

Construction of Lukang' s Cultural Memory (Das Kulturelle Gedchtnis) and Spirit of Place (Genius Loci) in the Qing Dynasty :
A Study Based on Shih Shu-Ching's Walking Through Lo-chin and Lin Hui-Cheng's the Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period

Tzu-Ting Huang, National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan
Chao-Ching Fu, National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan

The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2016
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

In 1976, Shih Shu-Ching published *liuliWa (Glazed Tiles)*, which captured public attention to the importance of cultural heritage preservation. The well-known scholar and architect, Han Pao-Teh, even attempted to an open dialogue with Shih' s work with his "Glazed Tiles and Soil Tiles: Discussing Local Art Preservation via Shih Shi-Ching's Glazed Tiles." In 1977, Han launched "Study on Lukang's Ancient Style" project and published *Lukang gufengmao zhi yanjiu (The Study of the Ancient Fabric of Lukang)*. Han and Lin Hui-Cheng were the main researchers for Lukang's architecture, street and town. For the handcraft, Shih and Kuo Jen-Chang were the ones in charge. Via this project, Han attempted to drive Lukang's old street and town preservation in the way of urban planning. Such attempt provoked conflicts with local inhabitants, though. In 1983, Lin published *Qingmo Lukang jiezhen jiegou (The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period)*. After 20 years, Shih published *Walking Through Lo-chin (2003)*. "Lo-chin" is Lukang's old name. In this study, regarding to Shih and Lin's participations in "Study on Lukang's Ancient Style" project, I would like to focus on how novelist and architect "re-build" the narrative of space for Lukang in the Qing Dynasty. Besides, from both Shih and Lin's works, I would like to probe how the contemporary imagine the so-called "das kulturelle gedchtnis" and "genius loci" of Lukang in Qing. In Shih's *Glazed Tiles*, her attempt to construct the Lo-chi image in the vein of cultural memories is not unobvious. How can we discuss her attempt in *Walking Through Lo-chin* since Shih is an intellectual growing up in Lukang? How Shih, as a writer and an intellectual, intervenes the historiography of Lukang and even strengthens public's imagination of Lukang? If Shih is the right speakman for Lukgang, how she adopts her cultural and social capital to describe and construct "possible Lo-chin" in her narrative?

Keywords: Lukang, Lo-chin, Das Kulturelle Gedchtnis, Genius Loci, Glazed Tiles

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

My research is based on the two authors' similar concerns—how to preserve the cultural memories of Lukang. In 1976, the novelist Shih Shu-Ching published *liuliWa* (Glazed Tiles), which catches public attention to the importance of cultural heritage preservation. The well-known scholar and architect, Han Pao-Teh, even attempted to an open dialogue with Shih's work with his "Glazed Tiles and Soil Tiles: Discussing Local Art Preservation via Shih Shi-Ching's Glazed Tiles." In 1977, Han launched "Study on Lukang's Ancient Style" project and published *Lukang gufengmao zhi yanjiu* (The Study of the Ancient Fabric of Lukang). Han and Lin Hui-Cheng were the main researchers for Lukang's architecture, street and town. For the handcraft, Shih and Kuo Jen-Chang were the ones in charge. Via this project, Han attempted to drive Lukang's old street and town preservation in the way of urban planning. Such attempt provoked conflicts with local inhabitants, though. In 1983, Lin published *Qingmo Lukang jiezhen jiegou* (The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period). After 20 years, Shih published *Singguo Lo-chin* (Walking Through Lo-chin) (2003). "Lo-chin" is the name for the ancient Lukang. In this study, regarding to Shih and Lin's participations in "Study on Lukang's Ancient Style" project, I would like to focus on how a novelist and an architect "re-build" the narrative of space for Lukang in the Qing Dynasty. Besides, from both Shih and Lin's works, I would like to probe how the contemporary imagine the so-called "Cultural Memory (das kulturelle gedchtnis)" and "Spirit of Place (genius loci)" of Lukang in Qing.

I will focus on *Singguo Lo-chin* (*Walking Through Lo-chin*) and *Qingmo Lukang jiezhen jiegou* (*The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period*). How can we discuss Shih's attempt in *Walking Through Lo-chin* given that Shih is an intellectual growing up in Lukang? How Shih, as a writer and an intellectual, intervenes the historiography of Lukang and even strengthens the public imagination of Lukang? If Shih is the right spokesperson for Lukang, how she adopts her cultural and social prestige to describe and construct a "possible Lo-chin" in her narrative? And finally, with her observations, can we find some problems in our generation?

