

Cultural Resilience in Asia:  
A Comparative Study of Heritage Conservation in Lijiang and Bagan

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#### Abstract

The practices of historic preservation have long been highly influenced by the UNESCO's international guidelines that classify the significance of local living heritage into tangible and intangible categories. This approach has separated local physical and cultural systems and triggered a fast transformation (regime shift) in the local cultural material systems from a healthy state to a degraded or decoupled state. This research tries to compare the recent institutionalized historical preservation practices and existing local mechanisms in heritage conservation in Lijiang, China and Bagan, Burma. Through a framework of cultural resilience, it examines the cultural states of local physical and cultural systems. Specifically, the analysis focuses on: (1) the impact of institutional preservation policies on local cultural practices, (2) vulnerability in the relationships between heritage and communities due to physical transformation and how communities adapt to such changes, (3) governmental interventions that trigger a tipping point of major changes between heritage and society, (4) how key concepts of preservation such as authenticity and integrity can be redefined through perspectives at the local level, and (5) how understanding in the adaptation of local cultural practices and resilience can contribute to new practices in historic preservation in Asia and reflections on the practices of UNESCO and other international organizations. From the perspective of cultural resilience, Lijiang as a UNESCO World Heritage Site that follows international guideline on historic preservation is in a degraded to decoupled cultural state. In comparison, the heritage sites in Bagan as a non-World Heritage Site despite government

interventions are in a healthy to degraded cultural state with some continuity of local cultural practices. This research suggests that a paradigm shift from institutional preservation discourses to a cultural resilience approach is needed in heritage conservation in Asia. Specifically, the new approach needs to re-establish and protect the connections between built environment and local cultural practices, respect traditional local practices, account for local adaptation to changes, and enable democratic participation of local communities in preservation policies and practices.

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# **Chapter 1. Introduction: Issues of Asian Heritage Conservation**

## **1.1 Introduction: Research Context and Questions**

UNESCO (United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization) and ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) have played a powerful role in establishing the international standards for professional practice in cultural heritage conservation in Asia and elsewhere. In the post-colonial era after World War II, experts in Asian nations have followed these international charters to preserve their historical monuments. Accordingly, Asian countries treated heritage sites as historic properties that represented the classical style of a given time. However, these international standards often conflict with local concerns in terms of interpretations, policy goals and legal environment, and local needs for economic development. Nevertheless, in hoping to gain international support for recognizing their culture, governments in Asia often choose to accept UNESCO's guidelines, resulting in the imposition of universal standards on local culture. For example, as introduced in the Venice Charter (1964), ideas about maintenance and protection emphasize "minimum intervention" on monuments. While this approach might be suitable to ruins or abandoned buildings, for sites that are still being used, it provides limited opportunity for adaptations of living heritage. For some Asian cultures, changes can embody authenticity and integrity.

Faced with increasing challenges from economic growth and urbanization, scholars and practitioners in Asia have begun to question these universal preservation doctrines, including the Athens Charter and the Venice Charter. Specifically, scholars and practitioners in Asia have tried to redefine authenticity and integrity of heritage through interpretations of their intangible traditions. In this chapter, I will start by presenting my research questions on the practices of protecting Asian heritage and the challenges facing local communities. I will then present a short history of the evolution of mainstream preservation discourse at the international level, as related to my research. This is followed by a short history on historic preservation practice in China and Burma. I will also discuss issues of applying international charters in Asia. This chapter will conclude by discussing my attempt to apply the concept of cultural resilience to address issues facing historical preservation practices in Asia.

## *Research Questions*

Hoskins (1955:14) states that “landscape itself, to those who know how to read it right is the greatest historical record we possess.” The task of preservation in Asia is not only a process of reading their physical environment but also understanding the social mechanism and local spiritual culture. In recent years, experts in Asian countries have tried to focus on intangible heritage in their approach to conserve the local heritage (Kwanda, 2009). Countries in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) have set up historic preservation guidelines for protecting Asian heritage. However, their efforts have resulted in “a hegemony of authorized heritage discourse” (Smith, 2006: 11), which, like the UNESCO practices, seems equally questionable. Landscape is defined by our vision and interpreted with our minds (Meinig, 1979). Hence, the interpretation of our heritage deeply reflects individual mind and heart. The significance of heritage can be different in different times and geographical regions with influences from complex colonial histories, religions, and economic links with global enterprises. Recently, the preservation movement in Asia has focused on protecting ordinary everyday landscape. The change of discourses reflects the facts that vernacular cultural heritages are increasingly threatened by urbanization, gentrification, and commercialized culture.

Research on historic preservation experience in Asia requires examination of existing policies, interactions between local societies and governmental interventions, heritage management practices, and the transmission of traditional knowledge. In this research, I will explore the relationship between cultural practices (including memories, oral history, rituals, festivals, traditional knowledge, and values) and changes in the physical environments (including buildings, sites, landscapes, and other material objects). Specifically, I will explore the following questions:

1. How have local cultural practices been impacted by institutional preservation policies and practices?
2. Did physical transformation increase the vulnerability in the relationship between heritage and communities? What are the impacts, and how do communities adapt to such changes?

3. Do governmental interventions trigger a tipping point of major changes between heritage and society? What are those interventions?

4. How can key concepts of preservation such as authenticity and integrity be redefined through perspectives at the local level?

How can understanding in the adaptation of local cultural practices and resilience contribute to new practices in historic preservation in Asian heritage sites as well as a reflection on the practices of UNESCO and other international organizations?

In this chapter, I will discuss historic preservation discourses in defining value of heritages and issues in the protection of Asian heritage and implementation of international standards. In chapter 2, I will outline the concept of resilience as an approach for exploring social-cultural resilience in the cases of China and Burma. Chapters 3 and 4 will discuss resilience in six cases of everyday living heritage sites that are now in different stages of economic and tourism development with different historic significance. Specifically, Chapter 3 presents three cases in Lijiang, China—a group of three old towns that have been designated as World Cultural Heritage Sites for over a decade. Evidence of cultural resilience will be discussed by comparing the most popular tourist site, the Old Town of Dayan, the smaller tourist town of Shuhe, and a rural area of the Baisha old town. Chapter 4 presents three cases in Bagan, Burma, where cultural resilience is examined in the management of the famous temple of Shwezigon, the conservation of Manuha Temple in a small village, and a monument in the protected zone of Bupaya Temple. The conditions of cultural resilience at the local level in Lijiang and Bagan will be discussed in chapter 5. Conclusions and a proposed theoretical framework for the conservation of living heritage in Asia will be presented in Chapter 6.

## **1.2 Challenge of Asian Communities in Heritage Conservation**

Heritage preservation practices have long focused on the distant historical value of heritage rather than their present value as an everyday life space for communities. At the same time, management of Asian heritage has been intertwined with economic and tourism development

for decades. In the first meeting of ASEAN Tourism Ministers in 1998, members agreed to develop the region as a collective tourist destination. In 2007, ASEAN countries received more than 60 million visitors, more than 20% of the global tourism market share, with 43% composed of intra-ASEAN arrivals.<sup>1</sup> The proportion grew to 46.2% in 2012 (ADB, 2012). In some nations, tourism contributes to an important part of GDP. For example, Angkor contributed \$576 million (20% of GDP) in tourist incomes in 2002 for Cambodia. The growing demand increases the needs for developing heritage sites to cater to cultural tourism industry. The effort typically involves beautifying heritage sites to accommodate the taste of global tourists. Local crafts and traditional skills of restoring heritage sites and community memories have been replaced or marginalized by the unified atmosphere of space for global visitors, resulting in simplified architectural styles, privatization of public spaces, and commercialization of traditional art and performances.

