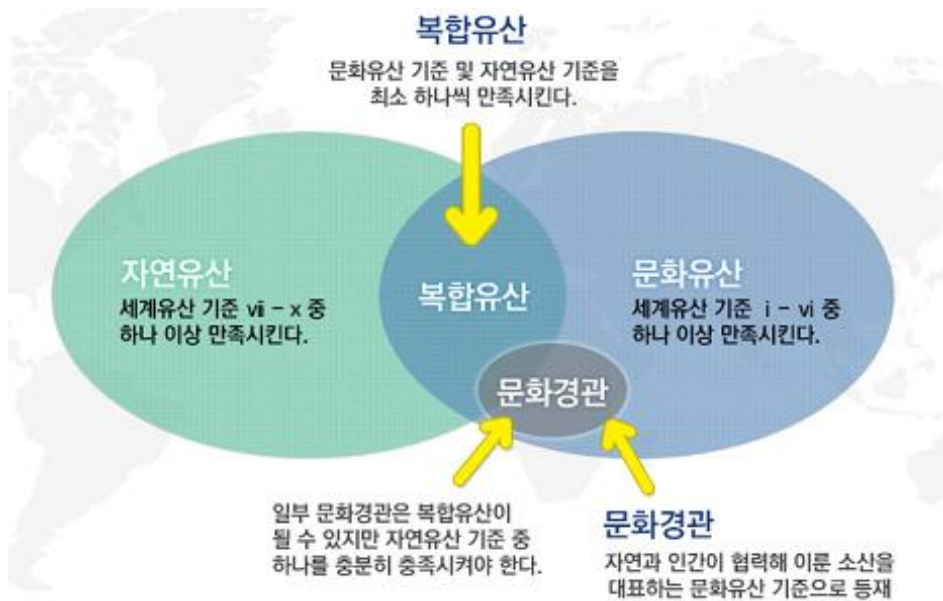
일제강점기에 대규모 간척·매립 사업이 시작되기 전 한국의 갯벌 면적은 4000~4500km² 가량으로 추산되고 있다. 그러나 지난해 해양수산부가 발표한 갯벌 면적은 55~62% 수준인 2487.2km²로 급감했다. 서울 면적(605.28km²)의 3배 가량이 간척과 매립으로 사라진 셈이다.

일제강점기에 사라진 갯벌은 약 569.3km², 해방 후 1980년대 중반까지 사라진 갯벌은 약 530km²에 달한다. 갯벌 면적이 가장 크게 감소한 시기는 공식적인 정부 통계가 시작된 1987년부터 1997년 사이다. 새만금 208km², 시화지구 180km², 남양만 60km², 영종도 신공항 45km², 송도 신도시 16km² 등 모두 810.5km²의 광활한 갯벌이 파괴됐다. 특히 이 시기에 매립·간척 사업이 집중적으로 이뤄진 경기·인천 지역에서는 341km²의 갯벌이 사라졌다.

김기범 기자, ‘강과 바다는 만나야 한다-일제 강점 후 서울 면적 3배의 갯벌이 간척·매립으로 사라져’, <경향신문> 2015/10/20

우리의 갯벌을 ‘세계유산’으로 등재하려는 노력이 계속되고 있다. 충남 서천, 전북 고창, 전남 신안, 전남 보성·순천 등의 다섯 개 지자체가 ‘서남해안 갯벌 세계유산 등재추진단’을 꾸려서 문화재청과 함께 추진하고 있다. 그러나 2018년 3월 유네스코는 한국의 신청서를 반려했다. 지도가 미비하다는 이유였다. 실제 이유는 한국의 갯벌이 너무 많이 훼손됐기 때문이었을 것이다. 한국은 2018년 8월에 재신청을 결정했다.

<그림> 세계 유산의 구성



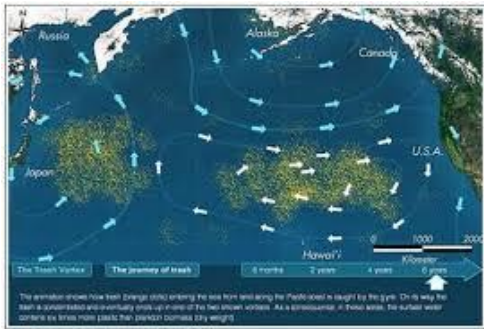
4. 해양 유산의 위기

오늘날 해양 유산은 큰 위기에 처해 있다. 자연 유산과 인공 유산을 떠나서 모든 해양 유산이 큰 위기 상황에 처해 있다. 그 원인은 크게 오염과 개발로 나누어 살펴볼 수 있다. 오염(pollution)은 인간이 배출한 물질들로 원래 상태가 더럽혀져서 유해한 상태가 되는 것이고, 개발(development)은 인간의 이익을 위해 원래 상태를 변형하는 것이다.

1) 오염

자연에는 쓰레기가 없다. 자연은 쓰레기를 만들지 않는다. 모든 폐기물은 다시 흙으로 돌아가거나 다른 생물의 몸이 된다. 오직 인간만이 자연의 순환을 깨고 자연으로 돌아갈 수 없는 쓰레기를 만든다.

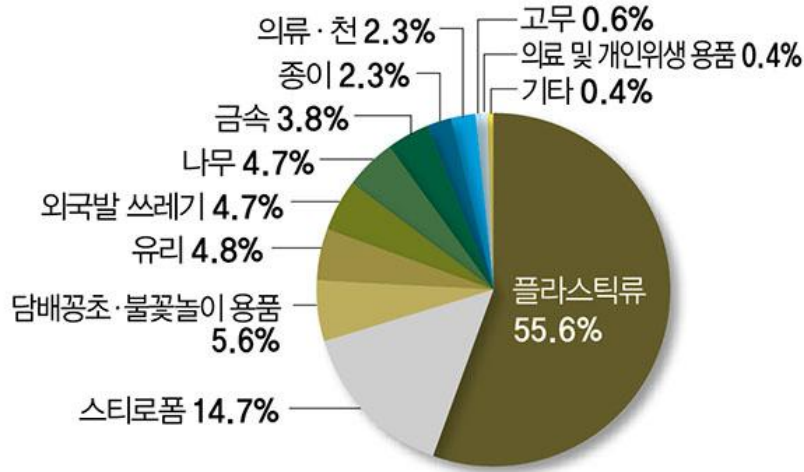
바다는 수많은 인공 물질들로 더럽혀져 있다. 최근에 세계가 주목하게 된 오염 문제는 플라스틱 오염이다. 태평양을 비롯해서 세계의 모든 대양에 거대한 플라스틱 쓰레기 섬이 형성되어 있다. 가장 큰 북태평양의 플라스틱 쓰레기 섬은 면적이 무려 140만km²에 이른다. 북태평양 플라스틱 쓰레기의 최대 배출국은 일본, 중국이다. 그리고 불행히도 한국의 연안이 쓰레기가 가장 많고, 미세 플라스틱 오염도 가장 심하다(김정수, 2014; 송경은, 2018).



정부는 ‘해양 쓰레기 통합정보시스템 - 국가 해안 쓰레기 모니터링 사업’을 가동하고 있고, 어항 청소선을 가동하고 있다. 그러나 별로 개선되지 않았다.



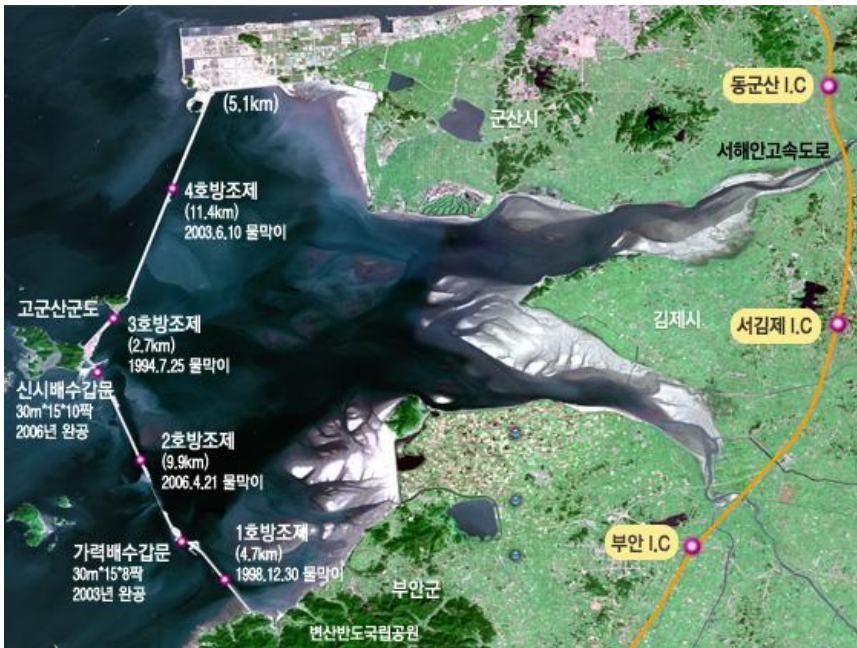
해양 쓰레기 무엇이 많아(개수별)