I will give this essay in three parts. The first part deals with the text structures between Shih Shu-Ching and Lin Hui-Cheng. The second part concerns the two concepts of Cultural Memory (Das Kulturelle Gedchtnis) and Spirit of Place (Genius Loci), and finally the last part is related to Cultural Imagination in the space of Culture and Education, Sacrifice and Economy. With these "memory texts," which I would call the above books in comparison, have constructed Lukang's Cultural Memory and Genius Loci in Qing Dynasty,

My principal concern is the larger problem behind this event—the issue of diaspora—that is, why should we look back to history? In our times, almost everyone may leave his hometown in his whole life, and go to the other places to find their jobs. These texts reflects a great anxiety about that people lose their roots. At the moment of leaving our hometown, it's hard to imagine that someday we will lose our hometown—to the extent that we have lost it in our memories.

Introduction: Analyzing *Walking Through Lo-Chin* and *The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period*

	Lin hui-cheng's <i>The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period</i>	Shih shu-ching's <i>Walking Through Lo-Chin</i>
Year	1983	2003
Identity	Architect	Novelist
Text type	History of architecture	New historical novel
Feature	Words and 35 plane graphs	Abundant text descriptions
Attitude towards the past	Comprehensive discussion on formation and history of lukang's settlement, relatively objective	Historical information selected by the writer to tailor, relatively subjective
Attitude towards the time	Relative time concept	Time concept of the relation
Relation with Lukang	Research object	Hometown
Relation with <i>Study on Lukang's Ancient Style</i> in 1977	<i>Study on Lukang's Ancient Style</i> (architecture, street and town) writer	<i>Study on Lukang's Ancient Style</i> (handicraft) Writer
Space type of Lukang	Discussion on absolute space is emphasized. The focus goes to study essential life organization and environment in the settlement.	Based on relational space, the interaction between the protagonist xu qing and people in lukang is described in the novel to present some life situation, let [people] walk into space and form [life space] of lukang in qing dynasty in her imagination.
Both of them have provided the lukang's construction of das kulturelle gedchtnis and genius loci in qing dynasty from modern people		

Lukang was a very important economic center in Taiwan in the Qing Dynasty, but it started to decline from the Japanese colonial period. What are the reasons for the Lukang falling into decay? Many Culture Workers have their own opinions, just like Shih Shu-Ching and Lin Hui-Cheng. Shih Shu-Ching's *Walking Through Lo-chin* and Lin Hui-Cheng's *The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period* are extremely important texts for reviewing Lukang's history.

Both authors have different purposes of writing. The former is novel creation, while the latter is historical writing. However, both of them aim at helping later generations to reconstruct Lukang's Cultural memory and Spirit of place in Qing Dynasty. With the table 1, we can compare and understand the differences of their writing.. Shih Shu-Ching's novel was published in 2003, and Lin Hui-Cheng's work published in 1983. Shih is a novelist, and Lin is a architect. They have different attitudes towards the past. In *Walking through Lo-chin*, Shih selected the historical information she wants to create this novel, which proves a relatively subjective text. So we can see the *Walking Through Lo-chin* is historical information selected by the writer to tailor and relatively subjective. In *The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period*, the architect gives us a comprehensive discussion on formation and history of Lukang's settlement in this region, so that his book is relatively objective. Both authors, as I've mentioned, participated in the "Study on Lukang's Ancient Style" project and published *Lukang gufengmao zhi yanjiu (The Study of the Ancient Fabric of Lukang)*.

With the similar concern regarding the history of Lukang, the main difference between the "objective" and the "subjective" texts is the focus on "absolute" or "relational space." David Harvey said: "Absolute space is fixed and we record or plan events within its frame. This is the space of Newton and Descartes and it is usually represented as a pre-existing and immoveable grid amenable to standardized measurement and open to calculation. " (p94) In Lin's work, he try to represent the 'Absolute space'. In his writing, Lukang as a river port settlement, he emphasized that physical space, and focus on essential life organization and environment.

And what's relational space mean? qoted from David Harvey : "the relational view of space holds there is no such thing as space or time outside of the processes that define them..... Processes do not occur in space but define their own spatial frame. The concept of space is embedded in or internal to process. " (p96)

In Shih Shu-Ching's writing, the author focused on the "process," or the interaction between the protagonist Xu Qing (許情) and people who lived in Lukang, which is described in the novel to present everyday life situations. Without understanding the everyday life of the commoners and how these dwellers "relate" with the town "space," it would be difficult to gain a full view of Lukang in Qing Dynasty.

