The Identities of Maritime People and the Building of Nation States

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Difficult Questions in History

In mathematics, a geographic question can be solved by simply adding an auxiliary line. However, now, a geographic problem has risen over the China Sea, a collective term for East and South China Seas. This book shall attempt to address two historical questions related to this particular geographic problem.

Both the questions are closely related to international relations within the Asian region.

In our current world, the relation between countries is governed by international law, which is a set of rules or principles that bind the action of each country whose sovereignty is mutually recognised by each other. The origin of modern international law can be traced back to the Treaty of Westphalia, which marks the end of the 30-year war in Europe in 1648.

Before that, relations between countries were mostly defined by a personal relation between the monarchs who ruled each state. Hence, there was little distinction between international relations and domestic politics. However, to end that quagmire of a religious war, countries participating in peace talks not only agreed to recognise each other as sovereign states but also concurred that they would not interfere with the other's domestic affairs in signing the treaty. Most textbooks of world history describe this as the realisation of the system of sovereign states, with such a concept spreading to the rest of the world between the 18th and 19th centuries.

Below is the first question.

In 1662, merely 14 years after the signing the Treaty of Westphalia, another treaty was signed with regard to the sovereignty of Taiwan, which lies on the intersection of the South and East China Seas. It was signed by the monarch Zheng Chenggong(鄭成功) and Frederick Coyett, the Dutch East India Company governor of Taiwan[1] This treaty

[1] 濱島敦俊「海洋国家台湾から考える」『近世東アジアと黒潮圏交流』高知大學人文學部、2008年 (Hamashima, Atsutoshi, 'The Perspective of Taiwan as an Maritime Country', *Modern Interaction between East Asia and Kuroshio Region*, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Kochi University, 2008)

signed by an Asian regime preceded the Treaty of Nerchinsk, an agreement between the Qing Dynasty and Russia, by 27 years. Nonetheless, why could the Zheng regime enter a modern treaty with the Dutch?

Below is the second question.

After Zheng regime in Taiwan surrender to the Qing Dynasty in 1682, the area of the China Sea went through an unusually peaceful period before the Opium War broke out in 1840. This stability was established neither by the presence of a force that preserved order in the China Seas nor by the stable relation between the sovereign states. The region had enjoyed its peace because of an unspoken rule that allowed trading to continue without political intervention. During this time of peace—when the silent rule prevented countries from interfering with each other's domestic affairs—the framework for present-day nations in the Asian region was formed.

At the time, civil wars had ended in the Japanese archipelago as the Tokugawa regime unified the nation. The Korean Peninsula was undergoing a reshuffling of the political system under the Yi Dynasty after having fended off an invasion by Hideyoshi Toyotomi from Japan. In Mainland China, the Qing Dynasty including the Mongolian Plateau, Manchuria and East Turkestan emerged. In Southeast Asia, countries in the Indochina Peninsula were beginning to take shape, with the Philippines as a colony of Spain, Indonesia a colony of Holland and Malaysia a colony of Great Britain.

Contemporary historians in Japan have been debating whether this period—spanning over approximately 200 years from the 17th to the mid-19th century—should be referred to as ‘kinsei (近世)’ in east Asia. The time of the birth of these territories, which are directly linked to the modern definition of group of nations, is called ‘early modern’ in English.

As opposed to the European model of the sovereign state system’s establishment, Asia had, apparently, taken its own route of forming territorial nations based on this premise of abstaining from intervention in each other's domestic affairs. We should inquire into the reasons why this rule of non-intervention came to existence in 17th century Asia.

The ‘Maritime Kingdom’ as Auxiliary Line

These questions cannot be answered with a historical understanding that is biased toward land-based sovereignty, which is where we draw an auxiliary line.

This is the ‘Maritime Kingdom of the China Sea’, a political entity that did not actually exist.

This Maritime-like kingdom of the East and South China Seas was known by various names in the history books during the 300 years between the mid-14th and mid-17th centuries but never acquired the status of a nation in an explicit sense.

As an attempt to establish some sort of relation with this elusive entity, rulers on land, i.e. rulers of countries bordering the China Sea—including Japan, China and Korea—all developed diplomatic ties with the ‘Maritime kingdom’. However, these countries also quickly returned to their respective lands following the demise of the kingdom under a silent pact to never give rise to another political entity like this again. Then onwards, the modern nations were formed.

Little historical data is found on the ‘inhabitants’ of this non-existing kingdom. This book introduces only some of the individuals who resided. The ‘residents’ of the kingdom can be roughly divided into the following groups.

First are the sailors and boatmen who worked on ships sailing the China Sea. These boats or ships came in various forms depending on their eras and the nature of their owners. Some were Japanese-style ships with planks inserted vertically into the top side of a large wooden canoe; some were junks (a Chinese ship) with keels and bulkheads, while others were galleon ships from Europe.

It was common to find boat crews with people of different appearances and languages. Such mixed dwelling of various ethnic groups was the norm for the maritime kingdom. The modern sense of nationality made no sense here. Nevertheless, if divided by nationality, they would be grouped into Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Ryukyuan, Vietnamese, Malay, Thai and the west European such as Portuguese, Spanish and Scottish. Thus, even within the same ethnic group, such as Japanese and Chinese, a different language was spoken by people from different places of birth.

These men were skilled navigators of the sea who were well versed with the seasonal winds and the immensity of lands that lay ahead of their sail. They all braved the sea for various reasons: some for fishery, some for trade and some for piracy. Sometimes, they also sailed for diplomatic missions. It was not unusual for members of a trade ship to turn into pirates when chancing upon another ship that was incapacitated.

The second type of resident in this ‘Maritime kingdom’ comprised people living near or along the coastline of the China Sea, who had little apprehension toward

the sea or those who were thrust into a seafaring life without choice.

The majority of these people resided and conducted business in port towns near the China Sea. Whenever a ship full of foreign goods docked, one could see labourers going back and forth between the wharf and the warehouses unloading merchandise, wives greeting their sailor husbands, missionaries who had travelled to the China Sea region to spread the word of God and women from the red-light district there to charm sailors who worked on ships where female presence was prohibited. All of these were considered people of this kingdom.

However, a port town is something that thrives and withers with time. Some of the key harbours that had left their mark in history during this era were Sakai (堺) and Hyogo (兵庫), which was connected to the China Sea via the Seto Inland Sea; Hakata (博多), Nagasaki (長崎) and Hirado (平戸), which bordered the East China Sea; Fukue (福江) of Goto (五島); Bonotsu (坊津) of Kagoshima and Naha (那覇) in Okinawa. In China, there were Ningbo (寧波) of Zhejiang Province and a few port towns on the Zhoushan (舟山) Islands close to its shore, as well as Quanzhou (泉州) and Haicheng (海澄) of Fujian Province, and Tai-oan(大員, currently Tainan 台南) of Taiwan Island. Ports facing the South China Sea included Macao, Hoi An of Vietnam, Ayutthaya Port and Malacca in South East Asia, Batavia (currently Jakarta) of Java and Manila of the Philippines.

Many of these ports were separated from the outside world by moats or walls. For people within the kingdom, these walls were defensive measures against inland domination; however, for people from inland, these were barriers to prevent disreputable influences of the maritime kingdom from seeping through.

The former case had the upper hand when maritime kingdoms dominated the region. For instance, in Japan, the perfect example of this would be Sakai during the era of civil wars. Example of the building barriers for people inland can be found in the city gate built by the Ming Dynasty in Macao, which sat between the island—where the Portuguese had already established their base on the China Sea—and the mainland to limit interaction between the Portuguese and the natives. Policies implemented in Dejima(出島), Nagasaki, during the Edo period were one of the first attempts by land governments to contain influence coming from the sea. Whether as a form of self-defence or as an effort to keep out this maritime kingdom, these moats and walls around port towns drew the boundary between sea and land.

The Rulers of the 'Maritime Kingdom'

These residents of the maritime kingdom were not without rulers. A system of governance had gradually grown out of contested exchanges between sea and land people.

During the dawn of the kingdom in the 14th century, a small fleet of tens of ships roamed the China Sea. Historically, these were called 'early *wokou* (倭寇)'.

At the beginning of the 15th century, other forces from land had begun to exert their sea power over the people of the maritime kingdom. Zheng He (鄭和) of China can be seen as examples of this type of rulers. Even those labelled *wokou* by historians were now bowing to these rulers.

Despite being born on land, the rulers of maritime kingdoms could feel the change of current in the world during their ocean voyage. As a result, they often assumed very different personas on land and sea. Zheng He enjoyed prominence in a maritime world that had started feeling Islamic influence as 'the descendant or the son of Hajj (an honorific title for those making the pilgrimage to Mecca).' However, fearing the weight of maritime leaders like Zheng He, people who lived all their lives on dry land made a deliberate effort to forget the achievements of these men in the 'maritime kingdom'.

The balance of power between sea and land would reverse in the mid-16th century. The maritime kingdom accumulated a fleet of hundreds of ships and no longer feared intervention by people on land. Wang Zhi (王直), who was regarded as the head of latter *by* historians, even founded his own regime under the title of 'King of Hui (徽王)' based in Goto and Hirado. Finally, the 'Maritime kingdom' showed its face in history from behind the mist of the sea.

Regimes on land were either forced to become subject to a maritime kingdom like Matsura (松浦) —a feudal lord in Japan— or were forced to give up military adventures on sea to engage in quick attacks in nearer straits, such as the Ming generals, to halt the maritime kingdom pushing toward the shores. However, having died at the hands of a plot devised by a regime on land, Wang Zhi's grand vision was not to be realised until after his death.

Despite finally achieving partial liberalisation of trade, the band of armed maritime merchants from Jiangnan (江南), China, suffered a major setback after losing its leader in Wang Zhi. This void was filled in the late 16th century by Portuguese adventurist merchants based in Macao and maritime merchants from Fujian Province, both key players in the maritime kingdom at the time. However, Zheng Chenggong(鄭成功) first

showed a promising sign of ruling the ‘maritime kingdom’ and of unifying it into a maritime nation in the early 17th century. Unfortunately, those dreams were denied by his untimely death.

The Economic History of the Maritime Kingdom

Prehistory: This kingdom, which aroused both fear and yearning in people living around the China Sea, arose through the Mongol Empire vitalising trade in the entire Eurasian region.

After unifying the Mongolian Plateau in mid-12th century under the leadership of Genghis Khan, the Mongol Empire finally extended its control outside of the plateau by taking over the Islamic Khwarazmian Dynasty on the west and pushing back the Jin Dynasty (金朝) of Jurchen on the east. During this time, the Uighurs began to serve the Mongol Empire as inland traders who not only taught the Mongolians the tricks of trading but proved to be a vital economic and information source for the empire. This new unified regime in Central Eurasia also allowed the oasis merchants to trade in safety within its bounds.

Then onwards, the rulers of Mongol Empire and traders such as the Uighurs had an interdependent relation. At the same time, the successors of Genghis Khan further expanded the empire’s reign and abolished the Jin Dynasty in 1234 and the Abbasid Caliphate in 1258. Its fifth emperor, Kublai Khan, founded the Yuan Dynasty and took over China by destroying the Southern Song Dynasty, which controlled central and southern China.

During their invasion of the Southern Song Dynasty, the Yuan Dynasty came into contact with Muslim merchants who traded in south China. They also took over ships and ship-building sites from the Southern Song. The Mongol Empire from the Mongolian Plateau now embarked on the sea. They took full advantage of such opportunity, as is evident in their two expeditions to Japan and military advances into Southeast Asian waters. The Mongolian influence reached as far as the coastal regions of the Indian Ocean, as more Chinese junks were seen in the Indian Ocean than the ones during the Song Dynasty.

At the time, trading between inland and maritime merchants was governed by an economic system wherein silver was regarded as the standard currency. The Yuan Dynasty granted silver collected in the form of commercial tax and other taxes to feudal

lords and noble families living within Mongol territory in Eurasia. Silver was also used as an investment in trading companies operated by Muslim and Uighur merchants for the purchase of Chinese goods such as silk and ceramics. The waters of Asia, which included the East China Sea, the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean, soon became the stage of the Chinese maritime merchants.

Wang Dayuan (汪大淵), who sailed these waters departing from Quanzhou, gave a detailed account of the condition of the area under the rule of Mongol Empire (1330s–1340s) in his book *Dao Yi Zhi Lue* (島夷誌略).

This book covered many harbours, including Penghu (澎湖島 located in the Taiwan Strait); Ryukyu (referring to Taiwan and not Okinawa); various regions in South East Asia such as Kouchi (northern Vietnam), Sayam (Sukhothai in Thailand) and Palembang (Indonesia) and coastal cities along the Indian Ocean and Red Sea, such as Colombo (Sri Lanka) and Mecca. Interestingly, Wang not only described the customs of these places but also goods considered valuable by Chinese merchants, goods exported from China and methods of exchange. For instance, in a passage about Java, he wrote the following:

> Copper coins were used. Normally, people use so-called silver coins, which are made of silver, tin, lead, copper, or iron scrap the size of a snail, instead of copper coins. This place produces green salt, which is produced by drying in the sun. Ten thousand *jin* (斤) of pepper is produced each year. They also use thin dyed fabrics, sheep and parrots, but medicines are from other countries. Goods (brought here for trade from China) are gold, silver, silk, cloth, blue and white porcelain and ironware.

This extract gives a comprehensive account of traded goods and trading methods, which are both important details to the maritime merchants.

These maritime merchants developed flourishing business during the Mongolian rule. Even Marco Polo had to resort to the maritime network when sailing back to his hometown Venice, Italy, from Yuan China.

Kublai even conducted various expeditions abroad to secure his rule of the sea.

There were two expeditions made to Japan in 1274 and 1281, which were referred to by the Japanese as the Bun'ei and Ko'an *genko* (文永・弘安元寇) invasions.

The first borrowed a lot of manpower from the Korean Peninsula, and the second was done by crossing the East China Sea on ships built in Jiangnan region. When both expeditions to Japan failed, Kublai turned his eyes to the South China Sea.

In 1284, he attacked Champa in the southern part of Vietnam, and in 1287, he conquered the Pagan Kingdom, which was situated in present-day Myanmar. Later in 1289, Kublai sent an envoy to Java to persuade the kingdom to surrender. The Yuan envoy was driven away by the Singhasari king, who reigned over Java at the time. To retaliate, Kublai dispatched tens of thousands of soldiers and one thousand military vessels to Java in 1292. While embroiled in this battle for Java, many Yuan soldiers lost their lives due to endemic diseases, resulting in another defeat for Kublai.

Kublai's grand vision of creating a trade zone that encompasses the maritime world was never realised. However, the traffic of hundreds of thousands of people on sea by this time, even if half are assumed to have drowned or died from sickness, would have given extensive knowledge of the maritime world to both the Chinese, the Japanese and the Javanese. By adding this mass movement of population due to military expedition to the China Sea, where trade had been vitalised by the Mongol Empire, the significance of the maritime world was elevated to another level.

Those with knowledge in the type of people and products on the other side of the ocean and those who knew how to cross the waters now roamed the sea as merchants or pirates. In other words, this kingdom on the China Sea was already taking form in the era of Kublai.

By the mid-14th century, as the dominance of the Yuan Dynasty declined, the circulation of silver began to stagnate, and the trading system itself started to crumble. Vast amounts of paper money were issued without enough silver to sustain their values, sending the economy into confusion. This was one of the main reasons for the fall of the Yuan Dynasty.

Later, when the Ming Dynasty replaced the Yuan and unified China, it needed to establish a financial system that did not rely on silver. To rebuild an economy based on commodities and labour, it needed a defensive mechanism to resist foreign economic influences as a result of which, the regime took full control of trade. This system is referred to in as the 'tributary mechanism'.

The Ming Dynasty gave out titles such as feudal king and feudal lord as a way to rank leaders of various countries who paid tribute to the empire. These leaders were

expected to negotiate trade or repatriation of captives based on ranking. There was also an economic aspect in which trade was conducted under national control.

However, this tributary mechanism was more a courteous exchange between the Chinese emperor and these leaders than normal international relations. Country leaders recognised by the emperor of the Ming Dynasty would come to China on a regular basis to pay respect to the emperor. The emperor would then reward their offerings with grand gifts.

These tributary envoys were obliged to dock in designated ports. In order to receive these envoys and to manage trade, a public office called *Shibosi* (市舶司) was set up at each port. Trading outside of this tributary mechanism was prohibited. This mechanism propelled the Ming Dynasty to the heights of prosperity in external relations during the reign of the Yongle Emperor in the early 15th century. To demand tributes, Zheng He's fleet was sent on missions from Southeast Asia to coastal regions on the Indian Ocean.

However, the tributary mechanism became shaky in the 16th century. Despite restraint by the regime in China, the economy it had built on direct acquisition of commodities and labour from the people was breaking down. The economy with silver as its currency was therefore revived. However, without additional silver, the economy still faced the possibility of stalling. Consequently, a vast amount of silver began to make its way into China from other parts of the world.

In early 16th century, the Iwami (石見) silver mine was discovered in Japan, and soon after, mining also began in South America's Potosi silver mine. Silver mined in Japan was exported from places such as Hakata, while the South American silver was transported to Manila by the Spanish, resulting in an influx of silver into the Asian maritime region. Having this much new silver readily available, the economy of the Ming Dynasty also experienced a period of rapid growth. The Chinese would bring raw silk thread and fabric either to Japan or Manila to exchange for silver mined from Iwami in Japan and that from South America.

However, as the tributary mechanism restricted trading with foreign countries, these dealings were actually carried out by smugglers. The most dominant group of such smuggling traders consisted of merchants with connection to the business circle in Jiangnan (the Changjiang 長江 downstream delta), where most silk threads and silk fabrics were produced. When the Ming regime cracked down on them, these maritime merchants

armed themselves and began robbing the coastal areas. This is referred to as 'latter *wokou*'. Leaders of the latter *wokou*, such as Wang Zhi, managed to establish connections between Japan, China and Southeast Asia. Moreover, Chinese merchants like Wang Zhi even enticed the Portuguese to join their circle of trade.

These men demanded official posts from the Ming Dynasty for keeping order on the sea and requested an easing of maritime ban. Shortly after his death, Wang Zhi's request for easing of the maritime trade was finally met when the Ming Dynasty agreed to commercial activities and private trades in Haicheng, Fujian and Guangzhou, Guangdong, without having to go through the tributary mechanism. However, maritime merchants belonging to the Jiangnan network had already lost dominance following Wang Zhi's death, and the void left was later filled by Portuguese adventurist merchants based in Macao. And unlike the Dutch and British merchants that came later, these Portuguese merchants preferred to conduct business on their own.

The Portuguese adventurist merchants also shared a close relationship with Jesuit missionaries. They would make donations to the missionaries so that the missionaries could preach and establish a network of converted Christians in different parts of Asia. This Christian network would later become a guardian, or patron, of Portuguese merchants and make sure the merchants' commercial activities were sustained. Hence, the 'maritime kingdom' of late 16th century was much influenced by the Catholic faith. Around this time, Ryusa Konishi (小西立佐) and his son Yukinaga (行長)—both merchants, warriors and Christian—appeared on the scene from Japan.

Japan had been excluded from mutual trade in China as the Ming Dynasty was wary of its intentions. As a result, trading between Japan and China was done by way of Southeast Asia or Taiwan. The key players of such trade in the 17th century were Zheng Zhilong (鄭芝龍) and his son Zheng Chenggong, from Fujian, as well as the Dutch East India Company, a rising power from Western Europe.

Eras of the Maritime Kingdom

In terms of trade, Asian maritime history following the fall of Mongol Empire can be divided into the following eras.

Pre-establishment: 1260s-1370s
(approximately 120 years)

Under the rule of the Mongol Empire, trade throughout Eurasia was conducted with silver. Marco Polo arrived in the Dadu (大都), the capital of Yuan Dynasty, via the Silk Road, which connected the eastern and western ends of Central Eurasia, then returned to Europe from Quanzhou via the India Ocean on a junk. The fact that he was able to make such a grand journey had much to do with the vivacity of trade in the Mongol Empire at the time. Zheng He, who later sailed the Asian seas as a eunuch, was born in Yunnan, an area ruled by Mongol royalty, at the end of this era.

First period of the kingdom's history: 1350s-1560s
(approximately 180 years)

This era saw the completion of the tributary mechanism. The Ming Dynasty prohibited private trade outside the tributary system introduced by the regime. As commercial activities on the sea were also forbidden, this system affected trade not only with foreign countries but also with inland regions of Eurasia and Northeast Asia. People who traded against the law outside this system were called the Grand *Wokou* of the Jiajing (嘉靖大倭寇). One of the leaders of these *wokou* was Wang Zhi, who built bases in Goto and Hirado in Kyushu of Japan and demanded the Ming Dynasty lift its maritime ban.

Second period of the kingdom's history: 1570s-1680s
(approximately 120 years)

The mutual trade system formed in this era. After the dominance of the grand wokou subsided, the Ming Dynasty eased the ban on maritime trade, allowing private businesses with foreign regions except Japan in 1567. Such kind of dealing eventually evolved into the so-called '*heshi* (互市 mutual trade) system'.

The revival of trade after the easing of the maritime ban gave birth to powerful regimes in East Eurasia. These included the *Shoku-ho* (織豊) regime in Japan, late Jin Dynasty in Northeastern Asia and the Zheng regime (Zheng Zhilong, Zheng Chenggong and their descendants) based in Fujian and Taiwan.

Despite political differences, these regimes were quite united on the economic front in that they were all engaged in a battle with the Chinese regime to expand their commercial activities in China. The situation became even more complicated when power

shifted from the late Jin Dynasty to the Qing Dynasty under the Manchurian regime, as those who had been seeking an expansion of trade before the demise of Ming Dynasty in 1644 also caused a great migration of ethnic groups, making it harder to cement any commercial ties between Northeast Asia and China.

Zheng Chenggong built his regime with the goal of reviving the Ming Dynasty even though it was actually sustained by the trade between China and Japan that his father Zheng Zhilong inherited from the latter *wokou*. This could have become the only maritime regime in East Eurasian history. The history of the maritime world may have turned out very differently had Zheng Chenggong not died at the young age of 37 and had succeeded in the invasion of Spanish colony in Manila where many Chinese were massacred.

Pressed by the Qing Dynasty's Great Clearance and a maritime ban in Japan, the Zheng regime quickly lost the foundation on which its empire was built, marking the end of the Maritime kingdom. The Qing Dynasty soon defeated the Zheng regime in Taiwan in 1683. A customs office was set up the following year to regulate all maritime dealings in recognition of foreign trade.

Post-kingdom: 1690s-1860s
(approximately 180 years)

This era saw the establishment of early modern East Eurasia. The land regime took control of the oceans after the demise of the maritime power. In order to feed a rapidly growing population brought on by prosperity, the Qing Dynasty needed to import foreign grains. However, foreign trade was subject to strict restrictions.

Competent local officials devised and implemented concrete policies. Unfortunately, the China Sea region eventually lost its prominence in modern international relations due to the dismantling of the mutual trade system. It only regained significance in the 1860s, when the Qing Dynasty finally opened its ports after losing the Opium War and was forced to allow European powers to set up embassies in Beijing amidst a series of battles with these nations, and when Matthew Calbraith Perry, a Commodore of the United States Navy, forced the opening of Japanese ports.

An Armenian Maritime Merchant in Modern Japan: The Apcar and Company and the Foreign Settlements in Kobe and Yokohama

Shinji SHIGEMATSU

Introduction

This paper discusses the Armenian traders who played an important role in Japanese trade from the end of the Tokugawa period through the Taisho era.

The people, history and culture of Armenia are little-known worldwide; it is all the less known that a small number of Armenians settled in Japan and supported trade with far-flung places.

What does Armenian history mean within the context of modern Asia? How important are Armenian studies for research on the maritime history of Asia? There are such questions and issues.

This paper[1] builds on an essay published in 2013, which briefed on the materials of Armenians residing in Japan in the final years of the Tokugawa period and in the early Meiji period. This paper examines the trade carried out by Armenian merchants—referred to here as "the Armenian maritime merchants"—who resided in foreign settlements in Japan during the Meiji and Taisho era, mainly focusing on the Apcar and Company, which was primarily active in Asia.

I. Subjects of The Study

From the 17th to the 19th centuries, international trading companies of Western colonial powers ruled the seas of Asia. The main nations involved were Britain, France, the Dutch, Germany, and the East Indian Companies of Denmark and Sweden. In some parts of Asia, using large sailing ships and armed naval vessels, they looted or purchased Asian products, brought them home and made huge profits on the sales. This is a well-known historical fact.

[1] 「幕末明治期における在横浜・神戸アルメニアン・コミュニティー―アプカー商会論―」(An Armenian Community in Yokohama and Kobe in the 19th to 20th Centuries—A Brief History of the Apcar & Co. in Japan—) the Annals of the Department of Asian Studies, no. 28 (no. 7, N. S.) Dec. 2013, Otemon Gakuin University, Japan

The limits of the seas of Asia cannot be clearly defined oceanographically. Therefore, we are proposing the following extent: an ocean area beginning with the Persian Gulf and the waters extending to the east from India to Southeast Asia, through to China and Japan. This series of waters further connects to other ocean areas. The Arabian Sea borders on the Bay of Bengal, which touches the Andaman Sea, thereby leading to the Malacca Straits, the South China Sea, the East China Sea, the Sea of Japan, the Pacific Ocean and so on. Other ocean areas—both large and small—are part of or adjacent to these waters. [2]

These ocean areas were dominated by traders of the Western colonial powers, who relied on their national prestige, military power and commercial capacity to maintain their hold. However, many local maritime groups—both large and small—were concurrently active, and some were even active before the European superpowers emerged. These include the Indian Muslim Marakkār (Marakkaiyār) on the southwest coast of India, the South Indian Muslim, Chulia merchants and the South Indian Hindu Chettiar Group, who dominated parts of various regions extending from the southeast coast of India to the Bay of Bengal; the Hadhrami of Arab maritime merchants, who traded between the Arabian Sea and Southeast Asia; the Bugis and the Iban (Sea Dayak), who traded among the Indonesian islands; Chinese maritime merchants that traversed throughout the entire area from China to the Malay Peninsula and Southeast Asian sea folks called the *Kou* (寇), whose maritime activities were collectively called piracy in many languages of the area.

Depending on the season, these groups practised agriculture, fishery, looting and inland trade. However, their main occupation was maritime trade in specific locations. This does not refer to a narrow geographical concept but rather that these groups practised maritime activities ranging over a flexible ocean area as a trading zone. Therefore, we

[2] The author has briefly introduced a concept and a floor plan of the ocean areas and sea boundaries of Asian seas ('*The Territorial and Sea Boundaries of* Asia: *An Essay on Ocean Area Studies,*' p. 58–70, 'The Development of a 21st Century Oceanography: ' Research Report Collection 1, Centre for Asian Area Studies, Rikkyo University, February 2015). It is self-evident that maritime research subjects cannot be fixedly and uniformly defined, due to two distinct variable factors. One is the fluctuation of natural phenomena, which is largely dependent on fluctuations in the natural environment. The other is the changing times, where political and economic forces were in constant variation. Geopolitical and maritime dynamics and the flow of objects and people fluctuate with the era, and they never remain within a given range. This is precisely why it is important to focus on a certain historical period and elucidate the actualities of the local histories that emerge from the historical backdrop and historical facts.

can view them as ”sea folk with complex and various functions“.

As noted, among these groups, some were based on port cities in India and traded across various ocean areas from Southeast Asia to East Asia. They conducted inter-regional trade beyond their specific location. One of these groups was the Armenian maritime merchants. They can be also known as “sea folk”.

In early modern period, these Armenian merchants mainly engaged in trade and did not develop agriculture or piracy.

Since early 20th century, they were at the forefront of many industries, including commerce, maritime trade, international insurance, auction, hospitality marine pilot and mining industry. The Armenians constituted a small ethnic community that spanned multiple territories and industries, working with several other ethnic groups; this is also responsible for identifying what is interesting about Armenian ethnographic history.

However, attention paid to the Armenian people in the fields of history, ethnology and political history has remained low relative to their interest. It is little known that they were scattered not only in the South Caucasus and Western and Eastern Europe but throughout Asia as well. Moreover, in previous studies, the Armenians have often been understood or misunderstood, at least with regard to the following two aspects.

First, many researchers had considered the Armenians and the Jewish to be similar groups.

The commonality between the groups is their existence as a diaspora from a very early period. Both of these are small groups that were scattered all over the world and they became global traders.

George Bournoutian, the Armenian historian agrees that the fact of diaspora has played an important role in creating and maintaining the ethnic identity of both the Jewish and Armenian people,[3] but he notes that the Armenians differ from the Jewish in regard to the ‘Armenians who stayed in *the historic Armenian region*’.

‘One important difference is that even after the Kingdom of Armenia collapsed,

[3] George Bournoutian, Translation Supervisor Shohei Komaki, Translator Daisaku Watanabe '*Armenian History: From Ancient Time to the Present*,' Fujiwara Shoten, 2016.
George A. Bournoutian (2012). '*A Concise History of the Armenian People: from Ancient Time to the Present*,' 2nd. ed., Mazda Publishers. 'Armenians have maintained their ethnic spirit in the major cities of Europe and Asia. Furthermore, the reconstruction of the Armenian culture and the progress of the next chapter of Armenian history were promoted through a diaspora. Some might find similarities between the diasporas of the Armenians and the Jews' (p. 179).

the majority of the Armenian farmers and craftsmen remained in *the historic Armenian region*'.