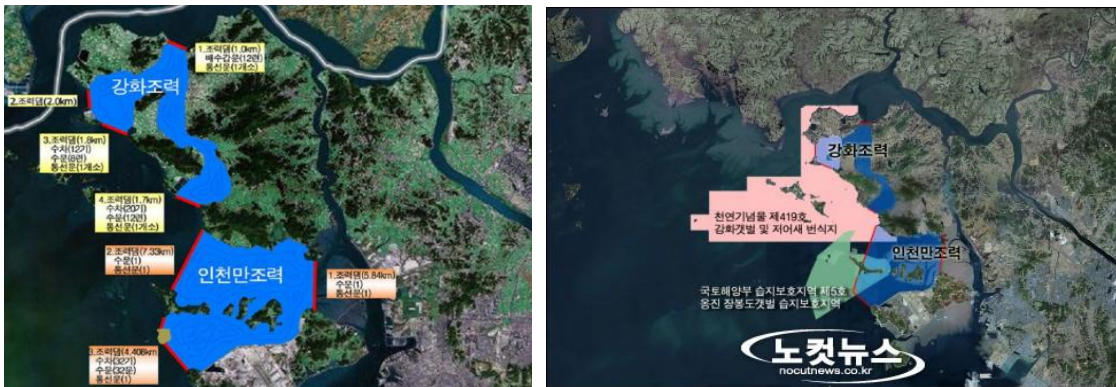
자료:해양환경관리공단. 2015년 조사

2) 개발

바다는 수많은 개발들에 시달리고 있다. 인천의 송도 갯벌은 신도시로 바뀌었고, 시화 갯벌과 새만금 갯벌도 대거 파괴되었다. 전두환-노태우 독재에 의해 광대한 새만금 갯벌은 무한한 생명의 장소에서 무한한 죽음의 장소로 바뀌게 되었다. 새만금을 되살려야 한다. 그 길은 전면 해수유통밖에 없다. 4대강을 되살릴 수 있는 길이 4대강 죽이기 보들을 철거하는 것밖에 없는 것과 같다.



‘갯벌 없애기’의 문제는 이미 오래 전에 잘 밝혀졌다. 선진국은 갯벌을 없애는 것이 아니라 적극 되살리고 있다. 그러나 이 나라에서는 ‘갯벌 없애기’가 계속 강행되고 있다. 토건족은 ‘농지 확보’가 설득력을 잃자 ‘조력 발전’을 적극 내세우고 있다. 그러나 ‘조력 발전’은 절대 생태적이지 않으며, 소중한 갯벌을 대거 없애는 것일 뿐이다. 강화-인천 조력 구상과 천수만 조력 구상은 전면 폐기되어야 한다. 이런 파괴적 사업이 계속 강행되는 것은 박정희-전두환 개발독재에 의해 형성된 토건국가 한국의 문제가 여전히 막강하기 때문이다. 불행히도 이 문제는 민주 정권에 의해서도 계속 강화되었다(홍성태, 2007, 2011).

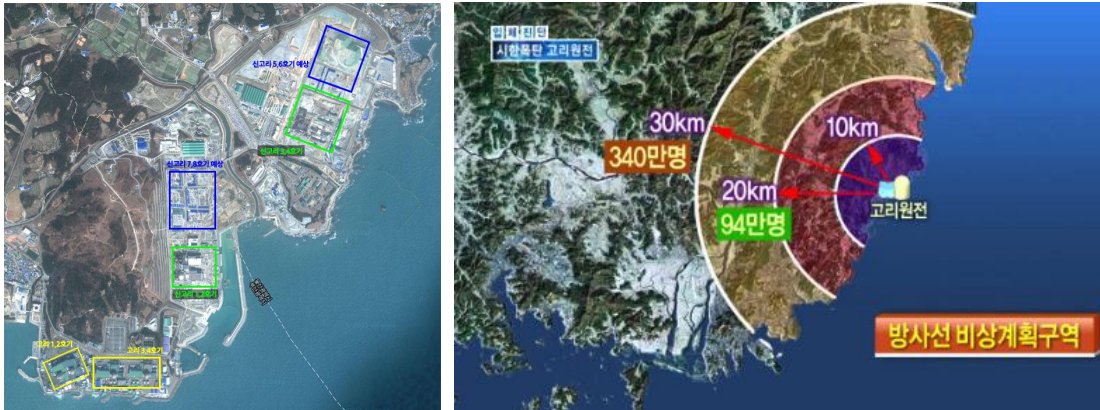


갯벌만 없어지고 있는 것이 아니다. 모든 바닷가에 도로, 공장, 호텔, 아파트, 도시, 발전소 등이 계속 들어서고 있다. 해운대의 ‘엘시티’라는 것이 잘 보여주듯이 이 과정에서 엄청난 비리도 저질러지고 있다. ‘토건족의 발호 -> 자연의 사유화/개발-투기 이익 -> 해양 유산의 파괴 -> 생태위기와 비리의 악화’라는 문제가 이명박-박근혜 비리 범죄 정권에서 극단적으로 악화되었다. ‘촛불 정권’이 이루어야 하는 가장 중요한 사회 혁신의 과제는 바로 이 토건국가 문제, 즉 토건족에 의한 파괴와 비리의 문제를 혁파하는 것이다.

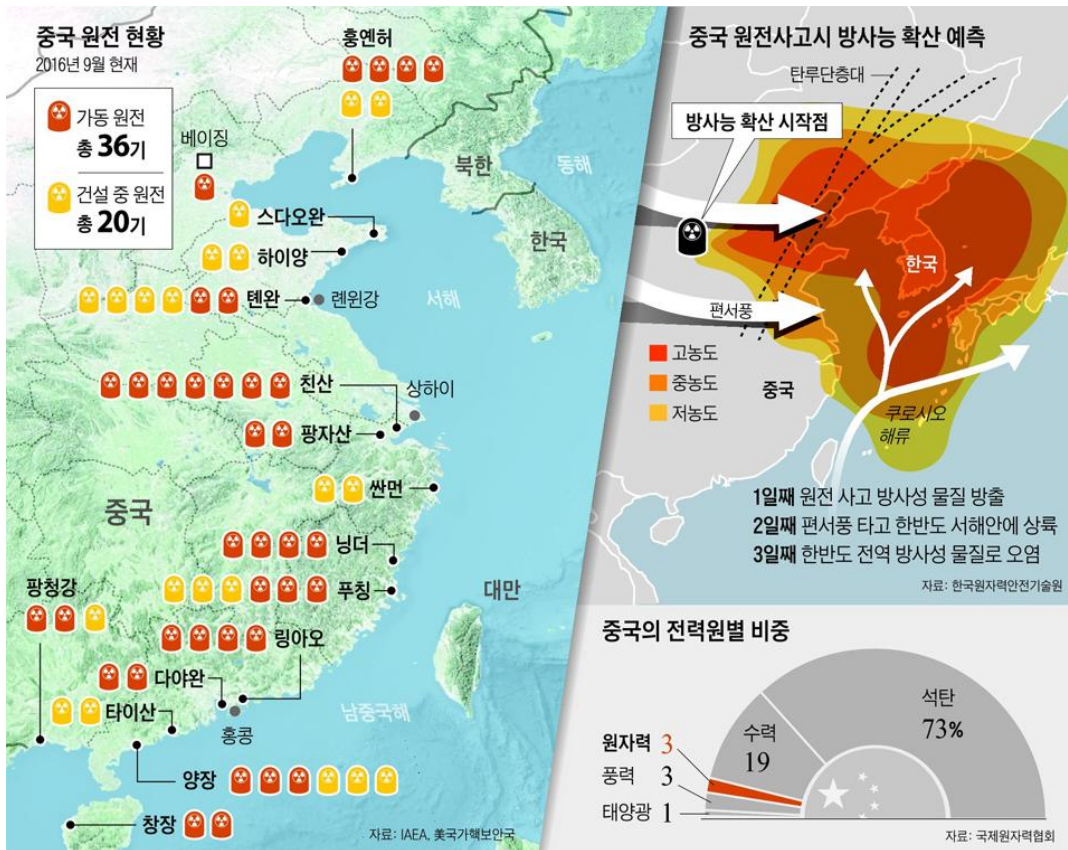


바닷가에 들어선 수많은 시설들 중에서 가장 위험한 것은 핵발전소다. 핵발전소는 일상적으로 바다의 열 오염 문제를 일으키고, 폭발 사고가 발생하면 주변 지역

은 완전한 죽음이 지역이 되어 버린다. 한국에는 이미 많은 핵발전소가 건설되어 있지만, 특히 부산의 고리 지역은 세계 최고의 핵발전소 밀집지역이다. 1986년 4월의 체르노빌 핵발전소 폭발 사고 이래 핵발전소는 현대 사회의 양면성을 보여주는 가장 강력한 상징이 되었다. 그것은 풍요와 파괴의 상징이다. 우리의 해양 유산은 이렇듯 극심한 위험의 한복판에 놓여 있기도 하다.



