A place of placelessness: Hekeng people's heritage

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3. Hekeng: a Place of 'Placelessness'

This chapter focuses on the representation of the past in the Hekeng River Valley. As the most important international cultural heritage organization, the WHC, tries to help each State Party preserve the outstanding cultural attributes embodied in the heritage sites on which that particular state places a high value. As the leading CRM organization globally, it has sought out the way to construct a universal value methodology that, as it has long put into practice, can apply to the World Heritage site selection in each State Party. For a long time, the WHC and its Advisory Bodies have endeavored to preserve all the essential characteristics of the physical part of heritage in each registered place; features that are apparently meaningful to the local people and might therefore represent their past. Unfortunately, for many reasons, attaining this goal is not as easy as might have been expected. Deviations from these expectations seem to be inevitable. One factor of overriding importance is that the built environment changes constantly throughout any settlement history. Many socio-cultural mechanisms can give rise to the spontaneous metabolization of the heritage, and inexorably also to the loss of the physical fabric and the memories attached to it. Theming would seem to be the answer but, as demonstrated to some extent at least in Chapter 2, when creating a heritage place, in many ways theming can also adversely result in the greater loss of not just the material fabric but also of the social memories bound up in it. Moreover, in recent times social changes such as depopulation[43] and relocation have also often incurred the disuse, abandonment and demolition of the traditional built environment. What is put on the final stage in a WH representation is nothing but the outcome of these social processes. This realization prompts the next questions: To what extent does the representation of a place achieved by the application of the WH methods relate to the past in the minds of the local people, if they are the group best qualified to judge the value of their properties? If the local people have their own ways of commemorating the past, what is the best way for WH creation to accommodate these traditions? What are the major changes in the identity of the place and identity of the local people in a heritage-making process?

3.1 THE LOCAL PEOPLE'S PLACE AND THE REPRESENTED PLACE

Tuan (1977) argues that most definitions of place are quite arbitrary. In the context of the present discussion, as Tuan writes, places are locations in which people have long memories, 'reaching back beyond the indelible impressions of their own individual childhoods to the common lores of bygone generations'. He also points out that the smallest size space that can be thought of as a place by geographers is a settlement. Inevitably as night follows day, a place is destined to be intertwined with time (Lowenthal, 1966) and people. The former statement covers the dynamic spatial changes throughout the whole history of the place, whereas the latter is mainly concerned with the individuals and communities who open up a space and build up experiences there. In the phenomenology of place (Relph, 1976), human spatial experience is stated to be an important factor in a place. Relph's conception of a place is that it has the power to order and focus people's intentions, actions, experiences, and perhaps emotions as well. As David Seamon and Jacob Sowers (2008) argue, Relph's ideas of place and identity of place are quite useful and can be thought of as the first step leading toward a thorough understanding of a real place. In his work, Relph proposed three components of place identity: (a) the physical setting of a place; (b) its activities, situations and events; and (c) the individual and group meanings created through people's experiences and intentions in relation to that place. In fact, these three key

43. After the mid-1980s, large numbers of rural Chinese moved to the urban areas to find jobs. This trend has continued for almost over 25 years. In contrast to other places in China, the western and southern rural areas of Fujian have had a long reputation for high population mobility in historical times in response to their inhabitants' quest for scarce resources.

components correspond respectively to space, time and people, that are all closely related, in Relph's terms, to the restoration or creation of a place. What matters to the present discussion is Relph's concern about the loss of the 'insideness' of a place, or what he called 'the feeling of placelessness', that are the outcome of 'the casual eradication of distinctive places and the making of standardized landscapes that results from an insensitivity to the significance of place'. Essentially, Relph ascribes placelessness to an 'uncritical acceptance of mass values'. Echoing Relph's inspiring theory, I would like to probe the process of the dissolution of Hekeng, once just a very small riverside settlement. In this process, a new place has replaced an old one; heritage creation, allied with many other socioeconomic factors, has turned placeness into placelessness, and imbued the local people with a sense of 'outsideness'.

Insideness is grounded in the use of the buildings, structures and the whole settlement landscape, all of which can be conceived of as the physical setting of the settlement place. This use was made up of the daily activities, situations and events that happened in or around the settlement landscape from historical times to the contemporary past. In the long process of lineage life, the use of land helped the local people form a relatively steady and stable relationship with their built and natural environments. In the eyes of any lineage member, the house he inhabited, the land he cultivated, the hall or temple in which he attended lineage ceremonies, the paths leading to other settlements and markets near or far constituted his life setting and helped in the construction of his own insideness, self-identity, and sentimental/attitudinal attachment (Tuan, 1977) to the place in which he lived out his lifespan. The use of the built and natural environments also provided chance and fixed occasions on which interactions between lineage members took place. It is no exaggeration to claim that the use of buildings and structures linked the local residents and their environments. The other side of the coin is that changes in the manner of inhabitation, farming processes, offering ceremonies, place attachments and land-use patterns can also initiate a series of changes in the built and natural environments and in this process the place in which one was born can become quite unfamiliar and no longer as meaningful as it was in the past. Undoubtedly, an innovative intention to use the environment in one way or another is usually the very first step leading towards changes in a place, and in turn these can influence the local people personally. When a settlement such as Hekeng is used as a heritage place, it is particularly important to differentiate these land-use intentions, understand the stakeholders[44] and be absolutely clear about the impacts that changes in land-use orientations might introduce in both a historical and a present perspective. Basically, we can classify these intentions into three groups, namely: those of the historical insiders (to metabolize); those of the present insiders (to develop or redevelop); and those of the outsiders (to museumize). These outsiders can be either local government authorities or international cultural heritage organizations.

Before I proceed with the assessment of land-use intentions, I would like to draw a basic demarcation along the border between the local people's place and the represented place from a spatial perspective. In 2008, altogether forty-six *tulou* houses scattered throughout ten settlements in the south Fujian region were eventually registered on the World Heritage List. For unknown reasons, the heritage was not nominated as traditional settlement sites or cultural landscapes, but in the form of single *tulou* architectures or building clusters. The reasons I find it important to stress this negative comment are as follows: First and foremost, the nomination was in itself a violation of the authenticity and integrity principles of the WHC and, secondly, the nomination has generated an apparently new, spatial realm in terms of 'building clusters' arbitrarily coined by heritage management professionals that is obvious neither to people from outside nor, more importantly,

44. Stakeholders are those social groups that get themselves deeply involved in the use of cultural resources. As a matter of course, they have different views about how the past should be used. By introducing different land-uses, they can impose significant impacts on the built environment and consequently the daily life of the local people. Those stakeholders who might get involved in the land-use issues in Hakka heritage sites are both insiders and outsiders. The majority of the former are the Hakka communities; the latter are primarily government authorities, cultural resource managers, site planners, conservators, tourists and cultural resource developers.

to the local residents themselves. The crux of the matter is that it artificially divorces some of the buildings from their original settlement and their social context. The upshot is two parallel spatial scales are emerging on the same heritage stage. The first of these is the real place that a local resident recognizes by recourse to his or her own place experiences built up since childhood and from the collective memories of the past of the lineage settlement. The other is an artificial spatial concept composed of the property and the buffer zone surrounding it. The former is a 'place' recognized by humanistic geographers, whereas the latter is really nothing more than a representational zone having no spatial overlap with the local communities and no reference to the historical/existing settlement pattern, as demonstrated in Chapter 2. Finally, the space in *tulou* settlements such as Hekeng is dragged into an arbitrary differentiation between the past and the present, as mentioned in Chapter 2, forming contradictions between a local people's place and a represented place. If these assertions are accepted, to what extent should we recognize what we see today in these highly-modified places as the representation of a real past, both temporally and spatially?

There are at least three points omitted from the authenticity list of the Hekeng historical representation, or have otherwise only been noted ambiguously in the site interpretation. The most conspicuous is the omission of some non-*tulou* buildings and structures. This oversight has already incurred a spatial incompleteness of historical preservation and representation. I have already discussed this point in Chapter 1. Agnew (1993) has pointed out that a place can be constituted by all kinds of buildings and structures in an area, and these buildings and structures form 'nodes', at and around which the sense of a place can be generated and structured. This point is very important as it underlines that all the relevant buildings and structures that helped shape the insideness of a settlement member should be included in the representation of the place, because all these 'nodes' built up the authenticity and integrity of that place. The second oversight is the time. How can time be represented? Granted this is a very difficult task. We are very aware that in many heritage places, representation is flattened. Apart from the time order in which the architecture was built, as suggested in Chapter 1, both the metabolization of the built environment and the former appearance of the buildings themselves can be used as evidence of time. The sticking-point is that historical metabolization is not directly visible but it has already been intertwined with the feelings about the place felt by the local people. Any traces of previous physical changes have already disappeared in the metabolic processes. In Hekeng, for instance, the metabolization is about all the evolution process of the whole settlement landscape in which changes in building forms and structures must have played a significant role. Some basic episodes of these changes have already been unequivocally identified in Chapter 1. The historical use of and changes in the built environment make up the basic timeline along which the whole landscape developed into its last organic shape in the late 1980s. The third point omitted, and indeed the most important one, is the sense of the place. Lineage members who possess this insideness are indisputably an indispensible part of the historical environment. They have acquired some of the feelings about their place from their parents and other older relatives. They are also able to sense a long history when they participate in ceremonies in temples or pay their respects at graves. Such emotions, feelings and attachments are difficult for outsiders to perceive. Local residents are intrinsically part of their place. Unlike the actual physical settings of a place, a sense of a place cannot and need not be represented directly. Although it is recessive, *insideness* is a useful measure for testing whether a local resident still retains the feeling that the place is his place, and hence also a useful measure for testing the authenticity of a place.

3.2 SPATIAL METABOLIZATION AND THE CREATION OF INSIDENESS OVER TIME

How people have used and modified their built and natural environments lies at the core of any local history. As has been touched on in Chapter 1, it is a series of social processes in which the local population has waxed and waned, the arable land curtailed in area, in which settlement expansions and relocations have occurred from time to time and spontaneous environmental metabolization has

continued in many guises, running the gamut from building establishment, renovation, use and disuse to demolition, all processes which have happened in response to the population increases and decreases. The changes in the built environment usually echoed either the perpetual or instant needs of local communities in the past. New buildings replaced old ones, leading to a new look for the whole place. Besides, if they were to survive in such river valleys with the very sparse agricultural resources at their disposal, the local residents needed to prolong the lifespan of their buildings and structures and maintain the important physical attributes and cultural 'cues' in them, long justified as in some way useful, by making renovations and doing repair work from time to time. These sorts of undertakings also unavoidably led to the physical metabolization of the built environment, affecting different types of buildings, carried out on different architectural scales and at different rates. This metabolization was more than just the local way of life, it was the force that generated the basic mechanisms which had allowed the buildings and structures to continue to exist through time. The traditional ways of maintaining the built environment expressed in terms of building skills, materials, attitudes, emotions, procedures and so on are also part and parcel of heritage authenticity. These capabilities and intentions of the local people are intrinsic evidence of time. They are very important in that they might not only be able to be used to justify the validity of historical alterations in built environments but in that they also underline the reasonableness of the changes made by the local people to their properties in the early modern times, indeed even today. Changes constitute the time dimension of authenticity. The preliminary investigations in 2011 and 2013 revealed a traditional Hakka settlement landscape (as a place) in the Nanjing rural area usually consisted of seven parts: temples and halls, residences, cemeteries, agricultural fields, workshops and animal husbandry facilities and communal structures. A knowledge of how local people interacted with their built environment and how this environment changed would considerably enrich our understanding of the representation of the settlement place in Hekeng. Through their interactions with their environments, local people created a micro-society in which the sense of *insideness* was grounded in the lineage glories kept very much alive in the ancestor worship culture, people's emotional attachment[45] to the place and the spatial and temporal geography constituted by the intergenerational gaps (expressed in building dates, burial dates, generation names), monumental buildings and structures and the experience of land-use learned since their youth. All these elements were the building blocks of a local person's identity, bonding it with the whole built environment. At this point it would be useful to present some cases demonstrating the real relationships between the local people and their settlement place under traditional conditions.