The success of application for World Heritage Listing have unintended side effects. For example, the Lao government has concentrated on the promotion of tourism, which has brought much needed tourist revenue, while neglecting or even destroying built heritage (Logan, 2002). From the perspective of local residents, it is hoped that the rising revenue can pave the way for local modernization. However, UNESCO's view of World Heritage Sites (WHS), in contrast to modernization, is to appreciate the past and stave off modernizing influence. To protect the sites from modernizing influences, relocation of original population represents another major impact. In addition, the requirements for properties to be identified, assessed, interpreted, and evaluated by State Parties before submission are difficult for some State Parties that lack the resources. It is also challenging for them to establish national documents, such as the typographical framework to identifying principle styles of cultural properties from ICOMOS (2002-2003). Politics concerning the World Heritage listing also plays a role. For example, those State Parties who work closely with UNESCO were able to evolve in their appreciation and thinking; but those remote from the debate were still focused on the principles of the World Heritage Convention and the cultural heritage concepts of the 1970s (Jenkins, 2008). Most European countries have a long history of debating the concept of what preservation means to them and whether it is necessary to apply conservation or restoration. However, many Asian countries do not have this tradition. But to engage in the

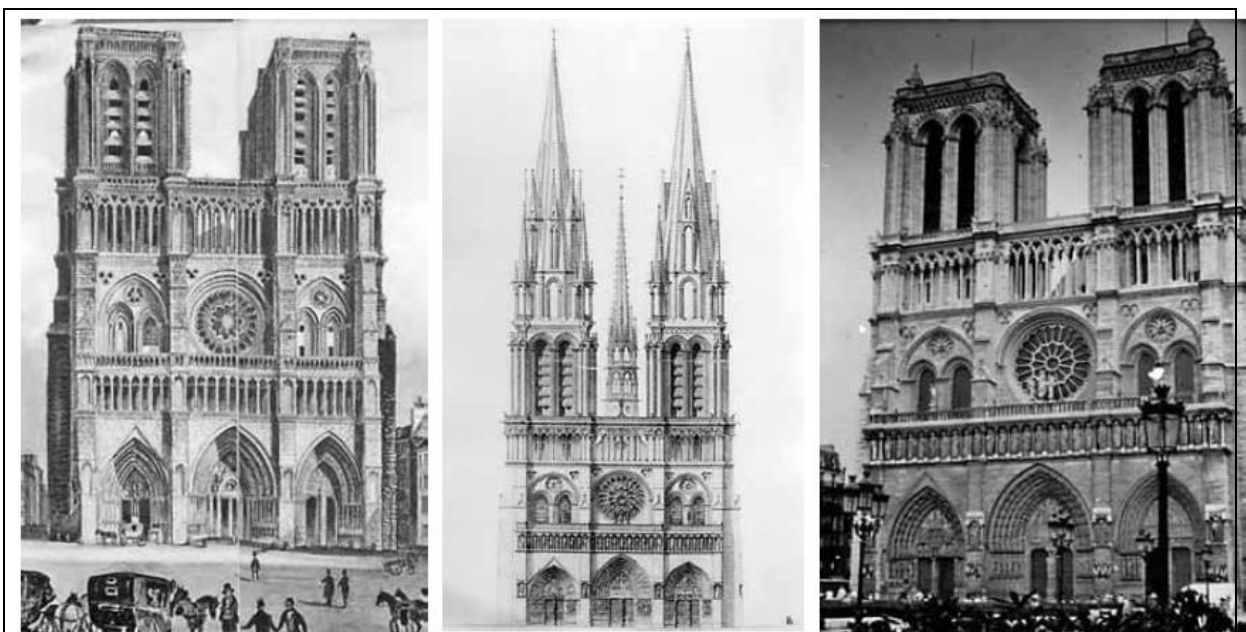
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<sup>1</sup> Perspective on heritage tourism, 2010, Available: [http://www.seameo-spafa.org/upload/2011\\_09/215\\_1316505652\\_sub.pdf](http://www.seameo-spafa.org/upload/2011_09/215_1316505652_sub.pdf)

international tourism market, Asian countries need to apply and “translate (or interpret)” those international concepts to their culture, which have been problematic. In cases without a strong mechanism to maintain their heritage, the implementation of these mainstream discourses has become a major force in undermining local traditional management mechanisms.

### 1.3 History of Western Preservation Discourses

Before we understand how western discourses are applied in Asian countries, it is important not to ignore the social-cultural background and the context that nurtures the Venice Charter. We can’t say that the charter is the only value or standard; however, it certainly has had a strong influence on Asian heritage preservation practices. In this section, I will also present a short history of heritage management and preservation practices in China and Burma.



(Source: Jukka Jokilehto, 1986, PP 266, 275, 277)

<p>Figures1. Notre Dame before restoration in 19<sup>th</sup> century.</p>	<p>Figure 2. Le-Duc’s proposal for restoring the west façade of Notre Dame.</p>	<p>Figure 3. Photo of after restoration of Notre Dame in 1979.</p>
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### *A short history of cultural heritage preservation thinking*

Discourses on cultural heritage preservation in Europe have been developed mainly in England, France, Germany and Italy. The movement on restoring monuments in Europe started after the post-Napoleon<sup>2</sup> era in the 19<sup>th</sup> century during a time of nationalism. At that time, many people were concerned with losing their national identities. Historic restoration provided a chance for reestablishing nationalism in Europe (Jokilehto, 1999). A large amount of Gothic-style buildings was restored or rebuilt. For example, France restored the Notre Dame, and Britain built a new Houses of Parliament and Big Ben. These European nations had a long history of debating “restoration” and “conservation” concepts, dating back to Viollet-le-Duc’s (1814-1879) and John Ruskin’s (1819-1900) theories on restoration. Le-Duc’s idea for restoring the Notre Dame was to restore not only the decayed portion but also to complete the perfect Gothic style (see figure 1). The plan included building of incomplete parts from the original proposal, to erase the inconsistent style. Le-Duc’s (1990) purpose for restoration is not just to conserve, fix, or rebuild. It was to reestablish a building in a finished state even though this state might have never existed. In his mind, the most important thing was to understand the principle of construction, and imagine as the original designer to realize the builder’s intention for a great monument—an architect’s mission is to “make the building alive” (Rab, 1997: 201). The French government and church organizations in England supported his idea and considered his approach as a scientific method that combines historicism and positivism (Jokilehto, 1999: 272).

John Ruskin, who led the anti-restoration movement in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, argued that Le-Duc’s idea was to consciously fabricate the history within the restoration process. In “The Seven Lamps of Architecture” (1849), he provides his “seven principles” of architecture that include sacrifice,<sup>3</sup> truth,<sup>4</sup> power,<sup>5</sup> beauty, life,<sup>6</sup> memory,<sup>7</sup> and obedience.<sup>8</sup> Some of his ideas have

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<sup>2</sup> The Napoleon era is from 1799-1815.

<sup>3</sup> Sacrifice means the dedication of man’s craft to God, as visible proofs of man’s love and obedience.

<sup>4</sup> Truth means handcrafted and honest display of materials and structure. Truth to materials and honest display of construction were bywords. This idea had been developed to the concept of “authenticity” in the Venice Charter.

been used in the Venice Charter such as authenticity and integrity. Ruskin insists that part of the buildings belongs to their builders, and part of them belongs to the future generations. William Morris followed Ruskin's track and argued that to restore was not to retrieve the finished state; restoration is a process of recovering the stylistic and to present its historical fabrics (Rab, 1997: 201).<sup>9</sup> Morris called on the usage of protection in place of restoration, to "stave off decay by daily care, to prop a perilous wall or mend a leaky roof by such means as are obviously meant for support or covering [...] if it has become inconvenient for its present use, to raise another building rather than alter or enlarge the old one [...]" (Morris, 1877).<sup>10</sup> However, Le-Duc's attitude on representation infers the needs to protect "history" and "presentness"<sup>11</sup> of a building, meaning that he was not like some of his contemporary colleagues who were seeking for historical style at that time. Instead, he was looking for the monuments' role in leading an architectural practice.

In the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, an Italian architect and artist Camillo Boito tried to combine the two factions. Unlike Ruskin, he accepts the practice of restoration (Boito, 2002: 21), but he put it as a "necessary evil," which must only be carried out after all conservation attempts have proved impossible. He respects to the status quo of monuments that we can maintain or

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<sup>5</sup> Power means buildings should be thought of in terms of their massing and reach towards the **sublimity** of nature by the action of the human mind upon them and the organization of physical effort in constructing buildings.

<sup>6</sup> Life – buildings should be made by human hands, so that the joy of masons and stone carvers is associated with the expressive freedom given them.

<sup>7</sup> Memory – buildings should respect the culture from which they have developed.

<sup>8</sup> Obedience – no originality for its own sake, but conforming to the finest among existing English values, in particular expressed through the "English Early Decorated" Gothic as the safest choice of style.

<sup>9</sup> Historic fabric is a term that has been used in the field of historic preservation. The historic fabric of architecture includes the history of interventions by all people. (Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Seven\\_Lamps\\_of\\_Architecture](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Seven_Lamps_of_Architecture))

<sup>10</sup> From William Morris's document of "Manifesto of the Society for the protection of Ancient Building," 1877.