중국은 핵발전소를 바닷가에 건설했다. 북쪽 바닷가는 우리의 서해와 바로 이어져 있고, 남쪽 바닷가도 해류로 직결되어 있다. 이 때문에 한국은 중국의 핵발전소를 주시하지 않으면 안 된다. 후쿠시마 핵발전소 폭발 사고가 잘 보여주듯이 바다는 가장 효율적인 위험의 확산 경로가 될 수 있다.



이렇듯 우리의 연안은 이미 오래 전부터 과개발로 큰 고통을 당하고 있다. 그러나 이명박 정부는 ‘강·산·해 통합 국토관리네트워크’라는 미명으로 강과 산과 바다를 통합해서 경제적 이용을 용이하게 하려고 했다(대한민국 정부, 2011: 57~61)..

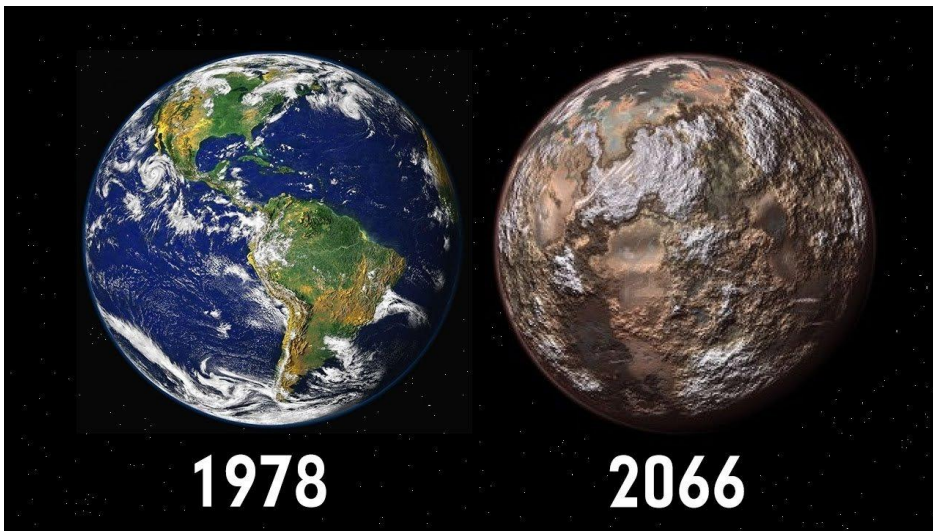
- 바다를 국민의 고품격 휴식처로 개선
 - 육지와 바다의 연결지역인 연안지역을 친환경적인 해양공간으로 조성
 - 바다를 친환경적인 해양공간으로 개발
 - 인프라 개발 및 접근성 증대를 통한 풍부한 섬자원의 활용 제고

토건족의 개발-투기 이익이 좌우하는 이런 후진적인 과개발의 시대를 하루빨리 끝내야 한다. 자연과 역사를 지키며 문화를 추구하는 생태문화사회의 전망을 세우고 과개발의 문제를 철저히 파악하고 혁파해야 한다. 지역 쇠퇴/소멸의 문제에 비추어 보더라도 시대가 요구하는 ‘진정한 선진화’의 과제는 토건국가의 단절적 혁신을 통한 생태문화사회의 형성이다. 지역의 미래는 더 이상 공장이나 고층 건물에 있지 않다. 해양 유산으로 응축된 자연과 역사가 해양 지역의 최고 자산이다.

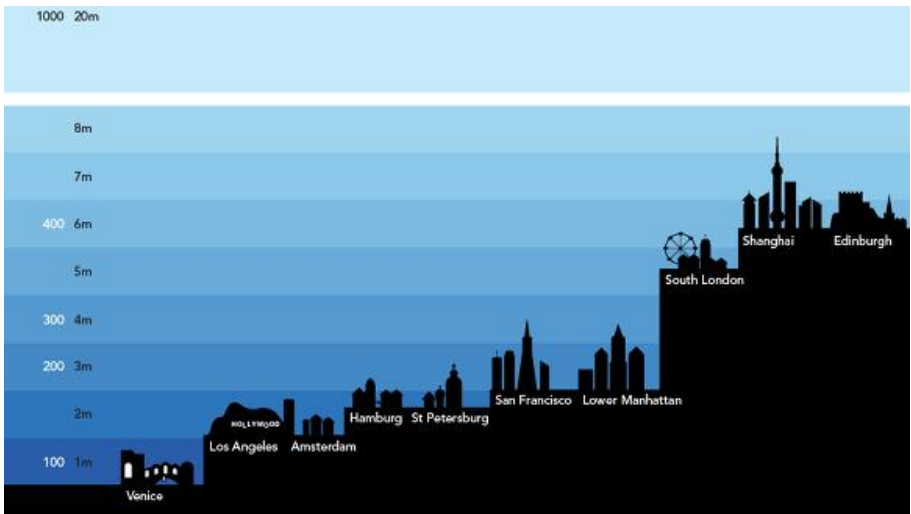
5. 생태문화사회(Eco-Culture Society)를 위해

본래 문화사회는 1980년대 초에 독일의 노동운동에서 새로운 사회 발전의 목표로 제시된 개념이다. 당시 독일을 비롯해서 서구는 복지국가의 위기를 겪고 있었는데, 이에 대해 자본 쪽은 신자유주의를 적극 추구했고, 이에 맞서 노동은 힘든 방어 투쟁을 전개해야 했다. 이런 상황에서 독일의 노동운동은 노동시간을 줄이고 일자리 공유를 통해 문제를 해결하는 방안을 제시했다. 노동시간을 줄이는 만큼 임금을 줄이되 자유시간을 늘려서 내적 만족을 위한 문화 생활을 확대하자는 것이었다. 이런 점에서 문화사회 구상은 포스트 모던, 즉 ‘탈근대’의 구상이었다.

그러나 문화사회 구상은 여전히 생태위기의 문제를 고려하지 않고 복지국가의 변형을 추구한 것이었고, 이런 점에서 그것은 결코 완전한 ‘탈근대’의 구상이 아니었다. 근대는 무엇보다 공업에 의해 형성되고 작동되는 시대이다. 착취국가와 복지국가의 차이는 공업을 전제로 해서 의미가 있는 것이다. 생태위기는 공업의 한계를 뜻한다. 그것은 오염과 고갈의 양 면에서 결코 장기적으로 지속될 수 없다. ‘지구 온난화’는 이 사실을 잘 보여준다. ‘지구 온난화’는 지구 전체를 생명 절멸의 상태로 몰아넣을 수 있다.



‘지구 온난화’는 세계의 모든 해양 유산에 전면적이고 치명적인 손상을 가하고 있다. 바다에 이산화탄소가 너무 많이 녹아들어가서 호주의 대보초가 대대적으로 파괴되고 있고, 해수면 상승으로 나우루와 몰디브 등의 섬 나라들은 없어질 지경이며, 베니스를 필두로 수많은 해양 도시들도 이 상태로는 머지 않아 바다에 잠기고 말 것이다.



When Sea Levels Attack!

그러나 우리가 생태위기를 직시하고 자연을 존중하는 생태문화사회를 추구한다면, 인류사의 새로운 발전이 도도히 시작될 것이다. 생태문화사회는 생태적인 문화사회를 뜻한다. 그것은 자연을 존중하며 활용하는 문화사회다. 위험-사고사회의 문제를 극복하고, 복지국가의 한계를 극복하고, 지역의 쇠퇴/소멸을 극복하는 길이 여기에 있다(홍성태, 2017, 2018). 이런 사실을 잘 보여주는 세계적인 사례로 ‘순천만’을 들 수 있다.

순천만은 오폐수가 흘러들고 쓰레기가 버려져서 아주 더러운 곳으로 매립되어 없어질 처지에 놓였었다. 그러나 순천시와 정기용과 같은 생태적-사회적 건축가의 도움을 받아 ‘생태문화도시’의 전망을 세우고 순천만을 자연의 상태로 돌리기 시작하자 놀라운 일이 벌어졌다.

순천은 한국 최고의 관광도시가 되었고, 세계 최고의 관광도시를 추구하게 되었다.





순천의 영향으로 갯벌을 되살리기 위한 ‘역간척’도 더욱 힘을 얻게 되었다. 낙동강, 영산강, 금강 등의 하구언을 모두 철거하고, 새만금 방조제의 전면 해수유통을 실현해서 천혜의 서해 갯벌을 크게 되살려야 한다.

생태위기를 이기는 진정한 발전의 길, 즉 생태문화사회를 만드는 것은 결코 어렵지 않다. 해양 유산은 생태문화사회의 거대한 생태적-문화적 기반이다. 해양 유산을 잘 지키는 것이 생태문화사회를 만드는 핵심이다. 나아가 ‘해양 생태문화사회’는 육지 중심 사고에서 ‘육지-해양 연계 사고’로, 한반도 중심 사고에서 ‘한반도-주변 바다 연계 사고’로 우리의 인식을 확장한다. 이로써 우리는 동북아의 평화도 더욱 촉진하게 될 것이고, 그 결과 더욱 자유롭고 풍요로운 삶을 꿈꾸고 이를 수 있게 될 것이다.