Both of the authors constructed their imaginations for Lukang in Qing Dynasty. In this essay, I would like to discuss how two different areas of intellectual property to examine Lukang's space cultural imagination in following directions—culture and education, sacrifice, as well as economy. This essay reviews the concepts of Jan Assmann's Cultural Memory (Das Kulturelle Gedchtnis) and Norberg-Schulz' Spirit of Place (genius loci) to analyze Shih Shu-Ching's *Walking Through Lo-Chin* and Li Hui-Cheng's *The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period*. With the help of their texts, my essay hopes to propose what kind of the problems in our generation.

Cultural Memory (Das Kulturelle Gedchtnis) and Spirit of Place (Genius Loci): “possible Lo-chin”

The concept of Cultural Memory is introduced by Jan Assmann and his wife Aleida Assmann. They define cultural memory as the "outer dimension of human memory". Jan Assmann said “This book deals with the connection between these three themes of memory (or reference to the past), identity (or political imagination), and cultural continuity (or the formation of tradition). Every culture formulates something that might be called a connective structure. It has a binding effect that works on two levels - social and temporal. It binds people together by providing a ‘symbolic universe’ (Berger and Luckmann)-a common area of experience, expectation, and action whose connecting force provides them with trust and with orientation.....Both the normative and the narrative elements of these -mixing instruction with storytelling create a basis of belonging, of identity, so that the individual can then talk of "we." What binds him to this plural is the connective structure of common knowledge and characteristics - first through adherence to the same laws and values, and second through the memory of a shared past. ”

Cultural memory is no less than a traditional custom. When Jan Assmann regard “memory” as “culture” or Cultural Memory, the concept also contained the concept of “tradition”, but it emphasized that cultural accumulation is not merely a constantly continuous developed process.

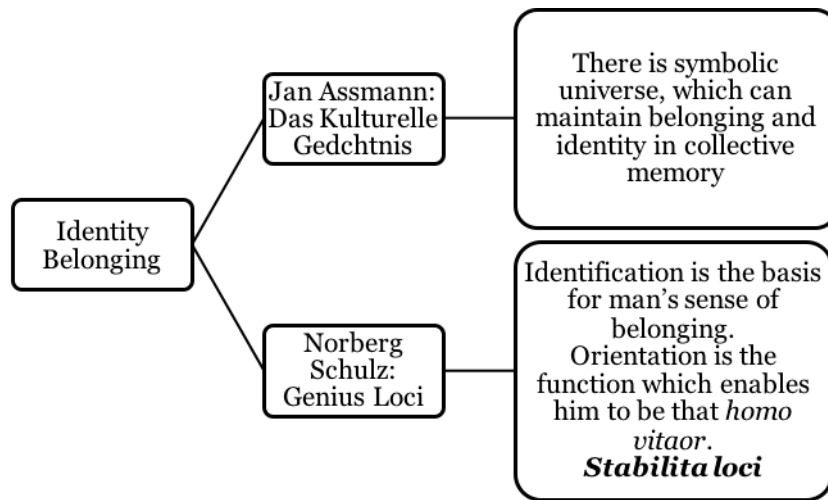
Instead, cultural memory means that we need time to “connect with” the past. In this ongoing process, cultural accumulation also involves the long-drawn “forgetting” and “repression”. As time goes by, some familiar “traditions” are handed over or are repressed and recovered by multiple factors, including the force of social economy. However, cultural memory not only is the accumulations of all kinds of historical events, but also contains a great number of emotional factors and consciousness of humans, restrains contemporary “us” to contact with the past. “Continuity” and “continuing writing” are features of cultural memory, which has been implemented on multiple texts, including literature, art, and history as varied types of cultural heritage.

Norberg-Schulz considered architectures the visual carriers “being-in-the-world” by using a phenomenological approach to architecture. The Genius Loci, which means “Spirit of Place,” was derived from the inspiration in Animism of Romans. That is to say, Universe has guardian spirit and The life area must compromise to gods from ancient time. Nowadays, it is significant for us to take the perception of commoners who live in the space into consideration. Norberg indicated that the most important peculiarity of space is “orientation”, a concept stretching out identity and belonging. Moreover, local cultural features are also determined by Genius Loci.

Obviously, both scholars had their different theoretical cores to be emphasized. Whilst cultural memory emphasizes the cultural accumulations, Genius Loci emphasizes on orientation and settlement. In the light of the two concepts, such a dimension reflects on the inter-relation between space and humans. A space shall be combined with cultural memory of its inhabitants —in other words, it is impossible for cultural memory to exist outside space. Cultural memory, in this sense, can

“happen” in alternative occasions but still needs a real or even symbolic place for its “occurrence”.