<sup>11</sup> He first mentioned the different notions on "restoration", "preservation" and "reconstruction" that provide hints to modern history on defining conservation.

restore according to historical evidences but not to add or pursue an original look. He insists on using original materials for restoration. Boito established seven fundamental principles to guarantee restoration according to the documental value of the historic building. His approach has been known as “documental restoration” (Ctonr Revisited, 2004: 5). Boito’s theory provided the basis of The Athens Charter (1931) published by the International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, which has been the most important document for restoration works after World War II. Botio’s view that the older artifacts are more important than newer ones unless the latter are more beautiful had been criticized as “beauty can overcome age” (Vieira, 2004: 3). In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Cesare Brandi follows Botio’s idea to suggest that the degree of restoration should be decided according to historical and aesthetic values. Brandi thinks of restoration as a “critical act of interpretation which is generated by the perception of the object within its sensibility, that is to say, within its physical and material consistency and is an inevitable disaster” (Valentini, 2007). He thinks that we should seek the “potential unity” which can come to aesthetic fruition without committing a historical forgery or perpetuating an aesthetical offense. His methodology of “physical, aesthetical and historical consistency aiming at its transference to the future” put the analysis in the first place instead of restoration (Brandi, 2004: 30).

Before the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, Europe has developed several restoration and value systems. During and after World War II, and following the modernism movement, industrialization, and urbanization, many historical old towns have been destroyed. In 1964, representatives from 23 European countries held a meeting in Venice to discuss challenges of protecting historical towns or buildings. The early disputes on conservation were no longer an issue. Instead they were trying to sign an international document on restoration of monuments and sites to safeguard their own historic fabrics. The document became the Venice Charter, which was the most important doctrine of UNESCO international guideline.<sup>12</sup> The Charter has since provided an important guideline for international efforts on historic preservation.

The Convention of World Heritage, adopted by the UNESCO in 1972 represents another international effort. The effort for an international convention was triggered in 1954 when the government of Egypt decided to build the Aswan Dam that would deluge a valley containing treasure of ancient Egypt temples and monuments. UNESCO then launched a worldwide

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<sup>12</sup> The full name is “The Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites”.

safeguarding campaign.<sup>13</sup> As a result, the Abu Simbel and Philae Temples were moved to a higher location. Afterward, UNESCO continued to lead other campaigns to safeguard other monuments in other countries including a campaign for saving the City of Venice that has been suffering from flooding. In 1964, the second International Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings approved the Venice Charter and began cooperation with UNESCO. The organization then initiated the ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) that serves in a consulting role for protecting World Heritage sites. The Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage was eventually adopted in the General Conference of UNESCO in 1972. The convention has since been ratified by 190 states.

### *History of preservation work in China and Burma*

In Asia, the UNESCO office in Bangkok was set up in 1961. The office was originally working with six Mekong countries on issues concerning education, sciences and culture.<sup>14</sup> The Naqsh-e Jahan Square in Iran was designated as the first UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1979.<sup>15</sup> The People's Republic of China signed UNESCO international convention in 1985, and six of its cultural heritage sites were inscribed in 1987.<sup>16</sup> In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, preservation work in China has focused mainly on the protection of historical properties, including curios and antiques. At that time, many of them were smuggled to foreign countries when China was politically unstable. The Kuomintang government (国民政府) then issued

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<sup>13</sup> Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World\\_Heritage\\_Site](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_Heritage_Site)

<sup>14</sup> The Mekong starts in Tibet and goes through Yunnan, Laos (which was not PDR in 1961), Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam. Singapore is 1000 km away. (Source: <http://www.unescobkk.org/about-us/introducing-unesco-bangkok/>)

<sup>15</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Naqsh-e\\_Jahan\\_Square](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Naqsh-e_Jahan_Square)

<sup>16</sup> The six World Cultural Heritage sites are the Great Wall of China (长城), Mount Tai (泰山), the Peking Man Site at Zhoukoudian (周口店北京人遗址), Imperial Palace of the Ming and Qing Dynasties (明清皇宫), the Magao Caves and the Mausoleum of the First Qin Emperor (秦始皇陵及兵马俑坑).

laws to protect historical relics (Wenwu 文物) being illegally excavated and smuggled.<sup>17</sup> An administration office was set up in the Central Government at that time. However, with the political instability in 1930s and 1940s and without governmental offices in local areas, the protection work was difficult to carry out. In the meantime, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) set up their own office (文物管理委员会) to protect *wenwu* in places that they occupied.<sup>18</sup> In 1947, CCP published a “Land Use Guideline” (中国土地法大纲) which designated three levels of sites (including historic and natural sites) to be protected. The law assigns local governments with responsibilities for producing the list of *wenwu* that should be protected. When CCP took power in Beijing, scholars including architects Liang Sicheng (梁思成) and Lin Huiyin (林徽音) drew a map to illustrate historic sites that should be protected from war. The Liang couple also edited a book that included historic towns that should be protected.<sup>19</sup> The book became the first inventory<sup>20</sup> for nationwide protection and led to a series of research on historic buildings in the 1950s (Jin, 2006: 641). In 1982, the Government published the Law of Protection on Historic Property,<sup>21</sup> which has become basic framework to protect historical properties including old towns and movable *wenwu* after the nation went through the Cultural Revolution movement when many historic properties had been destroyed. The law also included monuments and significant sites in China. It also expanded the area of protection to historic sites that are significant to local communities. Local governments started to have the right to nominate historical significant sites, and the protection work should be included in urban plans. The law acknowledges significance of historical properties based not solely on their ages, which provide opportunity for the nation to immediately protect heritages that were survived after the Cultural Revolution. The law also empowered local government to do any interventions to maintain, move, demolish, and reuse historic sites, which opened the era of developing cultural tourism at historic sites. A

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<sup>17</sup> The Antique Law (古物保存法).

<sup>18</sup> CCP called the place they were ruling Liberated Areas (解放区).

<sup>19</sup> The book (全国重要建筑文物简目) included 450 significant buildings and sites that should be protected.

<sup>20</sup> 新中国首批重点文物建筑保护项目蓝本

<sup>21</sup> 中华人民共和国文物保护法

related administrative regulation<sup>22</sup> was issued from the Central Government in 1997 to push local governments to include the protection of historic properties into their urban, financial, and economic development plans. The law regulated that restoration should follow the rule of “restore as it was (修旧如旧) .” However, the law didn’t define the rule and the degree of intervention, which became confusing for local governments and people.

From the above, we can see that the society in China did not really have a chance to debate on what preservation should be. Although scholars like Liang Sicheng<sup>23</sup> did try to define restoration as not to restore back to the original condition but rather to extend the life of heritage sites,<sup>24</sup> the nation did not have a chance to discuss whether they should apply “conservation” or “restoration.” In Chinese, the term of conservation has been translated as “protection (保护)” (in contrast, it is widely translated in Taiwan as conservation (保存), which provides more room for social involvement). The society also lost the chance to redefine the preservation concepts as introduced from the West in the context of local culture. In the newest version of translation of the Venice Charter by the Chinese government, they used restoration as 修复 which provided a little more space for repair (修缮), maintain (维护) or repair (修整), as well as social involvement. However, consistent with UNESCO’s terms, China’s domestic cultural protection law still put historic sites as “cultural properties” without attention to “place meaning” and local identities. For these reasons, we can see many historic old towns (wenwu<sup>25</sup>) going through major repair, and have been restored and beautified by local governments to cater to the cultural tourism market.

In Burma, the preservation work followed the administrative system from the British colonial era. The British government assigned an Epigraphic Office and Public Works Department in

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<sup>22</sup> 国务院『关于加强和改善文物工作的通知』(朱兵,2002)

<sup>23</sup> Liang Sicheng was the first modern historian on Chinese architecture and was recognized as the Father of Modern Chinese Architecture. He studied at the Department of Architecture in University of Pennsylvania for his bachelor and master degrees, and researched on architecture history at Harvard University.

<sup>24</sup> Source: <http://www.people.com.cn/BIG5/wenwu/68/20020306/680578.html>

<sup>25</sup> The cultural law designated historical towns but only design some significant buildings as “National Wenwu” for protection. The rest part of the town can be developed or tore down for economy needs.

Mandalay city where the last Kingdom's palace was located in 1901. The Epigraphic Office became a branch office of Archaeological Survey, India in 1902. The office published the act for the preservation of ancient monuments of India when Myanmar was a province of British Indian Empire in 1904. A lot of research about Burma heritage sites had been published for further restoration work in 1931, including Bagan (formerly known as Pagan in all documents from the British era), Myint Saing, Inwa, etc. Most of them are located in upper Burma. The office also restored some historical buildings in the Rakhine state and maintained some Buddhist art works in that era. After independence in 1948, the government started to set up Archaeology Office to conduct both research and restoration works in 1964. The Minister of Culture issued the Protection and Preservation of Cultural Heritage Regions Law in 1998. However, the law only protects ancient monuments or sites that have existed before 1886. They are targets of protection and restoration. The law allows people to carry out renovation and maintenance of ancient monuments with the approval from government. At the same time, the government makes the ultimate decision on the degree of restoration and conservation works. On the other hand, most heritage sites are still maintained through local traditional efforts. The government had tried to designate some historical buildings in Yangon in 2010 including significant buildings related to the Aung San Sukyi family. Without a stable political and legal system, how historic preservation will develop in Burma is difficult to assess currently.