3.2.1 Temples, Halls, Shrines and Lineage Ceremonies

As noted earlier in Chapter 1, temples and halls in the southern Fujian area are all in courtyard form and are the most durable part of the settlements. The majority of the extant temples and halls were first built in the late Ming and the early Qing dynasty. The Hakka people had many uses for these structures but, as said, there is usually only one principal ancestral temple (*zongci*) for the whole lineage. In the Hekeng Zhang lineage village, each strong sub-lineage (*fang*) also had its own ancestral hall (*zhici*) to commemorate its own common near ancestors (*fensi*). An ancestral shrine (*tang*) is a public space located inside a *tulou* building, built in the rear portion of the first floor. The sort of shrine inside a *tulou* building is actually a transformation of the shrine (*tang*) in a typical courtyard dwelling (*heyuan*). By and large, the structure of a courtyard residence is characterized by a central shrine (*tang*) with two or more houses in its wings (*heng*). In former times, every resident inside the same *tulou* had equal access to this small place in which they could get together to make daily offerings to their common ancestors (or deities in later times) and discuss the affairs of the households. Therefore,

45. Like 'collective memory' defined by Connerton (1989), lineage attachment is also a way of interpreting a settlement's own past and includes all the activities that 'go into making a version of the past resonate with group members'. In Chinese vernacular cases, ancestral temples, genealogies and the lineage properties are the major means (Chen, 2011) that shape a common sense of belonging. Temples are primarily monuments that, according to Rowlands and Tilley (2006), make the people believe in the permanence of identity.

viewed as a whole, the complete Hakka ancestral worship system of the Hekeng Zhang lineage would have consisted of three levels from bottom to top: ancestral shrine (joint families), ancestral halls (sub-lineages) and principal temple (lineage). Their presence underlines the great importance of the Hekeng settlements. To a very large extent, the extant temples (that is, the principal temple Shiying-tang and the *fensi* temple the *Huaiting* Hall and another two that have been completely devastated) as well as the shrine structure inside each *tulou* building (except the Yongsheng-lou) represent the whole spectrum of the ancestral worship architecture of the Hekeng Zhang lineage. In traditional times, the shrines inside the *tulou* buildings were also the places in which wedding ceremonies were conducted and this tradition has continued to the present day.

Ancestral temples, especially the principal ones, were used in many different ways. They could serve as a place for conducting the major offering ceremonies of the lineage (*hezu gongji*), holding meeting, and the invocation of spirits in funerary rituals. As the major temple of the whole Zhang lineage, in the past the Shiying-tang provided opportunities to strengthen the cohesiveness of the lineage members from time to time. For instance, the *hezu gongji* observance still takes place every year. The *toujia* or the family that takes the lead is often determined by drawing lots. That year it is the principal family responsible for raising funds and organizing offering rituals in the principal ancestral temple. The time for observing the *hezu gongji* offering varies from lineage to lineage, but is usually held in winter. The series of ancestral offering ceremonies and the later harvest celebrations are called the *zuo dafu* or the grand ceremonies asking for the blessing of the gods by the local people. In Hekeng, every winter, the Protector or *Baosheng dadi* (whose statue is now enshrined inside the *Huaiting* Hall) is invited to meet the Common Lord or *Minzhu gongwang* in the shrine at the entrance to the village. This encounter is the fundamental part of the *zuo dafu* activities. Apart from its religious use, the principal temple was also used as a place in which to exhibit the history and glories of the Zhang lineage.[46] The lineage erected numerous stone pillars (*shi qigan*) around the small square in front of the temple. Each and every stone pillar is a memorial that celebrates an individual's success in the Imperial exams, business or other great achievements. Therefore every one represents a kind of monument that commemorates the honor and glory of the Zhang surname as a whole. All in all, it was a place in which the Zhang lineage members created both a religious atmosphere in which they immersed themselves emotionally and a place in which they announced their existence to the outside world.

The *Huaiting*, built inside the Shengqing-lou and used in conjunction with the shrine at the rear of the building, is the sole representation of a *fensi* temple in Hekeng, and therefore of particular cultural significance. Although it now serves as a place for making offerings to *Baosheng dadi*, in the past this small hall inside the Shengqing-lou was used as a place for making offerings to the common ancestors of the Xizhuba settlement residents. In the late Qing dynasty, the role of the Xizhuba settlement people was to tend to the needs of the travelers on the nearby mountain path, providing them with drinking water and chairs on which they could rest. This small path traverses the Hekeng River Valley, linking Yongding to Meilin and Chuanchang. The late Qing local government was generous in its praise of the contribution of the Xizhuba residents and in 1832 (the *guiwei* year of the Jiaqing reign era) awarded

46. Ancestral temples are places created to strengthen lineage identity by means of all kinds of ceremonies at particular points of the lunar calendar year. A past recurs periodically when settlement residents gather together to remember the benevolence of the ancestors. Consequently, the repetition of the same descent identity is the primary form of collective memory construction. Genealogies, even though the early days of the lineages might be misrepresented, embellished or even distorted, are the primary written source of their own histories. Intangible features play a key role in the creation and continuation of the lineage identities. This is the reason that the desire to make the ancestors feel proud of their offspring by renovating temple architecture is always accorded paramount significance. This has always been a higher priority than any considerations of architectural authenticity. The sacred places provided an appropriate atmosphere (in fact, the setting) in which ancestors could be respected and honored, but they also serve the living psychologically. Improving the quality of serving the ancestors could make the lineage members who participate in the ceremonies feel better in themselves.

them a wooden plaque bearing the inscription '*de shi xiang lü*', or model of village benevolence. Ever since it has hung on the inner gate of the *Huaiting* Hall to honor the Xizhuba descendants in perpetuity. This information is important to understanding the use of the *Huaiting* in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. Like the stone pillars erected in front of the Shiying-tang, the plaque bearing praise from the Qing government can be hung only in an ancestral hall, in which it bears eternal evidence of the glories of that lineage segment.[47]

Shrines (*tang*) are quite common structures inside *tulou* buildings. Playing a similar role to that of a principal temple and branch hall, this public space usually serves as a place in which worship the ancestral tablets, hold weddings and sometimes meetings of the extended families in the *tulou* buildings.[48] Functionally, though smaller in size and simpler in style compared to the temples, these public spaces might represent the oldest building tradition (*tang-heng shi jianzhu*) of the Hakka people in southern Fujian. The Hakka people deliberately took great care to preserve this semi-open structure in the middle rear portion inside their *tulou* shelters, in the same fashion as their forebears had once built the central *tang* structure in their courtyard dwellings.

Unlike the robustly constructed *tulou* buildings, temples, halls, shrines and other facilities with similar functions can be the most variable part of a settlement in terms of metabolization in East Asia, particularly China, Japan and perhaps Korea. What we have discovered seems to bear out the idea that the ancestral temples in southern Fujian could be 'improved' (repaired/restored/reconstructed) every fifty to one hundred years or so. The Shiying-tang Ancestral Temple of Hekeng village, for example, was first established in 1610, the thirty-eighth year of the Wanli reign, and in the following centuries it was 'improved' in 1732 (the tenth year of the Yongzheng reign), 1776 (the forty-first year of the Qianlong reign), 1823 (the third year of the Daoguang reign) and 1928 (the seventeenth year of the Republic of China) respectively. The frequency is nearly once per century. In the past, there could have been diverse changes in the use and maintenance of the Shiying-tang, which could have encompassed not just repairs but also reconstruction, expansion and so forth. As I explained in Chapter 1, the extant Shiying-tang is a grayish brick building in the form of a courtyard-dwelling. This is substantial evidence for arguing that ancestral temples could have been changing all the time, and therefore are the most unstable part of a settlement. However, this might be running before we can walk. In the present study of Hakka villages, we also need to consider the whole scenario of the evolutional built environment, especially the radical changes in the residential section that have taken place since the mid-sixteenth century, namely: the major transformation from an ordinary Chinese courtyard dwelling settlement into a *tulou* settlement. It is important to emphasize that ancestral temples are possibly the only extant architectural type that reflects the long pre-*tulou* history (roughly from the late-fourteenth century to the early-sixteenth century) of the local Hakka people in southern Fujian's hilly regions. Bearing in mind the revolutionary change in residential building form that took occurred between the middle Ming dynasty and the early Qing period, it is crucial to note that, when the Xizhuba people built the *Huaiting* Hall inside the Shengqing-lou, they still chose to construct it in full courtyard form. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the local residents rigorously followed the pre-existing *tang-heng* building styles when they were constructing the most important symbol of ancestral worship of the settlement. Therefore, it can be said with certainty that although they have been extensively repaired or even reconstructed periodically, ancestral temples and halls have preserved metabolically the most stable

47. This is a piece of hard evidence supporting the hypothesis that the tang in each *tulou* building should be the place for making offerings to the ancestors of the *tulou* residents, rather than a deity-offering place as Zheng first proposed in 2012. Indeed, the ceremony Zheng witnessed has only gained popularity in more recent times. On the evidence of the 2011 field investigation, it can be said with certainty that the metamorphosis of the ancestral shrine into a Protector shrine occurred only very late, in the early twentieth century in fact. As a *fensi* temple, the *Huaiting* shares many architectural traits with the principal temple. The other two *fensi* temples, the Dexin-tang and its unnamed counterpart in Qiaoxia, were completely demolished in the mid-1970s during the Cultural Revolution.

48. Interviews with local residents Zhang Enhan and Zhang Mintai in 2011.

form of traditional Hakka architecture. Therefore we can categorize these buildings as very stable. Having said this, in order that the temple be a place worth of representing the lineage honor and accommodating the souls of ancestors, renewals of adornment, improved internal conditions and more spacious central yards have perhaps been the foremost wishes of each lineage head. On behalf of the whole lineage, the head of the Zhang lineage in Hekeng, accepted donations from rich relatives to maintain and renovate.[49] Furthermore, the yields of the *gongtian* and the *jitian* (two major kinds of lineage trust) were also set aside to be sold to support the repair work. In fact, there was a series of social activities bound up with the management and renovation of the ancestral temples. Therefore, in their original form, temple renovations cannot be reduced to purely physical phenomenon; they must also have involved a significant number of community members. Today, the expenses incurred in making renovations still come mainly from donations. The latest renovation was carried out in the late 1990s. As the local residents were quick to point out, the 1990s renovation was virtually a complete reconstruction.[50] Compared to ordinary houses, the metabolic changes in the temples were inspired more by social and ceremonial considerations. Such modifications were undertaken not only when the compounds were damaged but also at particular points in time at which people felt it appropriate to strengthen the unity of the whole lineage or at the very least the bonds between several major families. Enhan says that since the 2000s, the temple, hall and shrines in the Hekeng River Valley have been rarely used. The local people tend to think of these places only when they need to organize wedding ceremonies and *zuo dafu* rituals.

3.2.2 *Tulou* Houses, Lineage Identity and Inheritance

Strictly speaking, in the present Hekeng village, the residential parts inside the *tulou* buildings are confined to the upper-story rooms supported by wooden posts and floor-boards/joists. Taking a four-story square *tulou* building as an example, the sections on the first floor are used as livestock stables, kitchens and sometimes bathrooms. Toilets have not been installed inside the *tulou* buildings and are usually located behind them. The rooms on the second floor are used as storehouses and barns. Only the rooms on the third and fourth floors are used for residential apartments. It is the custom of the old people to place their coffins in the corners of the corridors on the fourth floor. It is a folk belief that having your coffin ready while you are still alive will make you live much longer. The shrine on the first floor, in conjunction with the central open area, constitutes the public space of a *tulou* house. Wells are also customarily dug in this open area. A similar residential pattern is also observable in round *tulou* buildings. As noted earlier, windows are constructed only on the third and fourth floors. In the eyes of the local communities, residences also help to create a person's own lineage identity.

49. Renovation: Refurbishing and/or adding to the appearance of an original building or elements of a building in an attempt to 'renew' its appearance in keeping with contemporary tastes and perceptions of conservation. *(Aoi An Protocols: for Best Conservation Practice in Asia)*

50. Architecture in traditional Fujian settlements evolved at different rates. Religious buildings might seem to have been more stable in their morphology than common dwellings, but the wooden parts of this architecture also evolved. In fact, the '*xiu*' activities (see later) undertaken on religious buildings might have been even more radical and intensive. The *Nara Document on Authenticity* deconstructs the existing heritage conservation approach and proposes appropriate ways of assessing the authenticity of the building heritage in the East Asian context. As the Document comments, authenticity is by no means a static conservation criterion; information sources, knowledge background and cultural diversity should therefore be given a more important status in evaluation work. Basically, what the local people at heritage sites believe is authentic should also be taken into account, and the authenticity criteria should therefore be localized. Some members of the Japanese delegation to the 1994 ICOMOS conference in Nara explained that the Shinto building they wanted to nominate as a World Heritage site has been reconstructed regularly since antiquity. They have long rebuilt temples keeping to the original plan, design and strict requirements for the fabric and building techniques. Their contribution to World Heritage conservation methodologies could be rephrased as: Being faithful to the original architectural design plus the materials and techniques should be viewed as a basic component of authenticity criteria. However, as demonstrated in this section, the later repair work in most Chinese temples might not have scrupulously followed the original designs. Some of the reconstructions have even turned the original plans upside-down. In most vernacular architecture, change is inevitable. I would say that physical metabolism is the intrinsic nature of Chinese vernacular buildings.