Thus, Bournoutian indicates that the Armenian community falls into two broad groups.

'The first group includes all the Armenian diasporas in the world. These communities, called *spyurk* in Armenian, were formed, expanded or shrunk as a result of invasion, atrocities, revolution, colonialism and nationalism. The second group consists of those who stayed in *the historical Armenian region*, mainly farmers and small-scale craftsmen led by clergymen and small landholders'. (Bournoutian, Ibid. pp. 179–180)

The author of the present study agrees with Bournoutian's views, but several differences should be noted. Bournoutian's work uses the historical concept '*the historical region of Armenia*' and draws the category of Armenians who stayed in that region. This group is defined exclusively in terms of politics. The diaspora is described narrowly, as forced and passive ('it formed, expanded or shrunk as a result of invasion, genocide, revolution, colonialism and nationalism').[4] Although we do not deny the validity of this perspective, it is essential to focus on a third group: the Armenian communities that spread out internationally, especially trading groups, regardless of the outcome of the diasporas; their existence brings forward another common perspective—Armenian merchants as traders in inland and remote areas.

The Armenians, who were from the hill areas between the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea, came to be seen as "trade diaspora" dispersed throughout Central Asia and Europe, and this was considered a result of their circumstances and place of origin since ancient times, which is partially true. Western inland trade used to be accrued out across the Black Sea, along the Mediterranean Sea and into Turkey and expanded through Italy, France, England and southern Europe in addition to the northeast inland trade that expanded from across the Caspian Sea to Central Asia's deserts, India, Tibet and China. Records and studies of these trading groups have been widely published from Western European perspectives.[5]

However, Armenian merchants appeared in another historical guise: the

[4] Ibid. 'Part II - From Foreign Domination to Independence'.
[5] Such studies include S. D. Aslanian (2010), *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa,* University of California Press and Ina Baghdiantz-McCabe (1999), *The Shah's Silk for Europe's Silver: The Eurasian Trade of the Julfa Armenians in Safavid Iran and India* (1530–1750), Scholars Press.

Armenian maritime trading groups that traded not only beyond the Mediterranean Sea and in Europe but also traversed from the seas of Asia—the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean—to East Asia. We believe that this should be an area of focus. It is noteworthy that in recent years some studies on the Armenian maritime merchants of Southeast Asia and India have been published in many international fora.[6]

The Jewish and Armenians differ from one another in their ethnicity as well as in their religious doctrines. There is insufficient space here to provide an adequate account of these differences; however, some examples will indicate them. Social groups, especially ethnic groups, are unified in different ways, as are the trading organisations, practices, networks and other aspects of merchants of different groups. Their cohesiveness as trading groups also differs in addition to their networks, international trading zones and the way their trading centres are established, as well as some other distinguishing points. Historical evidence gives rise to questions whether there was a strong community backed by ethnic unity among Armenian merchants. This will be apparent in the actual practices of historical Armenian maritime merchants examined in this paper.

The paper focuses on Armenian trade on the Asian seas from the 19th to 20th century. It spanned from India through Southeast Asia to China and Japan. The areas under discussion are interlinked and span about 2,000 kilometres from west to east, between 10° north and 10° south latitudes. This area connects to the Pacific Ocean and connects Africa to Indonesia.

There have been many empirical studies on maritime empires and on their history, both in Japan and elsewhere. However, these works rely on documentation of the hegemonic empires of Western Europe in Asia and on the global–historical view of the centre–periphery structure modelled by Immanuel Wallerstein. Few works have centred on small maritime trading groups in Asian seas. While extensive reference materials exist for major Jewish trading companies like Jardine Matheson and Sassoon, only fragmentary reference material exists detailing the Armenian maritime merchants who crossed the Asian seas, and there are no single caches of materials on the most distinguished trading

[6] D. Lombard and J. Aubin, (eds.) (2000), *Asian Merchants and Businessmen in the Indian Ocean and the China Sea*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press and M. Sarkissian (1987), 'Armenians in South-East Asia', *Cross-roads, An Interdisciplinary Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2/3, pp. 1–33.

families. There likely are historical records written in Armenian but work remains to be done in excavating such historical records as, accounting books, accounts of traded goods and descriptions of shipped goods. The epitaphs and tombstone inscriptions of the leading clans are still scattered all over Asia, and thus far, there is no systematic record of them.

Why did Armenian merchants advance into these ocean Asia and base themselves in port cities of India to expand to other regions of Asia? More specifically, how did these Armenian merchants organise? How did they conduct trade and build relationships with indigenous trading groups? What organisations did they form, and how did they differ from other maritime trading groups? How did such a small, unarmed group of traders manage to compete with local maritime groups? What role did the Armenian Apostolic Church play in the integration of their commercial activities and communities?

These questions must be revised in response to fieldwork conducted throughout Asia by using the documents that are dispersed in the port cities of each region. Particularly in this paper, I would like to trace the modern history of the Armenian communities in Japan, with a primary focus on the Apcars—an Armenian maritime merchant clan based in Japan from the early Meiji period to the Showa era. I believe that this work may suggest how small Armenian ethnic groups survived and thrived in the modern world.

II. The Apcars in Yokohama and Kobe

1. Timeline of Diana Apcar

In a previous work (Shigematsu 2013), I investigated the tombstones and epitaphs of Michael Apcar. Timeline[7] of Diana Apcar, created by a member of the Apcar family living in the United States, has been used to trace the background. This timeline gives family history, from the 1860s to the 1920s, primarily focusing on the legacy and circumstances of Diana Agabeg Apcar (Table 1).

Diana is depicted in the timeline as having succeeded the Apcar and Company business and supporting her family, as well as a social activist, who was later praised as a ‘a great person who contributed to Armenian refugee relief’. This timeline gives a good overview of part of the Apcar family’s history.

[7] Timeline of Diana Apcar, Digital Edition, 2014.

In October 1859, Diana Agabeg was born in Rangoon (Yangon), the then capital of British Burma. She married Apcar Michael Apcar (A. M. Apcar) at an Armenian church in the same city on 18 June 1889, visiting Japan for the first time on their honeymoon. This is also mentioned in the Japan Weekly Chronicle dated 13 September 1923, which will be described later.

They had five children, of which, two (both named John) died at an early age. The graves of one of their children and of the couple are in the Yokohama Yamate Foreign General Cemetery.[8]

[8] Shigematu (2013) p. 9 - 11.

Table 1 - Diana Apcar Timeline

17 (12?), Oct 1859	Galana Agabeg is born in Rangoon as the youngest of seven children.
18 June 1889	Marries Apcar Michael Apcar at St. John the Baptist Armenian Apostolic Church in Rangoon. They go on honeymoon to Japan in the same year.
22 Aug 1890	First child, Rose (Sirvart), is born in Rangoon.
24 Oct 1891	Second child, Michael Apcar, is born in Yokohama.
24 Jan 1895	Third child, John Agabeg, is born in Yokohama but passes away at an early age.
12 Jan 1896	Fourth child, Ruth (Zumruth) Apcar, is born in Yokohama. Apcar and Company goes bankrupt owing to Michael's financial and business failure.
6 Feb 1898	Fifth child, John Apcar, is born in Yokohama but passes away at an early age.
22 Nov 1906	Apcar Michael Apcar dies unexpectedly at the age of 51. Diana takes over the family business in Yokohama. Michael, the eldest son, withdraws from school owing to the family's inability to pay tuition.
1 Sept 1923	The Apcar residence is destroyed by the Great Kanto Earthquake, and the family temporarily evacuates to Kobe.
16 Aug 1929	Diana emigrates her eldest daughter Rose, her husband Samuel Galstaun and their three children (Lionel, Diana, Vanick) to San Francisco.
1936 (Unknown month/day)	Rose visits Yokohama for four months to care for Diana, who has fallen ill.
8 July 1937	Diana passes away at the age of 77 in Yokohama.
6 Jan 1942	The family makes donations to St. John Armenian Church in San Francisco for a memorial service for their two deceased children.
20 Sept 1946	Diana's grandchildren, Lucille and Michael, move to San Francisco.
4 Nov 1946	Diana's eldest son Michael, his wife Araxe and their two children (Katherine, Richard) move to San Francisco.

[Source] Timeline: Diana Apcar, the Lost Consul (Digital Archives on Diana Apcar, 2014)

Note 1) Diana Apcar's records, including books and critiques, are omitted from the timeline.

Note 2) Refer to Oyama (2015) for the family lineage and history of the Apcar family in Yokohama.

Taking over the family business after her husband's death (1906), Diana continued to write and participate in social activities while keeping her family and business going. Further, as the Temporary Armenian Consul in Yokohama, she

contributed energetically to the relief effort for refugees who escaped the Armenian genocide in 1915 through Siberia by helping them obtain visas and relocate to the United States and providing other services. This has been detailed in an article in the English Daily newspaper *Kobe Yushin Nippo*, dated 19 September 1923, which describes her as the Temporary Armenian Consul and as contributing to refugee relief work.[9]

The timeline does not precisely identify when the couple moved to Japan for long-term stay, but this is believed to have occurred after 1891. From then, for the half-century until she died in Yokohama, Diana did not go abroad or anyplace except for her regular trips between Kobe and Yokohama, following the earthquake. Her main works include a series of books and booklets that conveyed the Armenian genocide to the world, encouraged international support for Armenian refugees and raised worldwide awareness about the plight of the Armenians.[10]

There were many trials, including a business bankruptcy (1896), sudden death of her husband (1906), the Great Kanto Earthquake (1923), life as an evacuee in Kobe (1923 to 1925), detention and forced relocation of foreigners during World War II, the poor living conditions at her evacuation site and the relocation of her family to the United States (1929), among others[11]; I focus in the paper mainly on the family's work and business circumstances in Kobe, which are omitted from the aforementioned timeline and Ohyama's essay, in order to learn how Japan treated Armenian families during W. W. II.

2. The Great Kanto Earthquake and Evacuation to Kobe

The Great Kanto Earthquake of 1 September 1923, heavily damaged Yokohama and deeply affected the Apcar family. The timeline contains only one sentence on the

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[9] Mizuyo Ohyama (2015), 'A Story of the Three Generations of the Armenian Apcar Family,' (in Japanese) pp. 134–135, in Yokohama Gaikokujin Shakai Kenkyukai and Yokohama Archives of History, *Yokohama and Foreign Societies*,' Nihon Keizai Hyouronsha Ltd., 2015.

[10] The written works published by Diana Apcar include the following:

・Susan, 1892.

・Home Stories of the War, 1905.

'The Truth about the Armenia Massacres,' Japan Gazette, 1910.

Betrayed Armenia, 1910.

'In His Name…' Japan Gazette, 1911.

'The Peace Problem.,' Japan Gazette, 1912.

'Peace and No Peace,' Japan *Gazette*, 1912.

'The Great Evil.,,' Japan Gazette, 1914.

・On the Cross of Europe's Imperialism: Armenia Crucified, 1918.

[11] Ohyama (2015)

incident: ‘Residence was destroyed by the Great Kanto Earthquake, and we temporarily evacuated to Kobe’.

The details of the evacuation are not evident from the timeline. However, they can be determined in the following materials.

In response to the damage caused by the Great Kanto Earthquake, a high level of foreign aid was provided, especially by the Republic of China, the United States, the United Kingdom, Belgium, India, Austria, Canada, Germany, France, Peru and other nations.[12] Beyond donations and medical supplies, the United States, Britain and Canada temporarily dispatched naval vessels and passenger ships to help with the rescue.

The Empress of Canada of the Canadian Pacific Steamships Company built in 1920 to be used in the routes between Canada and Pacific, stopped at Tokyo on its maiden voyage on 3 September 1923—three days after the earthquake. It was then re-routed to Yokohama and transferred 587 Europeans, 362 Chinese and 31 Japanese passengers to Kobe.[13]

On 13 September 1923, the newspaper *Japan Weekly Chronicle* reported that the *Empress of Canada* had arrived in Kobe on the early morning of September 5. Its boarding roster lists the names and nationalities (or ethnicities) of the passengers. Among the refugee lists of England, the United States, Italy, Russia, Germany, Poland and Spain are two names of the Apcars—Mrs. D. A. Apcar and Mrs. M. Apcar—under the ‘Armenian’ category[14]. We believe that these names refer to Diana Agabeg Apcar and the wife of Diana’s eldest son.

Another rescue ship of Canadian Pacific Steamships, *Empress of Australia*, also transferred refugees to other ships or to Kobe until it departed Yokohama on September 12.

According to a September 13 article in the *Japan Weekly Chronicle*, this ship arrived in Kobe on September 10. Only the names of the 500 refugees were included in its boarding roster, but the two names of Mr. M. Apcar and Mrs. Apcar are found in the

[12] 'Kanto Martial Command Information' (September 1923), a document on which describes natural disasters, in Kobun Biko [公文備考] (Official Remarks) Volume 161, describes in detail the support provided by different countries ('Official Remarks of the Ministry of the Navy of Japan,' digital archive collection at the Japan Center for Asian Historical Records of the National Archives of Japan).
[13] ‘All Ships Aiding Relief,' New York Times, September 9, 1923.
[14] The Japan Chronicle Weekly, September 18, 1923, p. 369 (by courtesy of Mr. Takashi Kinoshita of the Association of Nagasaki Municipal Foreign Settlement Study).

list[15]. The former name is presumed to denote Diana's son Michael Apcar, while the latter is uncertain but presumed to indicate Rose, her eldest daughter.

Thus, it is believed that the Apcar family was evacuated from Yokohama to Kobe on September 13, escaping from the Great Kanto Earthquake. However, no record can be found on their circumstances after that in the family records.

3. The Apcar Family in Kobe

One document does throw some light on their circumstances in Kobe—a document investigating foreigners, titled 'Behaviours of Foreigners Requiring Observation and Other Foreigners' (10 October 1925), created by the Western Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan.[16]

Regarding the Armenian Suspect
3-35 Nakajimadori, Kobe City
Second son: Michael Apcar
Born October 1891

The said individual is a pro-American, who has close ties with Americans and must be constantly monitored for the suspicion that he might be providing benefits to the said country.

In September of the last year, Michael moved his residence to Fukiai-cho, Kobe, with Diana, his wife Araxe, Ruth and his eldest daughter Dorothy. He is heading the Apcar and Company, which is based in Sanchome, Sannomiya-cho and relocated at the end of June last year. The family is doing quite well and has recently begun importing radios from the U.S., making trips back and forth to Yokohama once a month for commercial reasons and to manage assets.

After they were evacuated from Yokohama to Kobe, Diana, with Michael, his

[15] Japan Chronicle Weekly, September 18, 1923, p. 384 (by courtesy of Ryohei Taniguchi of the Kobe Foreign Settlement Study Group).
[16] Report from Governor Yoshiro Yamagata of Hyogo Prefecture to Home Secretary Reiji Wakatsuki and Minister for Foreign Affairs Kidehara Shijuro (Hyogaihashin [兵外発信] No. 3283). (by courtesy of Meline Mesropyan).

wife, Ruth and Dorothy, moved to Fukiai-cho, northeast of Kobe's foreign settlement. The investigation reported that Michael's residence was 3-35 Nakajimadori, Kobe, and it was apparent that the Apcar and Company's office was located in Sannomiya-cho, in the heart of Kobe, where they imported radios and other machinery, and the business in Yokohama was being operated from Kobe for the time being.

The investigation report also includes the following:

> His older sister Rose, who is married to Samuel Galstaun, resides in Kamitsutsui-dori, Kobe City, and they are waiting for an approval to visit the United States. They are currently filing an application for the same, which will likely be approved. Further, they are planning to relocate to Yokohama while maintaining communication with the Apcar and Company in Kobe, and this move is likely to happen sometime this month.

Thus, Rose and her husband Galstaun had been waiting to be approved to move to the U.S., while living in Kamitsutsui-dori, which is further east from where Diana and the rest of the family members were living. Because it was difficult to gain approval for this, they were instead planning to relocate their business to Yokohama. Ultimately, Rose, her spouse and three children moved to San Francisco on 16 August 1926.

How was the Apcar family perceived by the Japanese government at this time? The report indicated that they were regarded as 'pro-American Armenians who provide certain benefits to America'. This may be because the Apcar and Company conducted its transactions mainly with U.S. companies, and the family itself constantly expressed the desire to move to the United States. However, other reports and materials do not contain any clear evidence that the Apcar family was a foreign enemy.

4. Armenians Living in Kobe

When did the Apcars first come to Japan?

Diana's timeline indicates that she got married in Rangoon on 18 June 1889, and left for her honeymoon to Japan in the same year. *The Rising Sun and Nagasaki Express*, an English paper for foreigners living in Nagasaki, published the following news on 21 August 1889: British freighter ship, *Verona* (1876 tonnes), leaves Hong Kong heading to Kobe, enters the Nagasaki port on August 18 and departs to Kobe on the 19th. The passenger list contains the names of the Apcar couple and of one of their servants as

passengers heading to Kobe.[17]

This evidence indicates that their first visit to Japan was in August 1889. Details on the beginning of their actual long-term stay in Japan and of their business activities will be given later.

The remains of the foreigners and some Japanese who passed away in Kobe and nearby areas after the Meiji era are buried at the Kobe Municipal Foreign Cemetery, located at the southern foot of Futatabisan Mountain, to the north of Kobe. The Kobe Municipal Foreigner Burial Register lists the name, hometown, year of death and other details of 2040 groups (of which, one group is unnamed) of those who were buried at Onohama Cemetery and Kasugano Cemetery between 1867 and 1961.[18]

This material includes facts on the Armenians living in Kobe.

- Cemetery Register No. 76 District C5 #5–A. M. Apcar. Gender: male. National origin: Iran. DOB: December 1855. DOD: 22 November 1906 (50 years old).
- Cemetery Register No. 90, District D3 # 46–T. M. Arratoon. Gender: female. National origin: Iran. DOB: 18 December 1859. DOD: 14 January 1940 (80 years old).
- Cemetery Register No. 91: District D3 # 45–C. M. Arratoon. Gender: unknown. National origin: Iran. DOB: unknown. DOD: 9 April 1952 (age at death unknown).
- Cemetery Register No. 632: District D3 # 35–Martin Khachatoor Galstaun. Gender: unknown. National origin: Romania. DOB: unknown. DOD: 27 October 1924 (age at death unknown).

The age at death of A. M. Apcar available elsewhere differs from that mentioned in this record, but his dates of birth and death match with those given on the tombstone of the Yokohama Yamate Foreign General Cemetery. An obituary [19] indicates that the funeral was conducted in a freemason burial style, held at Kobe's Kasugano Cemetery; therefore, it is presumed that he was buried there and later transferred to a cemetery for foreigners in north Kobe, finally to Yokohama Yamate Foreign General Cemetery.

[17] Article dated 21 August 1889: 'Information on Ships Embarking & Disembarking Nagasaki' (by courtesy of Takashi Kinoshita).
[18] Ryohei Taniguchi (2006), 'List of Buried Individuals at the Former Onohama Cemetery and Former Kasugano Cemetery between 1867 and 1961,' p. 77.
[19] Ohyama (2015), p. 133.

Several Armenians may have lived in Yokohama in addition to A. M. Apcar, as indicated in the Kobe Municipal Foreigner Burial Register. Considering the surnames, three Armenians or ethnic Armenians were buried there: T. M. Arratoon, C. M. Arratoon and Martin Khachatoor Galstaun. It is unclear what kind of relationship these individuals had with the first generation of the Apcar family in Yokohoma. However, it is clear that by the 1950s, well after the end of the Meiji era, at least four individuals of Armenians were living in Kobe. Certain assumptions can be made with regard to their birthplaces, ethnicities and nationalities from the burial registers and the Japan Directory I of Yokohama and Kobe in addition to other commercial records. Iran is listed as the birthplace or nationality for three of these individuals, and Romania is listed for the fourth. The birthplace and nationality of A. M. Apcar are listed as Isfahan (Iran) and Russia, respectively, using "Record D" of the epitaph from the Yokohama Yamate Foreign General Cemetery. The epitaphs of the Armenians who lived in Japan indicate their historical diversity and the various circumstances of their dispersion reflected in the history of their migration and settlement.

III. The Apcar and Company in Yokohama and Kobe

1. The Japan Directory and the Apcar and Company

Details on foreigners who lived in the foreign settlements of Yokohama, Kobe and the nearby mixed residential quarters, can be found in the Japan Directory and commercial records from the Meiji and Taisho eras.

The previous paper also has commentaries on various directories,[20] including the Japan Directory published in Yokohama, Kobe and Hong Kong between 1861 and 1912. These compilations of documents list the rosters of those in public offices, foreign embassies, commercial buildings and other sites in open ports in addition to the places of residence, names of primary individuals, advertisements and related laws and regulations. This collection is referred to as Japan Directory I here. The Kobe Japan Chronicle was not compiled as documentation but as an annual directory.[21] The directories published

[20] *Foreigners in Japan in the Post-Edo to Meiji Era 'Japan Directory' [機関名鑑] (whole 48 volumes)*' (Supervised by Kazuo Tatewaki, Yumani Shobo, 1996–1997).
[21] The Directory & Chronicle for China, Japan, Korea, Straits Settlements, Malay States, Siam, Netherlands India, Borneo, the Philippines, & C. 1918–1941, 42.

from 1918 to 1942 are called Japan Directory II in this paper.

In terms of the Apcars Japan Directory I does not contain detailed records such as business type, industry, organisation or transaction, but it includes company names (the names of commercial establishment, shipping lines and hotels), names of the owners and their places of residence. Therefore, I have created a document titled 'Yokohama and Kobe Apcar Business Chronology', which lists all businesses related to the Apcar and Company and the Apcar family, all drawn from Volume 10 through 47; this list contains names of all the individuals and businesses related to the Apcar family in 48 volumes of Japan Directory (Volume 48 consists of drawings). We shall use this chronology (Tables 2-1 and 2-2) to track the business endeavours of the Apcar and Company in Yokohama and Kobe.

2. Yokohama and the Apcar and Company

By 1889, when the newly married Apcar couple is believed to have visited Japan for the first time, the Apcar and Company's Calcutta-based maritime transportation business was already conducting business in Yokohama. However, it was only working as a shipping agency for another prestigious company. In fact, between 1888 and 1890, the office of Apcar Line was located in Settlement No. 75 of Bernard Shokai and in Settlement No. 50 of Cornes Shokai between 1907 and 1909. It temporarily rented the offices of other firms.

The Apcar and Company began its full-fledged operations in Japan around the year 1895 (Japan Directory I vol. 17). They relocated their office from Bernard Shokai to Settlement No. 49 between 1895 and 1910. Over this period, the Apcar family moved from 224 Yamate (1899) to 156 Yamate (1904) and then to 224C Yamate (1907–1909). Sometime between 1928 and 1942, they settled at 164 Yamashita-cho, Naka-ku of Yokohama.

Table 2-1: Yokohama Apcar & Co. Business Chronology (1888 to 1910)

	Japan Directory Volume	Company Name	Business Owner & Agency's Name	Location
1888(M 21)	vol.10	Apcar Line of Calcutta Steamers	Agent (A. Bernard)	75
1888(M 21)	vol.10	Barnard, Arthur		19 Bluff & 75
1889(M 22)	vol.11	Apcar Line of Calcutta Steamers	Agent (A. Bernard)	75
1890(M 23)	vol.12	Apcar Line of Calcutta Steamers		75?
1895(M 28)	vol.17	A. M. Apcar & Co., Merchant and Commission Agent	A. M. Apcar, Z.Yoshida H. Nakamura	49?
1895(M 28)	vol.17	Apcar & Co., A. M.		49
1895(M 28)	vol.17	Apcar, A. M.		49 & 140 Bluff
1895(M 28)	vol.17	Apcar, Mrs. A. M.		140 Bluff
1899(M 32)	vol.21	Apcar & Co., A. M.	A. M. Apcar	49
1899(M 32)	vol.21	Apcar & Co., A. M.	A. M. Apcar	224 Bluff & 49
1899(M 32)	vol.21	Apcar, Mrs. A. M.	Apcar, Mrs. A. M.	224 Bluff
1899(M 32)	vol.21	Apcar & Co., A. M.	Apcar G. J.	49
1903(M 36)下	vol.29	A. M. Apcar & Co., General Merchant Commission Agents	A. M. Apcar, Z. Yoshida, G. Ishikawa, M. Katagiri	49
1904(M 37)下	vol.31	Apcar Line of Steamers	Agents (Browne & Co.)	72
1904(M 37)下	vol.31	A. M. Apcar & Co.	A. M. Apcar	156 Bluff & 49
1906(M 39)下	vol.35	Apcar Line of Steamers	Agents (Cornes & Co.)	50
1906(M 39)下	vol.35	Apcar & Co., A. M.		49
1907(M 40)下	vol.37	A. M. Apcar & Co.	Gomei Kaisha	49
1907(M 40)下	vol.37	A. M. Apcar & Co.	Mrs. A. M. Apcar	224-C Bluff & 49
1907(M 40)下	vol.37	A. M. Apcar & Co.	Apcar Michael	224-C Bluff & 49
1907(M 40)	vol.37	A. M. Apcar & Co.	Miss Rosie Apcar	224-C Bluff & 49
1907(M 40)下	vol.37	A. M. Apcar & Co.	Miss Ruth Apcar	224-C Bluff & 49
1907(M 40)下	vol.37	"Apcar"Line of Steamers	Agents (Cornes & Co.)	50
1908(M 41)	vol.39	A. M. Apcar & Co. Merchant and Commission Agents	Gomei Kaisha	49
1909(M 42)下	vol.41	"Apcar"Line of Steamers	Agents (Cornes & Co.)	50
1909(M 42)下	vol.41	A. M. Apcar & Co.	Gomei Kaisha	224-C Bluff & 49
1909(M 42)下	vol.41	A. M. Apcar & Co.	Mrs. A. M. Apcar	224-C Bluff & 49
1909(M 42)下	vol.41	A. M. Apcar & Co.	Miss Rosie Apcar	224-C Bluff & 49
1909(M 42)下	vol.41	A. M. Apcar & Co.	Miss Ruth Apcar	224-C Bluff & 49
1910(M 43)下	vol.43	A. M. Apcar & Co.	Gomei Kaisha	49

*The Japanese character '下' denotes 'second half'

Table 2-2: Kobe Apcar & Co. Business Chronology (1898 to 1912)

	Japan Directory Volume	Company Name	Business Owner & Agency's Name	Location
1898(M 31)	vol.20	E. A. Apcar, Import and Export Merchant	E. A. Apcar	307, Sannnomiya
1899(M 32)	vol.21	M. F. Arratoon, Merchant and Commission Agent	M. F. Arratoon	34-B, Shimoyamate-dori
1903(M 36)上	vol.28	Great Eastern Hotel	Proprietor, Apcar, A. M.	36, Sakaye-machi, Itchome
1904(M 37)上	vol.30	Great Eastern Hotel	Manager, Arratoon, C. M.	36, Sakaye-machi, Itchome
1905(M 38)下	vol.33	Apcar & Co., A. M.	Apcar, A. M.	163, Sannomiyacho Sanchome
1906(M 39)上	vol.34	Apcar & Co. A. M. and Great Eastern Hotel	Apcar, A. M.	36, Sakaye-machi, Itchome
1906(M 39)下	vol.35	Apcar, A. M. and Great Eastern Hotel	Apcar, A. M.	163, Sannomiyacho Sanchome 36, Sakaye-machi, Itchome
1907(M 40)上	vol.36	A. M. Apcar & Co., Export and Import Commission Agents	I. Okabe	163, Sannomiyacho Sanchome
1907(M 40)下	vol.37	Apcar & Co., A. M. (Gomeikaisha)		49, 163, Sannomiyacho Sanchome
1908(M 41)上	vol.38	A. M. Apcar & Co., Export and Import Commission Agents	I. Okabe	163, Sannomiyacho Sanchome
1909(M 42)下	vol.41	A. M. Apcar & Co., (Gomeikaisha), Western Union and Lieber's General Agents and Commission Agents, Kobe Branch	Mrs. A. M. Apcar, Miss Rosie Apcar	163, Sannomiyacho Sanchome
1910(M 43)下	vol.43	General Agents and Commission Agents, Kobe Branch	Mrs. A. M. Apcar	163, Sannomiyacho Sanchome
1911(M 44)下	vol.45	A. M. Apcar & Co., Kobe Branch	Mrs. A. M. Apcar, Michael Apcar, Z. Yoshida, G. Isdhiwata, B. Sugihara, S. Yamamoto, S. Takano.	163, Sannomiyacho Sanchome
1912(T 1)下	vol.47	A. M. Apcar & Co., Kobe Branch	Mrs.A. M. Apcar, Michael Apcar, Z. Yoshida, G. Isdhiwata, B. Sugihara, S. Yamamoto, S. Takano.	163, Sannomiyacho Sanchome

*The Japanese character '下' denotes 'second half', and '上' denotes 'first half'.

The business was essentially led by Michael Apcar, as the head of the family, and it occupied itself with trade and with serving as a commissions agent for other firms. However, unlimited partnerships were launched with Japanese individuals on multiple occasions (1895, 1903, 1907, 1908, 1909 and 1910). By 1895, Z. Yoshida and H. Nakamura and by 1903, Z. Yoshida, G. Ishikawa and M. Katagiri were the company's partners. Between 1907 and 1910, after the death (1906) of A. M. Apcar, the business continued under the family names of A. M. Apcar's daughters, Rose and Ruth.