### ***International guidelines***

The UNESCO's 1972 World Heritage Convention, seen as a benchmark for cultural heritage preservation, broadly defines "cultural heritage" in physical terms including monuments, and groups of buildings of "outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art, science" (UNESCO, 1972). It also includes sites of "outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view" (ibid.). These definitions stress the material or physical representation of historic cultural identities, leading to the embryonic cultural heritage tourism in exotic sites of ancient civilizations such as Borobodur in Indonesia and Ayutthaya in Thailand. In the beginning, the Convention did little to acknowledge communities and their relationships with their cultural heritage sites. Towards the end of the 1990s, UNESCO began to support the concept of cultural heritage tourism, which combined both the historic environments and "cultural others, i.e. people" who

continue to celebrate their festivals and traditional ways of life. However, balancing the needs of preserving the built environments and that of the existing communities in World Heritage site remains a major challenge in heritage management for both UNESCO and State Parties.

### *Venice Charter, Nara Document, Burra Charter and other charters*

Internationally, up to the 1960s, concepts of preservation were more about protection than restoration. The Venice Charter (1964) established the international principles on heritage conservation, in which the most important notions are minimum interventions, irreversibility and maintaining the original fabric and extending the life of a monument. In this era, heritage planners and managers joined the conservation system whereas before the work was done mainly by architects. From 1960s to 1980s, UNESCO introduced different systems to protect cultural and natural heritages. In the meantime, the tourism industry also joined the conservation efforts. Some nongovernmental organizations formed and tried their efforts on professional ethics, local participation, and legal actions to support the protection of heritage in urban planning, tourism plans, and land use codes. The Declaration of Amsterdam (1975) introduces the notion of “integrated conservation” that emphasizes the rights and responsibilities of local residents. The Burra Charter of 1979 presents a shift from object-centric heritage management approach to human dimension of management, by emphasizing that conservation means all possible processes for looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance. Management approach had shifted from daily maintenance to area or regional management. During the 1990s, the Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) guides the way for culturally dynamic reinterpretation of authenticity based on local cultures and values that challenge the conventional preservation doctrines. Rethinking concepts of integrated conservation, the ethical issues of cultural tourism and sustainable tourism had been introduced, resulting in a shift from environmental protection to Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment (CHIA). Broader categories of tangible heritages including modern architecture, industrial heritage and colonial heritage, etc. are also considered. This involves rethinking the spirit of place and both tangible to intangible heritages.

At present, by following UNESCO’s World Heritage Convention and its notion of cultural heritage, Asian countries share similar challenges. For example, ASEAN’s Committee on Culture and Information (ASEAN COCI) faces the difficulty in defining and protecting tangible and intangible heritages on UNESCO’s terms. This adoption of universal standards

in Asia is often divorced from the stress of urbanization and displacement and loss of culture. The rigid definitions of authenticity and integrity, adopted by most Asian governments, have reduced the institutions' ability to address change and protect the existing culture heritages. In Asia, the outstanding universal values involve not only "intactness, material genuineness, genuineness of organization of space and form, continuity of function, and continuity of setting" (Stovel, 2007: 32-33), but also heritage that embraces traditions and everyday places (Taylor, 2004). Otherwise, historic preservation is only a physical conservation rather than a social practice.<sup>26</sup>

### ***Authenticity and integrity***

The World Heritage List has been created based on the definition of the Outstanding Universal Value. The fundamental conditions for the qualification of cultural sites to the World Heritage List include the requirement to satisfy the notions of authenticity and integrity. Authenticity is a term that had been widely used in many international charters for testing the truthful quality of physical heritages and how preservation work should be carried out in World Heritage Sites. Before 2005, the Operational Guidelines for World Heritage sites illustrate that the authenticity should be tested in its design, material, workmanship, and setting. This definition had confused many state parties in applying to their cultural contexts. A well-known case was the debate about the ship of Theseus. The ship was kept by Athens from the 1950s. Due to gradual replacement of rotten planks, the ship retained its original form, but its material was entirely renewed. Is it still the ship of Theseus? After the Nara Document, which redefines authenticity in a culturally-diverse approach, a new interpretation of 'authenticity' depends on the type of cultural heritage, its cultural context and traditions, building techniques, language, and other forms of intangible heritage.<sup>27</sup> As another example, the international effort to restore the big Bamiyan Buddha statue also challenges the notion of authenticity. Even though the standing Buddha were destroyed by Taliban regime, the valley can still be considered to have retained its archaeological significance as a place of

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<sup>26</sup> The physical conservation that detects a physical orientation in the omission of social information whereas social conservation that detects a social orientation when physical description is omitted, "though they all tried to integrate the two" (Appleyard, 1979: 8).

<sup>27</sup> Source: <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide05-en.pdf>

outstanding historical landscape (Jokilehto, 2006a). As such, it challenges the need for building a new Buddha with a huge amount of money in the original old cave in the poor Muslim community.

Another noted example is the Ise Shrine in Japan, first rebuilt in AD 690, and then rebuilt regularly on an adjacent, alternate site. This had been seen as perpetuation of skills of local craftsmen as well as the spiritual knowledge involved in the conservation of the temples. Japan's method maintained a sustainable resource of skilled craftspeople and materials, and is distinct from the common preservation practice where "minimum intervention is considered best practice, which result in the loss of skills and the need to import foreign experts and materials" (Jenkins, 2008:11). Authenticity in the built environment in the example of the Ise Shrine is concerned with the continuity, change, and meaning of place.

Jokilehto (2006b) argues that in a vernacular site "authenticity would need to be verified not only in the constructions but also in the continuity of tradition, spirit and feeling, i.e. the more intangible qualities of the place." His idea is to focus on social authenticity, which involves social identification of the universal value. Before year 2005, the term of authenticity been translated as Zhenshixing (真实性) in China that means protecting the "originality" of heritage. As the nation is facing new challenges in which many local governments are demolishing old buildings and replacing them with new historical area, some scholars have tried to redefine authenticity in the "Declaration of Qufu" (曲阜宣言)<sup>28</sup> published after the conference of Ancient Architecture (古建筑学术研讨会) in China in 2005. The documents uses the term Yuanzhenxing (原真性), which can express both truthfulness and current condition of heritage to define authenticity. They proposed that the government should protect remaining historic fabric or status quo of heritage. In 2007, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (国家文物局) used Yuanzhenxing in its translation of international guidelines on heritage protection (国际文化遗产保护文件选编). The new term seems to open the door for the survival of remaining heritage sites from demolition.

The preservable value is also a main issue in preservation work in China as well as in other Asian countries. Defining a "preservable" value has traditionally been the job of experts. However, values and significances should be developed within society, as part of its cultural

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<sup>28</sup> Source: <http://3y.uu456.com/bp-01611c43011ca300a6c3q07b-1.html>

identity. This was the reason that the Declaration of Quebec (ICOMOS, 2008) called for the reconstruction and transmission of identity within local communities. Modifying the authority of experts is essential especially in multicultural situations. In light of the diversity of cultures and socioeconomic contexts, the definition of authenticity should undergo a process of change. The genuineness can be understood beyond originality and towards multiple historical layers and identities.

Finally, integrity is another essential concept in protecting the inscribed WHS properties and for States Parties' nominations. Paragraph 88 of the Operational Guidelines states (UNESCO-WHC, 2005):

*Integrity is a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the natural/cultural heritage and its attributes. Examining the conditions of integrity, therefore requires assessing the extent to which the property: a) includes all elements necessary to express its outstanding universal value; b) is of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and process which convey the property's significance; c) suffers from adverse effects of development or neglect.*

This definition shows that UNESCO's understanding of integrity is still bound by the notion of outstanding universal value and feature of significance. The value system has been criticized as the "one-size-fits-all" approach (Jenkins, 2008). Jenkins (2008) further suggests that we should consider values by examining the Genius Locus (i.e., the spirit of place), which represents how people read their environment differently from the windshield of their cars or from the seat of a bus or bicycle. International conference of ICOMOS on heritage conservation held in Canada in 2010 also responded to this call.