The close link between people and their *tulou* building is especially reflected in the ways that local people make introductions to their fellows, 'who lived in which *lou*' and 'such and such a *lou*'s person'. These linguistic materials also reveal that the local people's personal identity has been largely intertwined with the 'identity' of the *tulou* houses. The combination of a person's name with a specific *tulou* building can even be an indication that the person being introduced was indeed born in that building. The link is quite clear and is very much in evidence when they introduce themselves to outsiders. It is not simply a building belonging to the Hakka people as a whole (collective identity); it really did belong to someone who has and had lived inside it during his/her lifespan from birth to death. They are not abstract architectural representations or specimens; they lived together with the specified descendants of the Zhang lineage. Conventionally, within the lineage village, a *lou*'s name and its position in the establishing sequence can be a direct signification of the introduced person's position in the generational hierarchy. Therefore, the personal identity expressed by involving a *lou*'s identity can even be a reflection of the interpersonal relationships between different lineage members of the same or different generations. The dispersal of the thirteen *tulou* houses along the Hekeng River Valley also represents the major time period in which the local people interacted with their immediate surroundings and went about constructing *tulou* houses.

A typical characteristic of Fujian rural society is a clear divide between the collective (lineage or lineage segments) and the private domains in settlement wealth. The inheritance of communal lineage property and the privately owned *tulou* rooms both constituted an important route by which the Hakka people's materialized past could be passed on to later generations. The collective domain usually encompassed the religious amenities, lineage trust (*zutian*) and such other public facilities as bridges, irrigation channels, roads and rivers. Usually, it was the lineage heads who bore responsibility for caring for the legacies of the whole settlement on behalf of the lineage members. They were required by settlement convention to organize the construction and maintenance of the lineage facilities, control the use of the lineage trust, expand lineage wealth by reclaiming land whose owners have either died or are heirless and raise funds for the compilation of the lineage pedigrees. These key persons were basically those who managed, or perhaps manipulated, the past of the settlement by maintaining the lineage's communal legacies and presiding over the ceremonies. At the same time, the collective memory of these settlements was fundamentally structured by the compilation of lineage genealogies and was represented by all the structures and buildings in the collective domain known as the bestowal of the ancestors. A lineage agnate could obtain a position in the collective memory simply by adding his name to the lineage genealogy. This sort of recognition could also heighten his sense of responsibility about caring for collectively owned wealth. All these intimate community ties culminate in the question: How could the Hakka people 'materialize' a past through their own *tulou* apartments and fields? The answer is quite simple. They kept a past by transferring the room ownership from generation to generation. As said in the last chapter, when speaking of the residential dwellings and farmlands, they usually use the terms '*zuwu*' and '*zuchan*'. The former indicates the houses transmitted down from the forebears, whereas the latter means the paddies bestowed by the ancestors. In a nutshell, the right to inherit things from the past legitimizes the basic right of a person to hold the means of subsistence in the present. Although it is conceivable that dwellings could have been used as a physical symbol for memorializing elderly people who had passed away a long time ago, it can be said with certainty that they are not 'monumental' in nature.

3.2.3 Constructing and Maintaining Buildings for the Descendants

In the 2013 investigation in some of the central Fujian settlements, the investigators discovered that all the occupied houses are actually being changed all the time. Some of the buildings had been renovated or even reconstructed as early as the late Qing dynasty or the early Republican period, precisely on the sites on which earlier building frameworks had been erected. In some inscriptions on the wooden plaques, the geomancers used '*xiu*' or '*chong xiu*' to denote

the basic ways in which the local residents interacted with their buildings and structures.[51] Although the buildings on which these observations were based were not *tulou* houses, this information is very important for understanding the essential attitude a common Fujian rural resident might nurture towards vernacular buildings and structures, hence, relevant to the present discussion in general. '*Xiu*' usually translates as 'repair' or 'restore', a maintenance job on a limited scale, an undertaking quite frequently seen on traditional Chinese dwellings. However, in many other contexts, the word can also mean 'establish' or 'construct', for instance, as observed in the inscriptions introduced in central Fujian. These wooden plaques inscribed with the word '*xiu*' were indeed made to memorialize the establishment of the dwellings, hence they are themselves monuments. *'Chong xiu'*, literally translated as 'repair again' or 'construct again', might refer to the indifferent condition of the architectures. In the case of some, *'chong xiu'* indicates that the buildings had been repaired or renovated on a large scale. In the case of others, it could suggest that the buildings had been totally reconstructed. In the latter instance, the earlier section of the original buildings could have been completely devastated or in a state of total collapse. I would argue that this is a very precise description of most of the vernacular buildings. '*Xiu*' and '*chong xiu'*, with five meanings in all (construct, repair, restore, reconstruct and enlarge/expand) encompass the core metabolic processes of most Chinese vernacular buildings. Essentially, the purpose of such activities has been to repair or rebuild an architecture, and consequently to restore it to an appropriately functional state.[52] Historically, the upshot of residential repairs in diverse forms has meant that the buildings and structures are the product of a physical metabolization. On consideration, structure, layout, inner wooden

51. Five of these building biographies were found in the 2013 investigation in the central Fujian area. Building biography inscription A.: [the first line] The diviner, Zheng Daosheng, is invited to hold and perform the ceremony. The residence is built (*xiu*) in a roughly *geng-jia* direction [on compass], three points [degrees on compass] passing the '*you*' mark… [the second line] Time: the Great Qing dynasty, the twenty-first year of the Jiaqing reign era [official time, AD 1817]; a *bingzi* year, a *xinchou* month and the eleventh day (*shuoyue wuri*), a *jiashen* day, a *yichou* time, a gentleman of the Zhangs commenced building a magnificent residence…[auspicious verses] best wishes for children and good fortune for the family…[the third year] signed by the Heavenly Generalissimo [*taishang dutian tongling zongguan zongbing dayuanshuai*], the house is named 'Longwen-tang' [Longwen Hall], desiring a place of vitality and outstanding achievements of the family descendants… (The *Longwen-tang Wooden Plaque Inscription* from Dongren village). Building biography inscription B.: [the first line] Time: the Great Qing dynasty, the thirty-fifth year of the Kangxi reign [official time, AD 1696], a *bingzi* year, in the eleventh month, on the eighth day, wushi [11 a.m. to 1 p.m.], an auspicious time to construct (*xiu*) the residence; [the second line] approved by Commissioner of Hell, the Demon-Queller, Earthly Generalissimo Yin. (The *Lian'an-tang Wooden Plaque Inscription* from Zaoxing village). Building biography inscription C.: [the first line] The diviner, Zheng Xuanzong, is invited to hold and perform the ceremony. The residence has been rebuilt (*xiu*) in a roughly *shen-yin* direction [on compass] … renamed *Shengwu-tang*. [the second line] Time: the Great Qing dynasty, the twenty-sixth year of the Guangxu reign [official time, AD 1900]; a *gengzi* year, a *wuzi* month and the fourth day (*renshen ri*), a *xinchou* time, the wooden ridge-pole is to be installed. A gentleman of the Zhengs is inaugurating the restoration of a magnificent house…[auspicious verses] best wishes for a good place in which to live, the continuation of the family line and promising prospects for each generation… desiring a place of vitality and outstanding achievements for the family descendants… (The *Shengwu-tang Wooden Plaque Inscription* from Dongren village.) Building biography inscription D.: [the first line] The diviner, Zheng Xuan..., is invited to hold and perform the ceremony. This ancestral hall is being built (*xiu*) in a *geng-jia* direction, and named *Youqi-tang*. [the second line] The fifth year of Republican China [1916], a *bingchen* year, *dingyou* month, the fourth day, *xinsi shi* [9:30 a.m.], the wooden ridge-pole is to be installed. The gentleman of the Zhangs builds this ancestral hall... [auspicious verses] best wishes for a good place in which to live, the continuation of the family line and promising prospects for each generation… desiring a place of vitality and outstanding achievements of the family descendants… (The *Youqi-tang Wooden Plaque Inscription* from Dongren village.) Building biography inscription E.: [the first line] The diviner, Zheng Xuanchang, is invited to hold and perform the ceremony. The house is being built (*xiu*) in a roughly *kun*-[?] direction… [the second line] Time: the Great Qing dynasty, the eighteenth year of the Guangxu reign [official time, AD 1892]; a *renchen* year, a wushen month (indeed the eighteenth day of the seventh month), a *guichou* day, a *guichou* time… a good time for the ridge-pole to be installed. A gentleman of the Zhangs is inaugurating the restoration of his ancestral hall…[auspicious verses] best wishes for offspring and good fortune for the family…[the third year] signed by the Heavenly Generalissimo [*taishang dutian tongling zongguan zongbing dayuanshuai*], desiring a place of vitality and outstanding achievements for the family descendants… (An ancestral hall wooden plaque inscription from Dongren village.)

52. This said, it should be noted that the term 'restore' in this sort of context does not necessarily refer to being faithful to the original design.

Fig. 31 The Longwentang Wooden Plaque Inscription, dating the courtyard building to Jiaqing 21.

framework design and room arrangement are very probably the backbones later buildings have acquired intact from their predecessors, whereas fabrics, tiles, adornments and single wooden parts are unstable elements, liable to replacement. Reconstruction and restoration are two very drastic types of interventions, therefore running repair work is the most frequently seen treatment of dwellings. Nobody would deny that constant maintenance can prolong the lifespan of buildings but the unstable elements of buildings are also highly sensitive indicators, easily influenced by esthetic affectations as well as such cultural and natural factors as rain, insects and fluctuations in levels of humidity. Therefore, these latter, including tiles, window frames, wooden carvings, mats and so forth, have to be periodically substituted in response to the immediate preferences and needs of the residents. This provides a feasible explanation of the mismatches we frequently find between the founding dates given by the building biographies and their architectural styles, reflected in

Fig. 32 Hall section, the Lian'antang, Zaoxing village.

the physical details. Changes in residential buildings are in essence a process of physical evolution. The buildings are 'alive' (living organisms), unless physical metabolization is terminated. Therefore, it is of paramount importance to remember that the builders of Chinese vernacular architecture made no differentiation in their minds between 'authentic' and 'inauthentic'. A statement that is equally applicable to today's rural builders.

This discussion prompts us to ask: What about the metabolization of *tulou* structures? In other words, how did the local people interact with such huge earthen buildings in the past? As are the courtyard dwellings, *tulou* architectures are also composed of earthen and wooden parts. The substitution rates of the rooftops (for example, tiles and rafters) are therefore similar to those of the ordinary houses mentioned earlier in this chapter. 'They replace the tiles here and there and repair the wooden parts occasionally', some local experts commented. However, in one respect they are most assuredly different from the ordinary courtyard dwellings: When established, any major interventions in the major wooden frameworks of *tulou* buildings are usually discouraged and people are usually reluctant to suggest that any massive repair work be undertaken. If the posts and beams have to be substituted for unavoidable reasons, the repair rate of the internal wooden structure might consequently increase sharply in the following decades. 'Therefore, they prefer to patch up here

Fig. 33 A *tulou* ruin in Shiqiao village.

and there rather than completely reframe the whole building... Also for that matter, more frequently, if they find huge cracks in the walls or irreversible problems with the wooden structure that is beyond patching up, and if they could afford to do so, they would prefer to rebuild the buildings somewhere else...', local conservators said.[53] Many of these abandoned *tulou* ruins lie scattered around such settlements as Shiqiao and Nanou (Fig. 33). Given this situation, the metabolic changes in the *tulou* buildings are therefore mainly represented by rooftop renovations, the substitution of decayed wooden parts (mostly boards and planks) *in situ*, and, in extreme cases, building relocations. Structural reframing is rarely resorted to by the local *tulou* residents if the building is still in use as a dwelling. These ideas diverge from those that underpin modern conservation treatment.

What might be the sentiment of a builder when he was constructing, maintaining or reconstructing his own houses or apartments? In what ways might he have related such a new or reconstructed house to his family? The building biographies newly discovered in central Fujian might provide some answers (see Note 9). First and foremost, he probably hoped that the site of the construction or reconstruction would be auspicious and hence offer his family enough protection. The second idea uppermost in his mind

53. Personal communication from Zhang Jinde in 2013.

Fig. 34 A *fengzixing mu* at Nanou.

might have been that that house would bring his offspring good fortune and guarantee the fertility and continuity of his family. His third hope was probably that all his best wishes and the construction or reconstruction activities would be legitimized by the gods and spirits. Therefore, each time a local peasant constructed or reconstructed a house or an ancestral hall, he might have linked himself, his family, the construction site, the house to the local supernatural powers, forming or reiterating the hope of an auspicious future for the homestead. Although the situation described here is that of the courtyard dwellings, it is feasible to assume that the *tulou* builders would have entertained much the same feelings and ideas.