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2018 Korea National Maritime Museum

하늘에서 본 바다, 그 찬람함에 대하여
**The sea from the sky,
about its splendor**

박승근, **SM9 SkyTech**

사진가/드론전문가
Photographer/Drone specialist



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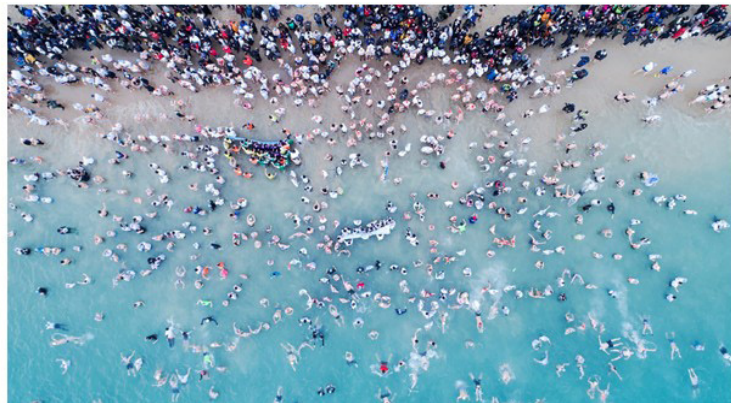
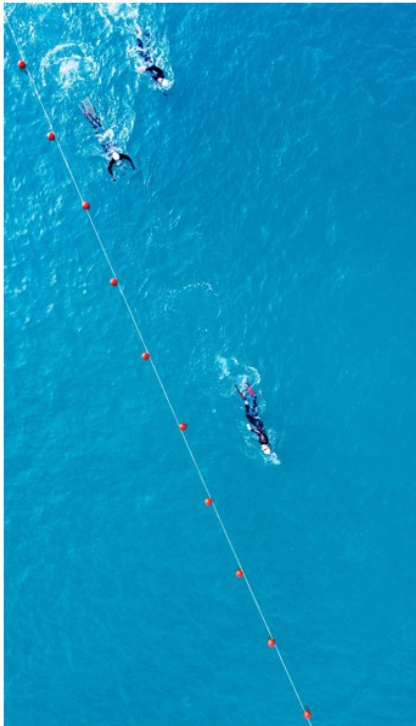
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3

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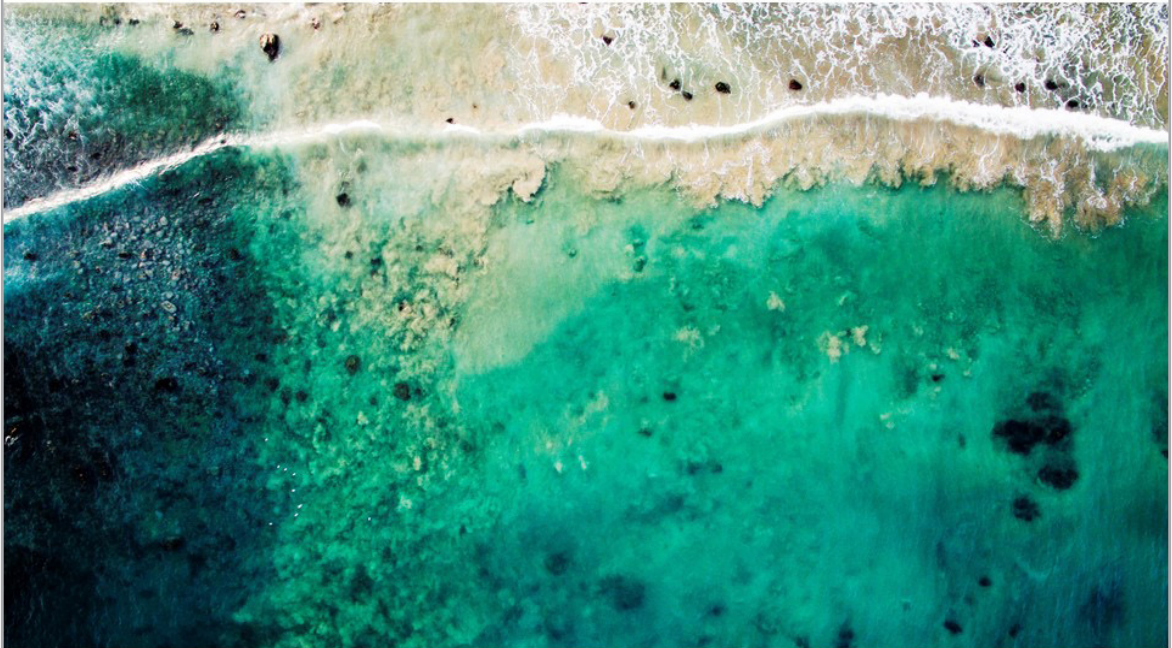
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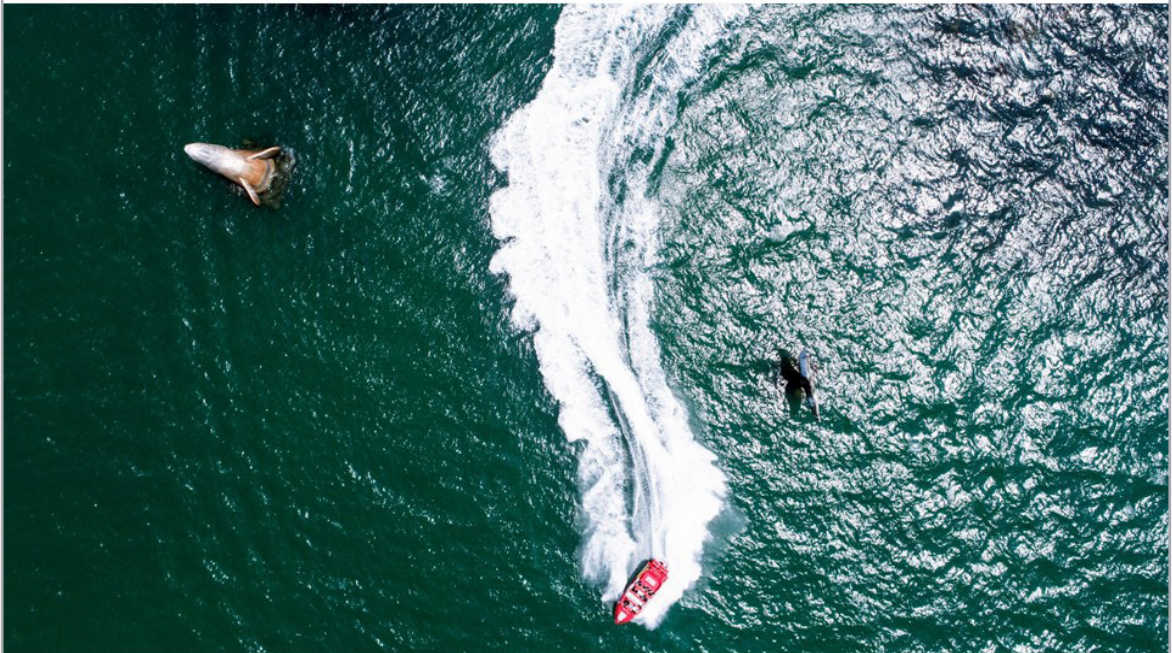
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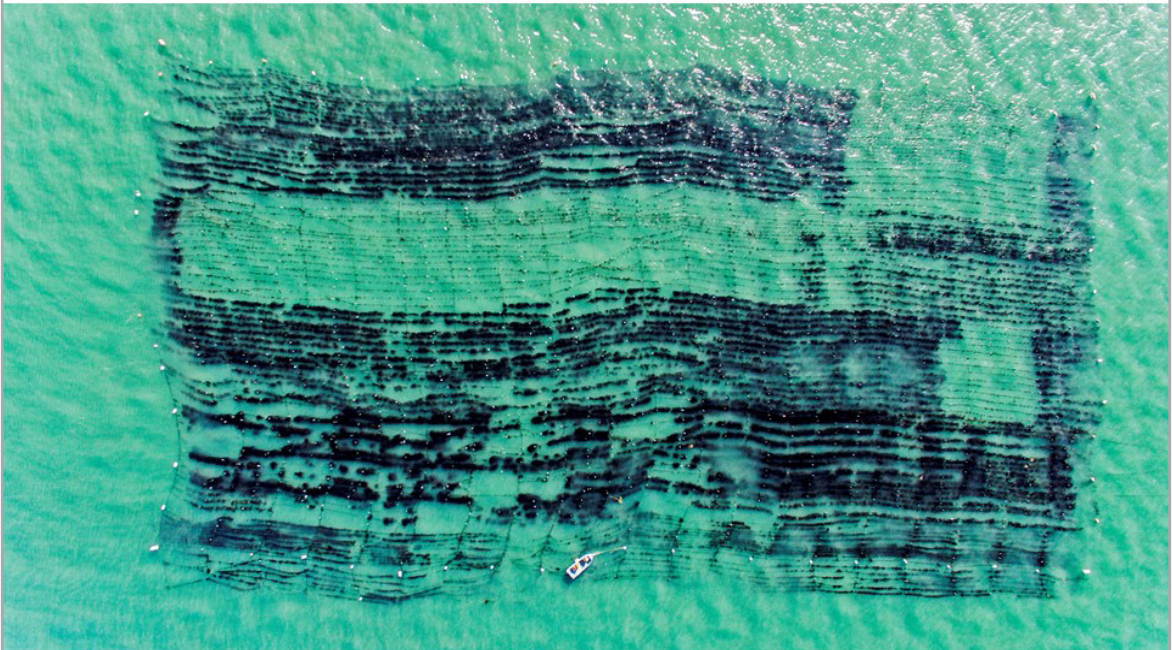
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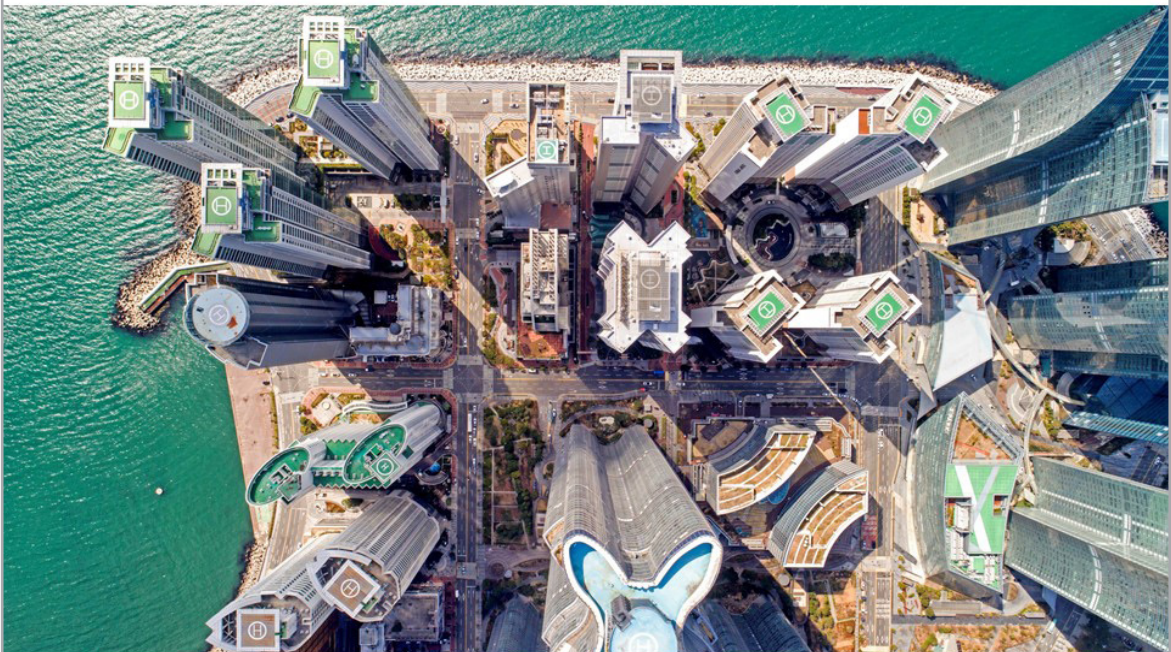