#### **1.4 Challenges facing UNESCO Discourses and Practices**

UNESCO and its related organizations have developed extensive documents to structure preservation practices in an international framework. The Venice Charter (1964) was the first and perhaps most influential one, which provided framework for restoration, excavation and

value should be protected. ICOMOS published the Burra Charter (first in 1979, and revised in 1999) that introduce different levels of preservation according to local condition of cultural significance, place and historic fabrics. This document has been seen as a critical self-reflection of Western-oriented discourses, and provided a more flexible framework for Asian countries before the Nara Document on Authenticity in 1994. The Nara Document on Authenticity is by far the most important accomplishment for Asian nations to include their intangible traditions and redefine the notion of authenticity in different cultural contexts. It states that the values may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture; it recognizes different heritage values and truthfulness, and that cultural context and its evolution through time are linked to a great variety of information for judging the authenticity.

The Nara Document challenges the Venice Charter on the notion of authenticity and respect for cultural diversity and local values. In dealing with tourism, ICOMOS published the International Charter on Cultural Tourism in 1999, which defined how tourism should benefit preservation work, local participation of tourism industry, and tourist activities management, etc. This was the first document to address tourism issue in historical preservation work. With the growing loss of traditions such as language, music and crafts, UNESCO and its state partners signed the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003 to protect intangible cultural heritage, including oral traditions and expressions, languages, performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe and traditional craftsmanship under an international framework. This charter represents an additional effort to protect intangible heritages, and more institutional resources had been allocated.

Despite of these efforts, there are still many problems within these charters in terms of their application in the conservation of Asian heritage sties. For example, Nara Document's recognition of local diversity tends to conflict with the "outstanding universal value" in defining "spirit of place" especially in the vernacular environment. Also, authenticity is not necessary associated with integrity. The annotations of these international charters also reflect the various sources of developments threatening the conservation of heritages worldwide, like the selection of Cologne Cathedral on the list of World Heritage in Danger by UNESCO because it has been surrounded by tall new buildings. These earlier charters were produced from an international view instead of local perspectives. The issues facing the implementation of international standards may be partly related with the problem of

“translation” from international charters to local contexts, practices, history, and legal environment. According to David Throsby (2003), international charters and guidelines on heritage conservation are “soft regulations,” compared to domestic “hard regulation” of building controls, sites, land use controls, heritage related regulations, etc. The real issue is how these principles are adopted by different nations, how they are applied, and how they influence the practice and results of historical conservation. UNESCO<sup>29</sup> has tried to work on living heritage conservation in recent years. However, the work is still developed under the criteria of intangible heritage, which means that physical environment and cultural practices are still treated as two independent systems.

### ***Integrated preservation: a project of public housing in Bologna, Italy***

There have been alternatives to the UNESCO approach of heritage preservation. Bologna was one such example. The policies for the city center of Bologna that its Communist administration carried out in the late 1960s and early 1970s drew wide international attention at the time of their implementation. They were seen as an ambitious program of urban preservation whose aims were to avoid both the physical destruction of the city center and the expulsion of the original inhabitants. The example of Bologna was widely circulated, at least in Europe. It enjoys a long-lasting popularity among planners, architects, urban geographers, and those sectors of the public opinion that were more sensitive to the safeguarding of historical cities. Hatch (1984: 238) depicts that “what is noteworthy is that Bologna is seeking to preserve far more than its architectural heritage. It plans to preserve an entire way of life.” According to the master plan in 1969, the architect Pier Luigi Cervellati addresses that the plan is to redevelop the core rather than growing in the periphery, to minimize transportation and infrastructural costs and to preserve the special quality of Bolognese life; to address the need for careful historical analysis to classify culturally valuable buildings for future uses and to establish rules for restoration; to strategically use public housing funds for conservation and rehabilitation for keeping 90% of the original local residents; for adaptive reuse of historical buildings; and to provide rental subsidy or interference in rent rate not over 12% to 18% of household income; and support democratic participation in planning process at every level.

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Direct democratic process includes local rights to elect its local officials, to formulate its portion of the City budget, to make plans for physical and economic development, to grant or withhold building permits, and to administer its education, health, and cultural institutions (Bandarin, 1979). This kind of mechanism is not only to guarantee the quality of self-organization to suit small changes when facing any challenges to avoid the catastrophe of people's exodus from historical center. To prevent gentrification, the most challenging aspect of historical preservation, Bologna planners developed a structure based on political, legal and financial agreements to implement this social-housing project. Legislation allows planners to carry out "the expropriation of land and building in urban centers for schools, open space and public services in general at a price corresponding to the value of agricultural land multiplied by certain coefficients" (Bandarin, 1979: 198). This provided legal tools for expropriation of land for public housing. In the most flexible part of the plan, buildings were to be expropriated, renovated by the administration, and then returned to the tenants' cooperatives. The plan guarantees low rent for each cooperative's members for life. It also guarantees collective ownership and management of the entire planning area, and mobility of the tenants within the renovated area according to family-related needs to preserve the social links and structure of the neighborhood.

Bologna's achievements and its notions of historical preservation have been adapted by some European cities, such as Ferrara, Modena and Cesena (Bandarin, 1979). Of course, some approaches of Bologna are still questionable, such as judging modern building as having less value to protect, budget burden for local government, the legality and legitimacy of building expropriation, and the risk of political change. Nevertheless, Bologna's approach of integrated conservation is a strong example to rethink UNESCO's approach of preservation.

### *Culture as a complex system: sense of place and cultural resilience*

In the traditional view of historical preservation, buildings and culture are analogous to a climax forest based on an equilibrium view of ecosystems. Merryman (1998) describes three different stages of evolution in preservation: from "object" to "property" and to "heritage." Cultural property is assumed to be a fixed, possessed good that can be controlled. The role of historical preservation processes was to maintain a built environment with a specific balance, and to move it back toward the equilibrium point after a disturbance. However, the carrying capacity and variables of a culture are not fixed. Instead, they vary with factors such as

institutions and technologies. Social and ecological change is an ongoing process that our strategy in historical preservation is to “plan for it, try to foresee when and how it is going to happen, and most of all to monitor it [...] in order to be able to mitigate its more negative effects” (Harrell, 2005).

With this in mind, the notions of “authenticity” and “integrity” should be redefined based on local social, historical, material contexts when dealing with living culture. As such, the strategies may face challenges from local communities as well as market forces and the needs to change physical environment for adaptive uses. Both physical and social conservation are defined in this research as “engineering resilience” that represents the paradigm of single equilibrium-based of control practice. In contrast, the reality of historical preservation is a dynamic process, with “multiple potential futures” (Walters, 1986). “Therefore management has to be flexible, adaptive, and experimental at scales compatible with the scales” (Walters, 1986; Holling, 2009). Conservation policies should consider the continuity of both tangible and intangible characteristics of a spirit of space, local strategies of adaptation, and flexibility in cross-scales managements over time.

Cultural heritage is not only materials of the past that suggest a static state of tangible form of arts. It also suggests a perpetual process of transmitting cultural values, knowledge and collective memories or actions. These tangible and intangible elements are resources for the advancement and creation of culture. The existing model on heritage management on the other hand tend to focus on building the historical atmosphere and the Outstanding Universal Value along with authenticity and integrity of the physical property based only on scientific knowledge. However, in reality, culture should embody both sites and people, i.e., the material forms (landscape, buildings, place and space), spiritual form (human representing the cultural and social function of the material form) and the ideas, beliefs, meanings, and values related to the original producers and current users of the historical environment. Furthermore, the involvement of people and stakeholders is critical for the success of the protection of the physical environment.

Ashworth (2009) claims that conservation is a practice for “colonizing our future.” If so, are local communities in Asia being colonized by the conservation practices of UNESCO, and ASEAN? Can they determine their future? Culture is a complex system, including multiple meanings of the past and future that requires equally complex conservation practices. Seeking

the continuity of culture, the practice of historical conservation is a practice of managing the resilience of specific cultural practices.

### **1.5 Resilience in the Built Environment**

Among the 44 UNESCO World Heritage Sites listed as being in danger in 2013, nine were in Asia. These sites, threatened by tourism development, urbanization, and war, are losing their unique character and local identity. Some of them have been on the list for over 20 years. This research aims to conduct a comparative study of two heritage sites in Asia, a UNESCO World Heritage Site and a non-UNESCO historic site to explore the relative conditions of cultural resilience at the local level under different management structures. Specifically, the two sites are the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Lijiang, China and the historic site of Bagan, Burma that was removed from the UNESCO's World Heritage list in 2005. The cases of Lijiang and Bagan represent a wide spectrum of issues facing Asian heritage conservation. The preservation in Lijiang was conducted in close connection with UNESCO. Bagan on the other hand has developed tensions with UNESCO. I will examine the cases of Bagan and Lijiang focusing on their management practices, history, and recent policies for both the restoration of ancient sites and the development of tourism.