Maritime and commercial laws ware repeatedly enacted, redacted and amended during the Meiji Restoration and the Taisho eras, and therefore they are extremely complicated to understand. I will attempt to summarise them as they bore on the Apcar and Company at the time.

In March 1899 (Meiji era 32), the Shipping Law (Act No. 47) was enacted and promulgated. The nationality of ships was subject to the provisions of the Commercial Code enacted in April 1890 (Meiji era 23), which provided that 'commercial ships and other sea-going vessels must be exclusively owned in such a way that all employees of an unlimited partnership, more than half of the employees of a limited partnership, all

directors of a corporation and all representatives of other types of business entities must be Japanese'. However, this provision was not strictly enforced. Later, a new rule for ship nationalities was enacted.[22] The foreign-owned Apcar and Company had difficulty in handling these changes, and the only way it could survive was by forming an unlimited partnership.

These changes in commercial laws during the Meiji era may have been the reason why the Apcar and Company was reorganised into an unlimited partnership in 1890, and the fact that it began to incorporate Japanese representatives was also likely to facilitate its adaptation to the new developments while staying in business.

3. The Apcar and Company at Yokohama House No. 70

No records exist that describe the business activities of the Apcar and Company or the goods they traded during this period. However, *Yokohama Boeki Shokei (1893)*, a compendium of trade statistics, industry types, business owners, union regulations and customs catalogues in Yokohama in the mid-Meiji era had the following details:

> Yokohama House No. 70 the Apcar and Company
> Owner: A.M. Apcar
> Goods imported: sheepskin, Japanese lacquer, hats, gum arabic and shellac.
> Payee: Sai Shi Rin (採芝林)
> Goods purchased for export: pottery, lacquerware, paper articles, silk products, natural products, and sundries
> Payee: Zentaro Yoshida[23]

These details indicate the business conducted by the Apcar and Company at the time.

In the 1870s, the Apcar and Company was registered as a Prussian commercial establishment had an office at Settlement House No. 70; imported hats, gum arabic, lacquers and other items and exported pottery, lacquerware, paper articles, and sundries.

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[22]Ujiharu Shizuta, '*Modernization of the Maritime Law in Japan - Developmental Process of the Law* -,' '',
[23] Yokohama Boeki Shokei, by Tatsujiro Ito, Yokohama Boeki Shinbunsha, 1893

Let us now consider other documentation related to the Yokohama economy: the 1910 *Yokohama Seiko Meiyokan* (Honorary Accounts of Successful People in Yokohama). This record commemorates the 50th anniversary of the port's opening and briefly notes the achievements of outstanding individuals based on industry type, listing the 43 public and private businesses that contributed to the city's regional development. Chapter 41 of this document—Foreign Firms and Staff—recognises the Cornes Shokai and the Apcar and Company as notable entities in the region..

> 'A. M. Apcar is an Armenian who has moved from place to place and has done well in the trading business in Hong Kong. He came to Yokohama, established the Apcar and Company around 1890 and has been gaining profit by exporting silk to Egypt, India and elsewhere. He later opened the Great Eastern Hotel in Kobe but incurred significant damages on behalf of another person involved and was burdened with the recovery of the damages. Currently, A. M. Apcar is the representative of the business. The Apcar and Company become the joint organisation with the capital of 50,000 yen in 1906. The company mainly exports silk fabrics, processed goods, sundries, antiques, toys and miscellaneous items; has clients in England, Germany, the U.S., India and elsewhere and is flourishing as the Japanese retailer of a skin medication called Heal-all.
>
> Administrator Zentaro Yoshida has been designated as the director of their Japanese Department'[24].

It is incorrect to say that Apcar succeeded in Hong Kong after having moved from place to place. The Apcar and Company was already a large multilateral company when it was headquartered in Calcutta. Their establishment in Hong Kong and Shanghai, following their success in Southeast Asia and in the maritime, commercial and hospitality industries, was, by no means, the result of drifting but rather part of the family's business expansion policy. This document indicates the following: the character of the businesses they launched after arriving in Yokohama and, in particular, the goods they imported and exported, the failure of their Kobe hotel business, the reason for the failure, the opportunity they took to transition their enterprise into an unlimited partnership and who

[24]Yokohama Seiko Meiyokan, Tadayoshi Morita Edition, Publisher: Yurindo, 1910, pp. 845–846

the Japanese partners were.

A slightly modified directory has been edited in 1998 by referring both Yokohama commercial documents and the Japan Directory. The details for the Apcar and Company in this directory are as follows:

> The Apcar and Company (German trading company)
> Established in 1890 by an Armenian named Apcar, this is a growing company that exports silk fabric to Egypt and India. Their Great Eastern Hotel business in Kobe failed, but the company revived by exporting silk products, antiques and toys, and it was reorganised into an unlimited partnership in 1906. The following individuals are listed as members:
> Importing Representative of Sheep Skin & Gum Arabic: Sai Shi Rin
> Administrator, Japanese Department Manager & Export Representative: Zentaro Yoshida.
> Investor, General Affairs & Accounting Representative: Yoshisuke Ishiwatari (from Nakamura Village, Kamakura-gun). Address No. 70 (1891–) → No. 49 (1895–1923) → No. 164 (1926–1942)[25].

Their Japanese and Chinese partners, listed in the Japan Directory I, are also identified here: the Chinese partner Sai Shi Rin and the Japanese partners administrator Zentaro Yoshida and investor Yoshisuke Ishiwatari (no details for M. Katagiri, who is listed in vol. 29 of the Japan Directory I, are known).

4. The Apcar and Company and Agency Business

After they were evacuated to Kobe in 1923 and conducted trade business for a while from that location, they returned to Yokohama in 1925. The Japan Directory II gives the records of the Apcar and Company from then until February 1942, when they were, put into detention and imprisoned for allegedly violating the Public Security Preservation Law. According to the records of Japan Directory II, the Apcar and Company had its office at 164 Yamate-cho, Yokohama from 1928 to 1940. In 1928 and 1929, they were

[25] Iryuchi Jinbutsu Shokan Shojiten (Compact Directory of Individuals & Commercial Buildings in the Settlements), Yokohama Archives of History Edition, Illustration of Yokohama Foreigner's Settlements, Yurindo, 1998.

still conducting business as an unlimited partnership, with the following five Japanese members: S. Takano, S. Aramaki, S. Kirino, F. Urushiyama and S. Hattori (Japan Directory II 1928, 1929). However, after 1931, they no longer had any Japanese partners.

During this period, the Apcar and Company specialised in importing motorcycles that were rare in those days and in serving as agents for a large maritime insurance company.

They were also agents for the following companies in 1928 and 1929: Ariel Works of Birmingham, England; Ariel Motorcycles; Excelsior Motor Manufacturing & Supply Company; Chicago Super X & Henderson Motorcycles and the Day, Son & Hewitt Company of London (Japan Directory II 1928, 1929)

In 1933: Ariel Works and the London Day, Son & Hewitt Company (Japan Directory II 1933).

In 1934: Ariel Works, the Day, Son & Hewitt Company, the Palatine Insurance Company and the London Code Services (Japan Directory II 1919, 1934).

In 1940: Ariel Works, Ariel Motorcycles, the London Day, Sun & Hewitt Company, the Palatine Insurance Company, the Code Services of London and the W. Canning Company of Birmingham, England (Japan Directory II 1940).

In 1941–1942: Ariel Works London, the Day, Son & Hewitt Company, the Palatine Insurance Company, the Cord Services and the W. Canning Company (Japan Directory II 1941–1942).

In December 1943, the Apcar and Company's business was suspended owing to a forced evacuation to Karuizawa from their residence in Yokohama. We have not found any public document that records anything about the Apcar and Company after the Japanese defeat in World War II in August 1945. In September 1946, Diana's grandchildren, Lucille and Michael moved to San Francisco, and in November 1946, Diana's eldest son, Michael took his wife Araxe and family as well, marking the end of the Apcar and Company's trading business, which had lasted more than half a century.

5. The Apcar and Company in Kobe (1898–1928)

The Apcar and Company's operations in Kobe are detailed in the Japan Directory I & II, and the Japan Mercantile and Manufacturers' Directory (1918) (JMMD I) and the Japan Mercantile & Manufacturers' Directory and Foreign Residents' Directory (1929-30) (JMMD II).

According to the Japan Directory I, the Apcar and Company was established in Kobe in 1898 (Meiji era 31), 10 years after the launch of the Apcars' maritime business in Yokohama. The company's representative was E. A. Apcar, and his relationship with A. M. Apcar is unknown. A. M. Apcar then became the head of the company. The address of the business kept changing throughout his life, from 307 Sannomiya-cho (1898) to 34-B Shimoyamatedori (1899) and 3-163 Sannomiya-cho (1905). From 1905 to 1912, the address remained the same. In 1918 and 1923, the business was renamed the Apcar and Company Unlimited Partnership—the Kobe branch of the Apcar and Company in Yokohama—and it remained at 3-163 Sannomiya-cho afterwards[26]. However, both the category of its business and its precise details have not been located and remain unknown.

Unlike the Apcar and Company in Yokohama, whose office was inside a settlement, the office of the Kobe branch was outside a settlement (the Great Eastern Hotel was located on 36 Division Dori, near a settlement). It remains unclear whether there was no room in the settlement or there were greater opportunities in nearby areas outside them. Between 1907 and 1910, the business centred on the eldest son, Michael Apcar, the head of the second generation. The company mainly served as a commissions agent and as an agent for other commercial organisations. The Japanese members of the unlimited partnership slightly changed through the years, but they included Zentaro Yoshida and Yoshisuke Ishiwatari, as stated, in addition to I. Okabe, B. Sugihara, S. Yamamoto, K. Ueno, S. Takano, S. Inaba, G. Hata, I. Murata and K. Maeda (Japan Directory I 1908–1910).

The Kobe branch of the Apcar and Company disappeared from Japan Directory and JMMD I after a final listing in JMMD II[27]. Around the same time, a new Armenian-managed company named Arratoon Shokai and a hotel associated with it appeared in Kobe.

IV. The Apcar and Company and its Trading Goods

1. Trading Goods

The Apcar and Company's trade is an important clue in understanding how this

[26] The Japan Mercantile and Manufacturers Directory (1918); Japan Directory II, 1923.
[27] Japan Mercantile and Manufacturers' Directory (1929-30) and Foreign Residents' List.

Armenian maritime mercantile establishment conducted its international commerce. It illustrates a trade that was attentive to changes in lifestyle and social conventions in relation to the modernisation of Japan.

As noted, information on the goods exported by the Apcar and Company has been extracted from the Yokohama Boeki Shokei (1893) and the Yokohama Seiko Meiyokan (1910). The Apcar and Company imported lacquer (raw material) from China, gum arabic from Egypt, sheepskin and hats from Western Europe, and they exported the following products from Yokohama: pottery, lacquerware and silk (the largest export product in the Meiji era) to India and Egypt, along with paper products (the type is unknown), sundries, antiques and toys. Their products, excluding those made of silk or raw silk, were among those monopolised at the time by Sassoon, Jardine Matheson and other large commercial organisations from England and France; namely, different varieties of tea, silk and cotton cloth.

Shellac

The Apcar and Company imported shellac. The scale insect is found in India and in Southeast Asia, and it was an important commodity in Southeast Asian trades.

An important feature of this insect is celluloid-like substance called shellac that covers its skin, and this became the raw ingredient for recording discs, which were also called shellac discs. Gramophones and flat recording discs were invented in 1887, and gramophones for flat recording discs were invented four years later in Japan. By 1893 the Apcar and Company had already begun importing shellac for discs.

Cochineal

The same species also produces a dye. The internal pigments of a lac insect are scarlet coloured and are used as a natural dye called cochineal. This was significantly prized as a raw ingredient for dyeing silk cloths, and it was imported from Southeast Asia to Western Europe by the Dutch East India Company and to Japan by the Apcar and Company

Hats

Civilisation and enlightenment spurred demand for Western clothing for the general public and for the military. The multi-coloured ukiyo-e from this era illustrate the

widespread popularity of Western clothes and hats, as is obvious at the first glance (e.g. the picture of a steam locomotive along the Yokohama waterfront, created by Hiroshige Utagawa [1874] and the painting *Sesshu Kobe Coast Prosperity View* by Konobu Hasegawa [1871]). By 1891 (Meiji era 24), derby hats and black woolen hats had become prevalent. Western hats were so popular that by 1890 (Meiji era 23), the Japanese hat industry started a movement to restrict the import of Western hats. Military Westernisation began with the enactment of the government uniform order in 1870 (Meiji era 3), but the Japanese clothing industry was unable to produce the required hats, and the military had to rely on imports until the second half of the Meiji era. However, there are no detailed records of import volumes, purchase and sale amounts.

The Apcar and Company saw commercial opportunity in such changes. This was probably one of its strategies to sensitively observe and capitalise on changes in customs and culture that followed the civilisation and westernization and adapt their trading goods accordingly.

Gum Arabic and "Heal-All"

The book *Obei Baiyaku Shuchin* (Collection of Drugs Sold in the West) was valued during the Meiji and Taisho eras.[28] It was a practical guidebook on medicines imported from the West during the late Edo era and the Meiji era; it contained the names of medicines and their ingredients, formulation, efficacy and usage. However, it contained no description of medicine of skin desease drug called "Heal-All", which was one of the goods traded by the Apcar and Company that seemingly revitalised their business. Several parts of the book also do mention gum arabic. It was another item traded by the Apcar and Company. Gum arabic contains binding components for Japanese herbal medicines used as additives for pills that are effective against analgesia, coughing and pulmonary tuberculosis, and it is also a binding agent for liquorice and opium[29]. The Apcar and Company must have imported this product from its place of origin—Egypt—and, in return, they exported silk clothes to Egypt.

[28]Kazutsura Hirano, Collection of Drugs Sold in the West, Handaya Publishers, First Edition in 1901 (Meiji era 34), Fourth Edition in 1922.
[29]ibid., pp. 16–17, 152–153.

Radio

The previously mentioned secret report compiled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (October 1925) described the Apcar and Company's business as follows: 'They have recently been importing radios from the U.S'. Public radio broadcasting began in Japan on 22 March 1925 (Taisho era 14)—three years after the Great Kanto Earthquake. Immediately after the earthquake, Michael Apcar began importing radios to Kobe. Although no documentation indicates their import volume, purchases, sales price, etc., what we do know is enough to make this a representative example of the foresighting business of the Apcar and Company.

Motorcycles

Between 1928 and 1942, the Apcar and Company became the sole import agent for several British pioneering manufacturers, which include the Ariel Industries of Birmingham, England (Ariel Works, Motorcycles); Excelsior Motor Mfg. Supply Co., which sold the Excelsior Motorbike that they had begun manufacturing in Coventry, England, in 1896; Chicago Super X and Henderson Motorcycles, who sold a motorbike with the same name—Excelsior—in the 1910s and 1920s and Day, Son & Hewitt Ltd., a London-based prestigious company that produced medicine for breeding horses (Japan Directory II 1928, 29, 33, 34, 40, 41–42).

Although no statistics exist on the volumes and amounts in which the products were imported, products such as the aforementioned ones probably did not arrive in high volumes or did not proliferate through Japanese social hierarchies. Probably, they were only favoured by foreign settlers or the wealthy Japanese. However, the Apcar and Company served as the sole important agent for these, possibly because they forecasted that such products would soon be widely popular as modernisation developed.

2. Niche Markets

No detailed documents on the Apcar and Company's operations in Japan have been found; there are no business reports, trade documents, and lists of traded goods or any items that comprehensively record the details of their business in terms of organisations, functions, industry types and business categories. However, we have observed a certain characteristic feature of the company as Armenian maritime merchants in the fragmented series of documents that we have examined. Being a niche trading

organisation is the major part of their personality, as can be seen from their business categories, industry types and traded goods.

As noted in the previous section, the goods traded by the Apcar and Company, including drugs, living ware, clothes, equipment, vehicles and other goods, were not intended to satisfy the mass consumption or to be traded in large quantities. Goverment-backed companies and merchant adventurers from England, France and other countries would simply monopolise a single international product (tea, silk, raw silk or cotton). In contrast, the goods that the Apcar and Company traded were not in high volumes, did not have high consumption or did not yield high profit. Instead, of focusing on the quantity of goods or the profit on a particular good, the Apcar and Company probably intended to run a pioneering trading business that could forecast social preferences of the time. We believe this was a wise choice—reflecting their situation as a small ethnic minority group that arrived late in the game—to ensure the continuance of their trading activity.

The Apcar and Company had no strong national background and had an unstable foothold in its locations because ensuring business continuity is difficult for a single trading company working on its own. In an international setting, the primary way for them to ensure such continuity was to serve as an agent for larger commercial organisations with stronger organisational power and economic interests and to refrain from interfering with mainstream of international commodities, which were monopolised by these large organisations. From the perspectives of both trading goods and trade relationships, it appears that the Apcar and Company intentionally chose a peripheral, minor existence and business category.

The Armenian maritime merchants chose a niche role owing to their socio-political conditions stemming from their history.

Certain aspects of the company have emerged after studying the available documentation.

One of these is the fact that Armenians at the time had various identities (birthplaces, hometowns and affiliated countries). Let us reflect on this by using the aforementioned reference material.

Micheal Apcar's epitaph states 'birthplace: Eṣfahān (Iran); ethnicity: Armenian; nationality: Russia'. Out of the three Armenian Aratoons who were buried at the cemetery for foreigners in Kobe city, two were from Iran, and the third one was from Romania. Diana Apcar, along with her family, was denoted as an Armenian (mother) in

the MOFA Investigation Report and as an Armenian in the boarding list of the refugee ship of the Great Kanto Earthquake, dated 13 September 1923. They were registered as Persian (the Safavid dynasty that ruled Persia at the time) in Kobe's land register in the Meiji era. The Apcar and Company was regarded as a Prussian in the Yokohama Boeki Shokei and as Armenian in the *Yokohama Seiko Meiyokan*. Owing to the international circumstances between the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Armenian maritime merchants were regarded in different ways based on their country, region, nationality and territorial affiliation.

This was not a subjective choice but was rather inevitable owing to the times. Armenian maritime merchants under this historical niche condition in Yokohama and Kobe Settlements during the last half of the 19th century.

Summary

Basically, the Apcar and Company was a family firm, and after it entered the 20th century, it temporarily began operating as an unlimited partnership firm. This type of business was common among business managements of Armenian merchants in Southeast Asia and it can be considered an important factor of local kinship ties and the closed character of Armenian maritime traders and business managers. The traded goods of statutory companies such as Sassoon and Jardine Matheson, including tea, opium, silk, raw silk, cotton yard and cotton cloth, were referred to as bales, which can potentially produce profits proportional to their volume, weight and content and were high-volume, high-profit and high-demand goods. For its part, the Apcar and Company specialised in niche products in small quantities and volumes that were not exclusive products of large commercial companies. Thus, the Apcar and Company found its way of surviving through trading different goods in order to avoid competition and conflicts with the large commercial companies of international trade.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, there were international changes in Armenian enclaves. The various identities in the settlement documents can be regarded as the proof that Armenian merchants were diaspora traders, regardless of whether they wanted such an identity. It does not merely imply that they were a minority that conducted niche economic activities with low profitability. In contrast, it can be regarded as an environmental adaptation within a commercial niche, which entails capturing the trends and tides of the international economy and the time, along with trading goods that match the particular environment. The Apcar and Company's strategy was to ensure business continuity by pre-emptively handling innovative products before other trading companies could notice.

26 Martyrs of Nagasaki: From the Fresco of the Cathedral of Cuernavaca, Mexico

Etsuko MIYATA

Cuernavaca is located in Morelos State, approximately 150 kilometers south of Mexico City. The city was given to the famous conquistador of Aztecans from the early colonial period, Hernán Cortes and his family. The Franciscan cathedral, which was built in 1525, has been restored several times and serves as the religious center of the city. In 1959, during the conservation of the cathedral wall, a fresco painting was discovered depicting the process of martyrdom of the 26 saints of Nagasaki, which occurred in 1597[1]. The painting is divided into several parts showing detailed clothing, geography, and how the 26 Christians were executed (Photo1).

Photo 1. Fresco paintings of the cathedral

[1] Ma.Celia Fontana Calvo, *Las Pinturas murales del Antiguo Convento Franciscano de Cuernavaca*, Gobierno del Estado de Morelos,2010,p23

This paper intends to examine why the 26 saints and the martyrdom was painted in this cathedral so far away from Japan and how this martyrdom and strict persecution of Catholicism carried out in Japan was received by the world and the impact it had at the time.

The fresco painting depicted along the walls extending from the south to north of the building is regarded as representing the episode of the 26 saints' martyrdom, which took place in Nagasaki on 5 February, 1597. Early accounts of this incident were written by the famous Jesuit, Luis Frois, the Franciscan friar, Marcelo de Ribadeneira and a very short report by Antonio de Morga who stayed in Manila for a while. The first written evidence of this martyrdom was the account by Marcelo de Ribadeneira[2] who travelled to New Spain on the ship San Jeronimo in 1598. It is important to note that he actually witnessed this martyrdom. However, we cannot directly connect his account and the painting since we do not know when the fresco was actually painted. In any case, the first news of this martyrdom in the Far East reached New Spain in the following year after the incident. Among the 26 saints, the one and only Mexican friar was Felipe de Jesus, also known as Felipe de las Casas. As a result of his martyrdom, Felipe became the protector of the City of Mexico and in January 1629. This patronage was celebrated at the cathedral and the Franciscan monastery in Zócalo (Mexico City).

The fresco painting depicts several scenes which are not drawn in order and thus we can only assume that the painting, depicting the prisoners carried on an oxcart refers to Ribadeneira's account(Photo 2).

[2] Fr. Marcelo de Ribadeneira, *Historia de las islas del archipiélago filipina y reinos de la Gran China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca,Siam, Cambodge y Japón*, edición del P. Juan R. De Legésima, OFM,Madrid, Editorial Católica,1947

Photo 2. Prisoners in oxcart

This scene may be a reference to when the prisoners were sentenced to death by Hideyoshi Toyotomi and their left ears were cut. This incident actually occured on 31 of December, 1596. According to Ribadeneira's account, the prisoners' hands were tied behind their back, although in the painting, the hands are tied at their breast in the front. In Latin American society, it is the custom to tie hands in the front and therefore it can be considered that the painting was based on this Latin American tradition. Furthermore, in Ribadeneira's account, a Franciscan friar was

> Carried on an oxcart as if he was a conquerer, and he was filled with great joy.

As if the painting expresses this passage, one figure is drawn without his hands tied and holds his right hand high up in the air and his left hand over his heart[3]. High above this scene, there is an inscription written, "EMPERADOR TAICOSAMA MANDO MATYRIZAR POR…"translating "Emperor Taikosama (indicates Hideyoshi Toyotomi)

[3] Ma Celia Fontana Calvo,*Op.cit*,p.114

commanded the martyrdom for…" The rest of the sentence is invisible and painted with white pigment over it(Photo 3).

Photo 3. Title of the fresco paintings

Next to the scene of prisoners on oxcart, probably the city of Sakai, close to Osaka where the prisoners' long march to Nagasaki began, the painting continues to depict a scene with boats and a beach, probably representing Nagasaki. A total of 13 boats and 26 prisoners are depicted together with their guards. In the center of the scene, one person is highlighted with red clothing and sitting on a chair with a large sword (katana). Initially, this figure was considered to represent an important prisoner, one of the Franciscan friars, but the fact that the figure is painted holding a sword indicates that this person is most probably not a prisoner but is actually the governor of Nagasaki city, Hirotaka Terazawa or his younger brother, Hanzaburo Terazawa(Photo 4).

Photo 4. Japanese officer (possibly Hanzaburo Terasawa)

It is also noteworthy that in this scene, the Franciscans are drawn larger in the center and the Jesuits are drawn smaller beneath. This would have been regarded as the norm, considering that the Cathedral of Cuernavaca is Franciscan and therefore, the martyrdom of the Franciscans would be viewed as being more important than those of the Jesuits.

There are also more paintings and prints related to this 1597 martyrdom in Nagasaki. José Camaron and Manuel Periguer are some of the famous artists of the 18th century, who painted this incident, as well as other artists, who treated the martyrdom as the subject of their works and journals. Compared to these later paintings and prints, this fresco is faithfully ~~to~~ based on the historical facts, particularly regarding the geography of Nishizaka where the martyrdom took place, the formation of the cross and how the crowd included some Portuguese merchants among the many Japanese(Photo 5).

Photo 5. Portuguese merchants

On the other hand, some details are exaggerated to emphasize the religious element. For example, several crosses are left on the ground with only the clothes of the prisoners left behind, suggesting that these prisoners had already risen to the skies.

The fresco painting of the Cathedral of Cuernavaca is relatively unknown. There are several frescos in other places such as "Martyrdom of the Franciscans in Japan" drawn by Lazaro Prado in 1630 for the Franciscan monastery in Cusco, Peru. Other wall paintings depicting the martyrdom exist for example in the monastery of San Francisco in Lima, Peru, drawn probably between 1620 to 1624 as well as "Painting of 26 Saints Martyrdom" drawn in 1630 also in Lima, Peru. There are sculptures of the 26 martyrs of Japan in San Justo church and San Pastor church in Granada, Spain, and the altar of martyrs of Japan in Santiago church in Cadis, Spain[4]. This means that the news of the 26 martyrs of Nagasaki not only spread throughout New Spain but also to Peru and Europe. In the case of Peru, when the galleons arrived in Acapulco from Manila, many merchants

[4] Tomoko Taniguchi, *26 seijin junkyo to Cuernavaca daisikyouzaseidouhekiga: Kinseishoki Kirishitan Nagasaki daijunkyouzu to nisshi koushoushi,* p.137

traveled from Peru to buy Asian products clandestinely and thus the news also rapidly spread in Peru-via the merchants.

According to Celia Fontana, the fresco of Cuernavaca dates back to the 16th century[5]. The discussion over whether there is a direct Asian influence, especially regarding the techniques of the Japanese folding screen, has been a subject of debate among art historians. However, María Elena Ota Mishima points out that details depicted in the fresco painting, such as clothing and buildings, have very little in common with the style of Momoyama period[6]. In fact the buildings painted in the fresco are stone buildings. and appear to be least influenced by Japanese art. Even though the depiction of clothings and housings attempt to imitate those of Japan, this fresco was probably drawn by a local artist.

When we consider the reason why this fresco was painted in Cuernavaca, it is because many travellers stopped over in this city before leaving Acapulco for Manila, including the Franciscans who stayed in the monastery. If this theory stands, it means that the cathedral of Cuernavaca was very important to the Franciscans who headed to Acapulco.

This martyrdom terrified the Catholics in Japan and many Japanese catholics sought refuge in Manila. 500 ~ 1,500 Japanese lived in Manila at the end of 16th century, and most of them lived in Parián, the Chinese quarter working as traders Between 1614 to 1624, with the Japanese goverment's Anti-Christian Edicts becoming increasingly strict, many Japanese Catholics migrated to the safe port, Manila. Among these Japanese, some are said to have migrated further to New Spain, including artists[7]. If this is true, Japanese migration to New Spain began surprisingly early. However, it very unlikely that Japanese immigrants participated in painting this fresco. Based on several accounts, the fresco was most probably painted by the local people (or person).

San Felipe de Jesus

What kind of person was San Felipe de Jesus, the one and only Mexican among the 26 martyrs? Felipe's parents were from Spain and migrated to New Spain in 1571.

[5] Ibid,p.127
[6] María Elena Ota Mishima, *Un Mural de Novohispano en la Catedral de Cuernavaca:Los Veintiseis Mártires de Nagasaki, El Colegio de México* pp.692-693
[7] Ma Celia Fontana Calvo, *Op.cit*,p.133

Felipe was born as the tenth child and eventually joined the Jesuits. He was a mischievous child and bothered his nanny frequently. He often made his nanny sigh and looking up at the withered fig tree in the garden, she would lament " this fig tree will return to life with green leaves only when Felipe becomes a saint". In the seminary, Felipe studied grammar and Latin, but he left the seminary and went to Puebla city. However, he was unable to find a steady job there and returned to Mexico City where his parents lived and helped his father's trading business for a while. He eventually decided to go to the Philippines where his sister and her husband Gaspar Ruano lived. In 1590 Felipe visited Parián and spent a considerable amount of time with sailors, soldiers and merchants but oddly enough, he regained his faith while he was living there. He was accepted by the Franciscans in 1596 and decided to return to New Spain to become a Father. However, he never reached New Spain. The Galleon San Felipe got lost at sea and was washed ashore at Urado in Shikoku island in Japan. All the cargo was confiscated by Hideyoshi Toyotomi. Felipe was assigned as an ambassador and went to Osaka, then continued to Kyoto with his interpreter. On his arrival, he and Pedro Bautista were cast in prison and their left ears were cut. 23 Christians were placed on oxcarts and shown as a warning for people to understand the destiny of Christians in Japan. They were sentenced to death and their long journey to Nagasaki continued passing Okayama, Shimonoseki, Hakata, Karatsu, Nagoya. Later three Jesuits were added to the prisoners and the total number of martyrs became 26 people. Documents, kept in the University of Texas at Austin reveal to us the last words of San Felipe de Jesus.

> Felipe de Jesus crucified from both sides kept saying, "Jesus, Jesus, Jesus" and passed away.