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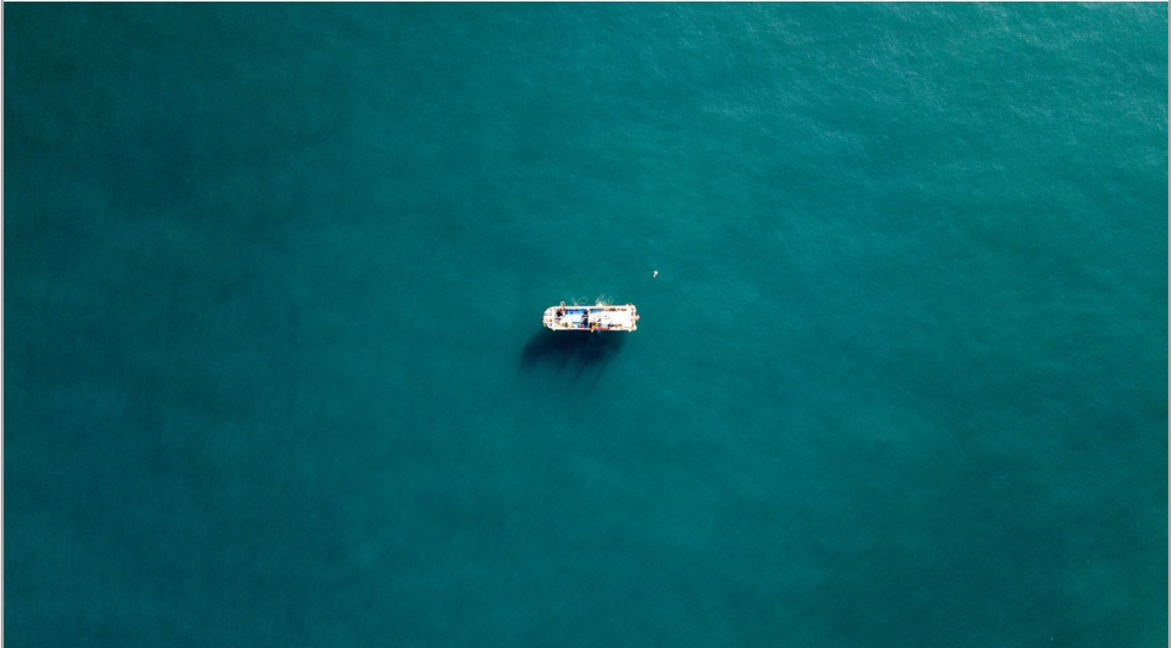
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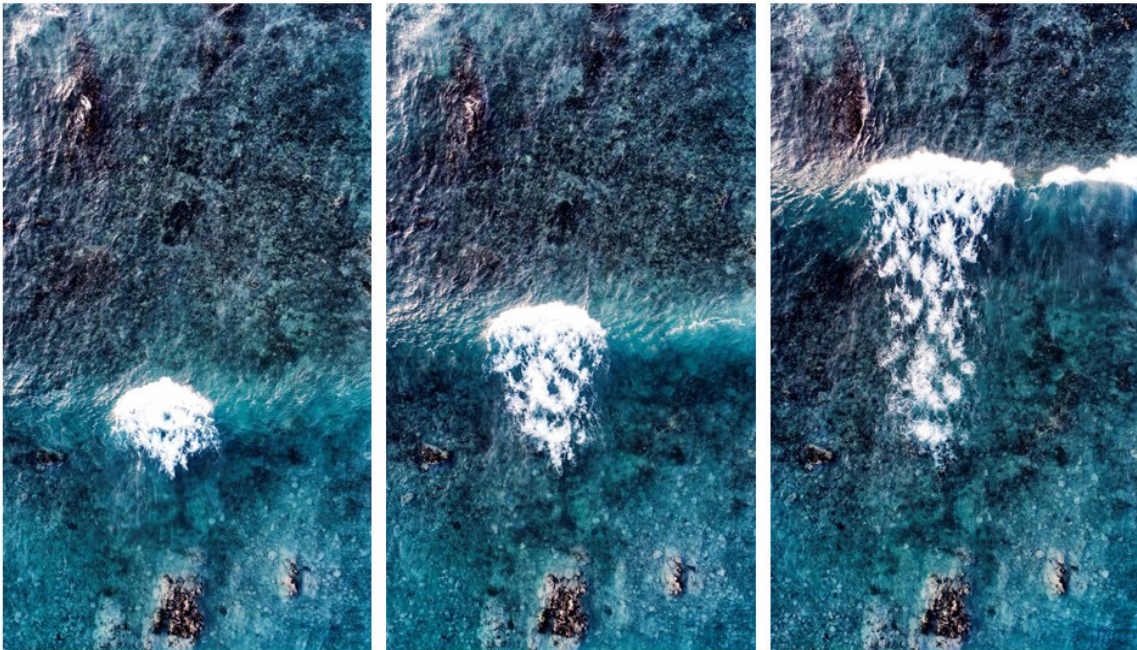
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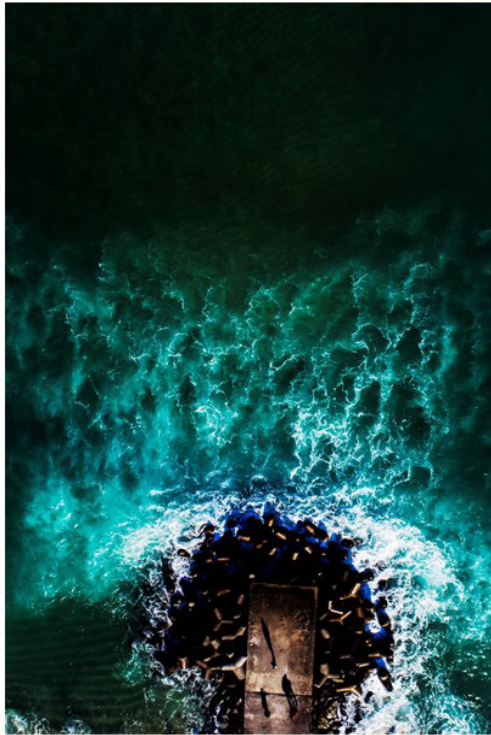
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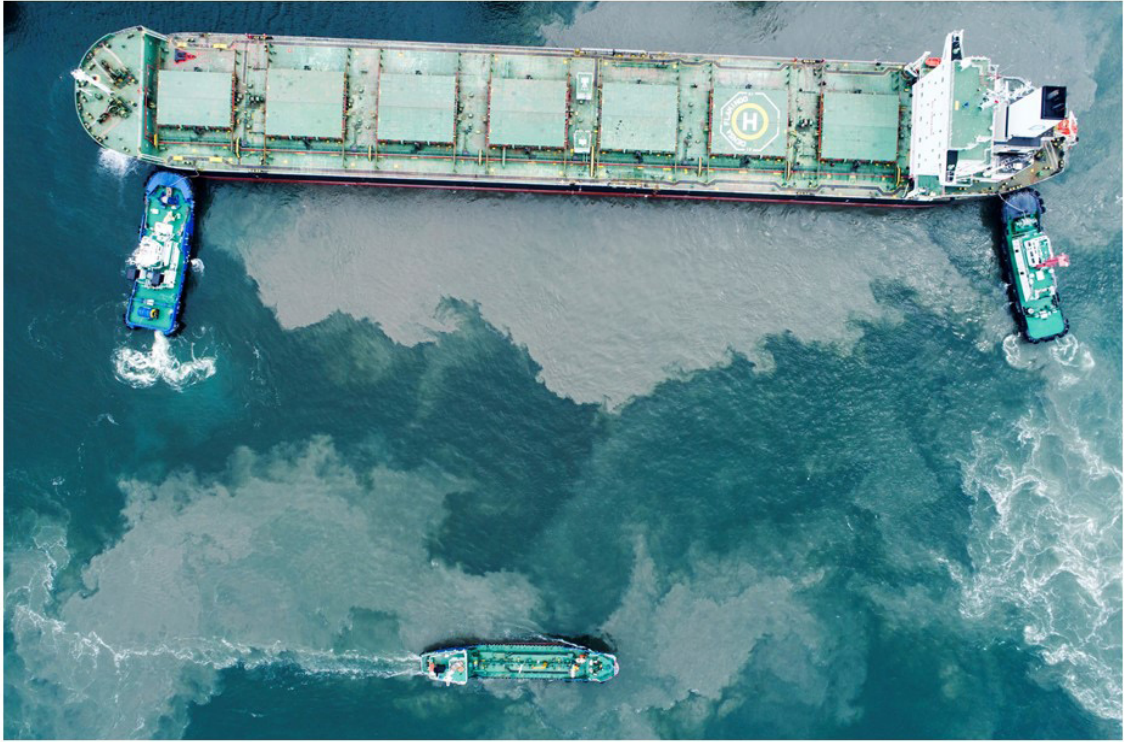
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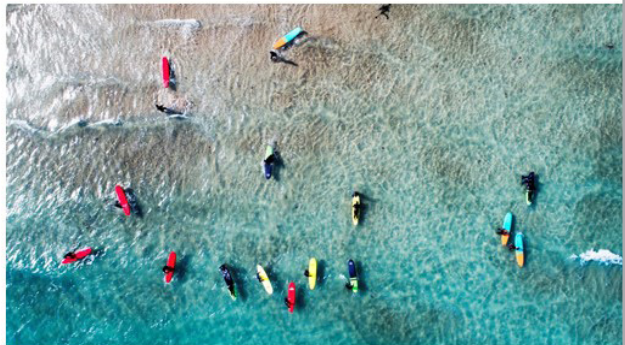