3.2.4 Grave Monuments Used in Conjunction with Buildings

Two types of burials are popular in the southern Fujian region. One is the *fengzixing mu*, or stone-plate-sealed burials (Fig. 34). These burial chambers are usually dug perpendicularly into the hillsides. The first action of the local people might sometimes have been to dig a burial pit; afterward they would insert the coffins into holes dug into the pit wall. The opening to such a compartment would finally be sealed with a semi-circular stone plate carrying a relief epitaph carved in its center. The rest of the ground space could be set aside as a small area in which to make offerings to the occupant of the tomb. Besides these compartmental graves, there are also numerous small earthen pit burials with no burial furniture. The locations of cemeteries have usually been selected by geomancers. Three locations have been preferred by the local people, as observed in Hekeng, Nanou, Taxia and Shiqiao. A small number of tombs are located in the rice-paddies; they are all *fengzixing mu*. Some have been carved out of the hillsides. Most of these burials are also *fengzixing mu* and are not necessarily located within the valley. They

can sometimes even be found on hillsides outside the valley or very close to the entrance to the river valley. Ordinary or even poor families usually choose to bury their members next to their terraced fields. These graves are often the second type mentioned above – small burials with single burial pits and no epitaphs. The differentiation in land-use pattern explicitly reflects the social stratification among the households of a settlement. In terms of *fengshui*, the appropriate burial loci of the forebears could ensure protection and benefits for their descendants (*li hou*). Ostensibly, this is the reason these tombs were frequently in the flat fields but still very close to the *tulou* buildings; that is, near the residences of their descendants. Interestingly, instead of referring to *fengshui*, villagers give a very different reason some people are buried in the paddies instead of on the slopes or other places, for instance, invariably selected by geomancers: They are undoubtedly the 'grave monuments' of the families with dignity.[54] This begs the question: What is the relationship of the local rich people with these monuments? Again, Hekeng village provides important evidence. Each year the Hekeng lineage conducts a *xindingji* or the neonates ceremony. Newborn baby boys delivered in the same lunar calendar year are brought by their parents to such burial sites to pay routine respect to a certain renowned ancestor, sometimes a female such as the principal wife of Ancestor Shiliang (*Shiliang Gong*). Unlike those buried on the hills, those buried in the paddies near the residents, along with the ancestral halls and temples, embody part of the symbolism of ancestor worship. The Hekeng people knew they could meet their ancestors inside the residences (shrines), in the paddies and in the temples. Residence, cemetery and temple could also be used as one whole. As the elderly people[55] in Hekeng recalled, in their childhood, when someone in the village passed away, his/her relatives first took the coffin out of the corner of the upper floor of the *tulou* building; then, in the first night after his/her death, they placed the deceased in the coffin. A total of eight men carried the coffin to the burial place that had been determined in advance by a local diviner. There, the people gathered to conduct the whole burial ceremony. Throughout the ceremony, an oil lamp was kept alight in the darkness. After all the stipulated procedures had been observed, people had to take that oil lamp back to the ancestral temple. It was the local people's belief that they should not let the lamp go out on the way back because it symbolized the soul of the deceased. The mourners should do all in their power to keep it alight and by so doing conduct the soul of the deceased back to the principal temple in which those of his/her ancestors had long resided. Later, on certain days, relatives would be summoned to gather in the ancestral temple where they would recall the virtuous deeds of the dead and placate his/her soul. Had the dead been very kindly to his/her fellow villagers when alive, the numbers attending this 'requiem' ritual would swell as more people would want to pay their respects. Residence, cemetery and temple all figure at specific points on the same funeral chain.

3.2.5 The Obvious Time System on Memorials Leading to Insideness

When examining the time phrases used by the local people in epitaphs, genealogies and on stone monuments (for example, the stone pillars/steles) and in their everyday spoken language, we immediately discover that formerly the local Hakka residents actually had two temporal frameworks: political time and lineage time. The principal words and phrases denoting political time included '*Da Qing*' (the Great Qing) or *Zhonghua Minguo* (Republican China). The other is the lineage time, indicating intergenerational relations. Each individual could find his or her position along the generational timeline running from the very beginning of the Zhang lineage, when the first generation ancestor had just arrived in this hilly area. In genealogies, particularly, events, interpersonal relations and settlement affairs were frequently recorded and 'measured' with reference to the generation sequence, not natural time, not even political time. Such time traditions actually continued into the first decade of twenty-first century, when interpersonal relations were still partially reflected in the language used in the pedigrees, family trees, settlement committee posters and temple prayers, for

54. Interviews with Zhang Enhan in 2011.
55. Interviews with Zhang Enhan in 2013.

instance, 'the twentieth generation descendant',[56] 'the ninth generation ancestor' and so forth. These time phrases recurred in nearly all the small places inside the settlement, highlighting lineage continuity and the cohesiveness of kinship relations. Time phrases inscribed on monuments, reiterating a person's own position in the lineage history, could evoke a sense of belonging to the place in which he/she grew up.

3.2.6 Agricultural Fields, Workshops, Traffic Systems, Markets and Regional Identity

Chapter 1 touched briefly on the division of the land into agricultural field systems: level fields for rice cultivation, terraced fields for rice cultivation and fields on hillsides for high-yield vegetable cultivation. As just said, fields could also be used as sites for burials. When the traditional rural conditions still prevailed, open fields in the Nanjing rural area presented a diversity of farming activities and a variety of produce, including rice crops, tobacco crops, bananas and vegetables cultivated on the level fields along the major watercourses, sweet potatoes, maize crops and tea on the terraced fields along the slopes of mounds, and bamboo and China fir tree forests in the hills. These patterns of cultivation and seasonal species adjustment in the rhythm with the changes of micro-geomorphology represented the pre-modern (traditional) ways of Hakka land-use, and these very flexible indeed.[57] Workshops usually took the form of thatched or tiled huts and slightly larger cottages. Their locations tended to differ with the functions of the architecture. For instance, tea-processing huts were usually located near the terraced tea fields on the hillsides, whereas the paper-manufacturing workshops were frequently located on the banks of brooks, streams or man-made water channels. Tobacco-processing workshops were built near major residences, as observed in the settlements in Yongding. Husbandry facilities include pigsties, cattle byres, chicken and duck coops and so forth. As observed in the *tulou* buildings in Shiqiao, the bulk of the husbandry facilities were located on the first floor directly inside the *tulou* buildings. As they were regarded as important family part of property, the animals usually lived together with the owners. Workshop buildings and facilities were usually located near watercourses or on mountain slopes, and they were often 'coarsely fabricated'. By and large, their structures and immediate surroundings were arranged to suit the production process, be that drying and processing tea leaves, depositing paper pulp and curing tobacco leaves. Generally speaking the metabolic rate of change of these buildings was

56. The local people use two different words to denote 'generation': '*shi*' for the dead and '*dai*' for the living.

57. According to the Qianlong period *Nanjing Gazetteer*, from the late Ming to the middle Qing period in the rural areas of Nanjing County the major agricultural produce and cash crops included: Japonica rice: crops planted in mountain ranges could bear a crop only once a season. Sticky rice: crops are divided into four primary sub-types; one is called *chigushu* and is used for making rice wine. Wheat: usually of low quality here in Southern Fujian, and should not be viewed as a staple food. Legumes: types include black beans, white peas, soybeans, red beans, hyacinth beans, broad beans and so forth. Broomcorn millets: some could be used for making wines. Foxtail millets: low yield. Sesame plants: two types, black and white, good oil-manufacturing plants. Vegetables: leaf mustards, *huangmao*, celeries, Chinese kale, rapes, water spinach, spinages (old word from spinaches), *Bata vulgaris L. var.cicla L*, romaine lettuces, crown daisy chrysanthemums, edible amaranths, turnips, radishes, carrots, *Pteridium aquilinum* (*Linn*.) *Kuhn var. latiusculum* (*Desv*.) *Undenw. ex Heller*, *Osmunda Japonica*, egg-plants, bamboo shoots, cattails, gingers, onions, garlic, leeks, parsleys, sweet potatoes, white (wax) gourds, watermelons, pumpkins, *tugua*, taros. Fruits: Litchi, longan, oranges, shaddocks, persimmons, bananas, pears, peaches, olives, sugar-cane, peanuts. Herbs: Chinese yams, Chinese wolfberries, wormwoods, mints, motherwort, *Fructus rosae laevigatae*, *Semen plantaginis*, *Pinellia ternata*, *Herba lycopi*. Woods: cypress, camphor, willows, banyans, mulberries, fir trees, birch-leaf pears. Bamboos: diverse types of bamboos: *changzhi*, *ma*, *maoer*, *lü*, *renmian*, *chi*, *han*, *Guanyin*, *fengwei*. Livestock: cattle, sheep, pigs, ducks, chickens, geese. Sugar: red and white. Tobacco: officially introduced into China from Japan (*dongyang*) in the late Wanli reign of the Ming dynasty, also known as *xiangsicao*, or lovesickness herbs. Indigos: two types, known as *dajing* and *xiaojing*. Blue dyestuff. Safflower: red dyestuff. Gardenias: yellow-reddish dyestuff. *Dioscorea matsudae Hayata*: black dyestuff. Vegetable oils: coleseed oil, camellia oil, peanut oil. Alumilite: dyestuff in stone shape. Palm fibers: used for making twisted cords and ropes. Charcoals: no details. Hessians: usually good for making cloth. Crystals: rarely seen, fewer details. Cotton cloths (*jibei bu*): very rare, but a specialty plant of Guangdong. *Ko*-hemp cloths(from *kudzu* vine]: more commonly seen than cotton cloths. Ramie cloths: commonly seen. Banana-leaf cloths: no more details. *Jialuo bu*: cloths made from cotton and silk fibers. Bee honeys: no more details. Bee waxes: no more details. Porcelains: Shancheng town [next to the county seat] is well known for porcelain production. Mats: Maping township is famous for mat manufacture. Ceramic tea-water boiler: Maping is also the most important place of ceramic boiler production.

relatively low but as a part of the local industrial heritage, they were always very susceptible to changes in modes of production. As briefly noted above, from the early Qing dynasty, the settlements in the rural areas of Yongding county had enjoyed a reputation throughout the country for tobacco plantations and processing. However, during the early Republican period, when Japanese cigarettes were introduced, most of the tobacco-processing workshops seemed to be on the wane, and were subsequently torn down in the following decades. The huts used for paper-production scattered throughout the Nanjing hills were likewise finally dismantled in the late 1960s because of the advent of new types of paper that could be sold at a much lower price as its production had been mechanized. Local markets usually had a very fixed in location and scale, but by their very nature were rather easily influenced by fluctuations in the local economy. The closure of the Hekeng market was largely attributable to the rise of the nearby Qujiang market in the early Republican period. The latter market owed its existence to rich businessmen living abroad who made large donations to support the commercial activities of their relatives in Qujiang. By their very nature, workshops and markets were variable and unfixed elements in a local economy. Sometimes they even appeared ephemeral; but sometimes they could also be very stable structures and facilities. Susceptible to the rise and fall of the local economy, especially the economic mainstays, and the uncertainty of supply-and-demand relationships in both the short and long term, more frequently than not the existence of these buildings and facilities was extremely unstable. Unlike the gradual changes in residential and religious architecture, they usually shared a polarized metabolic rate.Nowadays,the thriving local markets[58] in such places as Hekeng,[59] Qujiang and Taxia are all dilapidated or have even disappeared. Taken as a whole, the agricultural fields, workshops, traffic systems[60] and markets provided the local people with an economic mechanism whose tentacles penetrated the boundary of each settlement place, each river

58. Important local markets in the hilly area included the following (Xiamen University, 2009): Luxi, Pinghe (on the border between Nanjing and Pinghe); Trade items: rice, vegetables, livestock, salt, bamboo good. Possible foundation date: Qing dynasty. Opening days: the fourth and ninety days in every ten day of a lunar calendar month. Travel time there and back: one to two days. Shancheng, Nanjing: Trade items: bamboo paper, bamboo and wood goods, salt, fish and other sea products. Possible founding date: Ming dynasty. Opening date: the second and seventh days in every ten days of a lunar calendar month. Travel time there and back: four to five days. Transfer towns: Chuanchang. Shuyang, Nanjing: Trade items: bamboo paper, rice, China fir-wood. Possible founding date: Ming or early Qing dynasty. Opening days: the third and eighth days in every ten days of a lunar calendar month. Travel time there and back: within one day. Dabu, Guangdong: Trade items: bamboo paper, salt, fish and other sea products. Possible founding date: Ming dynasty. Opening days: unknown. Travel time there and back: four to five days. Transfer towns: Xiayang. Banliao, Shangban, Shuyang: Trade items: rice, salt, meat, sugarcane, cloth and textiles, piglets, fish and other sea products. Possible founding date: Qing dynasty. Opening days: the second and seventh days in every ten days of a lunar calendar month. Travel time there and back: within one day. Gaotou, Yongding: Trade items: rice, salt, cloth and textiles. Possible founding date: Qing dynasty. Opening days: the third and eighth days in every ten days of a lunar calendar month. Travel time there and back: within one day. Hukeng, Yongding: Trade items: sugar, clothes. Possible founding date: Qing dynasty. Opening days: the fourth and sixth days in every ten days of a lunar calendar month. Travel time there and back: within one day. Qujiang, Nanjing: Trade items: rice, paper, livestock. Possible founding date: Qing dynasty or Republican period. Opening days: the fourth and ninth days in every ten days of a lunar calendar month. Travel time there and back: within one day. Changjiao, Nanjing: Trade items: rice, paper, bamboo. Possible founding date: Qing dynasty. Opening days: the fifth and tenth days in every ten days of a lunar calendar month. Travel time there and back: within one day.