In this research, the theory of resilience adapted from the field of ecological sciences provides a framework for examining processes of regime change in Lijiang and Bagan as results of preservation policies and practices. It also provides a framework to investigate how local communities adapt to ongoing changes. My approaches in systematically analyzing the cultural resilience of the two sites can provide useful tools for historic preservation professionals to examine factors that contribute to or weaken cultural resilience. Using the framework of cultural resilience, this research suggests a paradigm shift in the field of historical preservation and cultural conservation, from traditional practice that treats culture as a static object to a new paradigm of resilience that focuses on adaptations to changes. In the resilience paradigm, preservation planners can design or revise a plan based on local feedbacks, and look for possible solutions together with the local communities. In this sense, cultural resilience requires working closely with local communities and organizations to respond to multiple voices, including that of residents and religious organizations as well as professionals and governments.

## *The Cases of Lijiang and Bagan*

Dayan is a historic old town in Lijiang located in northwest part of Yunnan Province in China. The city has a mixed population of mainly Naxi ethnic minority. The town was built by the local Mu family as one of trading centers on the old “horse-tea routes” started from the Ming Dynasty. Dayan’s physical environment has been well-preserved following UNESCO’s guidelines, but its traditional cultural practices are at risk. UNESCO’s effort in the preservation of Dayan old town followed a destructive earthquake in 1996. Tourism boom in Lijiang began rapidly after the 1999 plan, starting from 0.7 million visitors in 1995 to 2.15 million in 1999, 5 millions in 2005, and most recently 15 millions in 2012.<sup>30</sup> With the success of tourism, however, about 40% of local residents (about 50,000) have left the old town by 1999, in what was called by local officers as “The Great Escape of Old Town Residents” (Duan, et al., 2000). By the end of 2003, less than 100 original households lived in the old town (Zong, 2006). In pursuing preservation and tourism development, many contemporary buildings have been demolished and replaced by “new-traditional style” buildings surrounding the old town.

Bagan (or Pagan) was once the capital of ancient Burma (Myanmar) and the power base of the 11th century warrior-kings whose military commanders later became civil administrators. By the 13th century, its control extended to the borders of modern Burma (Harvey, 1925: 22; Hudson, 2004: 183–7). There are currently 1,067 temples, 429 monasteries, 599 stupas, and 111 mound buildings remaining in the ancient Bagan area. According to the Bagan Newsletter of 1984, “there are no two identical monuments in Bagan that are the same in their size or in their patterns.” For this reason, Bagan ranks, along with Cambodia’s Angkor, as one of Asia’s most remarkable religious sites. In 1996, Bagan was on the tentative list of World Cultural Heritage Sites (WCHS). In the late 1990s, the military government ran an international Buddhist donation campaign for restoring thousands of monuments in Bagan. With these donations, the monuments were whitewashed, and occasionally decorated with gilding, glazed plaques or glazed panels (Bautze-Picron, 2003; Pichard, 1992–2002). UNESCO compared the results to “a Disney-style fantasy version of one of the world’s great

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<sup>30</sup> Yunnan News:

<http://trans.wenweipo.com/b5/yn.wenweipo.com/newszt/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=42562>

religious and historical sites,” saying that “they are using the wrong materials (contemporary materials) to build incorrectly shaped structures on top of magnificent ancient stupas by local trustees” (Crampton, 2005). However, Bagan’s cultural practices remain active as a living heritage. Compared to Lijiang, which exemplifies the mode of ‘physical conservation’ (emphasizing preservation of physical environment), the experience of Bagan suggests a mode of ‘social conservation’ (emphasizing preservation of social mechanism). Both Lijiang and Bagan, however, are facing changes driven currently by economic development.

Opposed to the local approach, UNESCO rejected Bagan as a World Heritage Site in 2005. However, scholars such as Hudson (2008) explained that the restoration was simply following Bagan’s long history of donor-based restoration from the 13th century in Burma. The conflicts with UNESCO center on an important debate between local traditions and the mainstream practice of historical preservation, as well as questions such as whose memory is being preserved, who should get involved in the process, and how to manage change to maintain the social and cultural functions of heritage sites over time. The experiences of historic preservation in Lijiang and Bagan present two very different scenarios in terms of how preservation practice has impacted the local communities and the meaning of place. The different outcomes of preservation in Lijiang and Bagan challenge the discourses and international practices of preservation.

## **Chapter 2. Methodology, Literature Review and Theoretical Framework**

### **2.1 Introduction: Research Framework**

UNESCO's mainstream discourse on historic preservation, as developed from the European context are now experiencing new challenges in the face of local economic development. Specifically, it has faced difficulties in dealing with ongoing economic and social changes. The concept of resilience introduced by Holling (1973, 1996) as the ability of systems to absorb change and variation without flipping into a different state with a different set of controlling process presents a framework for rethinking the current paradigm of historic preservation. In contrast to the predominant paradigm of equilibrium, the resilience approach focuses on how systems adapt to change (Holling, 2001). The concept explores how system can persist—staying in the same state, which is healthy for humans by maintaining the same structure and functions. Holling (1973) introduces the concept of resilience into ecological literature to deal with changes imposing from outside. Previously, the fields of ecology and economics have focused on “near equilibrium behavior and fixed carrying capacity” for minimizing variability (Holling, 1996). It recognizes that there is possibility of the system being flipped to another state, which might not be healthy to human being and that such flip might not be reversible. Much of the research on resilience focuses on how to stay in the same state.

This study explores cultural resilience (i.e., connection of heritage and identity) associated with local heritage sites, and the spatial functions, identities, and social relationships that reside in those sites. It further examines disturbances (policy, events or big changes) in the local society, and how they strengthen or weaken resilience in the system.

#### ***General assumption and construction of research***

In heritage management, disturbances are often results of development-driven preservation and implementation of international preservation standards. In this research, indicators for assessing the continuity of local practices are used in understanding cultural resilience. These include conflicts between preservation laws, development, and local

traditional restoration practice on one hand, and contemporary adaptations and participation of local people on the other. In terms of spatial functions and identities, disturbances include commercial development and displacement. Indicators of continuity here include the continuation of traditional crafts, significant spaces and their cultural and social functions including their role in transmitting traditional knowledge, and continuation of vernacular built forms, spatial arrangement, functions, and meanings. They also include new functions introduced in traditional spaces, and spatial competition between old and new uses in historical areas, as well as changes occurring to different stakeholders.

Evidences of cultural resilience here specifically refer to the persistent relationships between physical settings and continuation of cultural practice and identity, as well as frequency of spatial practices. In terms of social relationship, disturbances often come from relocation and tourism development. The continuity of traditional cultures in alternative environment presents a significant indicator for a discussion of adaptation. In this research, resilience is to be examined in three systems: (1) heritage management, (2) spatial functions and identities, and (3) social relationships based on the heritage sites at the local level (see figure 2.1). Changes in the three systems may play the role of disturbances that influence resilience. In particular, policies (or policy changes) are analogous to disturbances and serve as external drivers imposing upon a local system. At the same time, these interventions can also sometimes create a long-term stability of new social transformations by means of laws and regulations through preservation.

In this research, I have collected materials including public and official records, private documents, reports from mass media, photographs, and drawings, and accessed social science archives on historical preservation in China and Burma. These include UNESCO documents, national urban plans, laws, and policy documents in this two nations as well as records of population growth and demographical change, to provide a historic context for examining slower variables. Elements for resilience could include diversified and democratic mechanisms of preservation in terms of funding support, transmission of local tradition and related management practices, and persistence in place attachments. As such, this study also explores: (1) whether preservation has the tendency of relying on universal discourse; (2) whether preservation process has engaged a broad range of participation; (3) whether traditional preservation actors play the same role in the transmission of local knowledge; (4) whether there is the continuity of cultural practices that retain the same

significance to local stakeholders; and (5) cases and events that show the degree of local adaptive capacity in the face of challenges.