From what we currently know about San Felipe de Jesus' life, we can assume that he was never a serious or good student in the seminary, which makes his personality even more interesting. He was born the tenth child out of eleven to a merchant family. Only the first male child was able to inherit the family business at that time and the rest were sent to monasteries and convents. There were without any doubt, many, who became good and religious people. However, among such people, Felipe would have stood out as an anomaly, having helped his father's trading business in Mexico city and living with sailors and soldiers in Manila. It seems strange that he was chosen as an ambassador in the

Galleon San Felipe incident in Japan. However, his knowledge gained among the soldiers and merchants in Manila and any possible contact with the Japanese in Parián may have provided him with enough knowledge regarding how the Japanese were and how Japan was as a country at the time. He probably had polítical skills to negotiate with the Japanese and was essentially a practical person.

What the fresco tells us

From the fresco at the Cathedral of Cuernavaca~~,~~ we are able to understand that the incident of the 26 martyrs in Nagasaki created a great impact in New Spain. The impact was so immense that the glorification of the martyrdom of San Felipe, the first Mexican to become a saint, is not drawn in this fresco. Since canonization occurred in 19th century, Felipe was not a saint until then, but becoming the first Mexican to be martyred must have attracted a lot of attention in New Spain. The reason why Felipe de Jesus is not drawn in this fresco maybe because the painter wanted to focus mainly on how Catholicism was denied with such cruelty in the Far East. Thus, the fresco highlights the agony of the prisoners traveling from Osaka to Nagasaki and at the end, their crucifixion.

The existence of several frescos, prints and paintings of the 26 martyrs of Nagasaki found in Peru and Europe indicates the large impact of this incident and the fact that some frescos especially in Peru were drawn at a quite early phase signifies that the news spread to Latin American society via the Manila Galleon Trade at a fairly fast speed.

In any case, this fresco tells us that the suppression of Catholicism, and the martyrdom in Nagasaki was received with surprise and shock by many Latin American and European societies. That is why this fresco was painted in this small stop over city for the Franciscans heading to Manila from Acapulco.

San Felipe de Jesus (de las Casas), the first Mexican saint, probably did not have any particularly strong identity as a Mexican when he moved to Manila or at the moment of his death in Nagasaki. However, his canonization as the first Mexican saint later in the 19th century probably gave many people a common identity of being Mexican.

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The Right Wall.

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Revisiting Corruption Theory of the Indian Ocean World: With Case Study of Slave Trade

Hideaki SUZUKI

Introduction

Among historians of the Indian Ocean, the 19th century is commonly understood to be a time when the Indian Ocean was devoured by Western influence. For example, K.N. Chaudhuri considers the loss of economic agency in the Indonesian archipelago at the hands of the Dutch East India Company in the 1650s as the starting point for the colonialism and Western economic imperialism bloomed in the 19th century. Bolstered by the European technological revolution in the latter half of the 18th century, British military might on land and sea would go on to redraw the cultural map of the Indian Ocean, he writes.[1] Hikoichi Yajima's interpretation is that the new naval dominance and economic order brought about by Britain and Holland from the late 17th to the 18th century marked the beginning of the dismantling of the traditional structure of the Indian Ocean World.[2] A. Wink postulates that the history of the Indian Ocean from the 7th to the 18th century can be divided into five stages, with the final stage being the point at which the Indian subcontinent, formerly a central engine of this oceanic world, was subordinated beneath British control owing to the dismantling of the various Islamic nations in the 18th century. Consequently, he suggests, traditional networks of the Indian Ocean were destroyed.[3] K. McPherson, in more detail than the aforementioned researchers, lays out his own theory.[4] According to McPherson, at the end of the 17th century, Europe went from acquiring luxuries such as spices or seeking profits through trade in the Indian Ocean to acquiring goods for mass consumption in the European market, such as tea and textiles. This shift in the aims of Indian Ocean trade rapidly integrated the Indian Ocean into the global capitalist economy. The unique economic development of the Indian Ocean, which makes this ocean as the Indian Ocean "World"

[1] Kirti N. Chaudhuri, *Asia before Europe: Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge, 1990, 387.
[2]Hikoichi Yajima, *A Civilization Created by the Ocean*, Asahi Shimbun Sha, 1993, 53.
[3]André Wink, *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World*, Vol. 1, Leiden, 1996, 3.
[4]Kenneth McPherson, *The Indian Ocean : A History of People and The Sea*, Oxford & New York, 1993, 198-252.

ultimately contributed to the economic and political dominance of European nations in the 19th century. These assorted theories, to the extent that they all portray the Indian Ocean with a single historical narrative, overlap with the descriptions of A. Toussaint[5], whose trailblazing work about the Indian Ocean was accepted by successive writers.[6] However, these studies typically neglects the era after the mid-18th century. The research of more recent writers on the history of the Indian Ocean provides a more wholistic blueprint and has come to address the 19th and even the 20th century. Yet, they do not form a clear counterargument to the previously described theories. Rather, it is more accurate to say that they take the previously described Indian Ocean as a given fact and, following the same tack, continue until they reach the 20th century.[7]

In addition to researchers who lay their focus on the Indian Ocean, there are others who are involved in global system theories. Among these researchers too, a similar perspective appears pronounced with respect to the 19th-century Indian Ocean maritime world and its relationship to the West. To give one typical example, Immanuel Wallerstein thinks that the economy of the European world established in the years between 1450 and 1550 reached a level of equilibrium with the Indian Ocean and other world systems during the 16th century. After weathering the crises of the 17th century, it began to incorporate other world systems during the age of industrial capitalism starting in the late 18th century.[8] Fernand Braudel, referring to the Indian Ocean region as the "Extrême-Orient", also conceives of that region as a single unitary world=economy until the 18th century. In the 19th century, it had been placed under the influence of a different world=economy, one that Europeans had begun participating in at the very end of the 15th century.[9]In contrast, Andre G. Frank attempts to revisit the early modern economy from a more comprehensive, global perspective. In doing so, he criticizes the Eurocentric descriptions and societal theories underpinning Wallerstein and Braudel's research while emphasizing

[5] August Toussaint, *Histoire de l'Océan indien*, Paris, 1961, 152, 167-168, 192.
[6]To give one example, Milo Kearney, *The Indian Ocean in World History*, New York & London, 2004, 6-7, 103-135.
[7] As research pointing out problems with the portrayal of history from a global history perspective, see: Hideaki Suzuki. "Indo-yo: Umi kara atarashii sekaishi ha katariurunoka," edited by Masashi Haneda, *Chiikishi to sekaishi*, Minerva Shobo, 2016.
[8] India as one example of the integration process, see: Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-SystemIII: The Second Era of Great Expansion of the Capitalist World-Economy, 1730-1840s*, San Diego, 1989, 129-184.
[9] Fernand Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme: XV^e-XVIII^e siècle*, Vol. 3, Paris, 1979, 607-669.

the centrality of Asia. Still, Frank is also of the mind that the superiority of the Asian economy had been gradually collapsing since 1400 and that the 19th century was a time when a new European hegemonic order was established.[10]

It can be acknowledged that from a macro perspective, the 19th century was a time of unprecedented and major change for the Indian Ocean region, in that it had become politically and economically subordinated. However, upon reflection, it is more difficult to assent to the notion that those made the Indian Ocean as Indian Ocean "World" such as "traditional structure of the Indian Ocean World" were completely dismantled or destroyed in the 19th century. To take just one example, most people, including researchers, acknowledge that traditional form of trade by the Dhows has continued to the present day, [11] even if it is considered to be disappearing. Rather, at the very least, it should be thought of has having survived, in a partially changed form. With this in mind, and while not disputing the changes of the 19th century from a macro perspective, one may ask, how did the people supporting these structures and networks, particularly those who had come to engage in trade in the Indian Ocean region, confront and adapt to those changes, and in doing so, how did they transform themselves?

Of these issues, the most fascinating example is the slave trade, particularly those who trafficked slaves. Slaves were long bought and sold as soldiers, consorts, concubines and agricultural and fishing laborers in the Western Indian Ocean World. In addition, owing to the demand for labor needed for the plantation agriculture that began across this maritime region in the 19th century, slaves became one of the most important goods traded in this period. However, at the same time, because the slave trade comprised buying and selling of human beings, the rise of humanism in the mid-18th century led Britain to monitor the slave trade across the Atlantic, as well as in the Indian Ocean World, starting from around the mid-19th century. Around the mid-19th century, these surveillance

[10] Andre G. Frank, *ReORIENT: Global Economy in the Asian Age*. Translated by Norihisa Yamashita, Fujiwara Shoten, 2,000, 437-528.
[11] For examples, see: Allan Villiers, *Sons of Sinbad: The Great Tradition of Arab Seamanship in the Indian Ocean*, New York, 1969; A. H. J. Prins, *Sailing from Lamu*, Assen, 1965; Hikoichi Yajima, *The Arab Dhow Trade in the Indian Ocean: Preliminary Report*, Tokyo, 1976; B. Martin & C. Martin, *Cargoes of the East*, London, 1978; Koji Kamioka and Hikoichi Yajima, *Indo-yo nishi-kaiiki ni okeru chiikikan koryu no kozo to kinou: Dau chousa houkoku 2*. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Research Institute for African Language and Culture, 1979; D. N. McMaster, "The Ocean-going Dhow Trade to East Africa," *East African Geographical Review* 4 (1996). Also, for the results of historiographical research, see: E. Gilbert, *Dhows & the Colonial Economy of Zanzibar, 1860-1970*, Oxford, Zanzibar, Athens & Nairobi, 2004.

activities became serious, ultimately leading to the eventual abolition of the trade. Notably, rather than taking over the slave trade, Britain forced an end to it. In that sense, it can be said that the slave trade was more directly influenced by the British activity than any other kinds of trade. It is slave traffickers that confronted by this influence most directly.

Accordingly, this paper focuses on the period from the 1850s to the early 1860s, when British anti-slave trade activities emerged in earnest. First, it will identify those responsible for conducting slave trafficking between Coastal Eastern Africa (roughly an area between Kilwa and the Lamu Archipelago) and the Oman–Persian Gulf Region (an area encompassing both the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf). Then, it shall seek to explain the ways in which these people reacted to the anti-slave trade activities.

1: Shipment of Slaves from Coastal Eastern Africa to the Oman–Persian Gulf Region

Letters from the British Consulate in Zanzibar, opened in the early 1840s, and journal entries from the travel diaries of visitors to Eastern Africa frequently described slave traders and visitors from the Oman–Persian Gulf Region as if they were the same. For example, British Consul at Zanzibar Charles P. Rigby's diary entry from 6 May 1859 notes that the streets were filled with "wild Arabs of the piratical tribes from Oman and the Persian Gulf" on the streets of Stone Town, the main commercial port on Zanzibar Island. He explains that they "have come with the expectation of joining in the plunder, and are day and night stealing slaves and free people with impunity."[12] The visitors from Oman and the Persian Gulf he describes are also frequently referred to by specific place names and group names of "Sooree" and "Qawāsim", or the more general appellation, "Northern Arabs."[13]

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[12] C. E. B. Russell, *General Rigby, Zanzibar and the Slave Trade: with Journals, Dispatches, etc.*, London, 1935, 80. Rigby's predecessor A. Hamerton occasionally made similar observations in his letter. For example, ZANA (Zanzibar National Archives, Tanzania)/AA/12/29/52 [Hamerton to Secret Committee, Indian Government, Zanzibar, 2 July 1842]; ZANA/AA/12/29/60 [Hamerton to Secretary of Bombay Government (hereinafter abbreviated as "SBG"), Zanzibar, 23 January 1843].

[13] Rigby himself, in a journal entry from March 8, 1861, refers to "northern piratical Arabs" and "the Soorees and the Yoasmis" interchangeably within the same journal entry. (Russell, *General Rigby*, 90). Numerous examples can be sited in addition to the above. N. R. Bennett & G. E. Brooks, Jr. (eds.), *New England Merchants in Africa: A History Through Documents 1802 to 1865*, Boston, 1965, 531 [Hines to Seward, Zanzibar, 25 October 1864]; R. F. Burton, *Zanzibar: City, Island, and Coast, London*, 1872, Vol. 1, 373-374; C. New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours*

Accordingly, the fact that visitors from the Oman–Persian Gulf Region, however they were referred to, had become associated with the slave trade in the East African Coast of that time should be understood in relation to the fact that Zanzibar exported more slaves to the Oman–Persian Gulf Region than any other of the land and sea regions to its north.

The Western Indian Ocean World north of Eastern Africa can be broadly divided into three sub-regions—Southern Arabia and the Red Sea Coast, the Oman–Persian Gulf Region, and the western coast of the Indian subcontinent. Southern Arabia and the Red Sea Coast were supplied with slaves from nearby Ethiopia and Somalia. On the western coast of the Indian subcontinent only existed limited demand of domestic and military purposes. As R. N. Colomb[14], a participant in the anti-slave trade patrol, said, because the local populations were already quite numerous, there was not a high demand for outdoor laborers.[15] By contrast, in the Oman–Persian Gulf Region, particularly the Arabian Peninsula (roughly between Bahrain and Ras al Hadd), slaves were used for fishing labor and navigation activities, in addition to the domestic slavery, concubinage and military slavery.[16] Further, owing to a chronic rainfall shortage, massive manpower was needed in the region for the construction and maintenance of irrigation systems as well as for industries that had become critically important in the gulf region—date palm plantations and pearl fishing.[17] One report from as late as the early 20th century states that approximately one out of three pearl divers was of African ethnicity.[18] Aside from the nomadic people who regularly came to the coastal region to engage in seasonal labor, there was no supply of labor nearby to meet the region's extraordinarily high labor

in Eastern Africa: with an Account of the First Successful Ascent of the Equatorial Snow Mountain, Kilima Njaro and remarks upon East African Slavery, London, 1971[3] (1st ed. 1873, London), 35.

[14] R.N. Colomb, *Slave-Catching in the Indian Ocean: A Record of Naval Experiences*, New York, 1873, 100.

[15] See: Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices & Ivory*, 40.

[16] For example, W. Heude, *A Voyage up the Persian Gulf and a journey overland from India to England in 1817*, London, 1819, 22; J. S. Buckingham, "Voyage from Bushire to Muscat, in the Persian Gulf, and from thence to Bombay," *Oriental Herald* 67 (1829), 94; R. Mignan, *Winter Journey through Russia, the Caucasian Alps, and Georgia; thence across Mount Zagros, by the Pass of Xenophon and the Ten Thousand Greeks, into Koordistaun*, London, 1839, Vol. 2, 240; B. Miles, *The Countries and Tribes in the Persian Gulf*, 1919, 401.

[17]Concerning the uses of slavery in the Persian Gulf mentioned above, see also: T. M. Ricks, "Slaves and Slave Traders in the Persian Gulf, 18th and 19th Centuries: An Assessment," in Clarence-Smith (ed.), *The Economics of The Indian Ocean Slave Trade*, 65.

[18] Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices & Ivory*, 37.

demand.

In addition to the high demand for labor in this region, slaves were brought into Istanbul and the Iranian Plateau via Busehr and Basra. Historically, slave servants had been broadly observed among the wealthy class of urban administrators and merchants of these areas, with the harems of the Ottoman court being one illustrative example.[19] Further, there were frequent reports of pilgrims bound for and returning from Mecca and Karbala purchasing slaves from this region along the way,[20] with even a few being sent on towards India as well.[21] The existence of this broad market in the region's hinterlands is another reason explaining why more slaves were sent to the Oman–Persian Gulf region than any other.

Throughout the 19th century, the shipment of slaves from Coastal Eastern Africa for sale in the Oman–Persian Gulf Region was consistently and highly profitable. For example, according to occasional reports from the 1830s and 1840s, slaves sold in Muscat commanded a twenty percent higher price than those in Zanzibar and were traded in Basra and Busehr for no less than fifty percent more.[22] Reference to the slave sale prices actually reported in Zanzibar and Busehr in 1842 indicates that Zanzibar prices ranged from 14 Maria Theresa Thalers (hereinafter "MT$") to 25 MT$[23], while the price in Busehr was 35 MT$.[24]

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[19] For example, according to Toledano in his examination of the slavery system and its abolition in the territory of the Ottoman Middle East during the 19th century, the slaves carried from Eastern Africa were primarily female, and generally were considered to have a reputation lower than that of female slaves taken from Georgia, the Caucasus, and Ethiopia. (E. R. Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East*, Seattle & London, 1998, 13).

[20] For example, *BPP* (Irish University Press British Parliamentary Papers, Slave Trade), Vol.24, Class D, 26 [Kemball to Robertson, Karrak, 8 July 1842];
IOR (India Office Records, British Library, UK)/R/15/1/143/355 [Abdool Nubbee to Kemball, r. n. p., 9 April 1854]; IOR/R/15/1/143/353-354 [Kemball to Anderson, Bushire, 12 April 1854].

[21] For example, *BPP*, Vol. 24, Class D, 71-72 [Memorandum explanatory of the cases cited by the Earl of Aberdeen, in his note to Ali Bin Nasir, 6 August 1842]; D. R. Banaji, *Slavery in British India*, Bombay, 1933, 74-76.

[22] For example, *BPP*, Vol. 24, Class D, 32 [Wilson to Government, n. p., 28 January 1831]; *BPP*, Vol. 25, Class A, 363 [The Acting Resident in the Persian Gulf to SBG, Karrac, 6 October 1840]; *BPP*, Vol.24, Class D, 26 [Kemball to Robertson, Karrak, 8 July 1842]. For similar statements, see also: Burton, *Zanzibar*, Vol.1, 462. From a later time, see also: *BPP*, Vol.51, Class B, 131 [Pelly to Anderson, Bandar Lenge, 5 December 1863]; See also: Colomb, *Slave-Catching*, 55-59.

[23] The note written by Zanzibar/American consul R.P. Waters, Oct 18, 1842, Bennett & Brooks, Jr. (eds.), *New England Merchants*, 253.

[24] *BPP*, Vol. 24, Class D, 30 [Edwards to Kemball, Bushire, 9 July 1842]

2: Identifying Slave Trade Traffickers

As was explained in the explorations of the previous chapter, in the trade between Coastal Eastern Africa and the Oman–Persian Gulf Region, slaves were highly profitable merchandise. However, as for the trade that actually linked the two, it would be a mistake to envision the slavers and slave ships packed exclusively with large numbers of slaves that are commonly associated with the Atlantic slave trade. According to the explanation provided by H. Disbrowe, whose responsibilities placed him personally at the forefront of anti-slave trade patrol, the actual state of slave shipments was as follows:

> The term 'slaver', it is not unworthy of remark, is scarcely applicable to vessels that engage in slave trade between Zanzibar and the Persian Gulf. No such thing as slavers, that is, a ship specially rigged for, or solely occupied in, the transport of human flesh, is to be found in these tracts. The slaves that may be on board constitute but a minimum part of the cargo in the vessel.[25]

The same fact is mentioned frequently in reports from the time.[26] Even if slaves were a highly profitable trade good as mentioned above, dhows did not deal in them exclusively, and they also did not simply travel back-and-forth between the Oman–Persian Gulf Region and Coastal Eastern Africa. As Kamioka and Yajima reported in the 1970s, the Dhows carrying only a single type of cargo for export is a relatively recent "trend of the last two to three years",[27] a mode of traffic only practiced after they had been motorized.

During the era when they were dependent on seasonal monsoon winds, as early 19th-century travellers to the Arabian Peninsula J. R. Wellsted and A. Villiers, from roughly a century later, reported,[28] the benefit of the seasonal shift in monsoon winds had to be exploited to the greatest possible extent. Accordingly, the Dhows typically travelled with the wind to various ports of call, taking in and selling any kinds of goods along the

[25] IOR/R/15/1/171/22-23 [Report on the Slave Trade in the Persian Gulf extending from 1 January 1 1852 to June 30 1858 compiled by H. Disbrowe].
[26] For example, IOR/R/15/1/157/208 [Jones to Anderson, Bushire, 28 August 1856].
[27] Kamioka and Yajima, *Indo-yo nishi-kaiiki*, 45.
[28] J. R. Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, London, 1838, Vol.1, 23-24 ; A. Villiers, "Some Aspects of the Arab Dhow Trade," *The Middle East Journal* 2-4 (1948), 399-416.

journey between the destination and the port of departure. The shipment of slaves was no exception, as attested to in a letter from B.W. Montrion in Busehr to A. Clarke, consul general in Aden, dated 3 May 1854, which states that in addition to slaves, ships returning from Zanzibar to the Persian Gulf typically carried a cargo of coffee, grains and rafters.[29]Despite this, existing literatures have examined slaves in isolation from these other goods. Accordingly, this paper will consider the slave traffickers while defining the importance of slaves to the overall scheme of goods traded between both regions.

In September of 2005, I made a series of interviews with the local elders at Sur and Balad al-Sur about trading activities in the past. Sur has been frequently mentioned in the 19th century documents as an important nexus of Indian Ocean trade including slave trade and Balad al-Sur is its hinterlands. One informant, Mr. A, stated that when people from Sur travelled south towards Coastal Eastern Africa, they would salt and dry the fish they caught along the journey and sell them in Coastal Eastern Africa.[30] Another respondent, Mr. B,[31] said that apart from dried fish, along the journey, the people of Sur would procure resources such as dates and cloth from the villages they visited along the coast of Oman, as well as funds, and use them to purchase grains, rafters and spices to carry with them on the return journey.

From these, the most noteworthy of all the resources carried from Sur to Coastal Eastern Africa is the dried salted fish. In Sur, dried salted fish are referred to as "māli□", a preserved foodstuff made from surplus catches of shark and kingfish, which are still procured in abundance to this day. In Zanzibar, it is referred to as "ng'onda" and is a very common foodstuff for the locals. Slaves would have eaten it daily as it was cheap and good source of animal protein.[32] Visiting Muscat in the early 1830s, E. Roberts lists salt and dried fish among the exports from that port to Eastern Africa.[33] Additionally,

[29] IOR/R/15/1/143/319.
[30]The interview was conducted in Sur on 20 September 2005. Mr. A was a man in his late 60s, whose father and grandfather had both conducted trade with Eastern Africa and India. The information presented in this paper was acquired in response to the author asking him what sort of trade was conducted with East Africa by his grandfather and the generations before him.
[31]The interview was conducted in Balad al-Sur on 21 September 2005. Mr. B was also a man in his mid-60s whose grandfather, just like Mr. A's grandfather, had traded far and wide, he said. People nearby attested that this was a person whose reputation lives on in local history. The information presented in this paper was acquired in response to the author asking him to affirm the authenticity of the information received from Mr. A.
[32] ZANA/AA/12/29/15 [Hamerton to SBG, Zanzibar, 2 January 1842]
[33] E. Roberts, *Embassy to the Eastern Courts of Cochin-China, Siam, and Muscat; in the U. S.*

according to C. Guillain, who surveyed Coastal Eastern Africa in the latter 1840s, boats departing from the Gulf of Oman coast would fish along their journey as far south as the Banaadir and Swahili coasts, where they would sell the dried salted fish at coastal cities. The salt they carried was also traded in Mogadishu and Mombasa.[34] Furthermore, detailed records of S.B. Miles, former British consul general in Muscat and extensive traveller to the coasts of the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf, indicate that dried salted fish were also carried to Eastern Africa from the Hikman Peninsula and Masihra Island.[35] W.H. Ingrams, colonial administrator of Zanzibar from 1919 to 1927, reflecting on his experiences there, wrote that the local residents, while having knowledge of salt-making, were almost entirely dependent on salt importation, barring rare cases of emergency trade stoppage.[36] This situation persists to this day.

In examining the resources carried from Coastal Eastern Africa to the Oman–Persian Gulf Region, one thing that stands out is the rafters mentioned in the interview—this is thought to primarily consist of mangrove rafters. In several deserted houses in the old districts of Sur, constructed between the mid-19th and early 20th century, the joists and window sills made from mangrove are still visible to this day. With regards to where these building materials came from, no information could be obtained from the area. However, medieval Arabic geography texts state that the homes in the prosperous 10th-century international commercial port of Siraf were constructed with timber from Eastern Africa. Further, as reports from archaeological surveys conducted by D. Whitehouse in Siraf and H. N. Chittick in Manda, located in the Coastal Eastern Africa Region have revealed,[37] owing to its many varieties and suitability for various uses, Eastern African mangrove

Sloop-of-War Peacock, David Geisinger, Commander, during the years 1832-3-4, New York, 1837, 361.

[34] C. Guillain, *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale*, Paris, 1846-8, Vol.2, Part1, 537, Vol.2, Part2, 335. See also: Burton, *Zanzibar*, Vol.2, 415; C. S. Nicholls, *The Swahili Coast: Politics, Diplomacy and Trade on the East African Littoral, 1798-1856*, 78.

[35] Miles, *The Countries and Tribes*, 489, 542.

[36] W. H. Ingrams, *Zanzibar: Its History and its People*, London, 1967, 285.

[37] al-I□□akhrī, *Kitāb al-masālik wa al-mamālik*, ed. by M. J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1889, 127; D. Whitehouse, "Excavation at Sīrāf: Second Interim Report," *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 7(1969), 51-52 ; H. N. Chittick, *Manda: Excavations at an Island Port on the Kenya Coast*, Nairobi, 1984, 218. Mangrove cultivation can also be observed along the Persian Gulf coast, but, according to Miles, *The Countries and Tribes*, 393, they are only used as fuel.

rafters[38] has long been used in the Oman–Persian Gulf Region[39] where construction-grade timber is so scarce.[40] A report on trade at the port of Zanzibar for the year 1859, to take one example, reports that 12,000 "rafters" were exported from Zanzibar to "Arabia" (Muscat, Aden, Mukalla) for a price of 3,800 MT$.[41] Although this appraised value was no more than 3.6% of the total value of exports from Zanzibar to Arabia, if one considers an article written by R.F. Burton, to the effect that the Arabian Dhows directly negotiated with local notables to procure labor for logging operations that they personally directed[42], it becomes apparent that transactions in Zanzibar do not fully capture the scale of the mangrove trade in the entire Coastal Eastern Africa.

The fact mentioned by informant Mr. B that grains from Eastern Africa were carried to Oman, was also noted by Guillain.[43] Further, according to F.J. Berg, who contributed a multifaceted exploration of Mombasa under the Busaidi Sultanate, trade between Mombasa and India was primarily focused on luxury goods. By contrast, trade between Mombasa and Arabia was fundamentally a trade in dietary staples.[44]

W.E. Taylor, a missionary in Eastern Africa during the latter half of the 19th century, gathered a collection of Swahili proverbs, aphorisms and well-known idioms.

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[38] For accounts of mangroves in the Lamu Archipelago, see: M. Horton, *Shanga: the Archaeology of a Muslim Trading Community on the Coast of East Africa*, London, 1996, 27-32.

[39]Kamioka and Yajima, *Indo-yo nishi-kaiiki*, 44-45, taking the ecosystem into account and pointing out the importance of the mangroves exported to the Middle East from Eastern Africa via the Persian Gulf. Id. at 46 – 52, for a detailed description of the types of mangrove timber sold, and the mangrove trade during the 1970s. For the uses of Mangrove timber and the demand for it in the Persian Gulf and Southern Arabia, see also: Gilbert, *Dhows and the Colonial Economy*, 110-133.

[40] Miles, *The Countries and Tribes*, 391; Kamioka and Yajima, *Indo-yo nishi-kaiiki*, 45. In this way, they became dependent on imports of timber for the timber used to build ships. (V. Fontanier, *Voyage dans l'Inde et dans le Golfe Persique par l'Égypte et la Mer Rouge*, Paris, 1844, Vol. 1, Part 2, 6-7; Miles, *The Countries and Tribes*, 412).

[41] MAHA (Maharashtra State Archives, India)/PD/1860/159/319 [Return of the Exports at the Port of Zanzibar in the Year 1859]

[42] R. F. Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa: from Zanzibar to Lake Tanganyika*, Santa Barbara, 2001 (1st ed. 1860, London), Vol.2, 358-359. Timber for shipbuilding was also cut further inland and sold to Arab shipbuilders (J. L. Krapf, *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labours during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa*, London, 1860, 138).

[43] Guillain, *Documents*, Vol. 2, Part 2, 336-337. Also, documents relating to the island of Zanzibar's export trade thought to be reports from the 1840s to the early 1850s also indicate that several varieties of grain were carried to the Oman-Persian Gulf Region (CAOM/FM/SG/OIND/5/23/n. p. [N. 3 Commerce d'Exportation]).

[44] F. J. Berg, *Mombasa under the Busaidi Sultanate: the City and its Hinterlands in the Nineteenth Century*, Ph. D. Dissertation, the University of Wisconsin, 1971, 197.

From these popular phrases, a frank account of this relationship between the Oman–Persian Gulf Region and Coastal Eastern Africa is forthcoming. "Kasikazi, comes with the fish, kusi, comes with the grain (*Kasikazi mja na swi, Kusi mja na matama*)".[45] According to Taylor, *kasikazi* is the northeastern monsoon, the wind that brings the Dhows from the Oman–Persian Gulf Region and Southern Arabia to the cities of Coastal Eastern Africa. Almost all of these Dhows carried the previously described dried salted fish to exchange for grains and other produce.[46] With the end of the *kasikazi* season, fields are plowed and grain is grown. Once grown, these crops are then harvested during the *kusi* season, when the southeastern monsoon winds blow. The grain is loaded on the Dhows, which sail northward on the favorable winds beginning in the latter half of the *kusi* season, *demani* (from August to September), and continue into the *tanga mbili* season (from late September to November).[47] In this way, *kusi*, meaning the southeastern monsoon, was a harbinger of not only the harvest but also the wind that bore the harvested grain from the cities of Coastal Eastern Africa to the Oman–Persian Gulf Region and Southern Arabia—layers upon layers of meaning in a single couplet.