Cultural Imagination in the space of Culture and Education, Sacrifice and Economy



This part proposes that there is an interesting intersection between cultural memory and Genius Loci, namely the association between space and belonging/identity. Jan Assmann pointed out that every culture forms a kind of “coherence structure” in universal meaning to construct the space, which can gather common experience and expects to behave with it, so as to generate “symbolic system” for people to connect and restrain in the same community. The “symbolic system” is also the important basis to maintain “belonging” and “identity”, so that people can identify and connect with the community¹. Actually, the concept explores how to form culture on the basis of Jan Assmann’s Collective Memory.

How can different culture imagine and construct its own self-presentation? Norberg-Schulz also used his term “Loci” to talk about the generation of belonging and identity by virtue of “stable spirit”². As quoted above, one’s existence—which deals with direction and belonging—and identity constitutes the core spirit of loci. Jan Assmann thought that there must be a set of circumspect symbol system—symbolic system behind identity to loci and place. How to stabilize symbolic system? The answer found from Norberg-Schulz is the “stable spirit”.

	Culture and Education	Sacrifice	Economy
Characteristics of the Space	It can be divided into a place gathered by scholars and a place occurred literature anecdotes	It is related to religious belief of residents and has specific sacrifice paths	It refers to the contacts between various business places and economic groups
The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period	To regenerate physical space, to divide 10 life circles, to make it become figurization, to try to restore objective history and to distinguish from three kinds of spaces		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Less formation of ink culture, how to interact with space. ➤ Lukang was the natural settlement, so it had some advantages, including insufficiently direct actions, too dense roads, and poor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Temples were important public construction and also were representative landmarks in Taiwan at early stage. ➤ Lukang had four important sacrifice activities: 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ River harbor drove the economic development. Lukang has always maintained traditional commercial type of Chinese businessmen and formed a long-type settlement in space.

¹ Written by Jan Assmann, translated by Jin Fu-Shou and Huang Xiao-Chen, *Das Kulturelle Gedchtnis: Characters, Memory and Political Status in Advanced Culture at Early Stage*(Peking: Peking University Press, 2015), pp. 4-17;

² Loci structure is not a fixed and permanent state. Generally speaking, Loci will be changed. Sometimes, such a change is extremely fierce. However, it doesn’t mean Genius Loci will be changed or lost...The precondition of forming loci refers to keep its identity within a period. “Stable spirit” is a necessary condition of human life. “identity and direction are main opinions of humans “being-in-the-world, thus identity is the foundation of belonging. The function of direction makes people become a natural part of homo vitor. The feature of modern people is to act as an arrogant vagrant for a long time. He wants to live with unconstraint or event wants to conquer the world. Now we start to realize that the real freedom must be based on the belonging. “Settlement” is a specific place”, written by Christian Norberg-Schulz and translated by Shih Zhi-Min, *Genius Loci, Towards Phenomenon of Architecture* (Taipei: Rural Urban Cultural Undertakings Co., Ltd, 1995), pp. 18, 22;

	direction. However, these factors also have caused environmental enjoyment and ancient and simple peculiarity. ➤ The representative position was Wufu Street.	1. Purdue (普渡) in July 2. Investigation in secret (暗訪) 3. King of the inferno (地藏王跳乩) 4. Jian-Jiao (建醮, Taoist sacrificial ceremony)	➤ Representative places: Quanzhou Street (泉州街, Rimaoxing), Lukang Docklands, and Xingan Temple.
Walking Through Lo-chin	<i>With relation space and the subject of the story, space is the background for humans and things. All of these connected together closely.</i>		
	➤ Love stories were combined with ladies-in-waiting room. (青樓空間, Ancient Chinese Whorehouse). ➤ The specific location referred to Houche Ln (後車巷) of Lukang.	➤ Purdue song in July ➤ With the status of outsider, Davy Jones spirit stretched by dangerous flow of water was treated. ➤ Ladies-in-waiting was gorgeously dressed to perform Mulian Saved His Mother as Purdue in July.	➤ It has a close relation with religion. Goddess Matsu (媽祖) was also the “Kau of God (郊神) --Priest of god for businessmen in Lo-chin. ➤ The mutual competition between business and business extended by ladies-in-waiting.
<p>In Walking Through Lo-chin and The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period, they have discussed culture and education, sacrifice and economy to construct “symbolic system” of Lukang in Qing Dynasty, a special ladies-in-waiting room in Lukang, Purdue ceremony in July, and Chinese Businessmen and to construct Lukang’s Das Kulturelle Gedchtnis and Genius Loci.</p>			