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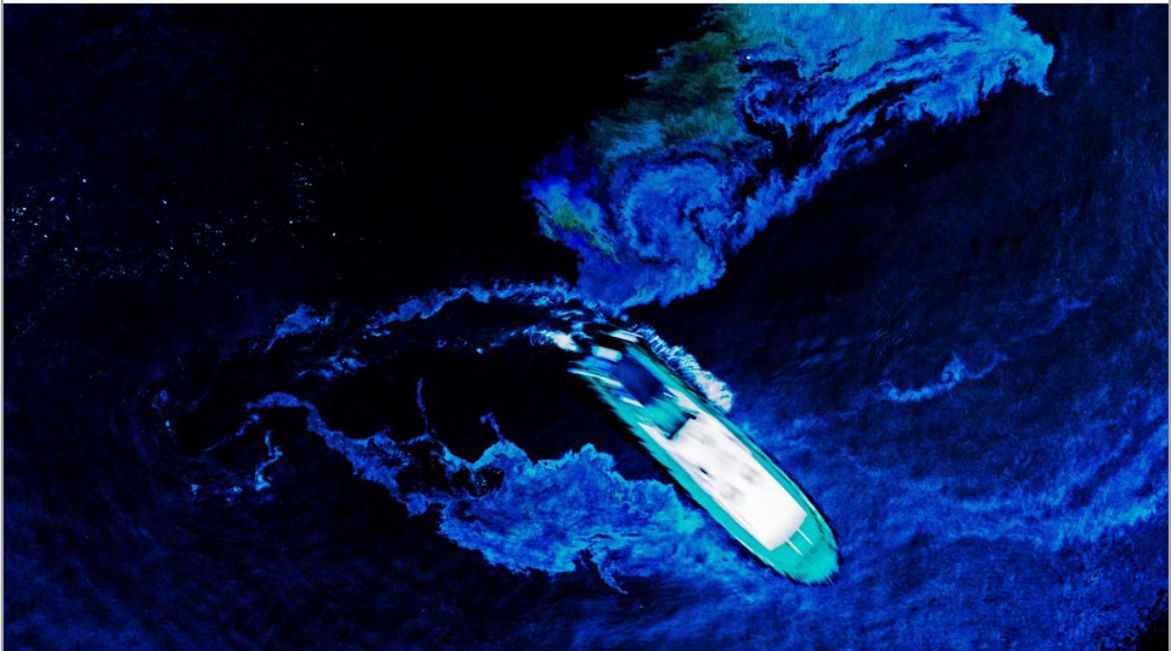
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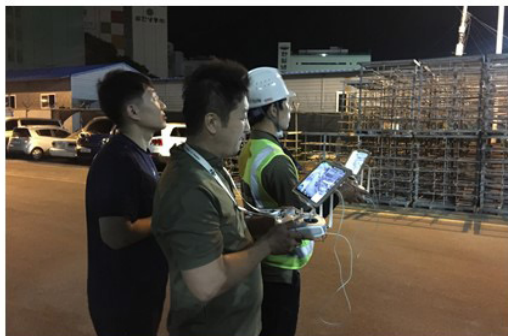
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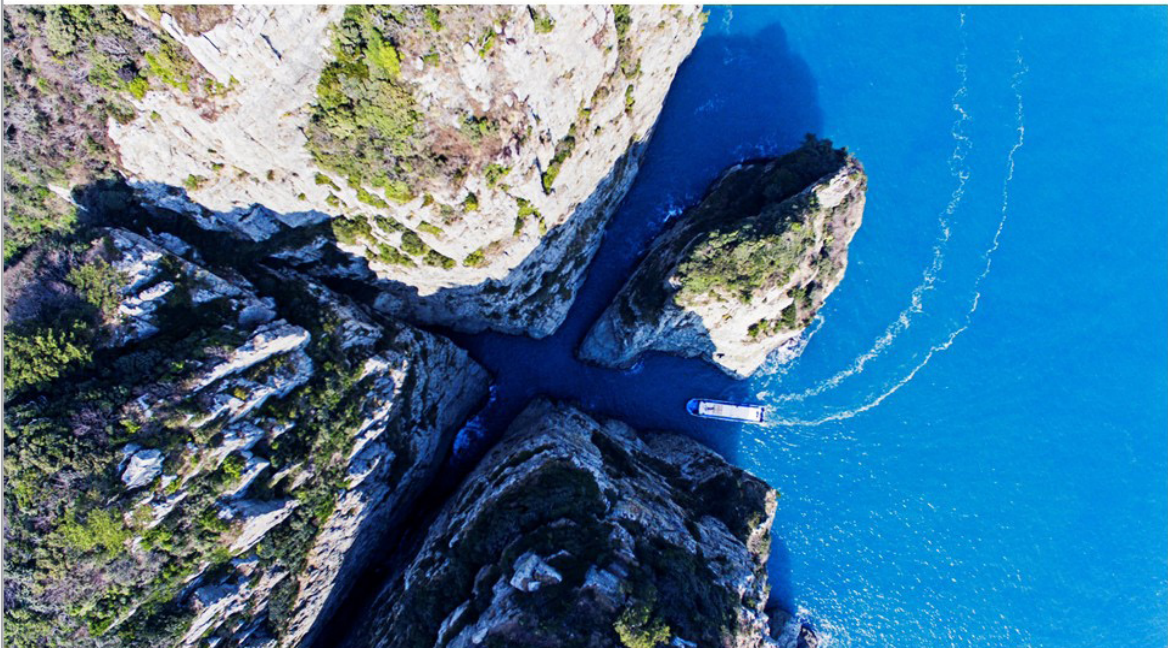
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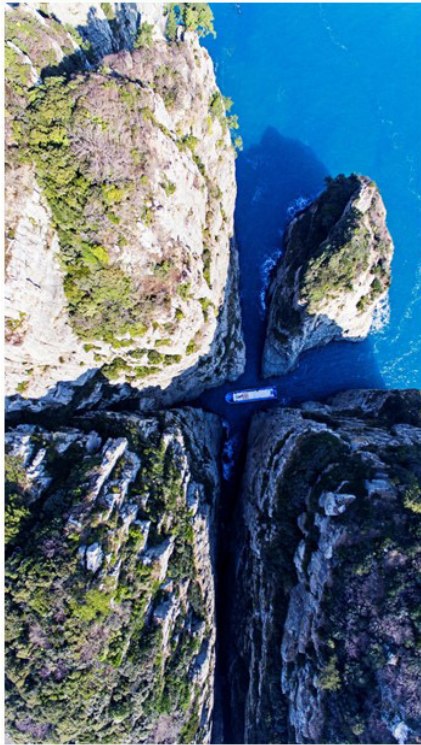