59. During the Republican period, Hekeng established a small flea market near the Hekeng River, located at a crossroads where the mountain paths to Meilin, Yongding and Shiqiao met. As the villager Zhang Mintai recalled, a small Buddhist temple was once built near the market but was devastated in the mid-20th century. To help the traders, the Hekeng people built two stone bridges over the river running around the flea market and temple.

60. Public structures and facilities include primarily bridges, roads and river traffic lines. The metabolic rates at which they developed are quite different. As interregional traffic resources, roads and rivers are usually fixed. Taking the extant rivers and mountain paths linking the settlements in the rural areas of Nanjing, Pinghe, Longyan and Yongding, for instance, the use of most of them could be traced back to the founding era of these settlements, that is, the early to late Ming dynasty. By contrast, such small structures as wooden pavilion-bridges, stone bridges and ordinary wooden bridges might have been changed only irregularly in response to damage resulting from storms, fires and river floods. Compared to other facilities, such structures as bridges could be more fragile and therefore repaired, restored or even reconstructed more frequently. Therefore, we rarely find bridge structures preserved in the completely 'original' way.

valley and each lineage. As the major sources of the livelihood of the local people, these small places formed a large yet loose network linking each small river valley settlement to the whole hilly area and the townships as well. Undoubtedly, all these buildings, structures and small localities had made their contribution to the coalescence of regional recognition between different lineage settlements. However, the interpretation of all these interrelated elements constitutes the weakest point in the present representation of the Hakka heritage, leading to an unjustified impression that all the settlements were isolated units standing alone and independently of each other.

3.3 BUILT ENVIRONMENT METABOLISM AND THE LOSS OF INSIDENESS

What has been said above constitutes a very brief reconstruction of the Hakka traditional land-use pattern. As was to be expected, the local people had built up their lineage identity and place-attachment by actively interacting with the local environment. Nevertheless, this is not to say that land-use pattern might not have changed over time. As I have explained in the landscape biography section in Chapter 1, driving forces for change could have been exerted by either sharp population growth or changes in the economy, or sometimes both. What the heritage managers regard as the destruction of cultural heritage pure and simple can be justified by the local Hakka residents as quite reasonable changes in earthen architecture and the advantageous adjustment of land-use patterns to improve their daily lives. This has been referred to as 'landscape metabolism' in the previous chapters. Metabolic activities can include those leading to changes in form, location, the structure and arrangement of the built environment, sometimes even the landform, as people responded to the immediate or long-term needs of the traditional lifestyle. It is not unusual for radical changes in the built environment to usher in a sense of outsideness (Relph, 1976) and be a prelude to the eclipse of community life (Stein, 1960). These truly dramatic changes cut the existing bond between a resident and the original place with which he or she had been familiar with since they were very young.

Changes in lifestyle can give rise to emotional maladjustment. Sometimes, local people deliberately reserved some basic architectural elements in their newly fashioned house in order to counteract this feeling of sentimental loss. In the 2013 investigation, for example, we came across a very interesting phenomenon: in some settlements in central Fujian, the local residents were constructing new two-story houses using totally new materials such as bricks, ceramic mosaics, cement, glass and so forth. Nevertheless, they deliberately 'replicated' the *tang* (shrine) structure in their new homes (Fig.35). As we have already noted, the *tang* structure is the most representative ceremonial component in vernacular architecture throughout the central and southern Fujian. Interestingly, these local residents have even hung horizontal inscribed plaques above the doorframes on which the names of the buildings are inscribed. Without exception, they are called 'such and such *tang*'. They are named in exactly the same way as their predecessors were, for instance, the *Longwen-tang*.[61] That said, we cannot ascribe all this loss to the metabolization of built environment. Sometimes, it is the outcome of radical changes in social practices and customs, funerals, burial, marriage, depopulation and heritage-making for instance. All these radical social changes can lead to immediate abandonment of some land-use patterns, and hence place-detachment.

3.3.1 Separation of the Dead and the Living

Radical change in the treatment of dead bodies in the southern Fujian region is a good example of the rise in the separation of the living and dead. New funeral regulations[62] advocated by the local government

61. The local residents actually emulated the essential structure in their old houses (*zuwu*), in which they or their ancestors had lived for a very long time. This is very reminiscent of the *tang* structure in the *tulou* buildings in the southern Fujian hilly region. During their transformation from ordinary to *tulou* settlements, the Hakka builders also copied, and thereby preserved, the *tang* section inside the *tulou* shelters. Using old structures innovatively has been a very widespread practice since the middle Ming dynasty. Therefore, without outside intervention, the local residents might still have changed the architectural styles keep old (traditional) elements in the newly established buildings and structures.

62. The *2001-2005 Plan for Funeral and Internment Reform of Fujian Province*, issued in January 2001 by the Government of

have already affected rural burial activities and cut the links between different parts of the built environment. In 2003, the local governments in the hilly region of the three counties in southern Fujian began to enforce cremation. When talking about this 'big issue', the elderly people in Hekeng looked worried. In their recent experience, no bereaved family has ever brought the ashes of the deceased back to Hekeng because the crematoria near the urban center provide storage for ashes for no charge. As, under the new regulations, the local government pays for the cremations for the peasants, more people are now beginning to understand and accept the new funeral regulations. The widespread use of cremation has finally terminated the traditional use of cemeteries. As noted earlier, this has also dramatically influenced the use-frequency of ancestral temples. The 2011 investigation showed that for centuries there had been a series of burial ceremonies observed in the principal temple and the shrines. When inhumation was still widely practiced in the past, tradition required that people had to combine their burial practices with the use of the ancestral offering facilities. In those days, by the light of an oil lamp, the soul of the deceased could still be guided from the grave site back to the temple in which the ancestors resided. This observance upheld ties between the temple and the cemeteries. At certain points, the people of the settlement, not necessarily the near relatives of the dead, would gather in the temple to make offerings to the newly deceased, mourn him/her and reflect on his/her deeds when alive. This link between the grave and the temple was finally cut in 2003 when cremation began to be implemented throughout the whole area. Now, as local people are encouraged to take their dead to crematoria in towns, the use of ancestral temples has been even more curtailed to the ordinary offering ceremonies held in the course of the year. This decrease in use-frequency has led to a *de facto* abandonment of the temple for most of the year.[63] During the 2010 investigation, I had

Fig. 35 The *tang* structure in a new house.

a brief conversation with Enhan, the former village head, who was then in his fifties. He was brought up in the Yongsheng-lou of Hekeng village and had grown up with the traditional burial practices. He lamented the end of the commemorative gatherings in the principal ancestral temple. In his eyes and in those of many other local residents of the Zhang lineage he supposed, this commemorative gathering was something more than just a big occasion for mourning, it was also an opportunity for reflection. He remembered that the local people would usually get together in the principal ancestral temple to recall the whole life of the deceased. Interestingly in the course of this commemoration, a person might acquire a posthumous reputation. The reflection on a person's life could in itself also set a good example to the villagers, particularly the young people. Whether or not his remark on the new policy was accurate, it is undeniable that, as a result of the separation between the deceased and the living, place-attachment has already diminished since the early twenty-first century.

In any consideration of the natural environment, it is important to remember that it is always possible to differentiate the constituent parts of a landscape even further into two main categories. One is the functioning part, that is, the buildings and public

Fujian Province. Under this plan, Nanjing and Pinghe counties were required by the provincial government to achieve an 85 percent cremation rate by 2005.

63. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that the ways in which the temples are now used are still very similar in many respects to the ways they had been used in the past; in other words, they, as well as shrines, altars and burials, are still regarded as the representation of a common past, and hence the most important part of their nostalgia by the local people.

facilities in a settlement landscape. The other is the symbolic part. Among all the constituent parts enshrined in a settlement landscape, views with symbolic significance have almost without exception been created to convey some special significance to the local community members. More often than not, these structures and buildings are of a religious nature, including the *fengshui* (*kanyu*) building and the patterns of structural arrangement, the *fengshui* cemetery location patterns, paddy-field burials (*tianzhong mu*), shrines (*she*) and altars (*tan*), ancestral halls (*tang*) and temples (*miao*). They have all been created for the purpose of seeing, practicing and sensing (Tilley, 2010) the intimate relationship between humans and nature, between the living and the deceased and among the living. They provide the places in which mundane social relationships can be practiced and manipulated.[64] Besides the huge ritual buildings, these panoramic views are also a very apt choice for representing the local people's past. Unfortunately, they are not seen in this light by the local site managers and planners.

3.3.2 Depopulation and the Desire to Leave or Relocate

Ever since the late 1990s, large segments of the local population, especially adult males and females, have begun to move to the urban areas of Nanjing county, Zhangzhou and Xiamen cities, to find jobs.[65] Most of them are known as *nongmin gong*, peasant workers or migrant workers, and they constitute the overwhelming majority of the urban labor force working in service industries, small businesses or other kinds of relatively unskilled jobs, for instance, in construction and the transport services, clothing manufacturing and assembly-line jobs. The 2011 investigation revealed that nearly 70 percent of the population in each Hekeng settlement has moved away. Like migratory birds, most of them still move regularly between their hometown and the urban area in which they work. However, they only choose to go back home at some special times in the year. Apart from irregular, unexpected events such as the death of a family member, they only return for the Spring Festival holidays and popular local ceremonies such as *zuo dafu* (Fig. 36), or the 'grand blessings', the most important local Hakka festival in the hilly region.[66] The now rather solitary, deserted settlements only begin to bustle with life again at these times. After the long hollowing-out process to which it has been subjected, the settlements' remote past can only be occasionally remembered when the adult workers come back to hold ceremonies at the principal ancestral temple and the shrines less than twice a year. Compared with the 'old' days, interpersonal relationships between fellow villagers have now become more attenuated. A dispersed settlement population is simply not in a position to maintain religious architecture and facilities adequately. Owing in a large part to this inevitable social process, the past of the settlements is slowly but surely becoming increasingly fragmented and vague. In villages like Hekeng, some of the interviewees[67] even expressed their desire to leave the settlement forever if they could obtain a stable, permanent position in an urban area. The outside world dangles a very powerful lure for them.

According to the updated demographic statistics in 2014, there are now about 1,600 people registered as permanent residents of Hekeng village. When all the peasant workers do come back from the urban areas, the settlements are so overcrowded that five to eight people might have to 'pile' themselves up into the

64. Halls, temples, cemeteries are all places in which rituals are performed. Cogently, these places might say less about the deceased ancestors, with the exception of their names, than about their descendants, the heirs to their property and about how these people wish to assert their own social status in the settlement society.

65. In villages such as Hekeng, the population is fluid. These peasant workers occasionally come back to the valley for vacations or festivals, but these are not their most important motivation. The rural-urban labor movement has also caused the huge upsurge in the local population over the past 30 years. A situation also not unheard of in the past. Because of a severe lack of arable land resources, the river valley has always only been able to support part of the local population. At any given period, some of the population would have always had to uproot themselves and move to other places. This is the reason the Hakka people are commonly known as 'the people on the move'.

66. The most important leading roles in these ceremonies are those of the Protector and the Lord of the People. In Hekeng, people usually conduct a series of rituals at this particular point in the year.

67. Interviews with Zhang Enhan, Zhan Mintai and Zhang Wenzhu in 2011 and 2013.

Fig. 36 The *Zuo dafu* ceremony in Nanou.

same shabby room that measures only 6 to 8 square meters. Sometimes they even have to resort to the long-disused Yongsheng-lou *tulou* as a temporary hotel to accommodate this surplus population.[68] The traditional housing capacity is quite limited. Nowadays on such important occasions, the old shelters are not enough to satisfy the basic housing requirements. This calls to mind another looming problem: Most of these migrant workers will still definitely return home from urban areas after their retirement. Therefore, there is actually growing gap between the increasing population and the limited residential spaces the settlement has been able to provide so far. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, in a natural response to demographic developments, the landscape should have begun to metabolize again. Should this have been the case, a large proportion of the buildings would have been replaced by more modern counterparts but, since the late 1990s, any such plans have been greatly delayed by the rural-urban population movement. The depopulation of Hekeng village for most of the year, a problem common to many other settlements in southern Fujian, is only an apparent alleviation of housing pressures, and is not a true reflection of the situation.