Interestingly, when we read *zhu-zhi-ci* (竹枝詞, ancient folk songs with love as their main theme; occasional poems in the classical style devoted to local topics) in Lukang in Qing Dynasty, it often described the romances between gifted scholars and attractive women. About regeneration of space narration, the ladies-in-waiting room and House of Opium located in the narrow street, Walking Through Lo-chin regards them as important areas to break and recreate new power structure. However, the Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period avoids talking about the life relations between the whorehouse, merchants and commoners, and also neglected possibility for the whorehouse to create popular style of writings. This differed from the brothel of commoners’ home. At earlier stage, it was an important commercial place for business contacts. The importance of Lukang’s economy was transferred from materials to human bodily life. Luxury leads to sex, except for merchant contacts, the “whorehouse” is the cultural heterogeneous space developed by refined scholars and famous prostitutes. It has provided lots of literature creative themes since from ancient times, but it was also easier to be neglected in formal historical data.

Conclusion

No matter it is the architectural scholar Han Pao-teh's Study on Lukang's *Ancient Style and the Study on Lukang's Save Area of Ancient Style*, or Lin Hui-Cheng's *The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period*, or Shih Shu-Ching's *Glazed Tile and Walking Through Lo-chin*, all of those texts have recorded and created imaginary Lukang's space narration in Qing Dynasty in modern times. At that time, people liked to go to the opera and joined the art or liberty cult. In a full of one month in a year, commoners devoted themselves worshipping for spirits. These life details of commoners are left without being recorded in material space conservation. However, it is in literature, such as novels, that the construction of cultural memory provides an imaginary clue. *Walking Through Lo-chin* emphasized on describing relational space. By virtue of virtual affairs in ladies-in-waiting, it accused that every times had the seamy side. It seemed that yearbook settlement was listed clearly, but it lost warm memory in the past. This was the reason for using novel "imagination" to make for the insufficiency of history. *The Street and Town Structure of Lukang in the Late Qing Period* recorded the dissimilarities between Lukang and other towns in Taiwan by regenerating physical space. For example, it was the river-harbor settlement(hanging open seas alone) without walls. Meanwhile, it was a settlement formed naturally and had no entire planning. There were distribution units, including villages, banding and U-type housing blocks, resulting in space waste and public repetition.

In the texts of Shih Shu-Ching and Lin Hui-Cheng, it can be observed that since *the Study on Lukang's Ancient Landscape* in 1977 and until *Walking Through Lo-chin* submitted for publication in 2003, the "diaspora" issue behind the entire event is going to be universal and necessary. Lin Hui-Cheng used a lots of specific figure mapping and range definition to represent the imagination of architects for old space. Lukang is Shi Shu-Ching's hometown; when she wrote the story about Lukang, it's hard to avoid lacing with nostalgia. But through a comprehensive range of historical reading, identity is the most important thing—where am I from? And where am I going? With the fast speed of globalization phenomenon, the landscape of Old Street tends to be consistent. Our identities rely explicitly on active processes of identification, so construction of cultural memory is not just a descriptive account , but also a normative account. In the times of diaspora, settlement in somewhere forever has already become a tough task, and mobility becomes a normal state. It is difficult for people to stay somewhere forever. How can we face the the truth is our hometown was vanished so quickly? Even if writers and historians record our hometown with characters and pictures, does anxiety ever entirely go away? It is hard to draw a conclusion. Obviously, it is a more complicated problem about emotion. Just like Norberg-Schulz said "human identity presupposes the identity of place."(p22). Since that Heidegger said "being thrown into the world", we finally will encounter with the real homelessness, if there is no "symbolic system" formed by cultural memory and contains hometown imagination in it. Those texts tell us, we need more actively to think about the problem of diaspora.

References

Jan Assmann. (2011). *Cultural memory and early civilization: writing, remembrance, and political imagination*. New York : Cambridge University Press.

Jan Assmann; translated by Rodney Livingstone. (2006). *Religion and cultural memory: ten studies*, Calif.: Stanford University Press

Norberg Schulz (1980). *Genius loci : towards a phenomenology of architecture* , New York : Rizzoli

David Harvey (2006).*Spaces of Global Capitalism: A Theory of Uneven Geographical Development*, New York: Verso

林會承(1985).*清末鹿港街鎮結構*,台北:境與象出版社

施叔青(2003).*行過洛津*,台北:時報文化出版社

施叔青(1976).*琉璃瓦*,台北:時報文化出版社

施添福(2000).*鹿港鎮志·地理篇*,鹿港:鹿港鎮公所

許雪姬(2000).*鹿港鎮志·宗教篇*,鹿港:鹿港鎮公所

漢寶德主編(1978)*鹿港古風貌之研究*,鹿港:鹿港文物維護地方發展促進委員會

Contact email: ayusyibills@gmail.com