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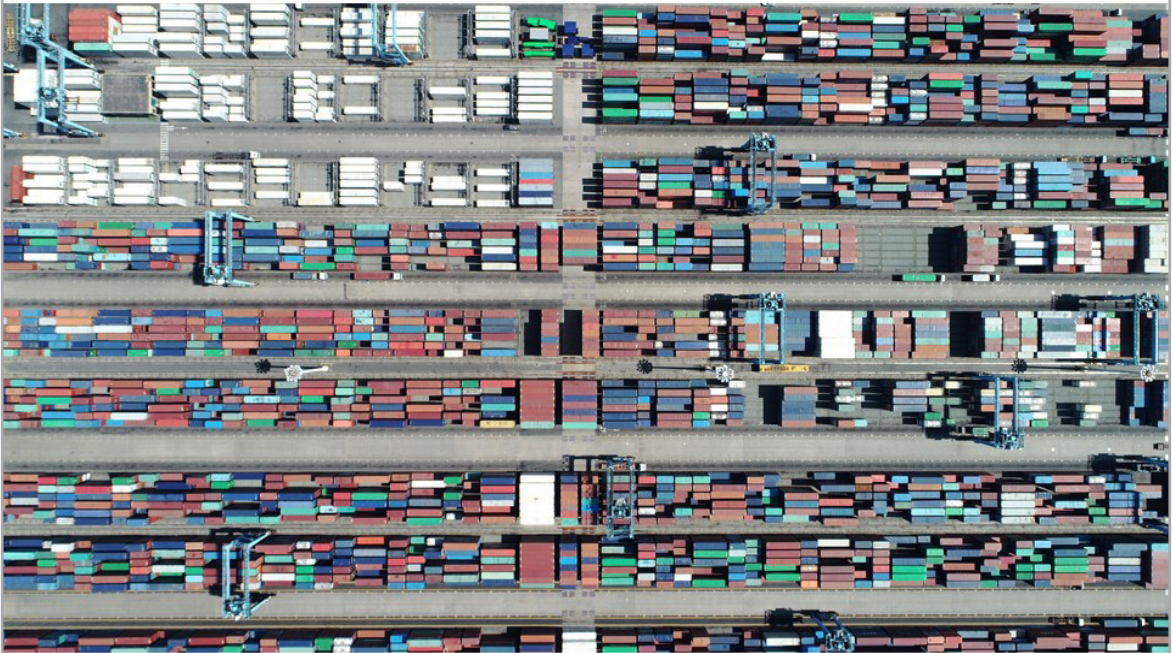
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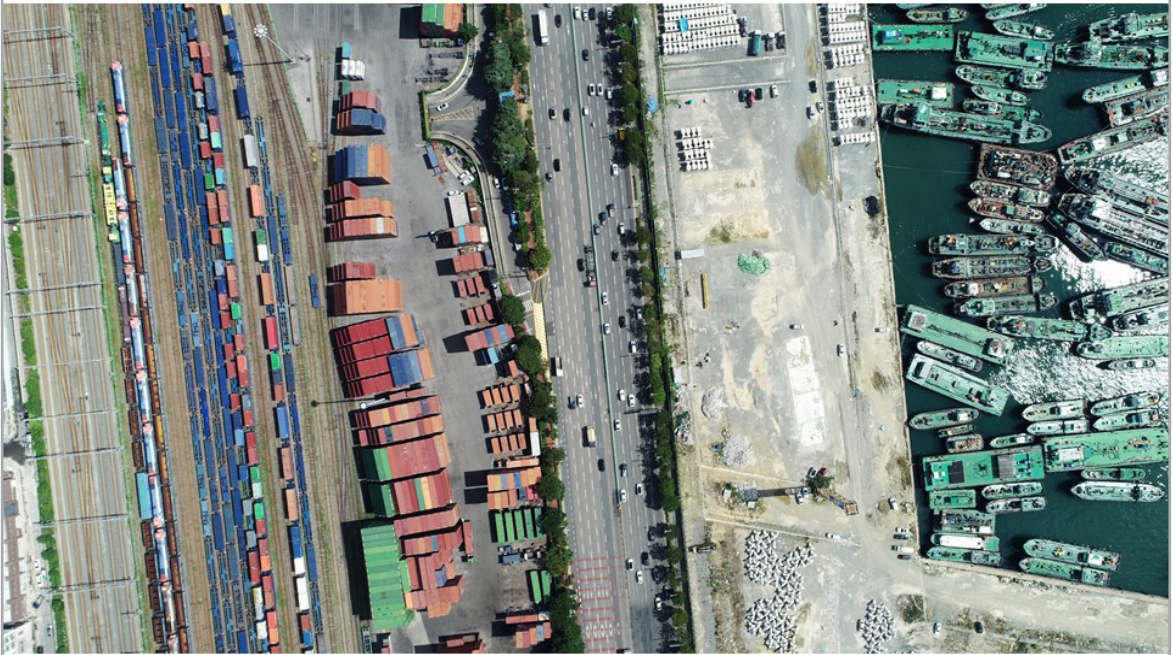
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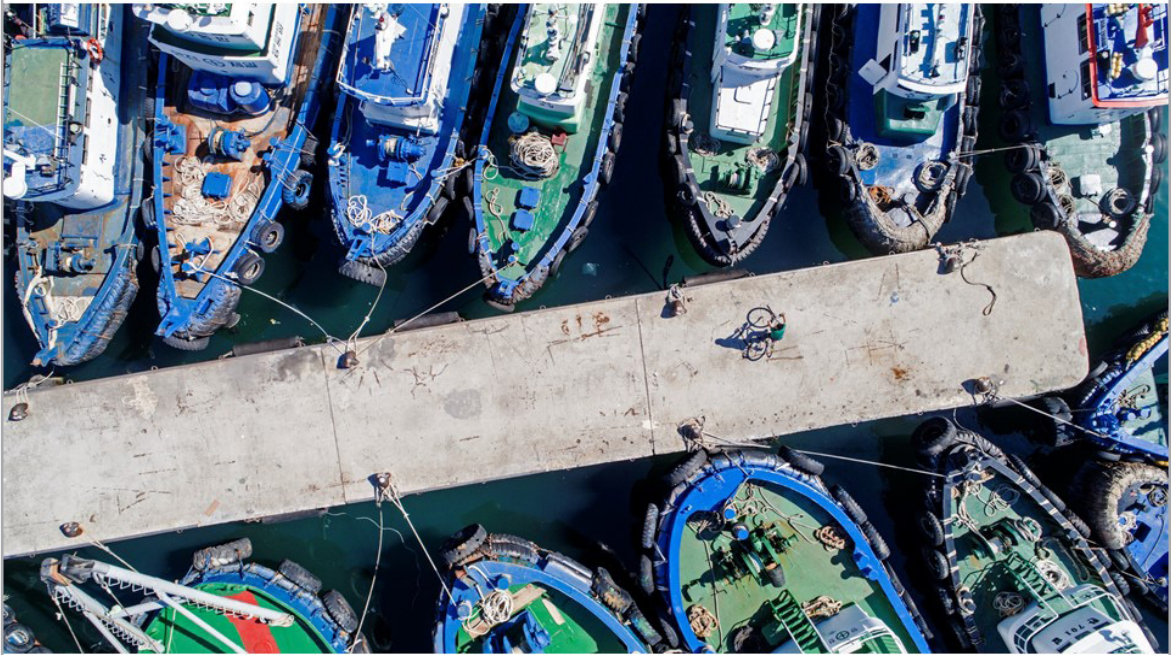
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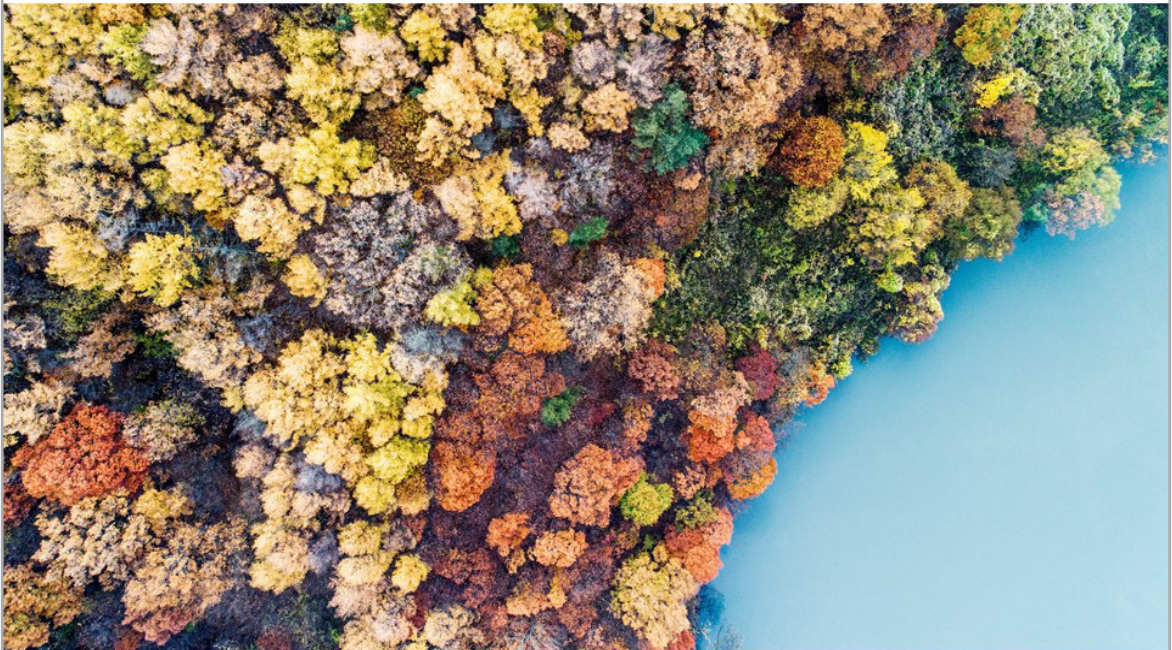
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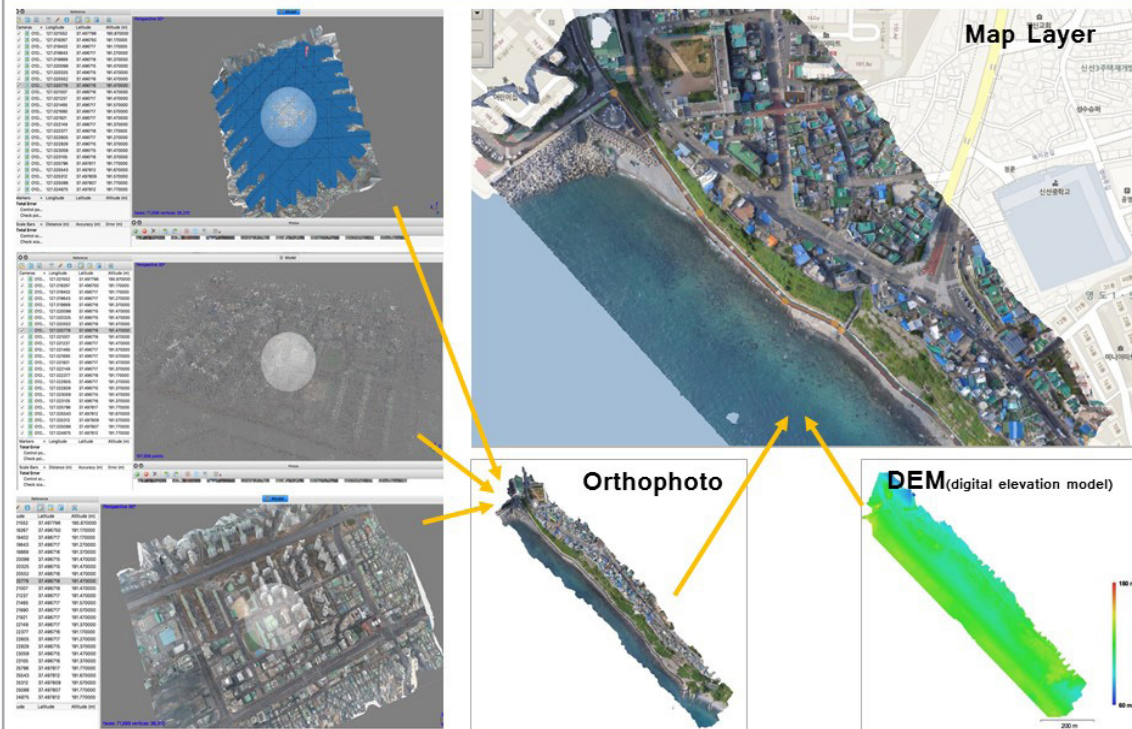