Although most adult people have opted to work outside the village, they still have the ownership of over two-thirds of the rooms in the *tulou* buildings. Their most often heard complaint is that the old buildings are no longer appropriate for residential use. People under forty years old, are apparently 'unprepared' to lead a rural life when they return home. Years of work in urban areas has disassociated them from life in Hekeng. They enjoy, and hence prefer, the modern atmosphere and better living conditions in the cities. None of the people interviewed believes the rooms in the *tulou* buildings are comfortable. The majority of the young people between twenty and thirty have spent most of their childhood and early adulthood with their parents who work as first-generation peasant workers in the urban areas of Fujian. They no longer even have the knowledge of how to cultivate the land. The historical economic basis for *tulou* residence has gone forever, and the *tulou* rooms are no longer suited to being used in the traditional way. For most of the young people in the Hekeng settlements, these rooms only represent the possibility of some compensation for being reused as tourist attractions. At the present moment, the *tulou* buildings in the Hekeng River Valley could still function properly if there was enough maintenance and repairs were carried out regularly. The fly in the ointment is that fewer and fewer local people think of these shabby shelters as their home. The new generation peasant workers still and will continue to possess the ownership of the shelter property, but no matter how authentic the heritage might be according to the WHC principles, it is no longer the home of Hakka people in the sense that it once was for over the past 500 years. As noted earlier, the lineage identity of the Hakka people is specifically reflected in their use of ancestor worship shrines and facilities. However, as indicated in Chapter 2, the Shiying-tang or principal ancestral temple has only been rarely used for a long time. The stone pillars proclaiming the glories of the Zhang lineage in Hekeng have now even been moved from their original plinths to be employed for other unknown uses. Ceremonies have degenerated into a mere formality. The sense of place is blurring and weakening. The recent history

68. Personal communication from the Hekeng village head, Ms. Zhang Wenzhu.

from the late 1990s to the present has witnessed not only the collapse of the agricultural economy, the depopulation of the settlements, and the disuse of both residential and ceremonial spaces for most of the year, but also, importantly, the devaluation of the built environment in local people's minds and hearts. In short, it is no longer as important as it was in the past.

The value of the agricultural economy in the Hekeng River Valley has fallen dramatically over the past ten years or so. As the 2011 investigation revealed, permanent residents in the settlements now even have to buy rice, pork and other foodstuffs from local food companies. Economically speaking, the settlements are by no means as purely 'rural' as they once were. Most of the local residents have become a sort of commuter between home and the urban areas in which they work. There is some justice in the claim that the settlements have been reduced to being the labor pools of the urban centers. As calculated in previous chapters, the acreage *per capita* in Hekeng is only about 0.2 *mu*. This figure is much lower than the baseline, namely: 0.5 *mu*/person level required to support an average person under traditional farming conditions. As said, the present local residents have to rely fully on the urban centers as their stable source of income. The destruction of the modern buildings and some old houses inside the World Heritage site area has exacerbated the decrease in the residential space available to these peasant commuters. Rapid deterioration in living conditions has made Hekeng a pretty unpalatable place and concomitantly undermined local people's confidence in their future. They can no longer summon up any heartfelt affection for it.

3.4 PLACE DETACHMENT AND HERITAGE RESISTANCE

The erosion of the sense of place in Hekeng over the past ten years that is the outcome of inescapable socioeconomic factors has been referred to already. The swamping of the village in regulations, as suggested in Chapter 2, also heavily affected local people's lives. Drowning in bureaucracy, Hekeng has become a place that is hard to love. The local people still retain the ownership for their properties but they are being disassociated from their dwellings that they feel that no longer offer them the proper amenities they think they should have. A strong sense of placelessness has begun to overwhelm them. If the truth be told, their attachment to the place had already been seriously undermined long before it was declared a heritage site. The crucial question is can such a sentimental loss be compensated by the creation of a cultural heritage? Should the answer to this be negative, or if the local people are no longer interested in their own past, what can the heritage representation provide? A rootless past?

As Bell (2010) comments, 'Heritage implies notions of inheritance and identity – it is the things we want to keep, protect and manage to pass on to future generations. It also helps shape, strengthen and express who we are as a community (at whichever level that is expressed).' In fact, the ideal lying behind these ideas is that the best solution would be if the heirs to that heritage, the protectors of that heritage and the beneficiaries of that heritage were all one and the same group of people. Although this comment of mine might be criticized as very narrow-minded, I am still convinced that the unification of the three roles in heritage practice could help solve many problems. In Chapter 2, I raised several questions about cultural heritage rights. Local people are the legal heirs to their ancestral inheritance and hence they are the proper persons to maintain these properties. The crux of the matter is that they are not necessarily the beneficiaries of such legacies. Unrealistic compensation, overregulation, limited ticket income, economic recessions and worsening housing conditions have all conspired to make the local people conceive an aversion to their own heritage and hence reject it. Quite apart from significant difficulties, their relationship with the heritage has been undermined even more by their loss of skills in building and maintenance techniques. In theory, as the heirs to the legacy, their maintenance skills are the prerequisite for inheriting the properties. Unfortunately, largely owing to the rising sense of placelessness and the radical changes in lifestyle in recent years, the younger generation rarely shows any interest in acquiring this knowledge.

The last huge round *tulou* building in the Hekeng River Valley was built in the early 1980s. Most of the twentieth and some twenty-first generation male

villagers did participate in the post-1960s *tulou* construction work, and are therefore familiar with the construction techniques. In 2011, interviews with a twenty-first generation Hekeng village artisan did elicit more stories about building techniques. He sometimes helped other residents with their repair work, and was invited by the local government to restore round *tulou* buildings in anticipation of the 2007 nomination. His dismal story was that the younger generation preferred to leave the hilly region, and no one wanted to learn the traditional building and repair techniques. This gave rise to the dilemma, noted earlier: that just at the moment local government thought to shift the daily care and conservation duties to the residents, the acquisition of the basic knowledge of building and maintenance techniques is being rapidly lost among the local people. Unquestionably, the Hakka do think that a building could function well and its preservation be guaranteed, but only if there are enough residents still living in it. Their reasoning is clear. Those who live inside it could take care of the *tulou*/courtyard dwelling by substituting new building components for old. They are perfectly aware that, in the past, the regular use of the wooden apartments guaranteed good ventilation. Long-term human occupation of the dwelling and rooms kept mice, swallows and other vermin at bay; even the depredations of termites could be effectively detected and dealt with promptly. The local people are convinced that use and constant repair are the only appropriate ways to keep the buildings in good condition. Today's high vacancy rate in the *tulou* buildings has caused a number of preservation problems. This difficulty is compounded by the fact that fewer and fewer people know how to fix the structures properly. Techniques are important, not least because they are a tangible sign of the affection of the local people for their buildings. Now, sinking under the unrealistic demands of heritage management, the local people are teetering on the point of being lost taking their techniques with them. Sowing a great lack of foresight, these skills are viewed by local authorities as a minor matter, no more than a few cosmetic techniques for the embellishment of the buildings. Some have recognized the problem. In recent years, ICCROM has developed and promoted a people-centered conservation approach,[69] in which the living dimensions are viewed as being as important as the material fabric, and heritage is viewed as the living part of the community. The perceptive rationale behind this approach is that the values of heritage are intrinsically those recognized by the heirs to that heritage, and the tensions between this heritage and its heirs are probably the major and most immediate factor that triggers irreversible demolition. The most challenging task facing this approach is to make the local community aware of these values and accept their existence. In fact, the term 'living' in this context is synonymous with 'using' for, when it is all said and done, only use can keep a heritage alive. Lately, ICCROM has been implementing this approach in its heritage conservation and management practice, but, as the Hekeng case shows, tension between local communities and 'their' heritage is not derived from just one single cause, various socioeconomic reasons can affect it. Born in the heritage place, local people are very knowledgeable about their legacies. In the last few decades, the Hakka people, with the help of academic professionals, have even 'invented' the legend of the Hakka *tulou*. Although most of the local people have no trouble in making a clear statement of what their basic values are, they still reject the heritage in one way or another. Heritage, as viewed by many local people, is an obstacle that stands in the way of their right to progress and hence is a major obstacle against which to struggle and overcome. O'Brien and Li (2006) called this a 'rightful resistance'.

3.5 HERITAGE-MAKING PROCESSES

As described in the previous chapter, between 2006 and 2012, Hekeng was successfully transformed into what is actually an architectural museum, in which visitors have the opportunity to appreciate specimens of *tulou*. As the process of museumization took hold over the village, it was not hard to see why the local people's place attachment to their home weakened. The river valley had been re-created as a world of buildings, not a place in which the Zhang lineage members could make their home. The story of how

69. *Promoting People-Centered Approaches to Conservation: Living Heritage.* http://www.iccrom.org/priority-areas/living-heritage/.

the Hekeng villagers were even 'hired' (by paying them19 *yuan*) by the local government as caretakers of the WH site has been recounted. From 2006 to 2012, the making of Hekeng into the WH site drove the wedge between the local people and their worsening living environment even deeper. As far as the local people were concerned, improving their relationship with their heritage would be an uphill battle; they were simply not interested in engaging in conservation and protection. Their negativity was exacerbated by the fact that the local government did not treat them as the true owners of the cultural heritage. Therefore, when an image of the past was being conjured up, the local people's voice was finally stifled.

3.5.1 Different Values, Different Monuments and Different Pasts

Heritage lives only when people use it. Without use it is reduced to a museum housing exhibits for outsiders. In a rural society, the value of a property usually derives from inheritance and use. Both this chapter and the last have explored the point that, in the past, by maintaining their properties, the local people continued to use and hence sustained the value of the *tulou* buildings. It is fair to say that use values do indeed lie at the heart of all heritage values, and the attitudes of local people towards maintenance work reveal how much they recognize these use values. Sometimes the conflicts between local people and outsiders originate from differences in their opinions about these values. In principle, all Outstanding Universal Values are either cultural or natural values. The nub of the matter lies in the fact that neither the *Convention* nor the *Operational Guidelines* recognizes any type of use values as a basic component of OUV. Crucially the OUV are the values that represent the past of humankind, hence the values of heritage representation. What is uppermost in the minds of the local people is the use values of their 'land'. A place used as a museum is totally different to a place used as settlement.

With only the sketchiest consultation with the local residents, the construction of the Hekeng 'museum' began in 2006. As said earlier, in its efforts to museumize Hekeng, the local government overregulated the settlements. As might be expected, this museumization (museumification) of heritage places has been a hot topic of debate. Di Giovine (2009) has defined, museumification[70] as a 'transition from a living city to that of an idealized representation of itself, wherein everything is considered not for its use but for its value as a potential museum artifact'. When creating its living heritage discourse, ICCROM has used 'continuity' as a key concept by which to characterize living heritage. It has recognized that the isolation of heritage from local communities is the inexorable consequence of the museumification process that many Western management systems had set in motion. Philippot (1996) describes the viewpoint of a Western notion like 'panorama', that, as explained by ICCROM, tends to 'draw a line between the past, present and future'. In many Asian cases (Dellios, 2002), the use of a village heritage by the 'outsiders' usually involves a museumization process. In the Hekeng case, the term 'outsiders' refer to the *tulou* users from outside the Hekeng River Valley. Certainly some of them are Hakka people, but even so they are not the members of local communities. The outsiders who have taken part in the museumification process include local policy makers on behalf of the local and central governments, site planners, local cultural resource managers, tourism developers,[71] conservators and national and international cultural heritage organizations, like the WHC, and their chief concern is to make a particular site into a public attraction will capture the imagination of a wider public. Heritage organizations also undertake these sorts of projects. Kolb's theory about 'theming as narrowing space' is extremely relevant to the present discussion. He believes theming disciplines space,[72] and he goes on to argue that it is a kind of simplification.[73] In 2007, a total of

70. The term museumification has been adopted in many literature sources (Duane, 1999; Ashworth, 1998; Huxtable, 1997; Berdahl, 1999). The end result of this process is a shift in the meanings, behaviors and experiences that people might experience in relation to a place or subject (Gobster, 2007).

71. The concomitant of museumization primarily consists of the commodification process.

72. Themed places can be inhabited in a more complex manner than they suggest. They already have internal distances; these need to be emphasized. The attraction of themed places requires a border, a place of seduction and encounter created by their disconnection from everyday affairs. The place might strive to hide the discontinuity, but its attraction depends on that gap (Kolb, 2007).