## Framework of Research Design

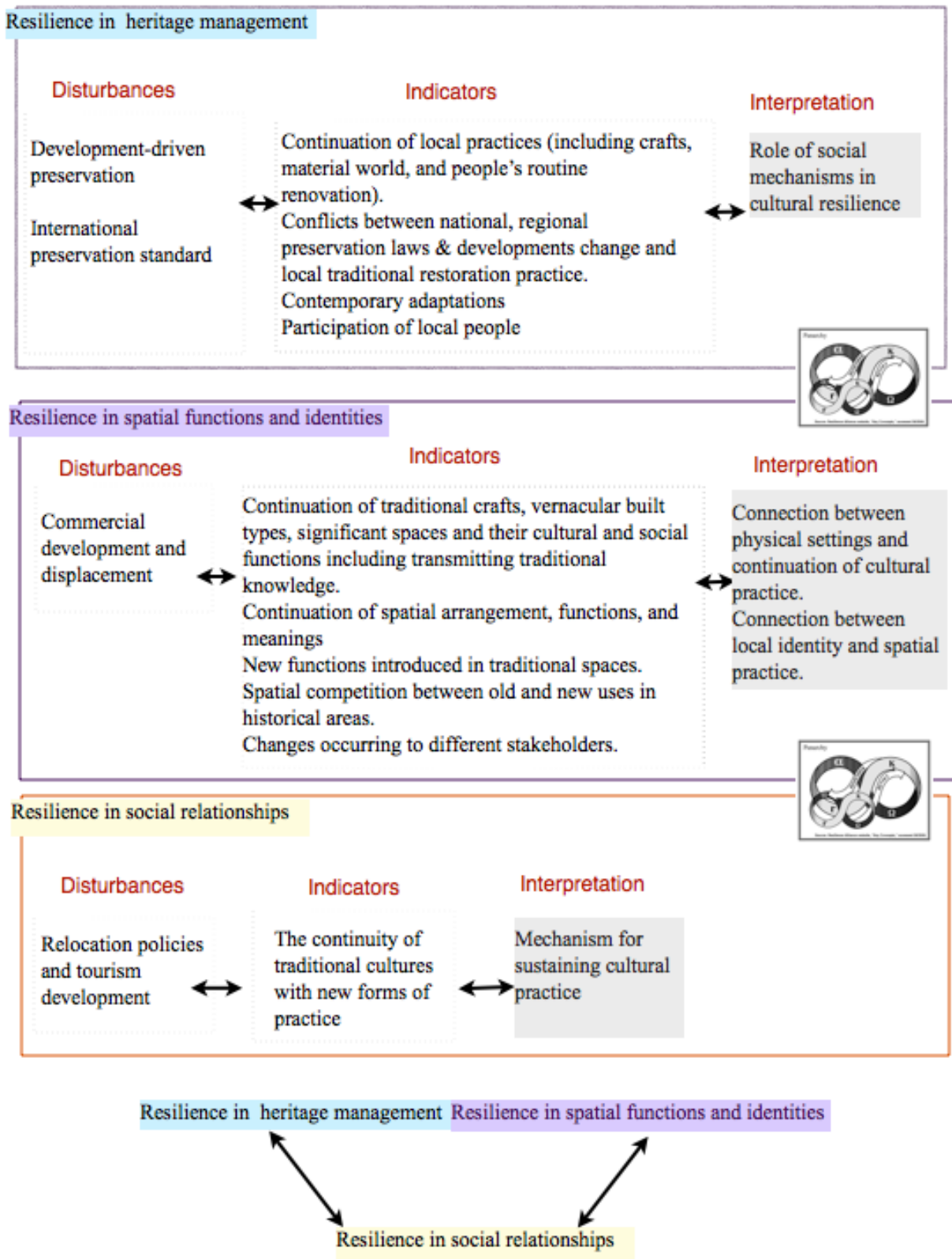


Figure 2.1 Framework of research design

## **2.2 Resilience: Engineering resilience, Social-ecological Resilience, Panarchy and Adaptive Management**

Scholars have identified and distinguished two approaches to understanding resilience – *engineering resilience* and *ecological resilience*. The metaphor of ball-in-basin has been used to explain the engineering resilience (Gunderson, 2000) (see figure 2.2). The ball can represent the system condition, and the cup or basin represents the dynamic stability (attraction) domain. To apply a geographical image, the ball can be defined as grassland, bushes, and amount of stocks in a ranch system. The concept of engineering resilience is rooted in the etymology of the word meaning to “leap back.” The methodology that aims at achieving this type of resilience is “command and control,” which is mainly about functional efficiency, environmental constancy, and predictability with careful manipulation and control of system properties (Holling and Meffe, 1996). This is essentially a return time, or time of recovery, which can be mathematically defined but is based on an assumption of behavior around a single equilibrium (Holling 2008). More empirical ecological outcomes however show multiple results, and no equilibrium might exist at all (Pickett & Ostfeld 1995).

On the other hand, ecological resilience has multiple cups indicating a more dynamic stability. Specifically, the properties of ecological resilience include: (a) the persistence of system not flipping into an alternate state; (b) the degree to which the system is capable of self-organization; and (c) the degree to which the system can learn and adopt (Carpenter, et al., 2001). Hence, in contrast, the concept of ecological resilience assumes multiple states and is defined as the magnitude of a disturbance that triggers a shift between alternative states. Ecological resilience recognizes the changeability and unpredictability of systems, managing the survival or persistence of systems. For example, the resilience of a coastal area lies in its ability to absorb periodical disturbances, like flood and hurricane, and still maintain structure, process, and intrinsic quality of feedback (Adger, et al., 2005).

Although the concept of resilience first emerged in ecological science, these two definitions of resilience are useful in reflecting upon the different paradigms of historical preservation. Specifically, engineering resilience reflects that of the mainstream preservation practice, while the ecological resilience reflects the focus of this study on cultural-material resilience.

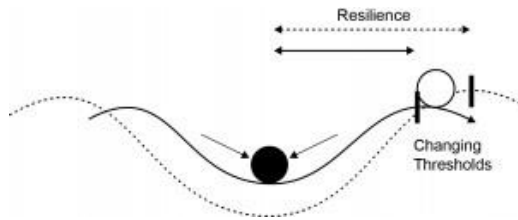


Figure 2.2 The ball-in-basin metaphor of resilience, which assumes the system would leap back to equilibrium. (Source: <http://www.arctic-council.org/arr/resources/what-is-resilience/>)

In this research, I develop an approach to examine resilience of cultural-material system. For this study, “cultural-material system” is a term that encompasses complex issues in the field of historical preservation. The culture system includes material culture, traditional knowledge, social mechanism and their practice. The material system, on the other hand, includes physical environment, spatial interventions, and historical-spatial practices in our built environment. Put together, a cultural-material system deals with tangible and intangible heritage as an integrated system from the local perspective. Just like social-ecological system, adaptive management is key for ecological resilience in a cultural-material system, that is resilience of local practice in a physical environment (such as everyday life spaces for a local belief system).

***Resilient and not resilient***

The concept of resilience emphasizes connectedness, context, and feedback. Also, it focuses on how a system absorbs and adapts to change (Berkes, et al., 2003). Ecological resilience, in particular, is related to buffering capacity, ecological memory, and adaptive capacity (Carpenter, et al., 2001). In the context of this study, the concept of cultural resilience is concerned with the ability of local physical environments and social networks to sustain themselves after disturbances, the storage of traditional knowledge, and the degree to which a society can learn and adapt via both slow changes and surprises. Cultural resilience in this research is concerned simultaneously with both the built environment and its related activities. The state of resilience regime is represented at levels of both spatial functions and identities. Since it is possible that a system is dancing between multiple regimes and is still

resilient in some aspect, the problem is therefore concerned with what level of resilience we are looking for.

Preservation planners typically monitor the state of culture through the physical environment. They consider authenticity as the equilibrium that preservation should leap back to. However, it is dangerous to manage cultural heritage through a singular aspect. The cultural practice might not be resilient even though the built environment is well preserved. In ecological studies, for example, the disappearance of key species is recognized as not resilient even though the system is stable in specific regime. In the context of cultural heritage, what UNESCO can't accept is if traditional built forms are gone. However, a system may still be considered as resilient if cultural practices are sustained. In such cases, resilience can happen through local residents' awareness (or memory) of cultural life. Cross-scale redundancy (or diversity) enables a society to perform the same function after disturbance even though there is major change in local community. Self-organization provides capacity to adapt without any outer controller. Hence, without self-organized community that provides buffering efforts for sustaining the same regime after disturbance, cultural resilience will be hard to achieve. However, it is not necessary for a place to only serve the local communities. There are many cases in which historical site can satisfy different levels of tourism activities while retaining the original residents, such as those in the urban center of Bologna, Italy, and the historical villages of Shirakawa-go and Gokayama in Japan that have balanced traditional ways of life with tourism.

#### *Alternate stable states (or alternated regimes)*

Alternate stable state<sup>31</sup> means that there are different regimes,<sup>32</sup> which have different structures and functions under the same conditions. These different regimes can each provide different ecosystem services. They may not necessarily have stable points, but may include,

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<sup>31</sup> An equilibrium point or state usually has referred to a particular system state at which all the factors or processes leading to change are being resisted or balanced (Wu & Loucks, 1995: 441). However, Scheffer, et al. (2001: 592) argue that the term stable state is hardly appropriate for any ecosystem. The more correct term should be dynamic state.

<sup>32</sup> When we say local preservation system is in a "stable state," it does not mean equilibrium and stability. Rather, it means that the system continues to be governed by the same rules. To clarify my idea, I will use "regime" as the term to illustrate a "stable state."