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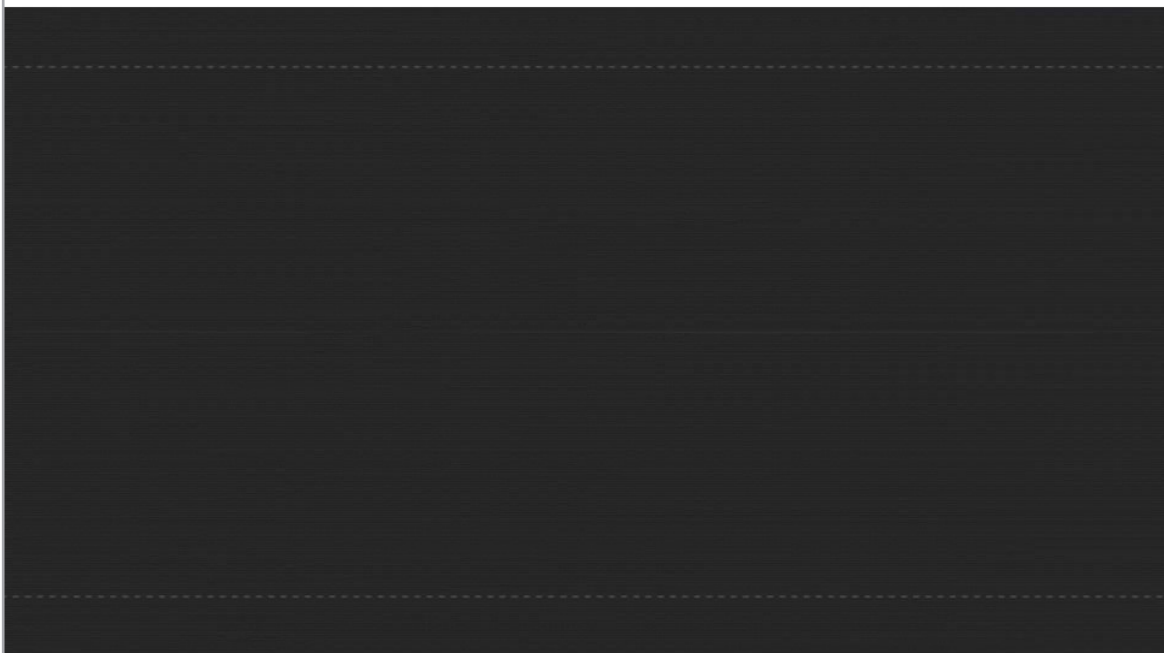
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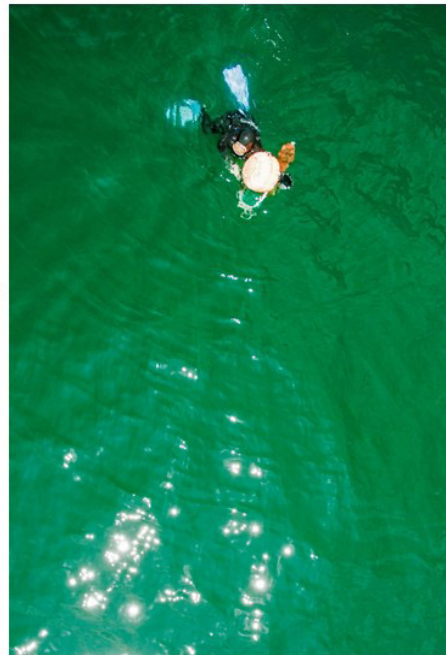


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