As described above, the goods traded on the voyage to and from the Oman–Persian Gulf Region were indispensable to the orderly running of both societies. Like the timber carried from Coastal Eastern Africa, produce that the Oman–Persian Gulf region could not adequately supply on its own, was an important part of this. Also, as evinced by the salt imported by the cities of Coastal Eastern Africa, even though it was possible for them to be self-sufficient in securing the food supplies needed to survive, the local people continued to be dependent on trade.

Those who engaged in the critical trafficking between these two maritime regions were also regular short-term residents of the cities of Coastal Eastern Africa. For example, Burton, visiting Zanzibar in 1850, reported that its ordinary population was 25,000, but that during the northeastern monsoon season swelled dramatically to between 40,000 and 50,000 people. Rigby gave a similar account.[48] Just as in Burton's description of the Arabs from Sur assiduously selling their goods in the Salt Bazaar besides the Stone Town fortress[49], while waiting for the southeastern monsoon, these visitors engaged in

[45] W.E.Taylor, *African Aphorisms ; of Saws from Swahili-Land*, London, 1891, 26.
[46] *Ibidem*.
[47] *Ibidem*, 27-28.
[48] Burton, *Zanzibar*, Vol.1, 81; Russell, *General Rigby*, 328.
[49] R. Burton, "Zanzibar, and Two Months in East Africa," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*

selling in the markets and loading cargo in the harbors, even engaging in intraregional trade carrying people and goods.

In this way, the resources carried regularly in the monsoons between the Oman–Persian Gulf Region and the cities of Coastal Eastern Africa were critically important to both societies. Further, the economic contributions made by these traders to the cities of Coastal Eastern Africa while waiting for the winds to change cannot be ignored. Certainly, the fact that they shipped slaves remains unchanged, but their slave-trading aspect is not the only one that should be examined or emphasized. Rather, it should be understood that for them, the shipment of slaves was just one element out of the many activities they engaged in on these back-and-forth journeys. If attention is instead paid to the symbiotic relationship explained in this chapter, the two maritime regions can instead be understood as a single integrated whole. In other words, it was none other than these part-time slave traders travelling between the Oman–Persian Gulf Region and Coastal Eastern Africa who were responsible for integrating these two maritime regions through this symbiotic exchange, which is definitely a part of the Western Indian Ocean World.

3: Britain's Move towards Abolition of the Slave Trade

Article 9 of the General Treaty,[50] signed in the year 1820 between Great Britain and all of the sheikhs of the Arabian side of the Oman–Persian Gulf Region, except Muscat and Kuwait, contains the following provision: "the carrying off of slaves, men, women or children, from the coasts of Africa or elsewhere, and the transporting of them in vessels, is plunder and piracy, and the friendly Arabs shall do nothing of this nature". This was the opening shot fired in the regulation of the slave trade in Oman–Persian Gulf Region. Following this, in 1822, a treaty was signed between Britain and the Bu Said in Muscat, who had not signed the aforementioned treaty. This treaty, commonly known as the Moresby Treaty,[51] is evaluated by a modern historian as "a surprising achievement in the light of slow progress made later in the ninteteenth century to end the East African

153(1858), 206.

[50] "Translation of the General Treaty with the Arab Tribes of the Persian Gulf", in C.U. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanad: Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*, Vol.13, 1909 (1st ed. 1862-1866, Calcutta, in 8 vols.), 172-176.

[51] "Treaty concluded with the Imam of Muscat for the Suppression of Slavery" in Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties*, Vol.13, 209-211.

slave trade".[52] According to this treaty's terms, all ships were charged with the duty of carrying documents certifying both their port of departure and destination port. Further still, if any ship was discovered carrying slaves within the triangle joining Madagascar, Zanzibar and Lamu Island, they were to be taken to Muscat and executed by the Bu Said. Furthermore, the treaty conferred upon Britain the right to seize ships outside of the triangle (Article 6). Also, five days after the signing of the treaty, an additional provision was added, expanding the scope of Britain's right to inspect and seize ships[53].When this treaty was renewed in 1839, this scope was expanded yet again[54]. However, no other treaty for the purpose of controlling the slave trade was signed between Britain and any other power in the Oman–Persian Gulf Region. Furthermore, as will be described intra, owing to insufficient manpower, the task force charged with enforcing these provisions was unable to seize a single vessel from the year 1820 to 1842[55].

In search of a breakthrough, a new slave trade regulation[56] known as the Hamerton Treaty was signed with the Bu Said in 1847, formally banning all shipment of slaves from Africa to Asia. In order to give effect to this treaty, British Royal Navy sent squadrons from the Cape of Good Hope and bases on the East African Coast to patrol the area between the Cape of Good Hope and south of the 4th parallel south, and to north of it the Indian Navy sent patrolling squadrons[57]. Further, by 1848, anti-slave trade treaties had been signed with all of the other powers in the Oman–Persian Gulf Region, with a few exceptions such as Qatar and Kuwait[58]. With this achievement, Britain had finally laid the legal foundation, in Coastal Eastern Africa and the Oman–Persian Gulf Region, for its campaign to abolish slave-trading activities.

However, the Indian Navy was not in a state of sufficient strength to effectively

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[52] R. W. Beachey, *The Slave Trade of Eastern Africa*, London, 1976, 44.
[53] *Ibidem*, 212.
[54] *Ibidem*, 220-221.
[55] *BPP*, Vol. 24, Class D, 27 [Kemball to Robertson, Karrak, 8 July 1842]
[56] "Agreement between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and His Highness Syud Saeed Bin Sultan, 'the Sultan of Muskat,' for the termination of the Export of Slaves from the African Dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Muskat," in Aitchson, *A Collection of Treaties*, Vol. 13, 221-223.
[57] R. N. Lyne, *Zanzibar in Contemporary Times: A Short History of the Southern East in the Nineteenth Century*, New York, 1969 (1st ed. 1905, London), 41.
[58]Regarding treaties for the restriction and abolition of the slave trade between Coastal Eastern Africa and the Oman-Persian Gulf Region, see: J. G. Lorimer, Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman and Central Arabia, London , 1986 (1st ed. 1908 & 1915, Calcutta), 2476-278.

crack down on the slave trade[59]. According to the "Indian Navy List of 1858", compiled by Captain G. G. Wellesley in 1857, the Indian Navy could command a total of only 252 officers and 31 ships to patrol the vast maritime area between Coastal Eastern Africa and the coast of China[60]. As C. R. Low's comprehensive study shows in detail, they were also needed for front-line military operations in the Indian Ocean region, with two Anglo-Burmese Wars (1824–1826, 1852) and the Opium War in China (1840–1842).[61] To use another example, when in 1856 the Qajar Dynasty invaded Herat, as Britain's bulwark against Russian incursion into India, the Indian Navy concentrated its forces in the Persian Gulf in preparation.[62] For Britain, the Oman–Persian Gulf Region was important for trade and mail routes, and the Indian Navy had also been battling Qawāsim piracy there since the final years of the 18th century.[63] Even after a stop was put to it with the General Treaty of 1820 described supra, sporadic acts of piracy would continue, revealed by British records[64]. Frequent tribal conflicts in this region further spread naval forces dispatched to keep the peace[65].

Given such problems, forces for anti-slave trade patrol in this region were perennially weak. Owing to delayed arrival of the Indian naval ships, returning vessels often arrived at their destinations without being monitored at all[66]. The Indian naval officers charged with this task repeatedly petitioned the Bombay Government for reinforcements[67], which began to arrive gradually. This in turn strengthened the

[59] For example, see: C. R. Low, *History of the Indian Navy 1613-1863*, New Delhi, 1985 (1st ed. 1877, London), Vol. 2, 137; J. B. Kelly, *Great Britain and the Persian Gulf 1795-1880*, Oxford, 1968, 237-282.
[60] Low, *History of the Indian Navy*, Vol. 2, 577-584.
[61] *Ibidem*, Vol. 1, 410-473, Vol.2, 140-160, 238-294.
[62] Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf*, 452-499.
[63] See: Hideaki Suzuki, "The Making of the 'Joasmee' Pirates: A Relativist Reconsideration of the Qawasimi Piracy in the Persian Gulf," in Atsushi Ota (ed.), *In the Name of the Battle against Piracy: Ideas and Practices in State Monopoly of Maritime Violence in Europe and Asia in the Period of Transition*, Leiden, 2018, 69-96.
[64] For example, IOR/R/15/1/130/129-130 [Hamerton to Malet, Muscat, 1 June 1852]; IOR/R/15/1/168/5 [Mahomed Busheer to Jones, n. p., 24 Zilkaada 1275/ 26 June 1859].
[65] For example, IOR/R/15/1/171/175-176 [Fendall to Jones, Bushire Road, 10 November 1859]. See also: Low, *History of the Indian Navy*, Vol. 1, 367-388.
[66] For example, IOR/R/15/1/127/40 [Hennell to Porter, Camp near Bushire, 26 June 1851]; IOR/R/15/1/157/227 [Ethersey to Jones, Bassadore, 24 July 1854]; IOR/R/15/1/168/34-35 [Jones to Anderson, Bushire, 25 April 1857]。
[67] For example, IOR/R/15/1/143/367 [Extract Para 4 from a Despatch from the Honorable the Court of Directors dated the 1st March No 1 of 1854]; IOR/R/15/1/157/193-197 [Jones to Anderson, Bushire, 26 May 1856]; IOR/R/15/1/168/46-47 [Jones to Jenkins, Amulgavine

diplomatic pressure placed on the regional powers in the area. Consequently, beginning in the early 1850s, Britain's anti-slave trade patrol included the seizure of what they referred to as 'slavers' as well as manumission of the enslaved people in their possession. Although these substantive abolition actions were taken only very gradually, they began to have a telling effect as Britain's policy shifted from 'monitoring' to 'abolition' by direct intervention (See. Chart 1).

Year	The number of slaves rescued
1852	3
1853	63
1854	12
1855	0
1856	72
1857	26

Chart 1. The number of slaves rescued by British anti-slave trade patrol in Oman-Persian Gulf Region between the beginning of 1852 and the end of July, 1858. (Source: IOR/R/15/1/171/30-33 [Report on the Slave Trade in the Persian Gulf extending from January 1 1852 to June 30 1858 compiled by H. Disbrowe])

4: A True Picture of Resistance by Slave Traffickers

Be that as it may, Britain's anti-slave trade activities resulted in the manumission of only a few dozens of slaves, thus posing the following question: how much of an effect did these actions really have on slave trafficking? However, the reason for these figures must not be overlooked. The fact is that the traffickers responded adroitly to Britain's activities and continued their regular trading between Coastal Eastern Africa and Oman–Persian Gulf Region including slave trafficking.

One common method during this time involved disguising them as sailors and slaves as their wives[68]. This was practiced all over the Western Indian Ocean and not just in the trade from Coastal Eastern Africa. For example, when Britain was still in its "monitoring" phase in 1837, there is a report of one Nakhoda of the Qawāsim and seven

Roads, 30 April 1859]; IOR/15/1/171/63-65 [Extract paras: 28 @ 31 from a letter, from Brigadier W. M. Coghlan, In charge Muscat, Zanzibar Commission, dated 1st November 1860, No. 14].

[68] Colomb, *Slave-Catching*, 59-60; G. L. Sulivan, *Dhow Chasing in Zanzibar Water*, Zanzibar, 2003 (1st ed. 1873, London), 32-33; Beachey, *The Slave Trade*, 54, 58.

of his crewmen luring 233 young girls from Berbera, taking them to Basra and Busehr dressed as brides and then selling them into slavery once they arrived[69]. Also, as was mentioned previously, forced impressment of Africans as sailors was a common practice in the Oman–Persian Gulf Region and on voyages between it and Coastal Eastern Africa. Ignorant of such matters and unable to speak local languages like Arabic, monitoring officers had almost no way to determine whether or not these black men, who moved like true sailors by all appearances, were in fact slaves being carried from Eastern Africa or not. This is consistently attested to by many of those who were involved in the patrol[70]. Given this situation, local interpreters frequently accompanied patrolling ships. But here too, the officers occasionally suspected these interpreters of accepting bribes[71]. This problem was further exacerbated by the speed of the Dhows and the seamanship and knowledge of those who piloted them. Under the right conditions, these Dhows could reach speeds of up to 11 knots[72], often to the surprise and consternation of the naval captains charged with chasing them[73]. Furthermore, the people of the Oman–Persian Gulf Region were highly renowned for their skill as seamen and navigators[74] and they sometimes pioneered new sea routes that had not been taken before. For example, J. L. Krapf, Church Mission Society missionary who conducted a survey from Mombasa to the Cape Delgado in 1850, reported that slave-carrying ships departing from Kilwa would sail to the East around Zanzibar Island before heading northward[75]. This was in order to avoid being seen by other ships, including patrol ships, near the port of Stone Town, situated on the western side of the island facing the African continent.

Other methods included diverting course through Lamu Island, where the Bu Said's writ did not carry[76], or loading slaves at Mkokotoni and Pemba Island far away

[69] MAHA/PD/1837/78/854/393-400 [Hennell to Willoughby, Bushire, 24 September 1837].
[70]In addition to 69 Id., see also: IOR/R/15/1/127/59-60 [Hennell to Malet, Bushire, 30 October 1851]; *BPP*, Class A, Vol. 44, 151 [Trotter to the Secretary to the Admiralty, Simon's Bay, 5 April 1857]; IOR/15/1/171/64-65 [Extract paras: 28 @ 31 from a letter, from Brigadier W. M. Coghlan, In charge Muscat, Zanzibar Commission, dated 1st November 1860, No. 14].
[71] IOR/15/1/171/64 [Extract paras: 28 @ 31 from a letter, from Brigadier W. M. Coghlan, In charge Muscat, Zanzibar Commission, dated 1st November 1860, No. 14].
[72] Burton, *Zanzibar*, Vol.1, 74.
[73] Colomb, *Slave-Catching*, 44-45.
[74]Their navigational skills are mentioned occasionally, for example, ZANA/AA/12/29/85 [Hamerton to the Chief SBG, 25 October 1849].
[75] Krapf, *Travels*, 424.
[76] MAHA/PD/1860/159/194-195 [Ribgy to Anderson, Zanzibar, 28 March 1860].

from the port of Stone Town.[77] Similar methods were used when unloading the slaves on land, particularly in areas where British agents could not monitor them. They would then be taken further inland via overland roads and smaller boats[78]. Small boats were used so that if spotted by a British ship, egress could be made into smaller inlets where the larger British ships could not pursue[79]. Dhows returning with slaves from Coastal Eastern Africa would temporarily unload slaves at the Batinah coast before returning to their ports of departure with empty holds, only to secretly return for the slaves later[80].

Another noteworthy fact is that as the British were monitoring these activities, they were being closely monitored as well and traffickers were very acutely sensitive to British actions. For instance, if a slave-bearing Dhow was seized in the Oman–Persian Gulf Region, other Dhows in the region would be sure to stop at Sur (the entrance to this sea area) for information on British patrol presence before heading on to their destination port[81]. There is also the following case.

In 1847, the year of the Hamerton Treaty, the price for slaves on at the slave market on Kilwa fell 25% from the 1845–1846 prices, as recorded by Loarer during his investigation of Coastal Eastern Africa at that time.[82] This was due to a new treaty that forbade ships from the Oman–Persian Gulf Region from even entering the port of Stone Town, where slaves used to be gathered. The prohibition was obeyed at this port. When the northeastern monsoon ended in April of 1847, the British consul general in Zanzibar reported that almost no slave trading was being conducted by people coming from the Oman–Persian Gulf Region[83]. However, once it was widely understood that actual British abolition enforcement activities would remain at previous levels, the slave trade was

[77] See IOR/R/15/1/171/101-102 [Rigby to Anderson, Zanzibar, 13 September 1858]; Beachey, *The Slave Trade*, 59.
[78] IOR/R/15/1/123/41, 42 [Moollah Houssein to Hennell, n. p., 25 Rujub/ 6 June 1850]; IOR/R/15/1/143/304 [Kemball to Thomson, Bushire, 12 January 1854]; IOR/R/15/1/171/150 [Hajee Yacoob to Jones, n. p., 2 Moohurrum 1276]. Also, IOR/R/15/1/127/45 [Mollah Houssein to Hennell, n. p., 13 June 1851] for a record of the Sultan of Ras al Hayema, who instructed his subjects to avoid sea routes and use land routes instead when transporting slaves within his land.
[79] For example, IOR/R/15/1/127/56 [Taylor to Hennell, Basra, 16 September 1851]; IOR/R/15/1/130/292 [Kemball to Malet, Bushire, 12 November 1852]; IOR/R/15/1/168/109 [Jones to Forbes, Bushire, 2 September 1861]; Miles, *The Countries and Tribes*, 490.
[80] IOR/R/15/1/127/25-26 [Moollah Houssein to Hennell, n. p., 17 May 1851]
[81] *Ibidem*, 25.
[82] CAOM/FM/SG/OIND/2/10(2)/n. p. [Travaux de M. Guillain, 1850s, Ports au Sud de Zanguebar]
[83] ZANA/AA/12/29/77 [Hamerton to SBG, Zanzibar, 3 April 1847]

bustling again by 1849.[84] In this way, information on the movements of the British spread rapidly among traders, to the point of being transparent. The British decision to monitor the trade of one of the goods they traded (slaves) was the stimulus for traffickers to collect and exchange information in order to ensure their safe transport.

Neither can another aspect be ignored. In a letter dated 10 February 1848, the British Consul in Zanzibar described the following situation: "[t]here is much talk amongst the people here relative to the refusal of the King of Persia to prohibit the importation of slaves into his ports."[85] From February to May of that year, ships bearing the Qajar Dynasty's flag were the subject of much attention owing to the role they played in transporting slaves. The reason is explained in the following letter, sent from an agent at Sharjah named Mohra Hussein to Hennel (dated 6 January 6 1848).

> When the entire prohibition of the traffic was introduced by the British Government the Arabs of these countries were much distressed at heart but when they heard of the exemption claimed by the people of Lingah, as being the subjects of Mohamed Shah, over whom, the commands of the British Government had no force, then were they indeed rejoiced (to find) that ways and means are open to them for its prosecution.[86]

Although at that time slave trade prohibition treaties had been signed with the various states in the Oman–Persian Gulf Region, such as the Bu Said, no treaty existed with the Qajar Dynasty. Accordingly, only ships registered to the Qajar Dynasty could carry slaves free from any treaty restrictions. Therefore, by borrowing Qajari ships to trade slaves, British intervention could be avoided when carrying them. In this way, traffickers adroitly gathered information related to the foreign policies of the various

[84] ZANA/AA/12/29/85 [Hamerton to the Chief SBG, Zanzibar, 4 May 1849]; *BPP*, Vol. 39, Class A, 197 [The Resident in the Persian Gulf to Malet, Bushire, 9 October 1849]

[85] *BPP*, Vol. 36, Class B, 178 [Hamerton to Palmerston, Zanzibar, 10 February 1848]. See also, ZZBA AA12/29/81 [Hamerton to the Secretary to the Bombay Government, Zanzibar, 7 March 1848]; *Ibid.*, [Hamerton to the Secretary to the Bombay Government, Zanzibar, 10 May 1848].

[86] NAUK FO84/737/86-7 [Extract of a letter from Mollah Hoossein, Agent at Shargah to Major Hennell, January 6th 1848].

countries in the region, rendering the treaty restrictions a dead letter and enabling the continuation of the trade.

The early 1860s saw increased abolition activities taking place, leading to more complex countermeasures, as attested to in the following report from Zanzibar.

> A is a British Indian subject, the owner of a dhow, B is an Arab, who wants to run a cargo of slaves to Muscat, but fears to fall in with a cruiser if he runs coastwise. So B comes to A and says, "I hear you want a crew to take your dhow to Bombay: you have lent me money on occasion; it would now be a pleasure to me to lend you a crew, with one of my Arab nakodas in command. I should not ask any remuneration, only when the dhow arrives at Bombay, just give the nakoda (captain) his discharge." A thus gets his dhow run for nothing. B puts a crew –slaves—to the number of fifty on board, in charge of his nakoda. The dhow arrives at Bombay…
>
> Presently the firm to whom the dhow is consigned, are about to run a bungalow to Muscat. "Very well," says B, the nakoda, "I must return to Zanzibar in any event. You have fed my people while in Bombay, I will run your bungalow to Muscat en route, no charge, only a 'buckshish' for myself, if you are content with me and my crew, on discharge at Muscat."[87]

To summarize, we have the following three main points. ① Arabs trying to trade slaves are, on paper, using a ship owned by an Indian British subject to ship goods, ② the Arabs shipped the slaves to Muscat via Bombay and ③ the result is that the slaves sold in Muscat and are used as sailors along the way.

These points can be understood to mean the following. First, when departing from Zanzibar, they were not simply intending to ship their goods to Bombay; the owner of the ship was an Indian British subject. The result is that the ship will have the effective documentation required to be carried on board, enabling easy embarkation and travel. That is not the only benefit of going via Bombay. In British India, importation of slaves had been prohibited since 1805. In 1843, the Bombay government abolished slavery. In

[87] NAUK FO800/234/ 95 [Pelly to Stewart, Zanzibar, 10 July 1862]. The same document is reproduced in Colomb, *Slave-Catching*, 97-8.

other words, slaves were free to abandon their masters without any need for formal procedures. This led to the eradication of slavery within British India.[88] Yet, by the mid-19th century, the forces of the Indian Navy assigned to patrol the ports and coastal waters of British India against the slave trade became weaker,[89] enabling ships to enter ports relatively easily even with a crew who were actually slaves.

In addition, the following point is even more noteworthy. As has already been stated, ordinarily, ships bound for the ports of Coastal Eastern Africa would depart from the Oman–Persian Gulf Region with the northeastern monsoon and return with the southwestern monsoon. While waiting for the monsoons to shift, they would trade, but the trade of slaves was being monitored in both Coastal Eastern Africa and in the Oman–Persian Gulf Region with increased scrutiny. However, when departing from Bombay to Muscat, the winds of the northeastern monsoon are used and not the southwestern ones. Therefore, the time when vessels from Bombay would arrive in the Oman–Persian Gulf Region was the exact opposite of the time when vessels leaving from Coastal Eastern Africa typically returned to the region and British patrols were completely outmaneuvered. The commonly accepted monsoon trading pattern was completely overturned by this revolutionary stratagem, made possible by the extreme breadth of their sphere of action. Britain would not seriously investigate this slave trade via Bombay in earnest until the very end of the 1860.[90]

Slave traffickers did not merely rely on their navigational skills and slave disguises; they adapted to slave trade abolition pressure by closely communicating with one another and sharing the most up-to-date information. In other words, Britain's decision to monitor the trading of one type of the goods they traded in (slaves) actually united them even further. They showed a determination to resist by carefully monitoring slave-trade-related developments in various countries and flexibly manipulating the treaty

[88] Banaji, *Slavery in British India*, 403; Beachey, *The Slave Trade*, 43.
[89] Colomb, *Slave-Catching*, 99-101 ; Lyne, *Zanzibar in Contemporary Times*, 41-42.
[90] *BPP*, Vol. 51, 134 [Bedingfeld to the Commodore commanding the Indian Division of the Royal Navy (hereinafter abbreviated as "CCIDRN"), Zanzibar, 1 December 1866]; *Ibidem*, 133-134 [CCIDRN to the Governor of Bombay, Bombay, 6 February 1867]; *Ibidem*, 135 [Wedderburn to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay & the Commissioner of Customs, Bombay, Bombay Castle, 25 February 1867]. However, the result of the inspection was that the Bombay police inspector concluded that the crew of the Dhow ship arriving in Bombay harbor was not slaves. (*Ibidem*, 135-136 [The Commissioner of Police, Bombay to SBG, Bombay, 6 March 1867]).

system to their favor. The fact that this resistance was made, for the first time, in accordance with the treaties prepared by the British, is worthy of note. The conductors of the slave trade did not simply acquiesce to a one-sided new world order or framework. Instead, they strategically manipulated it to enable the trade to live on.

Conclusion

The points made in this paper will now be summarized. First, among those travelling between the Oman–Persian Gulf Region and Coastal Eastern Africa, the types of specialized traders who carried only massive numbers of slaves, to the exclusion of any other cargo, commonly associated with the Atlantic slave trade, were not present. People travelling from the Oman–Persian Gulf Region to Coastal Eastern Africa are occasionally referred to as "slavers" in the contemporaneous travel journals, diaries and reports of Europeans. However, to understand them in such a way is to only see one aspect of the traders between these two seas. Rather, their trading activities brought critical resources to each maritime region that could not be supplied locally, enabling a symbiotic exchange, which is a part of the Western Indian Ocean World. The slave themselves too, when considering the demand for labor in the Oman–Persian Gulf Region, can also be understood as goods of a complementary exchange, just like mangrove rafter etc.

The symbiotic relationship enabled by these traffickers can be considered to have functioned as an integrated whole rather than as two separate regions. According to existing literature of Indian Ocean history, the 19th century was a time of upheaval and assimilation by the West, in which the gradually collapsing basic structure of networks of exchange in the Indian Ocean became, according to Yajima to take one example, regions supplying each other with what their own ecosystems could not provide.[91] However, this exact same structure can be observed between the Oman–Persian Gulf Region and Coastal Eastern Africa in the mid-19th century. Put another way, even during the mid-19th century, at a time when European political and economic dominance was supposed to have been penetrating the Indian Ocean maritime world, consuming it and incorporating it into the global economy, the traditional structure of the Indian Ocean World and its integrated networks and the network described in this paper in particular persisted

[91]Hikoichi Yajima, *Kaiiki kara mita rekishi*, Nagoya University Publishing, 2006, 8 – 9, 17 – 21, and see also for a similar view: Chaudhri, *Trade and Civilisation*, 17, 203-204.

stubbornly.

For that reason, even taking the one-dimensional view that the middlemen of this symbiotic exchange were merely slavers, British activities aimed at abolishing this trade were a crushing blow to the unification of these two regions and the entire Western Indian Ocean World. However, as pointed out in this paper, the traffickers connecting the Oman–Persian Gulf Region with Coastal Eastern Africa, in the face of increasing pressure from Britain's slave trade abolition activities, developed various methods of adapting to it in order to continue their routine business including slave trafficking. The fact that these were not limited to mere seamanship and trickery but also included staying on top of the latest news regarding British activity is worthy of note. This is because the traffickers who joined the two regions, originally not merely slave traders, collaborated to share information and ultimately became more closely linked in their efforts to find secure routes for the shipment of slaves. If, owing to these actions, we must consider them to have been nascent or early-stage dedicated slave traders, then we must also recognize Britain's share of the responsibility for their role in the slave trade abolition measures that drove the traffickers to that point. The reason behind this is that this self-transformation occurred in response to Britain's activities.

Furthermore, by monitoring diplomatic developments relating to the slave trade in other countries, they were able to find and exploit a loophole in the slavery abolition treaties. At first glance, it would appear that acquiescence to those treaties perfectly confirms the standard subordination narrative espoused by existing literature of Indian Ocean history. However, their persistent efforts to continue shipping of slaves, such as through the discovery of treaty loopholes, demonstrate that this must be considered a type of strategic compliance with those treaties. Put another way, the Indian Ocean maritime world was not unilaterally forced into submission by Western influence. In fact, the examples provided in this paper suggest that the Indian Ocean World, of its own volition, infiltrated and concealed itself beneath that Western influence.

The Development of Chinese Society in Burma during the Konbaung Dynasty: The Chinese Temples around Mandalay

Yoshinari WATANABE

Introduction

Trade on the Yunnan–Burma route, also known as the *Southwest Silk Road*, prospered for many generations through the export of cotton, jade and other products. This was not only due to the ongoing traffic but also the political/economic conditions in Burma and China at that time. However, the historical materials related to such traffic and its fluctuations have been fragmentary and limited in scope.

Previous studies have simply mentioned that the trade between Burma and China greatly prospered enormously after the formation of the Konbaung Dynasty (1752–1885) and the Qing Dynasty, except during the Sino-Burmese War (1765–1769)[1] (荻原 Ogiwara 1956; 余 Yu 2000; Myo Aung 2000; 王 Wang 2015; 陳 Chen 2017). Thus, I have conducted extensive research on historical materials, such as the 檔案 Dang'an archives from the Qing Dynasty and related documents from Great Britain, in order to shed light on the rise and fall of Burma's cotton trade with China. Although there are portions that are difficult to specify chronologically, it is clear that (a) trade via Bhamo rapidly expanded with the decline in silver mining during the mid-18th century;[2] (b) the volume of trade temporarily declined, due to the restrictions on Chinese and Burmese merchant activities in the bordering regions during the Sino-Burmese War (1765–1769), whereas it dramatically increased after the official rescission of the restrictions based on Burmese tributes (1790); (c) Burmese merchants were not only heavily involved in what were said to be traditionally Chinese merchants' activities but also in the collection, processing and transportation of cotton to the bordering regions; and (d) around the turn of the 19th century, the activities of domestic Burmese merchants decreased (at least for cotton), due to the widespread advancement of Chinese merchants near the royal capital (渡邊 Watanabe 2018).

[1] Regarding the Sino-Burmese War, see: Jung 1971; 黃 Huang 2000; 余 Yu 2000; Dai 2004; 楊 Yang 2014; and 王 Wang 2015.
[2] Regarding the development of silver mines in the bordering regions, see: 和田 Wada 1961; 荻原 Ogiwara and 鈴木 Suzuki 1977; Ma 2011; Giersch 2011; and Ma 2014.