73. Theming restricts a place's natural connectivity to a nar-

forty-six earthen *tulou* buildings were nominated either as individual architectural specimens or as clusters (for instance, Hekeng) that met the basic requirements of the Outstanding Universal Values principles.[74] The OUV are a set of criteria that are supposed to provide a theoretical basis for managing the past in a globalizing world (Yan, 2014). Experts and the local residents might both talk about 'memory', but conceive of completely different meanings of the same word. What the international heritage regime is demanding is actually the representation of a local people's past in honor of humankind. As I have just mentioned, the local Hakka people had their own 'monumental culture', characterized by the use of genealogies, graves and epitaphs, shrines, temples and halls. This culture was embodied in the use of burials in conjunction with temples, single use of grave memorials and the glorious symbolism in the principal temple. It was also possible to discern the use of shrines, halls and temples as a three-layered memorial system, cutting through the boundaries of homesteads and households. All these spatial elements constituted a particular way of sharing collective memory. To state the matter succinctly, they had their own method for remembering the past. What the international heritage regime wants to claim is surely an important part of the Hakka memory, because the houses are the places in which the local people were brought up, generation after generation. However, what the local people formally recognize as their past is usually hidden in the abovementioned memorials and their oral history. It is absolutely essential that we are aware of the fact that the rural monumental architectures are used only by the local communities themselves. Crucially, they are places in which to have a dialogue with the ancestors and the past. Obviously, most of these places are imbued with a high degree of privacy. This past differs from the OUV past in that it is definitely not a past that can be shared with outsiders. In comparison with chosen memory, the Hakka people's monumental space might have been much more activated in the past. Obviously, temples, shrines, cemeteries, theatrical venues and many other cultural landscapes are intrinsically very performative. Symbolism was their prime function. Unfortunately what the local people remember as their past cannot be regarded as part of the WH memory. Even more seriously, the representation of the WH past actually diminishes the local people's past, and with it the local people themselves. In a similar vein, what are assumed by the specialists to be very important architectural specimens of the human past are, to some extent, not regarded as monuments representing that past by local communities. Therefore, the local people also diminish the monumental representation of their houses.

This is an appropriate point to introduce the value of religious architecture. Values are the reasons that this type of architecture is important and therefore they ensure that it is preserved. The burning question is: To whom is it important? Is something important to A to the same extent as something important to B? Use of land creates value, but use of land also means quite different things, sometimes even opposing uses, to insiders and outsiders. In many cases, the outsiders can only make the land socially or economically valuable (to themselves) by transferring their 'values' into a visualized form. Values serve as a theoretical basis on which cultural heritage selection can proceed; that is, the decision about which buildings or remains can be regarded as a cultural heritage and therefore preserved and exhibited. The values of a site, like typological time, are usually divided into many subcategories ranging over scientific significance, esthetic significance, historical significance and so forth. In one or several of these categories, if a site can represent the most important characteristics of that kind, it will be given a high evaluation. It is the quality of being representative of a certain kind of character that makes a site or building important or valuable. Searching for representations of values is a pursuit rather similar to looking for specimens for 'museums'. In other words, site museumization in itself is a value typology, indeed a process rather similar to what Fabian (1983) called 'objectification'. It selects specimens for 'theme parks' by deploying

row channel. The doubling of the self-consciousness of a themed place subordinates the many modes of self-reference to one dominant obvious self-presentation. A theme focuses the place's constitutive relations on a single, usually simplified prior identity. (*ibid*)

74. Inscribed for criteria III, IV, V.

value-comparison strategies. Representation indicates not only the choice and exhibiting of the highly valued, but also, in the background, the ignoring or even removing of the devalued. Making comparisons between the carriers of values on a typological basis lies at the core of the first steps leading toward museumization. This raises the question: Can the Shiying-tang principal temple in Hekeng and the Deyuan-tang temple in Taxia, for instance, actually be compared to each other, given the fact the latter is much better preserved and has more important architectural traits than the former? As far as outsiders are concerned, the answer has to be positive; indeed were it not so the whole value typology might collapse. By contrast, for the insiders in the local communities, the answer is negative. The 'outsiders' are simultaneously comparing the values of different sites/buildings in different locations as well as the worth of buildings that are actually in the same river valleys.

Any comparison between different ancestor temples located in different river valleys is meaningless to insiders. Each lineage has only one principal temple; therefore, the temple of lineage A definitely cannot be compared to that belonging to lineage B. An evaluation based on architectural typology is therefore invalid in the realms of meaning defined by the consanguineous boundaries. A comparison between a number of different buildings located in the same river valleys on the basis of an architectural typology is equally incomprehensible to insiders, who judge the importance of each building and structure by its use; each building is important only if it is a properly functioning entity. By their use of these buildings, the insiders confirm the meanings of the whole built environment. Big *tulou* buildings and small *yizixing tulou* both serve in the residential system of a settlement but with different functions, therefore they are not comparable. The essential truth of the matter is that insiders and outsiders have totally different value systems. The outsiders exploit cultural resources by museumizing the built environment. Unfortunately as they set about their task they tend to be rather set on following a particular path whose direction has been determined by their own backgrounds and hence their own preconceptions. Consequently, they do not stop to think about the sorts of values that the architecture might represent to people from another cultural tradition. These values are not arbitrary but are solidly founded on a set of typological strategies based on 'permutations' that include pairs of socioculturally meaningful events. Unrestricted by these considerations, the outsiders blithely forge ahead and eventually create, what is in their eyes at least, a 'heritage'.

3.5.2 The Museumization of a Dying/Moribund Place

Memory, whether personal or collective, is highly selective (Hall, 1999). Anyon (1991) has also pointed out: 'While the protection of the past appears to be a simple concept, both the "past" and the nature of its "protection" are culturally defined.' To be more exact, as demonstrated in Chapter 2, in China it is usually the local cultural authorities who evaluate heritage and decide what to preserve. In their deliberations, they can, if they wish, also make use of the OUV principles for theming spaces with heritage interests. The OUV rules are, by nature, a typology of values that could provide good reasons to support a nomination but it is the States Parties themselves that define what the heritage is and determine what to nominate. In short, in practice, it is a basic right of a State Party to select anything it believes to be important on the grounds of the solid reasons provided by the WHC. In other words, the regulations set by the WHC are not supposed to offer direct guidance in the process of heritage selection by any State Party. To a large extent, the applicant itself is the first evaluator who interprets what 'authenticity' is and what 'integrity' means in specific heritage contexts. The applicant itself has to choose appropriate strategies for making selections. One big stumbling-block is that, on the county level, heritage designation is sometimes carried out very casually. What the site managers choose to follow in practice is nothing less than a dichotomous typology, a theming device.

Fabian (1983) talks about three types of temporal frameworks. The most relevant one here is 'typological time' that is deeply rooted in the cognitive dichotomy of human society, not necessarily just Western society. Anthropologists are used to classifying basic social facts into a

polarized framework, or, as Fabian describes the situation, 'permutations' that include pairs of socio-culturally meaningful events.[75] In a very political discourse (such as the context of imperialism or colonization), epistemological dichotomy analysis does help to understand the flexible yet dogmatic use of 'time' in anthropological discipline as a political instrument of Western power. However, Fabian's theory is pertinent to the present discussion, not only because of his critiques of the allochronic position the discipline has decided to take, but because his theory suggests a possibility that the epistemological dichotomy is in itself a very powerful theoretical tool by which to generate views of and, consequently, to affect the management of spaces.

A dichotomous taxonomy defines the nature of the things: male or female, agricultural or industrial, authentic or inauthentic and so on. Sometimes, however, it goes much further to define the nature of a place, for instance, preliterate *versus* illiterate, traditional *versus* modern, old *versus* new, early *versus* late and central *versus* peripheral. By analogy, when outsiders decide to use Hakka heritage, the first step they feel they need to take is to put the 'historical totality' into the temporal-spatial framework with which they are familiar and can easily follow. In a Fabian sense, museumization is taking a typological point of view. When they put museumization into practice, the first action they want to do is to deconstruct the existing time-system and transfer or reduce it to an easily manageable typological time system. To achieve a typological time-framework, it is essential to place the land features including the buildings and structures into a number of typological dichotomies, for instance, traditional or modern (or simply old and new), authentic or inauthentic, representative or unrepresentative, magnificent or humble, past or contemporary, core or peripheral. What actually does have a negative impact on cultural resources is not these views of the past, but the ensuing selection processes that proceed from such dichotomies.

In the Hekeng case, authenticity has been reduced to, or even replaced by, the concepts of 'traditional' and 'real Hakka'. One preoccupation is that the 'real' Hakka heritage consists primarily of rammed-earthen *tulou* buildings and, as mentioned in Chapter 1, the local Hakka people themselves have now also embraced the 'Hakka *tulou*' reputation for the past twenty years. The upshot is that most of the modern-looking buildings are not regarded as 'real' Hakka. Therefore, as said in the last chapter, in preparation for the 2007 WH nomination, buildings with putative non-Hakka characteristics were removed from the preservation list. Architecturally speaking, three types of *tulou* buildings have conventionally been regarded as 'real' Hakka: the square, the round and the *wufeng* types of building (Huang, 1987). Undeniably, they do make up the majority of edifices in each vernacular settlement. Nevertheless, as said, that does not tell the whole story of the dwelling system in a settlement. Throughout their settlement history the local people have had to alleviate their housing shortage by resorting to supplementary architectures in other convenient forms. These structures are actually small-sized *lou* in a simplified shape — the *yizixing tulou*. One *idée fixe* is that, as these buildings are very simple in style devoid of the intricacies of the magnificent edifices, they cannot *represent* genuine 'Hakkaness'. Therefore, a number of these buildings were demolished by the local site managers in 2007. They simply made the judgment that the *yizixing tulou* did not fit the scene. They were not viewed as the sort of architecture that represented the quintessence of Hakka architectural arts. The aftermath of their decision is that, what people can view in the river valley today is only the 'quintessence' and a 'petrified' landscape of the 'real Hakka'. In fact, the whole gamut of permutations is by no means restricted to, as Fabian describes, 'temporal distancing devices' whose use also extends to a kind of 'spatial selecting device' in the creation of heritage themes. Epistemological dichotomies provide labels to denote a time sequence that seems different from 'now'. A heritage park is transformed or selected into a realm of the past, and anything irrelevant to that 'then' is ruthlessly expunged from the museum inventory. To achieve this goal, the outsiders' approach is to adopt sensible spatial dimensions to indicate a visible time depth. Historical time and

75. Also noteworthy, speaking about how the environments inform people about in which kind of domain or setting they are, the conceptual taxonomic terms are formed in pairs (Rapoport, 1990:56).

historical space benefit each other. A past is in itself a time concept defined by the visible boundaries of the site; what can be observed as 'past' has been staged inside the site boundaries. The chosen buildings and structures inside these boundaries constitute the contents of that past. All these spatial characteristics have been employed to create a temporal distance. To cut a long story short, museumization is a process of reordering a set of land features. When they set about introducing dichotomous concepts, the local site managers commence by rephrasing such doctrines and regulations in the WH transnational documents as the authenticity and integrity rules. In the process these rules are transformed into many 'either-or' questions. Through their actions, the outsider-managers localize and pinpoint the sort of selecting standards that they have no difficulty following in management practice. They finally reach a series of manipulable principles in terms of requirements for materials, dates, authenticity, integrity and representativeness; all linking the concepts of 'the real Hakka', authentic and representative. However, cultural heritage selection criteria are usually flexible and can even be manipulated (Yan, 2014). It is, after all, the site managers who eventually determine which architecture should or should not be preserved by following the localized selection methods. In fact, their choices have not been clear cut. The temporal distance between the present and past is therefore not as objective as it is supposed to be: instead, it is a controllable scenario of which only selected aspects are shown.

By contrast, as I described earlier in this chapter, when we examine the time phrases that were used by the Hakka people before 1949, we are immediately aware that they had their own time frameworks, in which each lineage member could find his or her position along the timeline constituted by generations, highlighting the continuity of the community and kinship relations. As will be discussed in later chapters, the built environment in river valleys such as that of the Hekeng, particularly the buildings and structures, represents a continuous demographic process. This lies at the very heart of its heritage value. Very importantly, although it might not be appropriate to put heritage buildings and structures displaying a very strong demographic and cultural continuity into an oversimplified authentic/inauthentic or traditional/modern dichotomy, these categorizations have nevertheless been warmly embraced by most museumization processes.

The problem has not been ignored. Over a hundred years ago, the Madrid Conference (1904) adopted useful resolutions by which to divide 'monuments' into two categories, namely: dead monuments and living monuments. ICCROM has said that[76] the debate about these distinctions continued throughout the whole of the twentieth century (Emerick 2003; Marshall, 1923; Paranavitana,1945; Philippot, 1996). The divide between dead and living monuments accurately pinpoints the dilemma of conservation in different heritage contexts. In most cases, we need to understand the real relationship between the local people and their heritage. However, the phrase 'still in use' has a broad scope when it comes to the 'modal verbs' that can be used in the same heritage-use discourses. Local people might still inhabit and use their properties, but are uneasy bedfellows and therefore might be unwilling to continue this sort of coexistence. In the Hekeng case, coincidence or not, the museumization happened at a critical time at which the local people's place attachment had already been seriously undermined. Their heritage is not yet dead but it is dying. Depopulation, poor housing conditions, an unstable economy, worsening interpersonal relationships and the inconvenience caused by the heritage-making all culminated in the *de facto* divorce of the local residents from their place. Every dead monument must have experienced a similar divorce as a final stage before its death. Under such circumstances, museumization might be seen as a sort of revitalization, but the preservation of the old buildings sometimes also means the perpetuation of the disputes they have caused so far. If a new place like the Hekeng 'museum' is generated by the revitalization of a dying place, what kind of new relationship can be created between the residents and this 'new' place? Continuity is not the whole answer.