By using Watanabe (2006) as the primary source and newly discovered sources from the Qing archives, the present study focuses on the 觀音寺 Guanyin Temple in Amarapura (built by the Chinese living near the royal capital at that time) and the 金多堰土地祠 Jinduoyan Land Temple in Mandalay in order to examine the overland trade between Burma and China during the 18th and 19th centuries.

1. The 觀音寺 Guanyin Temple in Amarapura

Amarapura (located approximately 11 km south of Mandalay) was established by King Bodawpaya (1782–1819) in 1783, and it prospered as the royal capital until 1821 and then from 1842 to 1859. Presently, only a small fraction of the royal palace's buildings remain. However, the Guanyin Temple can be found in Tayoktan (the Chinese quarter) in the Shwe Gwon Doke district, which is south of what was once the royal palace's moat (see Figures 1 and 2). According to the wall inscriptions at the temple (洞繆觀音寺修葺始末記 *Dongmou Guanyin si xiuqi shimo ji* and 洞繆觀音寺戦後第三次修葺紀略 *Dongmou Guanyin si zhanhou di san ci xiuqi jilue*) (see Figure 3), it served as the centre for the Yunnan Fellowship Society of Mandalay[3] after World War II and was restored on four occasions: 1947–1951, 1963–1967, 1976–1977 and 1990–1991.

According to 洞繆觀音寺修葺始末記 *Dongmou Guanyin si xiuqi shimo ji* written in 1967, its original construction occurred around 1773, which makes it one of the oldest Chinese temples in Myanmar (陳絲絲 Chen Sisi 1961; 陳孺性 Chen Yi-sein 1961; 陳孺性 Chen Yi-sein 1963; 鄭 Zheng 1990). However, none of the wall inscriptions are from the time of construction, with the oldest one dating back to 1846 (重修觀音寺功德小引 *Chongxiu guanyin si gongde xiaoyin*). Among the 14 large wooden boards on the back of the gatehouse, there are the names of 50 trade companies and 630 individuals that donated funds to the temple's reconstruction (see Figures 4 and 5). As for its history, it says as follows:

> The Guanyin Temple in Ava[4] can be traced back to the victory of Chinese troops in

[3] The construction of Mandalay began in 1857 and was completed in 1859. It remained the royal capital until the fall of the dynasty in 1885.

[4] The royal capital of the Konbaung Dynasty periodically moved, but historical documents from other countries, such as Great Britain and China, frequently use the name of the representative royal capital, Ava (阿瓦), to refer to other royal capitals and kingdoms.

> Qianlong 38-39 (AD 1773-74), peace was recovered and merchants has come to trade, silk = cotton exchange has been increased. At that time, when the land was vast and the population was small, the people built this temple. However, the temple hall was narrow and only one stone Bodhisattva statue was enshrined. Several years later, merchants have come in sequence, goods gradually rushed in.

The temple was also destroyed by fire three times: in Jiaqing 15 (1819), in Daoguang 9 (1829) and in Daoguang 17 (1837). After the third fire, reconstruction began in Daoguang 18 (1838) and concluded in Daoguang 26 (1846). However, in the current temple, the purlin of the 関帝廟 Guandi shrine contains the date of autumn Daoguang 20 (1840), the Horizontal inscribed board titled 覚悟群生 Juewu qunsheng in the back of Guanyin hall has the date of winter Daoguang 23 (1843) (see Figure 6) and the purlin of the Guanyin hall contains the date of March 2 Daoguang 20 (April 3, 1840). Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the inscription of 重修観音寺功徳小引 *Chongxiu guanyin si gongde xiaoyin* is evidence that the reconstruction occurred during the Daoguang years. This can also be confirmed via the missionary Malcolm, who visited Burma in 1836 and remained in Ava[5] for nearly a month. He also stated that a large number of Chinese were conducting large-scale trade via caravans in Amarapura and that, being Buddhists, they had extravagant temples with many monks in residence (Malcolm 1840: 35–36).

However, details about the temple's establishment remain unknown. In the 小引 *xiaoyin* cited above, after the Han military (Qing) claimed victory in Qianlong 38–39 (1773–74), both countries established peace, thus enabling merchants to come and trade silk and cotton. At that time, only the construction of a small temple and the enshrinement of a Bodhisattva statue were noted, and the establishment year was not specified. Although it is possible that the temple was founded in 1774, but all the *xiaoin* tells us is that the Guanyin Temple existed in the 1810s.

Therefore, this study examines the records related to the foundation of the Guanyin Temple, based on the fragmentary historical materials of that time. First, it focuses on when the war between Burma and China ended and when trade recommenced. Due to the outbreak of the war and the implementation of the 閉関禁市 *Biguan Jinshi* (i.e.

[5] Ava was the royal capital during the periods of 1765–1783 and 1821–1842.

‘Border Closing and Trade Ban’), the border town of 新街 Bhamo, which had once flourished with trade, became a ruin and people stopped going there (there are detailed reports about the trade in the *清実録 Qing shilu* 乾隆 33.4.丁卯 Qianlong 33.4. *Ding mao* (1768.5.25) cf. 雲貴総督彰宝等 *Yungui zongdu Zhang bao deng* 奏報雲南永昌等三府税課虧短実況事 *Zoubao Yunnan Yongchang deng sanfu shuike kuiduan shikuang shi* on 乾隆 Qianlong 38.12.18 (1774.1.29) in *宮中檔乾隆朝奏摺 Gongzhongdang Qianlong chao zouzhe* 34: 124–129).

According to the 供 *gong* (dictations) of those repatriated to the Qing Dynasty (after becoming prisoners of war in Burma), a total of 10 individuals, including the soldier 楊清 Yang Qing, were taken to Ava in February of Qianlong 33 and placed under surveillance in the 買売街 *Maimai jie* [6]. However, there were already 500–600 prisoners in that location. One of the guards for these prisoners was 尹士斌 Yin Shibin of the 騰越州貿易民人 Tengyue merchants, who traded and resided in the 買売街 *Maimai jie* (*緬檔 Mien dang* Vol. 2: 881–891 乾隆 Qianlong 33.9.7, 9.8 (1768.10.17, 10,18)). According to 袁坤 Yuan Gong of the Guizhou infantry, there were only 100–200 people living in the 漢人街 Han Chinese quarter, all of who originally engaged in trade or mining activities, but were now in a state of poverty (*緬檔 Mien dang* Vol. 2: 961–965 乾隆 Qianlong 33.12.21 (1769.1.28)). Hence, there was limited trade during the war, and the Chinese merchant community in Ava was rapidly shrinking.

Although the massive clash between China and Burma ended in defeat for the Qing military’s 4th expedition in 1769 (Qianlong 34), peace did not ensue. According to previous studies (鈴木 Suzuki 1977; 鈴木 Suzuki 1980; 鈴木 Suzuki 1981; 渡邊 Watanabe 1987; 余 Yu 2000; Dai 2004; 楊 Yang 2014; 王 Wang 2015), the Qianlong emperor, who did not want to publicly admit the dynasty’s substantial defeat, had no choice but to abandon the further dispatch of the expeditionary force, due to the rebellion of Xiao Jinchuan in Sichuan. However, the 閉関禁市 *Biguan Jinshi* issued during the war was not immediately lifted.

Although there were several attempts by both regional powers to improve the situation in 1772 (乾隆 Qianlong 37) and 1777 (乾隆 Qianlong 42), they had no effect. Eventually, the dispatch of Burma’s 祝賀請封使 *Zhuhe Qingfeng shi* (i.e. ‘tribute mission’)

[6] It is unclear where in Ava; its association with the Han Chinese quarter (mentioned later) is also unclear. Hopefully, future research will address this gap.

in 1790 (乾隆 Qianlong 55) through the Shan family, helped lift the official trade ban in the border areas.

If we obediently follow the aforementioned chain of events, then the trade ban occurred for a total of 25 years. In this regard, is the inscription from the 小引 *xiaoyin* in the Guanyin Temple correct? Certainly, the account that China claimed victory in Qianlong 38–39 (1773–74) contains no factual truth. Moreover, even if the account was simply based on pride, it would have occurred in Qianlong 34, instead of Qianlong 38–39.

Another issue is regarding the trade that occurred after the war. Officially, the Qing Dynasty should have imposed a longer trade ban. However, this ban was not necessarily enforced. According to 楊重英 Yang Chongying, who was detained in Bhamo as a prisoner of war during the ceasefire negotiations, there were Han merchants actively trading in the royal capital of Ava, and they were familiar with the situation in Burma (*清実録 Qing shilu* 乾隆 Qianlong 33.6. 庚申 Gengshen (1768.7.17)). The merchant 左國興 Zuo Guoxing (*清実録 Qing shilu* 乾隆 Qianlong 33.9. 庚寅 Gengyin (1768.10.15)) also revealed that secret trade was occurring with the 野人'barbarians' in the Myitkyina area, located north of Bhamo. Many other accounts in the *Qing shilu* also mentioned that there were merchants violating the trade ban during the war (王 Wang 2015: 266–270).

After the practical end of the war in 1770, merchant activities significantly increased. In fact, the Tengyue and 永昌 Yongchang merchants were first going to the 土司 Tusi region and then crossing into Burma (*清実録 Qing shilu* 乾隆 Qianlong 35.3. (1770.3–4.)). Moreover, merchants from Jiangxi and Huguang were violating the ban and importing fish, salt, cotton, tourmaline, jade and jade green onions (阿桂等 A gui deng 奏報酌定緬匪辺境事宜事 *Zoubao zhuoding mianfei bianjing shiyi shi* on 乾隆 Qianlong 42.4.26 (1777.6.1) in *宮中檔乾隆朝奏摺 Gongzhongdang Qianlong chao zouzhe* 38: 452–455) (cf. 雲貴総督李侍堯 *Yungui zongdu Li shiyao* 奏報査弁滇省辺隘之江楚游民事 *Zoubao zhabian Diansheng bianai zhi Jiangchu youmin shi* on 乾隆 Qianlong 42.12.21 (1778.1.19) in *ibid* 41: 505–506). Eventually, when word spread that cotton was 'piling up like mountains' in the new city of Bhamo, security was tightened, after which smuggling ensued, and then strict enforcement of the ban (李侍堯奏緬匪進貢還人案 *Li Shiyao zou Mianfei jingong hairen an* on 乾隆 Qianlong 43.1.11 (1778.2.7) in *史料旬刊 Shiliao Xunkan* 22: 777–781). The Shan 'natives' were also dispatched to explore Burma's situation, after which they secretly obtained jade, gems and other valuable

products. In fact, frontier officers and soldiers in charge of security were themselves involved in such trade, as a result of which, Yunnan and Guangdong became capable of buying and selling large quantities of gems produced in Burma (*清実録 Qing shilu* 乾隆 Qianlong 42.4.戊午 Wuwu (1777.5.29)).

These findings indicate that the latter half of the 小引 *xiaoyin* is not necessarily incorrect; that is, following the war, merchant traffic recovered and silk-cotton trade ensued. Thus, the following question should be examined: Is it reasonable to believe that the Guanyin Temple was built around that time? Nevertheless, the two points—that trade represented a gradual increase in people travelling and that a Chinese temple was built in Burma—are considered to be fundamentally separate issues. Besides, based on other examples of the migration and establishment of the Chinese in other parts of Southeast and East Asia, temples would not simply be built because people started travelling more frequently to certain locations, but that some level of community has been established in such locations. As for the Guanyin Temple in Amarapura, it may be more prudent to consider that it was built after 1774, as stated in the 小引 *xiaoyin*. Although it is difficult to identify the exact date at this point, it is highly likely that it was after the 1790s, i.e. when peace was established and trade was officially reopened.

The present study also examines the establishment of the Chinese community in the royal capital by investigating the public records of the British envoys that visited the royal capital after the 1790s. Symes, who visited Amarapura in 1795, stated the following:

> An extensive trade is carried on between the capital of the Birman dominions and Yunnan in China. The principal article of export from Ava is cotton. …. This commodity is transported up the Irrawaddy in large boats, as far as Bhamo, where it is bartered at the common jee, or mart, with Chinese merchants, and conveyed by the latter, partly by land, and partly by water, into the Chinese dominions. (Symes 1995 (1800): 325)
>
> Chagaing [Sagaing] is the principal emporium, to which cotton is brought from all parts of the country, and where, after being cleaned, it is embarked for the China market. …. I was told, that the most opulent merchant in the empire, resides at Chagaing, who deals solely in this article. (Symes 1995 (1800): 432)

As these descriptions clarify, significant trade occurred in the mid-1790s. More specifically, cotton was gathered in Sagaing on the opposite shore of Amarapura and on the right banks of the Irrawaddy River, after being processed with a cotton gin, it was shipped to China. This can also be confirmed through Cox, who resided in Burma from October 1796 to November 1797 and stated that Sagaing was the main shipping port for cotton (Cox 1821: 406–407; journal entry 17.10.1797).

Francklin's report which was compiled from Cox's survey report contained details about the collection, processing and shipping of cotton to Bhamo that occurred in Sagaing at that time. For instance, he stated the following:

> Cotton is the chief article of their exports to China. And I am informed, that, from 100 to 150 boats, each carrying 10,000 Viss of that article, proceed annually to Quantong, and that the selling price fluctuates between 50 and 70 Tecals per 100 Viss: taking 60 Tecals as the mean price, and 100 boats as the average tonnage, the amount of sale of cotton will be 600,000 Tecals. (Francklin 1811: 99)

According to these details, at the end of the 18th century, cotton was collected in Sagaing from the production regions in Upper Burma and brought to Bhamo in large quantities via river transportation, after which it was sold to the Chinese merchants. It is unclear as to who brought it to Bhamo, but the merchants of Sagaing (e.g. the Burmese, Muslim and Armenian merchants) were at the centre of such activities. This suggests that the Chinese merchants had not yet advanced as far as inner Burma.[7] However, it is difficult to prove this, but neither Symes' nor Cox's accounts mentioned the presence of Chinese merchants around the royal capital, despite talking about trade.

Meanwhile, an Italian priest, Father Sangermano, who resided in Yangon and Ava from 1783 to 1806 during the same period, stated:

> The Chinese of Junan [Yunnan], coming down by Canton [Kaungton] (near Bhamo)

[7] 王 Wang (2015: 273) stated that Chinese ships travelled to Sagaing, based on the accounts of Francklin (1811:52–60). Although ibid: 54 mentioned 'The boats employed in the China trade' and described the fares and crew salaries in detail, it is difficult to imagine that they were Chinese vessels.

> and along the great river Ava, bring to the Burmese capital, in great boats, several of the commodities of their country, as wrought silks, paper, tea, various kinds of fruit, and other trifles, and they return laden with cotton, raw silk, salt, birds' feathers, and that black varnish. (Sangermano 1995 (1893): 217)

Although the scale of these details is unclear, he mentioned that some of the Chinese merchants were visiting Amarapura. He also wrote the following regarding the residents of Amarapura:

> Besides the Burmese, the principal foreign nations who occupy special districts are the Siamese and Casse (Manipuri), who were brought captives to this country in the wars of Zempiuscien (Hsinbyushin), and have greatly multiplied in number. Perhaps still more populous is the suburb of the Mohammedan Moors, who have settled in the Burmese capital, as in every other part of India. Their profession is mostly traffic, and they enjoy the free exercise of their religion, having many mosques. To these must be added the suburb of the Chinese, whose industry is peculiarly remarkable, and that wherein the Christians dwell. The entire number of the inhabitants of Amarapura amounts to about 200,000. (Sangermano 1995 (1893): 68)

Although Sangermano did not discuss their scale or occupations, it would not be incorrect to consider that a Chinese merchant community was established in the suburbs of Amarapura. Thus, the following questions arise: What time period does Sangermano cover? Since the Chinese quarter does not appear in the records of Symes (1795) or Cox (1796–1797), would it be safe to assume that the community formed afterwards?

At this point, it is difficult to make an immediate conclusion. However, there are two possibilities to consider. First, not long after 1795, changes occurred in trade, which could have resulted in the establishment of a Chinese community. Meanwhile, though Cox mentioned the prosperity of Sagaing, Sagaing—as Ava, the former capital of the Konbaung Dynasty—was in rapid decline. Cox said that only the religious buildings were worth mentioning (Cox 1821: 406). In other words, Bhamo had previously been the primary market for commodity exchanges, but after the Chinese merchants travelled to Amarapura via the Irrawaddy River, they established a community near the city. As a result, Sagaing—the shipping base to China and what was once the trading centre for

cotton—had lost its role and fell into decline.

Second, the Chinese merchants had already arrived in the area and established their settlement. The reason(s) why Symes and Cox would not have known this was that their visits were relatively short and their accommodations were situated on the opposite bank of Taungthaman Lake and were isolated from the city. Furthermore, if we consider that their actions were monitored and restricted, then this second possibility cannot be immediately dismissed. However, considering that they were instructed by the Governor-General of the East India Company to pay close attention to the trade activities with China, it is highly likely that the role of the Chinese merchants was not significant, especially in terms of the cotton trade within Burma and its transportation to Bhamo.

Although some of the descriptions regarding the Guanyin Temple's establishment cannot be acknowledged through the analysis of the aforementioned historical documents, this study pointed out several possibilities for the exact date of establishment as well as when Chinese merchant society formed in the royal capital. It is also possible to narrow down the exact date through further analysis of the Qing archives, the diaries of the British envoys and other unpublished sources.

Finally, one interesting point regarding the activity of Chinese merchants near the royal capital is the so-called market of Medai (also spelled as Midé, Midai, Madè), found in British sources from the early 19th century. They also uniformly mentioned that the Chinese merchants were conducting large-scale trade in the region. Thus, the following section examines a Chinese temple thought to be deeply related to the location of this particular market.

2. The 金多堰土地祠 Jinduoyan Land Temple in Mandalay

Gouger, who traded in Burma from 1822 to 1826 and became a prisoner of war during the Anglo-Burmese War, stated that, around 1823, the only deals worthy of the name 'trade' were with China. He explained this as follows:

> The Chinese, who carried off large quantities of cotton by the highway of the Irrawaddy, for supply of their southern provinces, giving in return many articles fit for home consumption, which arrived annually in caravans, transported by mules and other beasts of burden, at a village called Medai, a few miles to the northward of

> Amarapura. The article of the greatest value in this caravan was raw silk. There was also another mart for barter with the Chinese higher up the river, but too distant for me to attend it. (Gouger 1860: 60)

Following the first Anglo-Burmese War, Crawfurd was dispatched to discuss a commercial treaty and to collect information on trade with China. From September 1826 to January 1827, he made detailed accounts regarding such trade. For example, he stated the following about a market around the royal capital (Ava, at the time):

> The Chinese of Yunnan conduct a considerable traffic with the Burman empire, the principal marts of it being the capital, or rather a place six miles to the north-east of it, called Midé, and Bhamo, the chief place of a province of the same name bordering upon China. This branch of trade is chiefly in the hands of the Chinese, being divided between those residing in the Burman dominions, and their correspondents in China. …. The principal fair appears to be held at Bhamo, and a few of the traders only find their way to Ava. (Crawfurd 1834 II: 191–192)

Although numerous transactions were taking place in Medai (Midé), the majority of the trade occurred in Bhamo. The British merchant, Laird, a prisoner of war during the Anglo-Burmese War, said:

> The trade is carried on at Bhamo, on the Chinese frontier, and a fair held at a place called Midai, 4 or 5 miles to the northward of Amarapura. The Mohammedan and Burman merchants of Ava go to Bhamo to meet the Chinese, part of whom come down to Midai in December. I have visited the fair at Midai, and think there could not be less than 4,000 Chinese there. (Depositions of John Laird, an English merchant: Crawfurd 1834: Appendix 78–79)

According to the information presented thus far, Medai (Midé) is only described as a location several miles north of Amarapura or northeast of Ava. However, more detailed descriptions and a map that identified its position were found in the journals of an envoy who visited Burma. Burney, who resided in the royal capital from 1830 to 1832, stated:

> Hearing that one of the Chinese caravans had arrived, I went up this day accompanied by a Canton [Bhamo] China man, to the Tarouk-Zè, a Chinese mart, where the caravans stop. It is situated in a village called Madè, nearly opposite to Mengwon [Mingun], about 13 miles above Ava: but in consequence of the strength of the stream and shallowness of the river at this season of the year, I was five hours pulling up to it in a boat. I observed that even the large cargo boats, which convey cotton, are obliged to stop about a mile below Madè at a village called Tharet Mau. (Diary of 26.1.1831) (Tarling (ed.) 1995: 90)

According to this information, Madè (Medai) is located approximately one mile north of Tharet Mau (present-day Thanlyetmaw).

Yule, an envoy who visited Burma in 1855, included a map of Amarapura, Sagaing and Ava in his journal (Yule 1968 (1858): Pl.22) (see Figure 7). More specifically, the Mahamuni Pagoda is indicated at a spot approximately two miles north of Amarapura; a further 3 miles north from the Mahamuni on the left bank of the Irrawaddy River is 'Madé-yuwa (village)', and 'Chinese Mart' is written directly below the village. If this map is accurate, that position is a present-day western suburb of Mandalay along the left bank of the Irrawaddy River. In other words, prior to Mandalay's construction by King Mindon in 1857, this location near the banks of the Irrawaddy River was the arrival point for Chinese merchant caravans and an active commercial area with a trading market. Based on the aforementioned descriptions and map, there is no doubt that Medai is located in the area near the river at present-day 19th Street in Mandalay.

Other interesting accounts related to this Chinese 'market' can be found in the travel logs of the Chinese who departed for India and Europe (via Burma) from Yunnan. Although this study was unable to find anyone that completed such journeys in the first half of the 19th century, there are detailed accounts from the latter half of the 19th century, one of which is the *海客日譚 Haike ritan* by 王芝 Wang Zhi, who was a military officer from Tengyue who travelled to London via Burma and India in 1871 (同治 Tongzhi 10). He stated the following about Mandalay upon his arrival:

> In the afternoon of 9th Dec., we arrived at the capital of Burma and came to anchor at

> 綱閔 Gangguan, west of the castle town. Gangguan is located at 5 *li* (1 li = 576 m) west of the old capital of 洞繆 Dongmou and 20 *li* northwest of the new capital of 杳繆 Yaomou. In the evening, 黃柱臣 Huang Zhuchen and others from Tengyue came to welcome us and took us to 財神祠 *Caishen ci* (the Temple of the God of Wealth) at 金多眼 Jinduoyan, about 4 *li* down the river. (Wang Zhi 1969: 105)

This account raises the following question: Where exactly is Gangguan? According to the inserted note, taxes in Burma were called '綱 gang', and there is no doubt that the boat would have had taxes levied on it upon its arrival. It is also possible to assume that this location was the 'Madé' described by Burney earlier. However, since nearly 40 years had passed by that time, it is possible that the customs house was transferred to another location.

What is more interesting is where Wang Zhi stayed after his arrival. He mentioned that he was taken to 金多眼財神祠 *Caisehn ci* (the Temple of the God of Wealth) at Jinduoyan, approximately four *li* down the river. In this regard, welcome parties were often held during his stay, either at the Temple of the God of Wealth at Jinduoyan or at the Amarapura Guanyin Temple. Wang Zhi further stated the following:

> The city of 諳拉菩那 Anlapuna is located at 30 *li* east of Jinduoyan. There lives about four thousand people from Yunnan, with about one hundred each from Fujian and Guangdong and only five from Sichuan. Jinduoyan is situated less than 20 *li* from 杳繆 Yaomou and it faces the bank of the Irrawaddy River. Boats of merchants have gathered here. The Guanyin Temple is located near Jinduoyan, and in the immediate vicinity of 洞繆 Dongmou. The temple adopted a Chinese style and it was magnificent and elegant. The Jinduoyan Temple of the God of Wealth was also built by the Chinese. (Wang Zhi 1969: 109)

Although both 諳拉菩那 Anlapuna 城 and 洞繆 Dongmou could be identified with Amarapura, and 杳繆 Yaomou with Mandalay, there seems to be some misunderstandings in terms of direction. However, the 金多眼財神祠 Jinduoyan Temple of the God of Wealth that Wang Zhi refers to could be the 金多堰土地祠 Jinduoyan Land Temple (see Figures 8 and 9), which is presently located on Kannar Street in the western part of Mandalay.

The current local shrine is a reconstruction of the one that was destroyed during the

Japanese invasion in World War II, which is mentioned in the following excerpt from the 1965 瓦城金多堰土地祠重建碑記 *Wacheng Jinduoyan Tudi ci Chongjian Beiji* (see Figures 10, 11 and 12):

> At Jinduoyan of Mandalay there is a Land Temple. It was built by the Yunnan Chinese and it has a history of more than 300 years, dating back to the end of Ming period. It is one of the oldest Chinese temples in Burma…. When Japanese troops invaded Burma, it was completely destroyed. Afterwards, it remained desolated. If the temple is not rebuilt, then how can we receive the oracle of God?….

However, the question remains as to how we should consider the statement that the temple was founded in the first half of the 17th century. At the end of the Ming period, the Southern Ming emperor fled from the Qing troops and entered Burma. His remnants settled there, but this does not clarify or confirm whether they built this shrine. Since the only record about this local shrine is the 1965 inscription, we must avoid jumping to conclusions.

To date, the oldest record that can be verified is the bell plate dedicated by nine people from Guangdong (see Figure 13), which dates back to Tongzhi 4 (1865). Hence, we can conclude that this local shrine was already built by the latter half of the 19th century. Nevertheless, determining whether the shrine existed earlier requires further investigations of historical documents.

In sum, among all of the reviewed records regarding the trade between China and Burma, and those related to the Guanyin Temple in Amarapura from the end of the 18th to the first half of the 19th centuries, none have directly mentioned this local shrine. However, it is reasonable to believe that there is some association between this local shrine and the Medai (Midé) 'market' mentioned earlier, even if they are not the same entity.

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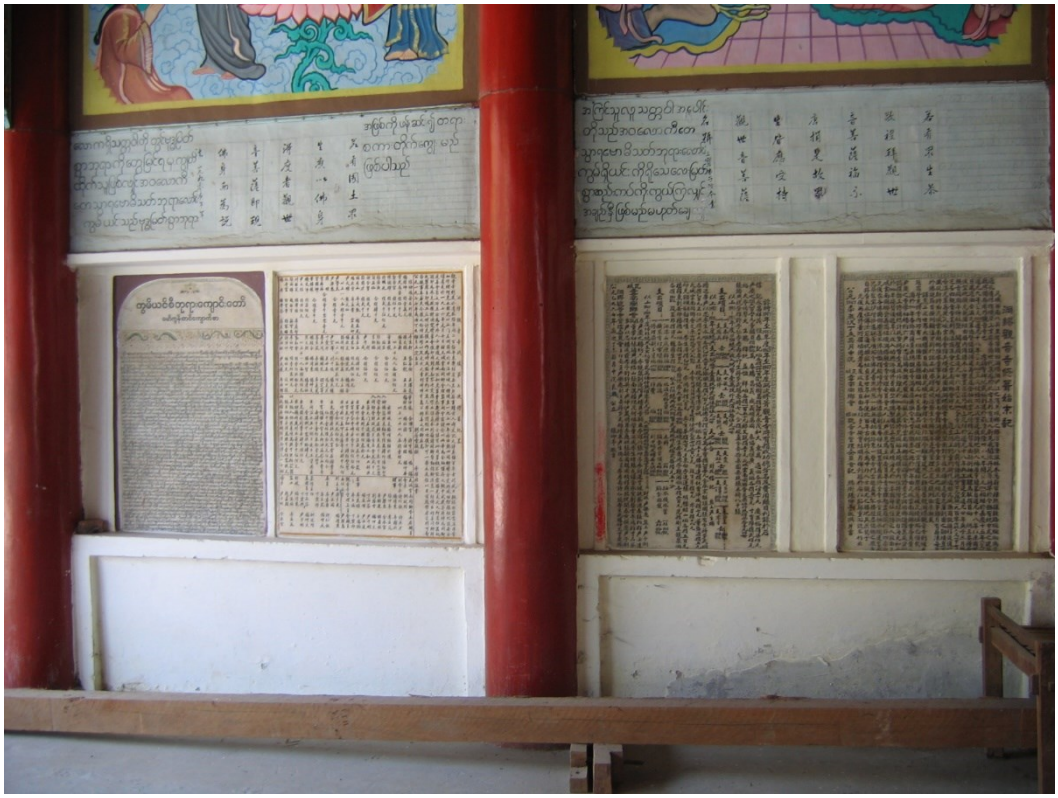
＜Figure 1: Main Gate of The 觀音寺 Guanyin Temple in Amarapura＞

＜Figure 2: The First Gatehouse of The 觀音寺 Guanyin Temple in Amarapura＞



＜Figure 3: 洞繆觀音寺修葺始末記 Dongmou Guanyin si xiuqi shimo ji dated 1967＞

＜Figure 4: 重修觀音寺功德小引 Chongxiu guanyin si gongde xiaoyin dated Daoguang 26 (1846)＞

＜Figure 5: 重修観音寺功徳小引 Chongxiu guanyin si gongde xiaoyin dated Daoguang 26 (1846)＞

＜Figure 6: the Horizontal inscribed board in the Guanyin hall in the back＞

22. MAP OF AMARAPOORA, TSAGAIN (SAGAING) AND AVA (drawn by Grant Allan)

＜Figure 7: Map cited from Yule 1968 (1858): Pl.22＞

＜Figure 8: Entrance of 金多堰土地祠 Jinduoyan Land Temple of Mandalay＞

＜Figure 9: 金多堰土地祠 Jinduoyan Land Temple of Mandalay＞


瓦城金多堰土地祠重建碑記

瓦城金多堰土地祠重建委員會敬立

金多堰土地祠重建樂捐功德芳名列下

＜Figure 10: 瓦城金多堰土地祠重建碑記 Wacheng Jinduoyan Tudi ci Chongjian Beiji dated 1965＞

＜Figure 11: 瓦城金多堰土地祠重建碑記 Wacheng Jinduoyan Tudi ci Chongjian Beiji dated 1965＞

以上四百五十八柱共收銀玖萬壹仟玖佰零式元式拾伍分

總入總出兩抵以外尚存銀式仟式佰玖拾壹元　現存財政處

以上二十柱共支銀捌萬玖仟陸佰壹拾壹元式拾伍分

土地祠建委會財政　吳中庸
張萬慶
李生苑　謹啟

設計監工人
張萬慶
吳中庸

公農曆乙一九六五巳年吉月吉日　立

＜Figure 12: 瓦城金多堰土地祠重建碑記 Wacheng Jinduoyan Tudi ci Chongjian Beiji dated 1965＞

＜Figure13：the bell plate dedicated in 同治 Tongzhi 4（1865）＞

Diversities of Sea Cucumber Foodways: Sea Cucumbers in Asian History and the Contemporary World*

Jun AKAMINE

Sea cucumber (*hai shen*) is one of the most important food ingredients in Chinese haute cuisine and it has been a major trading commodity in China-bound maritime Asia at least 350 years. However, sea cucumbers are not exclusively a Chinese delicacy. Both Korea and Japan have also developed sea cucumber foodways, which are quite different from that of China. There are 1,200 species of sea cucumbers in the world. These sea cucumbers inhabit shallow or deep waters, as well as, both tropical and temperate waters. At present, about 66 species are commercially traded at varying prices. Strong demands toward particular species raise concerns about overexploitation. In order to pursue practical management strategies, it is important to understand the diversity of sea cucumber foodways in Asia. To do so, one should be careful about the morphological distinction between spiky and non-spiky varieties of sea cucumbers. Sea cucumbers have also recently entered the fast-food scene, which changes the global sea cucumber trades. This paper will first explain sea cucumber foodways in Asia with reference to two types of sea cucumbers: *ci shen* (spiky sea cucumbers) and *guang shen* (non-spiky sea cucumbers). The second part of the paper will explain contemporary sea cucumber trade patterns that constantly change in accordance to the evolution of sea cucumber consumption in China and South Korea.