76. http://www.iccrom.org/wp-content/uploads/PCA_Annexe-1.pdf.

3.6 A PLACE OF PLACELESSNESS

In this chapter, I have explored the manifold problems linked to the preservation and representation of the Hekeng people's past. Local site managers and the cultural authorities have museumized the residential part of the Hekeng built environment in order to theme the whole place. A past thus represented is not the past enshrined in local people's minds. To continue Relph's discussion on sense of place, insideness and placeness, I have focused on the local people's use of buildings and structures. In fact, all sense of losing an insideness is rooted in the obstacles to property use, use rights and profits deriving from such use. As has been discussed in Chapter 2 and this chapter, a museumized place is quite different from a settlement place in that a museumized place is created for the reception of visitors. This makes economic values such as tourist revenues, paramount to all other practical uses that are the foremost purpose of a settlement place. Some might argue that an agricultural settlement in the traditional sense (Fei, 1963) is quite different from urban centers, market towns[77] and administrative centers because the role of a settlement is confined to agricultural production and a self-sufficient economy, and the land dominated by this sort of economy is invariably fragmented. This impression is incorrect. As I mentioned briefly in Chapter 1, the rural settlements in neighboring Yongding county all abandoned rice cultivation and turned to a tobacco economy in the early Qing dynasty. These 'once-and-for-all' land-use transformations have recurred here and there throughout historical Chinese rural areas. Although farming is usually seen as the economic basis of traditional Chinese settlements, the people in these settlements have never refused to take the chance to rely on other more profitable economic pursuits. Therefore, I see no difference between these economic transformations that happened in the past and the museumization process that occurred between 2006 and 2012 in land-use respects, provided that the local peasants are able to hold firmly to their rights to the land. Under Chinese law, more specifically the *National Land Management Law* (*Tudi Guanlifa*) and the general provisions of the *Civil Law* (*Minfa Tongze*), the land in Chinese rural areas belongs to the 'collectivities' of villages and townships. Apart from these legal specifications, from a rural planning viewpoint the fields reserved for agricultural use (*jiben nongtian*) may not be used for other purposes. Moreover, it is theoretically impossible to come across any recent radical change in agricultural land-use functions in the Chinese rural areas, such as the tobacco movement in the Qing dynasty. Under the Chinese *wenwu baohu* system, land in the heritage sites under national protection is more often than not multifunctional. Most heritage sites, especially archaeological sites, are composed of agricultural fields and land for dwelling construction (*zhaijidi*) and how they can be used generally falls under two laws. Without the intrusion of externalities or the involvement of theming orientations, the Chinese *wenwu baohu danwei* is usually sufficient to accommodate the basic land-uses of the local people but no radical changes can be introduced. This means, as a WH site, the land inside the Hekeng site area could still be used as *jiben nongtian* and *zhaijidi*, indicating that no *de facto* changes in land-use functions have ever taken place there. As a result, the local people are unable to come up with any changes in land-use to be used as evidence in any claim they might make for heritage compensation. In other words, what they could claim as a loss covers only the demolition of their new houses, but not the use-right transfer as a World Heritage site; this is conventionally known as 'unpriced' (Licciardi and Amirtahmasebi, 2012).

77. Faure (2005), Zhou (2007), Oxfeld (2010), Lagerwey and Faure (2014) have studied the commercialization of Chinese rural agriculture, particularly the rise of rural commercial activities characterized by small market townships, contracts and ritual practices in southern China since the Ming dynasty. In southern China, the majority of the small towns that developed into the local commercial and trade centers were distributed in the important river valleys among the hills and the coastal areas. The most advanced commercial towns, as the above researches reported, might have initially developed from small markets shared by several nearby lineage villages, and gradually become a prosperous commercial center governed by the prominent, powerful lineage segments of these villages. Some of them located along the Ting River corridor and in the New Territories even had strong walls and moats. Medium and small market places, such as the Qujiang Market, were usually walled and sometimes had security guards. It should be noted that most of these small towns and markets were established spontaneously by the local people and therefore managed autonomously by them. They might not have served as official markets administrated by the local government.

3.6.1 The Use of Agricultural Fields (*Nongyongdi*)

To ensure the circulation of agricultural land use-rights and to 'stabilize the rural land contractual relationship, as well as for abiding by the principle of fair negotiation, in accordance with law, free will and onerousness', the *Law of the People's Republic of China on the Contracting of Rural Land* (*Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Tudi Chengbaofa*) and the *Measures for the Administration of the Circulation of Rural Land Contracted Management Right* (*Nongcun Tudi Chengbao-Jingyingquan Guanli Banfa*) are already in place to regulate 'acts of circulation of rural land contracted management right' and the rural land resource functions. I have selected a few articles particularly relevant to the discussion in this thesis:

Article 33 The following principles shall be abided by in the circulation of right to operate the contracted land: (a) Exercising equal consultation, voluntarism, paying compensation; no organizations or individuals shall force the contract-undertaking party to circulate the contracted land or prevent him from do so; (b) The nature of the ownership of the contracted land and its use for agriculture shall not be altered; (c) The term of the circulated contract shall not exceed the surplus of the duration of the contract already concluded; (d) The party to whom the land is transferred shall have the operation capability; and (e) Under the same conditions members of the economic organizations of the said collective shall be entitled the priority. (*Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Tudi Chengbaofa*)

Article 3 The agricultural use of any contracted land shall not be altered owing to the circulation of rural land contracted management right, the term of circulation may not exceed the remaining time limit of the contract term, and the lawful rights and interests of the interested parties and the rural collective economic organizations may not be impaired. (*Nongcun Tudi Chengbao-Jingyingquan Guanli Banfa*)

Article 6 A contractor shall have the right to determine of its/his own will concerning whether the contracted land shall be circulated, and determine the objects and ways of circulation. No entity or individual may force or obstruct the contractor to circulate its/his contracted land according to the law. (*Nongcun Tudi Chengbao-Jingyingquan Guanli Banfa*)

Article 7 The income from the circulation of the rural land contracted management right shall be owned by the contractor, no organization or individual may seize, retain or withhold it. (*Nongcun Tudi Chengbao-Jingyingquan Guanli Banfa*)

Article 9 The assignee of the circulation of rural land contracted management right may be the contracting farmer, or may be any other organization or individual that is allowed to undertake agricultural production and management according to the relevant laws and provisions. Under the same conditions, a member of the same collective economic organization shall have the priority. The assignee shall have the agricultural management capacity. (*Nongcun Tudi Chengbao-Jingyingquan Guanli Banfa*)

Article 12 An assignee shall protect the land according to the provisions of the relevant laws and regulations, no assignee may alter the agriculture use of the circulated land. (*Nongcun Tudi Chengbao-Jingyingquan Guanli Banfa*)

An examination of the articles cited above allows us to draw some brief conclusions about the Hekeng affair, as follows: (a) Agricultural land such as flat fields, terraced fields and hillside fields are the property of the collective landowners, not individuals. (b) The basic agricultural functions of such fields cannot be altered after the use-right is transferred to others. (c) The individuals or organizations who accept the use-right transfer cannot use the land for non-agricultural purposes and are obliged to share the benefits with the people who have made the transfer under the agreed terms. However, in China conventional cultural heritage preservation and conservation strategies require the designation of a buffer zone or *jianzhu kongzhi didai* (literally, construction controlling area) in rural areas that usually includes a large area surrounding the property. In the Hekeng case, the buffer zone covers nearly all the terraced fields and hillside areas. Not to put too fine a point on it, this land has been seized and designated an area of separation between the property and outside impacts. Therefore, new non-agricultural functions have already been imposed on these agricultural fields, although he local people are still supposed to be able to cultivate and use the fields in no violation of the heritage preservation requirements.

3.6.2 The Use of *Zhaijidi*

'Homestead' in a Western social context refers to 'a house and the surrounding area of land, usually used as a farm'. In China the story is different. Owing to the division of the ownership of a house (personal or household property) and the piece of land on which the house is built, a 'homestead' in rural China might refer solely to the area of the construction site. Under the terms of the *Property Law*, the transfer of the use-right of *zhaijidi* in rural China should be done in compliance with the following rules: (a) the transfer should be authorized by the collective economic organization (for example, hamlets and villages) that owns the land; (b) the assignee who receives a use-right transfer should belong to the same collective as the transferor; (c) the assignee should not have any real-estate and land for house construction. In short, the law excludes the possibility that any urban individuals and organizations can obtain the use-rights to rural *zhaijidi*. In Hekeng, in the post-1950s period all the *tulou* buildings have been constructed on the *zhaijidi* owned by the village collectives. Consequently, under the principles of jurisprudence, it should be impossible for any 'outsiders' to rent and use the *zhaijidi* for any heritage protection purposes, given the fact that all such *tulou* buildings are located on land designated as such. In other words, under these fundamental laws, heritage preservation is not considered one of the primary forms of land-use in rural China, or perhaps it would be better to say that in these land laws nothing has been clearly set out with reference to the legitimacy of this heritage use of *zhaijidi*. Unfortunately, it is conceivable that *zhaijidi* in a WH site such as Hekeng might share a large overlap with the so-called core zone, indicating a *de facto* land-use by the 'outsiders' who do not belong to 'the same collective economic organization' as required by the fundamental laws.

Apart from these problems, under *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Tudi Guanlifa* (Article 63), 'use-rights to the land owned by the collectives may not be transferred for the construction of buildings and structures that have no relation to agricultural use.' Therefore, all the tourist facilities established in a settlement (for example, Tianluokeng) designated for heritage use should be considered illegal. Strictly speaking, the local cultural authorities, the local government and tourism developers are all outsiders who do not have the legal right to purchase or implement the use-right to collectively-owned land, if we view heritage use or protection use as a *de facto* way of using rural land. As has been argued previously, all the legal activities pertaining to heritage preservation and conservation in such rural social contexts are technically illegal under the provisions of the Chinese land laws.

3.6.3 The Use of Rural Houses

Unlike the *jiben nongtian* and *zhaijidi*, rural houses, under the terms of these fundamental Chinese laws, are the property of the local rural residents. Under the provisions of the fundamental laws, as personal property these houses may legally be purchased, transferred and rented. Without explaining the heritage-use-related issues explicitly to the local people, the local cultural authorities simply began to use the local *tulou* houses as tourist attractions in the ten villages in which forty-six *tulou* houses had been registered on the WHL. This raises the legal point: In what lawful way or ways pertaining to rural house-use can we classify such a transformative use of the local people's homes as touristic attractions: purchasing, transferring or renting? It is impossible to find an answer to this question in either the fundamental laws or the heritage bylaws. What is certain is that, through their division of the whole settlement area into the core and buffer zones, outsiders have used the insiders' houses. Some might argue that the property actually used by the local government in this heritage-making process is restricted to the houses of local peasants and the latter are still free to cultivate and use their arable fields as they have always done. All well and good on paper, but the truth of the matter might be very different. The vexed question is how can the heritage-makers use the residential area without designating a buffer zone, a feature that seems to be a prerequisite for gaining a World Heritage listing? As previously stated, the crux of the matter is that the buffer zone is actually constituted by the agricultural fields. The truth is that the heritage-making process has involved all the land in the local settlements. Without transgressing any existing land-use orders and regulations in the Chinese land laws, the local government has managed

to transform all the collectively owned fields into a kind of architectural museum and, adding insult to injury, the size of the budget for the compensation of the local people was also reduced to the minimum. Although they might derive some monetary benefit from this transformation, the peasants have no direct legal claim on the local government by which they could demand a fair share of this benefit. Any claim for compensation for the partial loss of land-use rights is therefore invalid in legal terms.

In this chapter, I have proposed a picture of two coexisting worlds in the Hekeng River Valley. One is obviously the world of a rural settlement in which people live their lives. The other is a world of heritage imposed by the local government. The second world has been created to be a representation of the first but at the expense of the first world that was created for living in and for use. People who inhabited this world had their own ways of using the whole built environment to create, remember and respect their past. As insiders, they had their own sense of the place, a feeling that was based on the interaction with the built environment and the temporal-spatial geography governing that place. The representation of the Hekeng place, in a Relph's sense, preserves only part of the physical settings of the Hekeng place. What the local people recognize as their past is not the theme of this representation. In the first world, the local residents have gradually lost their sense of place, in the wake of depopulation, economic recessions, a worsening environment, shortage of income and poor housing conditions. In the heritage world, however, playing a role they do not acknowledge, they are caretakers, supporting actors and actresses and authenticity evidence-providers. The flaws in the land legislation prevent them from making a reasonable profit from making land-use right transfers. Bereft of the past and with little hope of the future, they have little or no chance of making any place-attachment to the heritage world. The heritage place is still and ever will be a place of placelessness.