1. Introduction

Sea cucumber is one of the most important food ingredients in Chinese haute cuisines. Their dried forms are rehydrated for cooking. There are 1,200 species of sea cucumbers in the world, and at least 66 species are currently commercially distributed at varying prices [Purcell 2010]. Individual sea cucumbers could be served as a single dish, or sliced forms could be served as an ingredient for soup, fried mixed vegetables and meat. Due to economic growth in China, global sea cucumber trade raises concerns about sustainability of sea cucumbers, especially strong demands toward particular species raise concerns about overexploitation [Anderson et al. 2011; Eriksson and Byrne 2015; Eriksson and Clarke 2015].

However, sea cucumber foodways is never monotone. It has been developed along with each species' distinct characteristics. For example, when serving whole sea cucumbers as a single dish on its own, quality is of utmost importance. Therefore, these have to be sea cucumbers *Apostichopus japonicus* (Japanese spiky sea cucumber) from template waters, or *Holothuria fuscogilva* (white teatfish, 猪婆参) or *H. scabra* (sandfish, 禿参) from tropical waters. *A. japonicus* are the most expensive. They are found in Bohai Bay, called Liaodong maritime area in this article, all the way to the coasts of the Korean Peninsula and Primorye (Maritime Russia), Kuril islands and the Japanese Archipelago. They can be as expensive as USD3,000 per kilogram at a retail store in China. On the other hand, the most expensive tropical species, such as *Holothuria fuscogilva and H. scabra,* cost around USD300 per kilogram. The diversity of prices is one of the important characteristics of sea cucumbers. Therefore, management of global sea cucumbers should reflect the wide variety of its foodways.

What makes such differences in economic values? Considering the immense population and area of China and the presence of overseas Chinese worldwide, it is unreasonable to assume that all Chinese individuals consume sea cucumbers in the same way. This implies that Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Singapore, for example, would have developed their own sea cucumber foodways. At a banquet in Hong Kong, sea cucumbers are just one of the luxurious food ingredients. Other delicacies like shark fins soup, whole roasted piglet and whole steamed fish are served together with sea cucumbers. By contrast, Dalian, which is rich in seafood, exclusively considers sea cucumber a luxury, more specifically, *Apostichopus japonicus*. The quality of a banquet is determined by whether *A. japonicus* is served or not. In Dalian, sea cucumbers other than *A. japonicus*, are not considered to be proper for a banquet.[1] As the present article will illustrate, people of Dalian even consume fresh *A. japonicus*, which goes beyond "traditional" sea cucumber foodways in China. Dalian seems to have developed unique sea cucumber foodways that may cause changes in the sea cucumber trade and fisheries of neighboring countries, especially Japan. Thus, it is important to investigate sea cucumber foodways in the present-day Dalian through a global historical perspective in order to sustainably consume sea cucumbers.[2]

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[1] This is obvious from the fact that other species than A. japonicus are called *hai qie zi* (海茄子, sea eggplant), not *shen* (参 jingsen) in Dalian.

[2] The present article takes its structure from my previous papers by Akamine [2010, 2013,

In order to understand the distinctive features of Dalian's sea cucumber foodways, one has to realize the differences between *ci shen* (刺参, spiky sea cucumber) and *guang shen* (光参, non-spiky sea cucumber). *Apostichopus japonicus*, the most popular sea cucumber, is classified as *ci shen*. *Holothuria fuscogilva* and *H. scabra* are *guang shen*. Interestingly, *ci shen* is popular in Northern China, while *guang shen* is popular in Southern China. Such preferences are likely results of historical and ecological entanglements around sea cucumbers. The current paper will orient the characteristics of *ci shen* culture around Dalian and partially Qingdao, which has developed many kinds of sea cucumber products aside from conventional dried forms. The current paper will consider the characteristics of sea cucumber consumption in modern Dalian, where contradictory properties—diversity and uniformity—coexist in the construct of transforming sea cucumber dishes into fast food. What is important to know is that the sea cucumber is becoming a fast food even in the neighboring country of South Korea. After an examination of fast and slow foods, the paper will look at Notojima, Ishikawa Prefecture as an example of Japanese sea cucumber production.

2. Eating sea cucumbers

Currently, China seems to be the center of sea cucumber foodways. China currently maricultures *Apostichopus japonicus,* and imports many kinds of sea cucumbers. In China, sea cucumbers, which are called *haishen* (海参), are also referred to as the *ginseng* (人参) of the sea (海) because of their rich medicinal benefits. The sea cucumber is also found in the phrase that means high-quality dried seafood, *shen bao chi du* (参鮑翅肚). *Bao* refers to dried abalone (*bao yu* 鮑魚), *chì* is part of the word for shark fins (*yu chi* 魚翅), and *du* refers to the swim bladder (*yu du* 魚肚). Together, these seafood products are sometimes called *si da hai wei* (四大海味, the four flavors of the sea). In the same way that fresh and dried *shiitake* mushrooms have different textures, each element of *shen bao chi du* has a unique texture when dried. Furthermore, among *shen bao chi du*, *shen, chi,* and *du* are gelatinous masses. The texture and flavor of the soup absorbed by the gelatin is often enjoyed by gourmets. That is, sea cucumber in Chinese cuisine includes a greater use of gelatin, which differs from Japanese cuisine that especially values the fresh texture

2015a]. For history of Japanese sea cucumber fisheries, see Akamine [2015a], for the global sea cucumber supply chains, see Akamine [2010], for the potential of the sea cucumber industry in Noto, central Japan, see Akamine [2013].

of sea cucumber.[3]

Though China takes pride in their over 4,000 years of food culture, *shen bao chi du* only came to be widely consumed in the 17th century.[3] This means that this aspect of Chinese cuisine is at most only 400 years old. Similar to today's globalized market, the sea cucumbers enjoyed during the Qing Dynasty were imported from nearby Southeast and East Asian nations, including Japan. In Japanese history, this system was known as the *tawaramono* trade (俵物貿易, straw bag trade)—international trade monopolized by the Tokugawa Shogunate. Even when it first appeared in the Chinese foodways during the 17th century, the sea cucumber was already a global commodity.

The sea cucumber trade became possible because other forms of sea cucumber foodways had already been established in East Asia. For example, in ancient Japan, sea cucumber was known as *ko*: raw sea cucumber as *nama-ko* (raw *ko*) and dried sea cucumber as *iri-ko* (boil-downed *ko*). Although no ancient cooking methods are known, *iriko* (dried sea cucumbers) was used to pay taxes in the Ise, Noto, and Oki Provinces during the Nara Period, around the 8th and 10th centuries [Amino 2000: 128; Kito 2004: 120]. Later in the Edo period (early 17th to mid 19th centuries), clear sea cucumber soups and seasoned sea cucumbers were commonly served during tea ceremonies [Hirano 1988]. Therefore, dried and rehydrated sea cucumbers have long been a part of Japanese foodways (Korean sea cucumber foodways will be explained later). In Southeast Asia, small maritime polities were busy exporting sea cucumbers during the 18th and 19th centuries [Macknight 1976; Warren 1981]. In the South Pacific, Euro-American traders and whalers collected sea cucumbers from local chiefs in the 19th century [Ward 1972].

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[3] In Chinese cuisine, all dried foods are called *gan huo*. Kimura Haruko, an expert in Chinese food studies in Japan and the editor of a book *Dried Goods in Chinese Cuisine* (2001), lists the following as the characteristics of Chinese food: a high proportion of dried foods in the ingredients and instead of using dried food as substitution for fresh materials due to a lack of fresh ingredients, dried goods are used for its own unique properties. *Gan huo* was probably used as a non-perishable food storage for use in famine because it not only prevents decay but also shrinks when dried, making it easy to transport. Beyond these functions, it was found that when fresh materials was dried, it developed tastes and textures different from it was fresh. Chewy and smooth textures are favored in Chinese cuisine as they provide complexity for their food [Kimura ed. 2001: 4].

3. The *ci shen* and the *guang shen*

Chinese cuisine can be classified in many ways, but it is usually classified into four major cuisine groups: Shandong (the cuisine of Beijing), Shanghai, Sichuan, and Cantonese [Shinoda 1974: 290].[4] This subdivision of Chinese cuisine is not only for classification purposes. It exists because the ecological conditions vary per region, which in turn affects foodways. For example, in northern China where rice cannot be cultivated, the foodways center around wheat-based food, such as noodles and dumplings. Meanwhile, in southern China, where rice grows, the foodways center around rice. Even noodles, such as rice vermicelli and *he fen*, and the skin of the dumplings are made of rice. The effect that different staples can have on foodways is noteworthy. Regarding sea cucumbers, a detailed classification of Chinese food cuisine would only make the topic more complex. Therefore, the current article examines the northern and southern food cultures, dividing the coast into the stretch from Shandong to Liaoning Province and from Guangdong to Fujian Province, respectively, and investigates the characteristics of sea cucumber dishes in each area.

Figure 1 shows a model of the sea cucumber foodways in China's coastal areas. The history of the sea cucumber foodways in China is different in the northern *ci shen* and the southern *guang shen* cultural zones (the latter includes Guangdong and the Fujian, as well as the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia). These two groups mix in the area of present-day Shanghai (traditionally, Shanghai was located within *guang shen* territory).

[4] More elaborated classification would be eight major cuisines: Shandong, Jiangsu, Zeijiang, Anhui, Fujian, Cantonese, Hunan, and Sichuan.

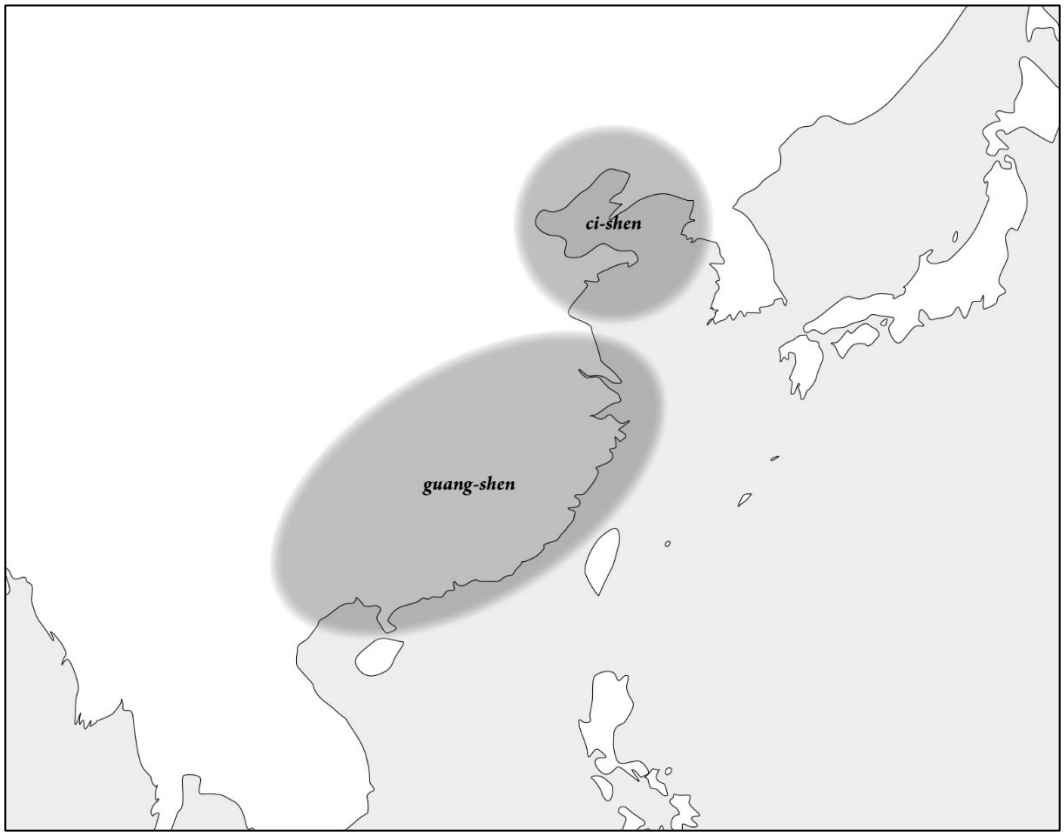


Figure 1. Distribution of the *ci shen* and the *guang shen* cultural zones.
Source: Made by the author.

The book, *Supplements to the Compendium of Materia Medica* (本草綱目拾遺, *Bencao Gangmu Shiyi* 1765) [Zhao 1977], describes the difference between *ci shen* and *guang shen*, and thoroughly discusses the medical efficacy of sea cucumbers, as specified below (all underlined text and text in parenthesis are mine).

> "The sea around Fujian Province has only white sea cucumbers. They are about the size of a human hand. They differ from the sea cucumbers found in the seas around the Shandong and Liaoning Provinces, and also have a weaker, inferior taste. For medicinal purposes, sea cucumbers from the seas around Liao Hai are recommended. Sea cucumbers with spiky tube feet are called *ci shen*, while those without tube feet are called *guang shen*. For medical use, large sea cucumbers with spiky tube feet are suitable. Sea cucumbers are also called *hai nan zi*. There are two types: *jing* (not glutinous) and *nuo* (glutinous). The best kind is black and glutinous. It functions as a tonic and is good for the kidney."

> "Sea cucumbers from the area by Liaoning Province are the best. The black, plump ones with many tube feet that are found in this Province are called *liao shen* or *ci shen*. Sea cucumbers from the area around Guangdong Province are called *guang shen* and are yellow in color. The Fujian Province sea cucumbers are firm and thick and have no tube feet. Thus, they are called *fei bi shen* or *guang shen*. Sea cucumbers from the seas around Zhejiang Province and the city of Ningbo are large and soft and have no tube feet. They are called *gua pi shen*, but their quality is quite inferior."

The division of the Chinese coast into two sea cucumber foodway zones was done by the current author. Therefore, it is not at all strange that Zhao Xuemin (1719-1805), the editor of the *Supplements to the Compendium of Materia Medica*, paid no attention to it. The book is not a recipe nor a guide of Chinese banquet: how sea cucumber is cooked and served. It only describes medicinal effect. It is interesting that *ci shen* and *guang shen* were already differentiated when the sea cucumber foodways began to flourish in China in the 18th century. It is clear that the medical efficacy of sea cucumbers harvested in the seas around Liaoning, *liao shen* (遼参), was considered most superior.

Liao shen is the *Apostichopus japonicus*, of which Dalian is the center of maricultures and related industries. The most representative *ci shen* is certainly the *A. japonicus* (*Isostichopus fuscus*, which inhabits around the Galapagos Islands, Ecuador, and triggered sea cucumber conservation at the CITES, is also identified as *ci shen*).[5] By contrast, *guang shen* is found in the tropics.[6] Beijing cuisine has traditionally used dried sea cucumbers harvested in the sea around Liaodong, *liao shen* (as discussed in the *Supplements to the Compendium of Materia Medica*). By contrast, Cantonese cuisine prefers the tropical *Holothuria fuscogilva* (*zhu po shen*) and *H. scabra* (*tu shen*). It is likely due to simple geographical reasons that Beijing cuisine prefers the temperate sea cucumbers, represented by spiky *A. japonicus*, while Cantonese cuisine prefers the tropical *guang shen* (with no tube feet) of adjacent Southeast Asia.

The largest difference between *ci shen* and *guang shen* is their size. When dry,

[5] See Akamine [2015b] for sea cucumber war at the CITES.
[6] However, not all tropical sea cucumbers produced from the Pacific Ocean to Southeast Asia are classified as *guang shen*. For example, *Thelenota ananas* (梅花参 *mei hua shen*) and *Stichopus chloronotus* (方刺参 *fang ci shen*) are classified as *ci shen*.

ci shen is usually 30 grams or less, but *guang shen* can easily exceed 300 grams. Size also affects cooking and serving methods. For example, in Beijing cuisine, sea cucumber is usually served on small individual plates, while in Cantonese cuisine, dinner is served on a large central plate, from which each person serves him- or herself. This difference in the serving methods creates a demand for smaller *ci shen* in Beijing cuisine, while Cantonese cuisine works more easily with the larger *guang shen.*[7]

Huang Donghe (born in 1940), a retired chef at the Sho-En restaurant in Kobe Chinatown, Japan, explained the difference between Beijing and Cantonese cuisines.[8] The two, he said, cook sea cucumbers differently. Rehydrated sea cucumber is a tasteless mass of gelatin. Thus, the soup that carries it is the key. However, its springy texture is also important. In Beijing cuisine, sea cucumbers are cooked until they soak up the soup. *Apostichopus japonicus*, used in Japanese cooking, keeps its shape and springy texture even after being cooked for a long period. Dried sea cucumbers from Hokkaido, which are well known for their high quality, are especially suited for this method. By contrast, tropical sea cucumbers tend to dissolve if cooked for long. Therefore, if tropical sea cucumbers are being used, the heat should be turned off before they begin to melt, and the soup must be thickened. Huang insisted that in order to enjoy sea cucumbers in the Cantonese style, they must be eaten in a soup that is thickened like potato starch. Huang is trained in both Beijing and Shanghai cuisines and learned the difference while training in Shanghai.

In Shanghai, *ci shen* culture currently intrudes into the original *guang shen* culture. The tropical *Actinopyga echinites*, which is called *da wu shen* (大烏参, deep water redfifh) by locals, is popular there. The predominant sea cucumber in Shanghai is of this type. With *da wu shen*, making *xia zi da wu shen* (蝦子大烏参) is obligatory. This food dish is prepared by pouring black sweet and sour sauce on rehydrated *da wu shen*, which is fluffy and soft, and is then sprinkled with dried shrimp roe (*xia zi*). The orange sprinkles decorating the black sauce are aesthetically pleasing. Without a doubt, as Huang insists, starch sauce is thick and almost slimy. A deluxe cook book series published in Taiwan since 1997 showcases famous food dishes from across China in color photographs. The

[7] The only exception to this is the tropical *Thelenota ananas* (prickly redfish). In Cantonese cuisine, there is a food dish where an entire *Thelenota ananas* is stuffed with ground meat, served on a large plate, and each person cuts his or her own slice.
[8] Based on an interview with Huang Donghe in May 1999 at his restaurant in Kobe.

second volume, *Famous Dishes* 2: *Jiangsu and Zhejiang, Hunan, and Beijing* introduces *xia zi da wu shen* as follows [Fu 2002: 76-77]:

> "*Xia zi da wu shen* was the most popular dish eaten in Shanghai during the late 1920s. It was created by restaurant De Zing Guan's chef. Sea cucumbers are rich in nutrients but do not have a good aroma—however, this can be improved by the addition of dried shrimp roe. The texture of *da wu shen* is thicker and softer than that of *ci shen*, therefore it is often used by restaurants in Jiangsu and Zhejiang Provinces, downstream of the Yangtze River. *Hong shao da wu shen* (da wu shen boiled in soy sauce) is served at the Man Han Imperial Feast."[9]

Here, *da wu shen* is discussed in the context of *ci shen* and *guang shen*. It is interesting that this text indirectly criticizes the thin appearance and hard texture of *ci shen*, clearly referring to *Apostichopus japonicus*. Even so, consuming *A. japonicus* at high-end restaurants in Shanghai is getting more popular, probably due to the sky-rocketing price of the ingredient.

Just like fashion, food goes in and out of style. Recently, even for Cantonese cuisine in Hong Kong, sea cucumbers have started to be served in small plates, similar to Beijing cuisine. Naturally, small *Apostichopus japonicus* are used for these dishes and not the traditionally prized larger *Holothuria fuscogilva*. This phenomenon can be said to exemplify Nouvelle Cuisine Chinoise, which exhibits a breakaway from traditional cooking style, and actively absorbs the characteristics of cuisines from other cultures. The preference for *A. japonicus*, originating from the Liaodong maritime area, is now spreading to cities outside of Hong Kong. The same trend can be seen in Shanghai as noted previously. Furthermore, as late as the mid 2000s, *A. japonicus* became popular in Singapore. This can be interpreted to mean that Beijing-style *ci shen* foodways are

[9] Wakiya Yuji, a leading chef on modern Shanghai cuisine, said "Shanghai cuisine, which I focus on, boasts stews such as hong shao with sea cucumbers and shark fin. Flavors created through slow stewing are characteristic of Shanghai cuisine. Dried goods are often added to develop the flavor further. For example, *xia zi hai shen*, which is a popular Shanghai dish, stews two dried foods, sea cucumber, and shrimp roe together to provide a taste of the sea and deliver the matured sweetness and flavor of the shrimp to the tasteless sea cucumber" [Kimura ed. 2001: 10].

influencing *guang shen* culture, including that of Chinese among Southeast Asian cities. In Japan as well, this can be attributed to Nouvelle Cuisine Chinoise, which continues to pursue innovation, developing traditional sea cucumber dishes further.

4. Sea cucumber foodways in Dalian

This section will provide information about the sea cucumber market in Dalian, the center of the *ci shen* cultural zone as of November 2008. My mere one week stay was surely insufficient to understand the sea cucumber foodways of Dalian, but it certainly bore a different atmosphere from other major cities with a large numbers of rich Chinese inhabitants, such as Hong Kong, Shanghai, Singapore, Bangkok, and Manila. People in Dalian grocery stores, markets, restaurants, and elsewhere, seem to be possessed by a "sea cucumber fever". *Hai shen* fever is not limited to restaurants. Companies that perform the entire process—farming and producing sea cucumber products (I will call them brand manufacturers for convenience)—advertise all over the city, and they have many storefronts. Furthermore, there are signs and posters everywhere, and even city buses are adorned with advertisements for sea cucumbers. It is as if the whole city is covered in them. Wholesalers in Hong Kong informed me that people in Dalian believe that if one eats one piece of sea cucumber on an empty stomach every morning for 81 days, beginning with the winter solstice, one will not catch a cold. Many actually practice this tradition. In fact, I saw a poster stating this folk remedy in Dalian just before the winter solstice. Unlike *yam cha* (飲茶) in the Guangdong region, if someone eats sea cucumber every morning, it does not mean that he or she is going to a restaurant and enjoying a sophisticated small dish (*dim sam*, 点心). Instead, they eat rehydrated sea cucumbers without cooking them completely. Sometimes they add sugar, soy sauce, or miso for variety. This is not breakfast per se but more like a ritual before breakfast during the hard frost period. Normal breakfast, like steamed buns or congee, is eaten following the sea cucumber. Eating sea cucumbers, especially *Apostichopus japonicus*, is considered to be the secret to health in Dalian and the surrounding areas. This belief and practice make Dalian unique in its sea cucumber foodways. Following from this primacy, methods to ingest sea cucumbers have proliferated, and products are being developed for each type of use.

I am sure that anyone would be shocked upon walking into the sea cucumber section of a Dalian supermarket. Table 1 lists sea cucumber products sold in the Dalian

market in 2008. There are three main types of dried sea cucumbers: *dangan haishen* (淡干海参), *yangan haishen*(塩干海参), and *tanggan haishen* (糖干海参). There are also the less dried (half-dried) *bangan haishen* (半干海参) and the freeze-dried *donggan haishen* (凍干海参). *Bangan haishen* and *donggan haishen* are both roughly classified as dried food, but they differ from the *dangan haishen, yangan haishen,* and *tanggan haishen* because they are easily rehydrated. In addition to these dried foods, ready-to-eat *jishi haishen* and *yanzi haishen* have also been developed by manufacturers [Geng et al. 2009]. The seven products presented in Table 1 all have different properties, but they are all considered to be *Apostichopus japonicus*. However, other sea cucumber products also exist. There are health foods, energy drinks, supplements, sake (spirits), and other categories of products still being developed. *Haishen* fever has gone beyond food culture and is reaching the level of "*Apostichopus japonicus* worship".

Table 1. *Apostichopus japonicus* products in a Dalian market (as of November 2008).

	Chinese name	Pinyin	Characteristics
Dried products	淡干海参	dangan haishen	Fresh sea cucumbers are boiled well and dried. Equivalent to suboshi in Japan.
	塩干海参	yangan haishen	Salt is added during drying of sea cucumbers.
	糖干海参	tanggan haishen	Sugar is added to the production of yangan haishen.
	半干海参	bangan haishen	Semi-dried food dried while soaked in salt. The surface becomes dry, but the body remains soft and fluffy.
	凍干海参	donggan haishen	Freeze-dried sea cucumber.
Non-dried products	塩漬海参	yanzi haishen	Sea cucumbers are boiled in seawater and frozen for storage.
	即食海参	jishi haishen	Ready-to-eat sea cucumber boiled in water. Because it has no salt like *yanzi haishen*, its salt does not have to be removed and it can be cooked immediately.

Source: Fieldnotes.

In sum, Dalian is different from other larger cities because of the following reasons:

a) It is dominated by *Apostichopus japonicus* worship, which implies that if it is not *A. japonicus*, it is not *haishen* as previously noted.
b) Rival brand manufacturers, who handle everything from the farming of *A. japonicus* to the final product, encourage *A. japonicus* worship.
c) This results in a variety of products of *A. japonicus* for sale at shops.
d) While dried sea cucumbers (*dangan haishen*) are marketed as gifts, practical, semi-dried products and new products such as j*ishi haishen* are generally consumed.
e) Restaurants in the city usually cook and consume *jishi haishen* and fresh sea cucumbers from the above list (they rarely cook dried sea cucumbers).

The reasons for this *Apostichopus japonicus* worship include health concerns, longevity, and economy. For example, Dalian Haoshen Baishe Company, which has been manufacturing and selling health drinks since 2001, boasts "eating sea cucumbers has poor absorption. Some say only 20% to 25% of nutrients are absorbed. However, our health drinks allow for 95% absorption of active ingredients. The nutrients in 30 milliliters of the drink are equivalent to those of 150 grams of fresh sea cucumber. Our health drink is economical; it costs 30 yuan for 150 grams of fresh Dalian sea cucumber, while our drink is only for 15 yuan. Furthermore, our drink offers excellent absorption of active ingredients."

In the *ci shen* cultural zone, both the diversification of sea cucumber products and the way fresh sea cucumbers are cooked is different from that in the *guang shen* cultural zone. I visited Qingdao, which is one of the centers of *ci shen* culture just like Dalian, in 2002 for the first time and was surprised to find stir-fried fresh *Apostichopus japonicus*. Similar to stir-fried abalone, the texture was chewy, with a certain softness. During my 2008 short stay in Dalian, I tried to eat dried *A. japonicus* as much as my budget allowed me to, but the sea cucumbers I was served in Dalian were all either *jishi haishen* or fresh. I might have been able to obtain one if I specifically requested it, but there were no dried sea cucumbers to be found in any of the menus of the restaurants I visited (I am afraid to imagine how much I would have been charged if I had ordered dried sea cucumbers).

The custom of eating fresh sea cucumbers is a notable one in the history of the Chinese sea cucumber food culture. This is not accidental but deeply rooted. I have never

seen nor heard of eating fresh sea cucumbers in restaurants within *guang shen* culture. For example, the Qingdao publishing company, located in Qingdao City, published a book called *Chi Haishen* (Eating Sea Cucumbers) [Liu 2007]. Just as the name suggests, the entire book is about sea cucumber dishes, with a grand total of 63 items. What shocked me upon reading the book was that 40% of the dishes use fresh sea cucumbers (it is also impressive that all of these dishes use *A. japonicus*). Thus, in Dalian and Qingdao, both located within the *ci shen* cultural zone, not only are dried sea cucumbers highly valued, but so too are fresh sea cucumbers. Just as Dalian Haoshen Baishe Company insists, instead of appreciating the texture of dried sea cucumbers, the focus is on getting the most nutrients out of the sea cucumber. In other words, the sea cucumber has transcended from a mere ingredient to the source of health itself. This is reflected in the purchasing behavior of the people in Dalian. I arrived there on November 16, 2008, the last day of the fourth *haishen* cultural month that was hosted by the Japanese superstore Mycal. Because this was the last day of the sea cucumber sale before the winter solstice, some must have been last minute purchases, but there were many customers purchasing *bangan haishen* for RMB1,000 (JPY15,000). If a person were to buy 1 kilogram (80 pieces of sea cucumbers), it would last them the entire winter. I confirmed this with several friends, who were approximately 30 years old, and they told me that 500 yuan for 500 grams is a reasonable price, especially if one is buying them as a gift for one's parents.

Summarizing what shopkeepers told me, I heard that compared to fully dried sea cucumbers, *bangan haishen* is much bigger in size but fetches the same price, making it a popular variety. From what I could tell at the store front, *bangan haishen, yanzi haishen, donggan haishen*, and *jishi haishen* were more dominant than fully dried sea cucumbers (*dangan haishen*). *Bangan haishen* is affordable for middle class citizens in Dalian but never *dangan haishen*.

Sea cucumbers are not simply thrown in a plastic bag for purchase. Instead, expensive sea cucumbers are carefully examined for their size and shape and only few are purchased at a time, unless it is for a gift or party. Furthermore, in addition to their relatively cheaper price, *bangan haishen, yanzi haishen, jishi haishen*, and *donggan haishen* are all strictly sorted by their individual weight and price. For example, whether it is *bangan haishen, yanzi haishen*, or *donggan haishen*, manufacturers use three classifications (large, medium, and small) for sorting according to weight. I was told that for *bangan haishen*, large ones are six years old, and small ones are three years old.

Manufacturers mainly process the ones that are three to four years old (despite the fact that sea cucumbers exhibit notable differences in their growth rates between individuals). It is risky to culture expensive sea cucumbers for six years or more. I assume that most of them would be sea cucumbers caught in neighboring countries such as Japan. *A. japonicus* maricultured in China for two years would likely be served in restaurants as a fresh ingredient as the *Chi haishen* describes.

The sea cucumber foodways in Dalian, which is not constrained by tradition, appears to be diverse. It also seems that economic activities, supported by a stable supply of sea cucumbers through farming and investment, foster this diversity. If the people of Dalian are looking simply to ingest sea cucumbers easily and effectively, cooking fresh sea cucumber is a natural extension of this. Scientists at Dalian Ocean University boast that the increased supply of sea cucumbers, which has resulted from successful sea cucumber farming and allows more people to eat them, was groundbreaking for the Chinese. This was especially true for the people of Dalian who love *Apostichopus japonicus*. In addition, consumers are assured of food safety through their trust in brands that (supposedly) manage the entire cycle from the farming to the production of sea cucumbers. In other words, brand manufacturers have the ability to constantly and steadily supply products with the same quality (size and weight). I term this standardization phenomenon, founded on *A. japonicus* worship, as transforming the sea cucumber into a fast food.

5. Sea cucumber foodways in Seoul

Modern South Korean society also actively consumes sea cucumbers (*haesom*). Chung Dae-Sung, an expert on Korean food studies who lives in Japan, claims that the sea cucumber is cherished in South Korea for its ability to lower blood pressure, support children's development and seniors' health, and work as an aphrodisiac" [Jeon and Jeong eds. 1986: 62]. Sea cucumbers are eaten as sashimi (*hoe*), with Cho-Gochujang sauce. Dried sea cucumber is an essential item in Korean court cuisine. These are *Apostichopus japonicus*, which is the same as in neighboring cities, Dalian and Qingdao. In recent years, dried sea cucumbers, mostly imported from Southeast Asia or North and Central America, have been widely used in Korean-style Chinese food,

Sea cucumbers were mentioned in "The Article on Local Products," found in the *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea* (新増東国輿地勝覧) in 1530, which

described the geography of the Korean Peninsula. No later than the 15th century were sea cucumbers harvested across the Korean Peninsula coast [Yun 2005: 424-425; Kang 2000: 233-235]. The Joseon Dynasty often used sea cucumbers and abalone in court cuisine [Kim 1995, 1996]. Sea cucumber *jijimi*, steamed sea cucumbers, and stir-fried sea cucumbers were also served [Sasaki 2002: 218]. The food of the Joseon Dynasty were mainly comprised of sea cucumbers. As shown in the *Court Cuisine* by Kim Sang-bo, a scholar of the dishes for the Joseon Dynasty, 12 out of 48 recreated dishes used dried sea cucumbers (six soups, two steamed, one stir-fried, one broiled, one roasted, and one marinated) [Kim 2004]. It is worth noting that 25% of the food in the Joseon court recorded in *Court Cuisine* used sea cucumbers. This clearly indicates that sea cucumbers are considered a delicacy in places other than China.

Eumsik Dimibang (飮食知味方) written around 1670 provides interesting information. This book is a collection of traditional recipes from the family of Lee Si-myeong, a famed Confucianist from Gyeongsang-bukdo, in the southern Korean Peninsula. Many descriptions of how to handle sea cucumbers are provided in this cookbook [Jeon and Jeong eds. 1986: 26-27]. It introduces cooking methods for fresh and dried sea cucumbers.

> "If one is boiling sea cucumber directly in water, it should be soaked in cold water after being boiled and then sliced. Next, it should be flavored with soy sauce and oil and stir-fried, or it can be served fresh with soy sauce and vinegar as a snack with alcoholic drinks."

Thus, Koreans during the Joseon Dynasty valued both dried and fresh food. Another essential food of the people of the Korean Peninsula is fermented food such as *kimchi* and *jeotgal*. There are more than 80 types of *jeotgal* in Jeollanam-do alone, and there are at least 30 types of well-known *jeotgal*s in South Korea [Ishige and Ruddle 1990: 119]. The food ethnologists Ishige Naomichi and Kenneth Ruddle, who conducted comparative studies of the distribution of fish sauces in Asia, listed the famous *jeotgal*s of South Korea. This list includes a *jeotgal* made from sea cucumber intestines (*konowata*) from the Gyeongsang Province [Ishige and Ruddle 1990: 121]. Following a description by Ishige and Ruddle, I looked for *jeotgal* made of sea cucumber in the food section of Lotte Department Store, which has the largest food section in Seoul compared

to other department stores and markets, but I was not successful (I visited Jeju Island, home to female *ama* divers for sea cucumbers and abalone in 2012, but I was not able to encounter any *jeotgal* made from sea cucumber there either). The court cuisine I tried in Seoul also had no sea cucumber. Instead, I ate sea cucumber *sashimi* from a food stand, and I enjoyed *sundubu jjigae* (tofu stew) with thin slices of dried sea cucumber (this became one of my favorite dishes).

While there are traditional sea cucumber dishes in South Korea, today, sea cucumber can be found in *samsung* dishes. As it is written in Chinese, 三鮮, it is a type of Chinese food that uses three (三) kinds of seafood (鮮). The concrete types vary, depending on the restaurant, but dried sea cucumber and fresh shrimp are a must. The remaining third seafood item may be squid, clams, or something else, showing a variation between restaurants. The most popular *samsung* dish is *jajangmyeon*.[10] The *samsung jajang* (*jajangmyeon*'s popular shorten name) that the author ate included dried sea cucumber, fresh shrimp, and fresh squid. In January 2009, a typical *jajangmyeon* was 4,000 won a bowl (JPY260), while the *samsung* version cost 1.5 times more, 6,000 won (JPY390). *Jajang*, written in Chinese as 炸醬. A term 炸 (*zha*), means to explode or fry, indicating that the food is quickly fried in oil at high temperatures. 醬 (*jiang*) refers to a thick liquid, indicating a fermented food such as miso or soy sauce.

Zha jiang mian was originally a dish from Shandong Province. However, the *jajangmyeon* of South Korea is a dish in which a sauce made of black miso, called *chunjang*, along with caramel, stir-fried onions, and pork is poured on boiled noodles [Hayashi 2005: 63]. The popularity of *samsung* dishes have grown over the last 20 years. Kim Sang-bo of Daejeon Health Sciences College, who is an expert in the history of court cuisine in South Korea, claims that because of the 1988 Seoul Olympics, the conservative South Korean food culture changed drastically.[11] One drastic change was the appearance of gourmet Chinese food. This is because the Olympics surfaced a preference for authentic gourmet food with imported ingredients, and one that was oriented toward the

[10] *Samsung* dish is not limited to jajangmyeon. Chinese restaurants in Seoul each have a different type of *samsung* dish. In particular, chili-flavored *jjamppong* with a thin noodle similar to Japanese *tan-men* (*da lu mian*) and *bokkeumbap* (fried rice) are popular as well.

[11] Interview conducted in February 1999.

masses. That is what *samsung* is.[12]

It is also interesting that the popularity of high-end cuisine among the general public was supported by the importation of cheap tropical dried sea cucumbers (and probably frozen shrimps), specifically from Southeast Asia. I visited Seoul at the end of February 1999 because several middlemen who deal dried marine products in the Philippines told me that *Stichopus horrens* and *S. hermanni* were popular in South Korea, and that the importers in South Korea exclusively bought these. Back then, I only thought of sea cucumber as exclusively a Chinese food, limited to the world of the Han Chinese.

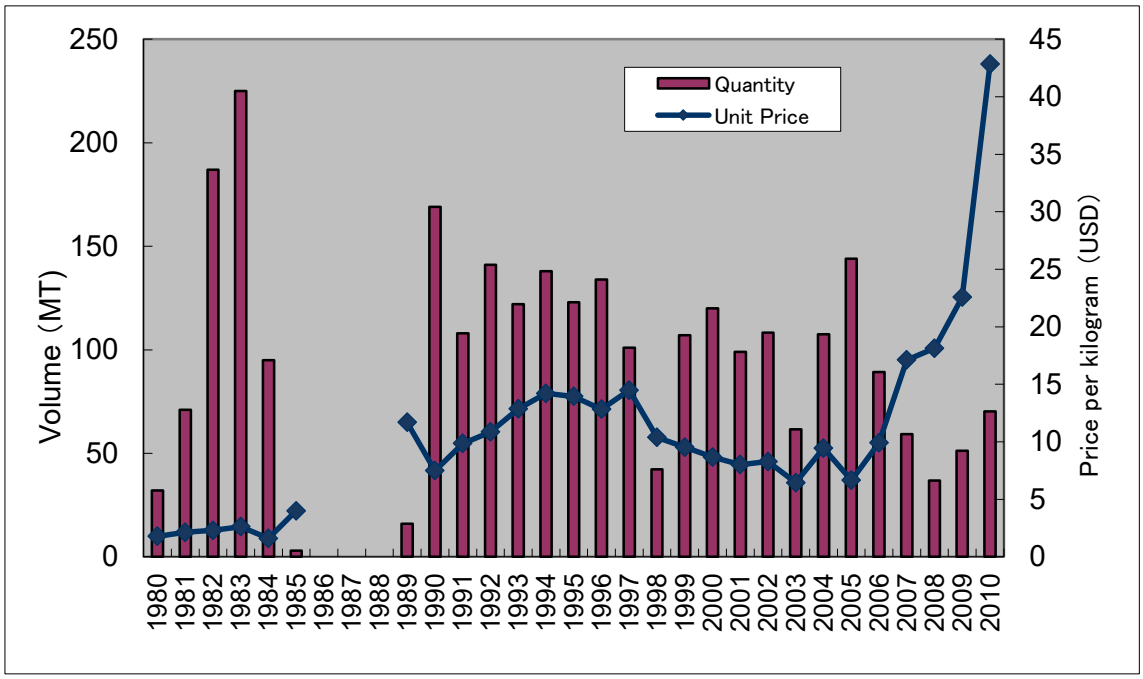
Dried sea cucumbers were easily found in Bukchang-dong, a street next to the Namdaemun Market in Seoul. The most expensive was a dried *Apostichopus japonicus* produced in South Korea, which cost 200,000 won (JPY20,000) per kilogram. These sea cucumbers were largely from Jeju Island. There were also sea cucumbers from the northwestern coast of the United States (83,000 won or JPY8,300). The cheapest was *Stichopus horrens* from the Philippines, which cost 50,000 won (JPY5,000) per kilogram. The owner of the grocery store explained the different uses of the various sea cucumbers as follows: "South Korean and American dried sea cucumbers are used for the most popular sea cucumber dishes, such as *hong shao haishen* and *cong shao haishen*, but sea cucumbers from the Philippines are best for *samsung*." In Seoul, where *bulgogi* only costs JPY1,000 or less, sea cucumber dishes that use South Korean *Apostichopus japonicus* cost three to five times more. This is the legacy of court cuisine in South Korea.

Dried sea cucumber was consumed by the noble classes and bureaucrats during the Joseon Dynasty. These must have been *Apostichopus japonicus* from the Korean Peninsula. Thus, it is not at all strange to see dried *A. japonicus* in shops there. In 1999, the price of JPY20,000 per kilogram for *A. japonicus* was not at all unreasonable (this was just before *A. japonicus* worship in Dalian became perceptible as a socio-economic phenomenon). What is interesting is that American sea cucumber and *Stichopus horrens* from the Philippines were also on sale (there was hardly any *S. hermanni*). Although no study on cuisine has examined American sea cucumbers, it should be noted that the export unit price for dried sea cucumbers from the Philippines, which is an essential ingredient

[12] Beyond the rising popularity of *samsung*, 1988 was a memorable year for South Korean foodways. It was the year when McDonald's appeared in Seoul [Park 2003]. See Park [2003] for more details on the impact of McDonald's on South Korean society.

for *samsung* dish, has dramatically soared since the 1980s, which supports Kim Sang-bo's indications (Figures 2).

I had a chance to visit Seoul again in January 2009, exactly 10 years after my first trip there. Though it was a short stay, while strolling through Bukchang-dong, Seoul's Chinatown, I felt that the variety of sea cucumber available had increased. In addition to *Stichopus horrens*, there was *Isostichopus badionotus* from Haiti, which, was morphologically similar to *Isostichopus fuscus* (Galapagos sea cucumber). It cost 60,000 won per 600 grams, slightly cheaper than *Stichopus horrens* (but the amount distributed was quite low, and only one shop had it). The American sea cucumber *Apostichopus parvimensis*, whose name can be directly translated as *palgak haesam* (sea cucumber with eight tube feet), was also sold at 130,000-140,000 won per 600 grams (JPY14,000-15,000 per kilogram). *Parastichopus nigripunctatus*, commonly called the Japanese sea cucumber among retailers in Bukchang-dong, was widely available. Although it was expensive, at 200,000 won per 600 grams (JPY21,600 per kilogram), *Parastichopus nigripunctatus* was being sold in every store. Interestingly, dried products of South Korean *Apostichopus japonicus* were often found in dried goods stores that sold nori (dried seaweed) and dried fruits in the Namdaemun Market instead of the Chinese grocery stores in Bukchang-dong. The going price for dried *A. japonicus* was about 450,000 won (JPY30,000) per kilogram, and sea cucumbers in South Korea appeared to be cheaper than in China and Japan.



Figures 2. Export of dried sea cucumbers from the Philippines to South Korea (1980–2010).

Source: Made by the author based on the *Foreign Trade Statistics of the Philippines*.

The most notable change I observed in this 2009 survey was the appearance of dried *Cucumaria frondosa*. This species is harvested on the east coast of Canada as well as the coasts of Finland and Iceland, and it is often called *kinko-mamako* or *fujiko* in Japan. This sea cucumber is often processed into a shredded product called *haishensi* (海参絲, shredded dried sea cucumber). It is generally eaten in t hot and sour soup called *suanlatang* (酸辣湯) in Sichuan cuisine. Interestingly, in South Korea, *C. frondosa* is not sold in its whole dried form, but similar to how it is sold in China, it is shredded as dried sliced sea cucumber. Shredded products are usually sold at 70,000 won per 600 grams (JPY7,600 per kilogram). This is slightly more expensive than the *Stichopus horrens* imported from the Philippines and Indonesia. The biggest advantage that this shredded *C. frondosa* has is that it is easy to rehydrate. Although *Stichopus horrens* may be cheaper, the complex work that is required to rehydrate it can span over an entire week, similar to the difficulty posed by the most expensive *A. japonicus*. However, shredded *C. frondosa* can be used in stew after it is soaked for one or two nights in water.

This is indeed the convenience of fast food. The type of sea cucumber found in the Korean *sundubu jjigae* stew was precisely this type of *haishensi*. However, whether

in China or South Korea, exceptions exist. *Haishensi* generally means those made from *Cucumaria frondosa*. This may be because *C. frondosa* is caught by Canadian and Icelandic fishery companies, and then mass produced in modern factories. Ten years ago, whether it was a sea cucumber rehydrated at the shop or a defrosted frozen-once-rehydrated sea cucumbers at factories, what was served was *Stichopus horrens*. It was shredded at the shop. Shredding rehydrated sea cucumber takes a certain amount of skill and time. Owing to its elastic softness, it is difficult to cut it into an even thickness. However, *C. frondosa* that has been processed into *haishensi* is easily rehydrated by soaking it in water, reducing the work and time to rehydrate it. No prior knowledge or technique is required to rehydrate it. Thus, it is easy to understand how *haishensi* became popular, regardless of whether it is *C. frondosa* or not. In fact, on a visit to Seoul in 2009, I had six opportunities to eat sea cucumber over the course of a 50-hour stay. Yet, it was not possible to taste *Stichopus horrens* until the end. All the sea cucumbers that the author ate were *C. frondosa* (the only exception being (sashimi-like) hoe, in which fresh *Apostichopus japonicus* was eaten with vinegar sauce, *chojang*, at a food stand).

In modern South Korean society, *jajangmyeon* is widely accepted as the national dish [Hayashi 2005; Yang 2005]. The careful observer will se that most of customers at Chinese restaurants in Seoul order *jajangmyeon*. The secret to the popularity of this dish is the taste of chunjang, but its fast food-like properties certainly also contribute to its popularity. Sauce based on *jajangmyeon* can be prepared ahead of time and stored. The only thing restaurant owners must do is pour warmed-up sauce onto a plate of noodles. Some customers order *jajangmyeon* once they are seated, but there are also some who walk in and immediately order *jajangmyeon*. It is quickly consumed as soon as it is served, and the customers leave without a word. This entire process takes only a few minutes. Office workers rush through their *jajangmyeon* and leave restaurants quickly. Few people are seen to be enjoying peaceful conversations. *Samusung* and *jajangmeyon* are indeed the fast food of sea cucumber dishes.

6. Fast food and slow food

The sociologist George Ritzer, who refers to societies that pursue rationalization as McDonaldized, identifies four characteristics of such a society: efficiency, predictability, calculation, and control [Ritzer 2008]. To achieve the goal of selling hamburgers at maximum speeds, the methods of optimal efficiency are pursued,

such as installation of touch panels to register orders and drive-through windows for speed. This is further expressed in the fact that a fast food restaurant will have a menu that is uniform in every franchise in every country. This makes their menu predictable for their customers: “If I go to McDonald’s, I can always buy a Big Mac and French fries,” which offers a sense of security. Taste, of course, cannot be measured, but there is a calculation that allows for the selection of size for burgers, quantity of French fries, and amount of Coke. If a set menu offers a large volume of food, the customer may feel that it is a bargain. Control can be achieved through the manual so that the quality of products does not change in relation to the skill of each person (mechanization = de-humanization). This consists of simple tasks and jobs that do not require expert skill (and for which, in most cases, wages are low) as McJobs in the USA.

Applying Ritzer’s four points to the sea cucumber industry in a literal way would be pointless. However, some of these characteristics would match sea cucumber foodways in Dalian and Seoul. The ultimate slow food, dried and rehydrated with 400 years of history, the sea cucumber foodways, has arrived at the age of fast food, where speed, ease, and uniformity are in demand. Taste and texture seem to be forgotten, along with the techniques that make them possible. However, sea cucumber cuisine is not the only cuisine that has embraced fast food. In Hong Kong or Singapore, the most skill-and-time-consuming process, rehydration, was outsourced long ago. Each restaurant used to select and purchase dried ingredients according to its own needs and status. Then, they rehydrated, cooked, and served these dried goods in response to each order. However, in recent years, companies specializing in the rehydration process have appeared, and these industrially rehydrated sea cucumbers in frozen form have become widely distributed throughout the expanding cold chain. If frozen sea cucumbers are eaten after being defrosted, sea cucumber dishes can be enjoyed in restaurants and even at home at any time. This is not limited to sea cucumbers. It is more notable for shark fins. They are routinely sold and rehydrated into a perfect fan shape in a vacuum pack or as ready-to-eat soup. Preparing shark fin is rather cumbersome because skin must be removed without damaging the shape, and this process is even more complex compared to sea cucumbers. Shark fins are expensive, which is why some established restaurants in Hong Kong have skilled staff whose only job is to prepare shark fin. Their pay may be low, but free meals and accommodation are provided while they train. However, wages have recently increased, and labor conditions are strictly monitored; thus, few restaurants can afford to

hire staff for this purpose, with exception of odd, well-established ones. Outsourcing the task of rehydrating shark fins means that distributers can begin offering products of uniform size, shape, and quality to meet the prices set by restaurants. Chefs purchase these products, defrost them, and serve them in their own soup. This is the same structure as *haishensi* distribution in Seoul.

I am not arguing that slow food is better than fast food. Culture always implies change, and foodways are no exception. The challenge is how to balance slow and fast food while enriching foodways and acknowledging rapid and major changes in the socio-economic environment [Wilk ed. 2008]. Foodways always stem from the relationship between humans and nature. Only in this context can one find room for slow food to cooperate with environmental conservation. Therefore, fast food is not to be blamed, and the pursuit of economic rationality is natural. However, even in the world of capitalism, the fast food style of economic activities that focus on the pursuit of profit to the point where dehumanization ensues should be criticized [Shimamura 2001]. Within the borders of the foremost McDonaldization society, the USA, the small number of meat companies that can meet the demands of the industry become massive, while other small companies are weeded out; livestock are farmed in crowded industrialized factory barns [Schlosser 2001]; and for producers and consumers, beef is no longer food (it does not enrich the mind and body), but is simply an inorganic product (commodity that fills hunger) [Lovenheim 2004; Pollan 2009].

Sea cucumbers are wild animals, except farmed *A. japonicus* in China. Therefore, more than speed, one needs to be conscious of keeping production and consumption at a sustainable level. In recent years, illegal fishing of sea cucumber has increased in Japan. This cannot be unrelated to the rise of salt-preservative sea cucumber (cleaned, boiled, and salted), in the place of dried sea cucumber, which requires advanced technique and experience. With dried sea cucumber, the personal technique of the processer is obvious. However, with salt-preservative sea cucumber, the producer is not identifiable, meaning that this can easily become a hotbed of illegal fishing. Whether legally or not, these exported salt-preserved *A. japonicus* are likely materials of *yangan haishen*, *tanggan haishen*, *bangan haishen*, and *donggan haishen*. Hypothetically, if the *A. japonicus* worship of Dalian becomes a trigger to destroy the tradition of common resource management that has been nurtured across Japan, this is a problem. Sea cucumbers are living creatures before they are products. Respect must be given to their

lives. At the same time, the technique and knowledge that people have been cultivating must be respected.

7. Conclusions

As I have often noted, the global state of sea cucumber is becoming serious, as demand for sea cucumbers has been increasing in the Liaodong area, such as in Dalian and Qingdao. Therefore, over the last several years, the author has been concerned with the situation in nearby South Korea. Unlike Southeast Asia, where most Chinese immigrants are from the south, such as Guangdong and Fujian Provinces, most Chinese people living in South Korea (the South Korean Chinese) are associated with the Shandong and Liaoning Provinces, which are the center of the *ci shen* culture. There is no guarantee that *Apostichopus japonicus* worship in Liaodong would have no impact on South Korea. However, I interviewed representatives of restaurants and wholesalers in Seoul and found no impact of *A. japonicus* worship in northern China. Everyone knew people in China were fond of *A. japonicus*, but it was considered "unrelated to sea cucumber foodways in South Korea." This is interesting because, although it is adjacent to northern China and has a culture and history that is characterized by close interactions, South Korea has its own sea cucumber foodways. This reminds us of the diversity of sea cucumber foodways.

To conclude this article, let us consider how one faces the diversity of sea cucumber foodways in East Asia. Excluding Hokkaido, where sea cucumber fisheries is specialized for export, I often hear from producers who ship to the domestic perishable goods market, that "sea cucumber demand in Japan needs to be promoted." I feel the same way, but how can this be done? The author believes that one needs to get back to the root of sea cucumber foodways, focus on local ingredients, and rely on slow food. Segawa Yuto from Notojima (Nanao City, Ishikawa Prefecture) convinced me to adopt his point of view [Akamine and Moriyama eds. 2012]. According to Segawa, there is a tradition in Notojima, where sea cucumber caught in the winter is dried and rehydrated in the fall for festivals. I have visited sea cucumber producers across Japan for more than 20 years, but I have never heard of anyone producing their own dried sea cucumber and consuming it for festivals. Unsure, I asked Segawa to prepare this sea cucumber dish. He said, "You can rehydrate them easily if you use a pressure cooker," and he demonstrated, stopping the pressure cooker every 10 minutes to test the sea cucumber by hand. He quickly

rehydrated homemade dried sea cucumber and cooked a stew with soy sauce.

The best-known sea cucumber dish in Chinese food is *hong shao haishen*. *Hong shao* means stewing in soy sauce, but *hong shao haishen* often entails stir frying sea cucumber first in white scallion oil (*cong you*) to remove its fishy smell. Therefore, it is called *congshao haishen*. This slightly browns the sea cucumber, and the sweetness of white scallion enhances its flavor. However, Segawa used no oil, and he stewed the sea cucumber in a stock with ample amounts of soy sauce and *sake*. Segawa has always enjoyed sea cucumber stewed in soy sauce, which his aunt prepared for him when he was young. After he became a chef, he inquired about the recipe with his aunt, but for some reason, she never showed it to him. He laughed and said, "how to prepare and cook dried sea cucumber must be a secret for each family." To recreate the taste of the dish his aunt once cooked, Segawa made many trial and error attempts. The resulting dish from these attempts has a slight aroma of the sea, and an incredible texture that clings to the teeth and tongue. I have eaten many dried sea cucumber dishes in Chinese restaurants around the world, but this dish had a different taste and texture from Chinese food. The fishy taste is completely undetectable. "I have never encountered a dish like this!" I fell in love once more with the diversity of sea cucumber dishes.

Segawa was not done. "Sea cucumber must be served in lacquer ware," he said, and he indeed served it to me in lacquer ware. All he would tell me was "it has always been like this," but one could see from him the love for sea cucumbers that the people of Notojima feel. I was enamored by this dish and the passion Segawa shared for sea cucumbers. Segawa also allowed me to watch him prepare dried sea cucumber at the end of the next sea cucumber season. After removing the salted entrails and sexual gonads, Segawa immediately started boiling downing the sea cucumber in a heated pot. It made dry crackling sounds from the water drops dancing in the pot, and then black water started getting released from the sea cucumber. "You cook sea cucumber alone. Do not add any water. You should only use components from the sea cucumber." He repeated this mantra several times. After about 10 minutes, the water that was released from the sea cucumber was just enough to soak the sea cucumber itself. The dish was starting to look like any other stew. To make it easy to stew, Segawa bravely sliced the abdomen. This actually turns the dish into filleted sea cucumber, different from the cylindrical ones sold at stores. One could say that the result is not very aesthetically pleasing, but it is ultimately dried sea cucumber for one's own consumption. The significance lies not in the appearance,

but in the preparation of sea cucumber in Notojima, which is locally harvested without any additives. It was mid-March, but he said, “this cold wind is important.” He exposed the sea cucumber to the cold wind for three days, then stored it in a refrigerator.

With his pressure cooker and industrial refrigerator, Segawa seems to be aiming for the appropriate speed, a perfect balance between slow and fast [Minz 2006]. With his professional pride, Segawa says he “wants to try making *haishensi* from locally harvested *A. japonicus.*” While *haishensi* in Seoul symbolizes sea cucumber as fast food, Segawa wants “many people to enjoy the sea cucumber of Noto” in small quantities for a reasonable price.

Segawa is one of the many sea cucumber enthusiasts found across Japan. I have been able to conduct sea cucumber research only because of these enthusiastic stakeholders. It is not easy to pursue one’s own path in opposition to the rapid economic trends that have taken place in the industry. However, if one studies those who take pride in their own region and love the sea cucumber that is grown there, and if one accumulates this small knowledge and heritage, in the end, one should be able to establish a solid market in Japan. One should indeed aim for the slow path of the sea cucumber. As a researcher who adores the sea cucumber, I am strongly aware that one must gain much more knowledge on this subject, which is hidden out there in the world.

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