“cycle attractors or chaos attractors” (Vlarloi, 2008).<sup>33</sup> Research has shown that alternate state is a general phenomenon in ecosystems (Knowlton, 2004). System could be altering the magnitude, frequency, and duration of disturbance states, and will thus reduce resilience and increase the likelihood of regime shifts (Folke, et al., 2004). For example, a historical old town could be a place for tourists and for residential functions. When all the residential space had been altered to shop houses, the historical old town had altered to the state of being a shopping center. As a system loses its resilience, it can flip into a different state subjected to every small perturbation (Levin, et al., 1998). Recovery can be costly or nearly impossible (Maler, 2000), and such flip can be irreversible (Levin 2005). To avoid system jumping into an unexpected state, scholars have tried to look into the negative and positive feedback loops of a system when encountered disturbance. Negative feedback loop, like the relationship between the populations of herbivores in the grassland system, will stabilize the ecosystem. On the contrary, positive feedback loop will further push the system far away from stable state. They will devastate a system and push it over a tipping point (Lerdau, 2007). Scheffer (2001) mentions that stronger efforts of positive or negative feedback interaction is the main reason for a system to flip between alternative stable states. For example, rotting fish in the water will trigger more deaths of fish.

### ***Regime shift***

Regime shifts are persistent change in systems structure and function, which can be abrupt and difficult to reverse. In a cultural-material system, regime shifts reflect major change in cultural practices. In this study, I define regime shifts in the state of historical sites in built environment and cultural activities systems by observing the difference in their functional levels. Regime shift in the function of built environment means that the space now serves different function to different people with limited opportunities for the original cultural practice. Sometimes, change in built environment could also bring regime shift in the cultural system. If the heritage site cannot sustain the same identification to the original residents, such major change in local cultural practices can be treated as regime shift (see table 2.1).

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<sup>33</sup> Cycle attractors mean that system will finally frustrate in a cycling state; chaos attractors mean that the system will finally represent in a chaos movement.

Table 2.1 Characteristics of state shifts in heritage management

		Change in Built Environment (BE) (architecture forms, temple, public paces, etc.) recognized by local community as regime shift	Change in cultural activities (CA) (festivals, traditional networking, relationships, believes) recognized by local community as regime shift
Functional level	Before	BE can still served similar functions for original residents	Heritage can sustain traditional cultural practice by same group of people regularly
	After	BE served different functions for original residents	The practice of culture served different group of people
Local identity level	Before	BE sustains the same local identification	No major change in local CA
	After	Significant of BE had changed from original residents' view	Big change in local CA or no continuity in CA

### *Adaptive cycles*

The notion of adaptation is the process for an organism to fit itself to an environment, a pliable capacity in response to disturbance (Holland, 1995; Levin, 1998; Forman, 1995). Adaptive cycle is a model for explaining dynamics process of system. For social-ecological system, the cycle includes (see figure 2.3): growth or exploration (r phase), conservation (K phase), collapse or release (omega phase) or “creative destruction” (Schumpeter, 1943), and reorganization (alpha phase) (Gunderson, et al., 1995). In the two phases (r to K), the system is dominated by colonizing species that bring environmental variation and species adapted to such variation. The omega phase would be like a fire or other big disturbance that frees resource shortage and trigger reorganization of the ecological system. The adaptation cycle exhibits two major phases (or transitions). The first, often referred to as the front-loop, from r to K, is the slow, incremental phase of growth and accumulation. The second, referred to as the back-loop, from Omega to Alpha, is the rapid phase of reorganization leading to renewal. Social practice that put the brakes on release includes examples like saving money, finding alternative sources of income, mobility, keeping livestock to sell, etc; whereas practices in relation to reorganization phase include examples like social fencing by taboos as the case of

Tukano people in Brazil, Kuna of Panama and Cocnucos and Yanaconas of Colombia (Colding, et al., 2005: 180). Adaptive cycles are nested in a hierarchy across time and space, which helps explain how adaptive systems can, for brief moments, generate novel re-combinations that are tested during longer periods of capital accumulation and storage. Adaptive capacity has been considered as an important component of resilience since it relates to the shape of the stability domain (Gunderson, 2000; Carpenter, et al., 2001).

### ***Panarchy***

Panarchy is an idea introduced by Holling (2002) to discuss resilience within systems, and the cross-level, interactive relationship between lower and higher levels. Panarchy is a framework to illustrate change and adaptation in a system. He illustrates that connection within systems in adaptation phases at one level and phases at another level, which is significant in our understanding of sustainability. Systems are connected with each other through the revolt and remembering process. The fast levels invert (revolt) and the slower and larger levels stabilize (remember). They conserve accumulated memory of past successful experiences (see figure 2.3).<sup>34</sup> The characteristics of institutional learning, local-level self-organization, and diversity of memory storage are commonly examined in social-ecological system (Folke, 2006; Carpenter, et al., 2001), especially in the context of integrated systematic feedbacks, cross-scale dynamic interactions of panarchy (Folke, 2006; Gunderson and Holling, 2002). In terms of cultural-material system, I apply the concept of panarchy to explore the relationship between built environments and the cultural practice systems, from international discourses to local practices.

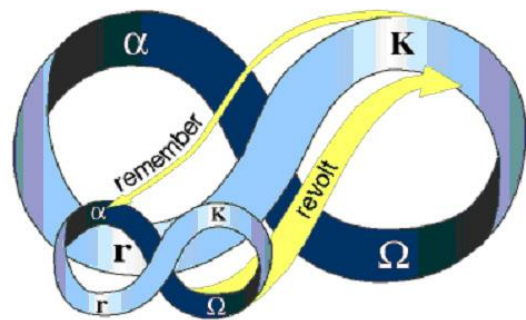


Figure 2.3 Panarchy: the dynamic process of cross-level interaction with the revolt effort from small system while in reorganization phase and large system would feedback successful experiences in terms of remembering effort. (Source: Resilience Alliance)

<sup>34</sup> Source: Resilience Alliance (<http://www.resalliance.org/index.php/panarchy>)

### ***Authenticity and resilience***

According to Nara Document, authenticity of heritage should be approached from a variety of sources including the material system (form of design, crafts, and environmental setting), as well as the spiritual interpretation of feeling and environment. The Nara Document illustrates that the continuity of cultural practices is important to the interpretation of authenticity. However, cultural practice is highly connected to place functions and meaning. If a place cannot sustain its original functions, then it is difficult for the continuity of cultural practice. On the other hand, there might be changes in cultural practices such as traditional rituals performed for tourists, which is no longer authentic. Hence, in a cultural-material system, authenticity should be approached in terms of both the continuity functions of physical environment and persistence of intended cultural practices. As long as the cultural practices and their significance and meanings remain in place, traditional knowledge can be transmitted from generation to generation as a sign of resilience.

### ***Diversity memories and traditional management mechanism***

The ecological meaning of diversity (redundancy) can be modified and applied to cultural resilience to mean a mixed structure that provides a symbiotic capacity for both original residents and newcomers. The concept of redundancy is also applicable in terms of understanding social-memory-storage. In the field of historical preservation, research has been conducted by scholars for preserving a richer traditional knowledge for adaptation and resilience. Lessons from the recent work of ecologists on adaptive management have implications for cultural resilience. When it comes to vernacular and living heritage, the exploration of learning loops could be included at individual and community-wide, regional-scale practices in physical, social, and economical domains. In other words, this means that the diverse memories could be stored in traditional management mechanism. For example, how each community manages its wells in the Dayan old town over time is important for the overall policy of water protection for different groups of residents. It is also important to consider institutional innovation and flexible mechanisms for local input to renew the control systems. However, to apply adaptive patterns in a social-ecological or cultural-material system, one challenge is the competition of place attachments between strong associations and disadvantaged minorities in a specific context. In ecological studies, the ability of a species to survive in a specific climatic zone would not be the same when it is confronted

with a competing species. Hence, there should be a process for establishing local autonomy to provide a longer time for any new state to take power and renew their identities.

Cultural resilience is not a stable state that can be achieved by a single actor. It has to be achieved with the growth of a variety of stakeholders, as well as formal and informal management mechanisms. In this sense, the idea of traditional heritage management mechanism is a dynamic system. It takes time for local management to explore what historical preservation means for the sustainability of local built environment.

For example, in the case of San Xia<sup>35</sup> (三峽) Historical Street in Taipei County, the conservation movement has taken eight years (1990-1998). The Old Street had been designated as a Historical Monument (古蹟) in 1991 by the Central Government without local involvement.<sup>36</sup> Still, some local residents would like to widen the road for development instead of preserving the historical street. The Taiwan Provincial Government (台灣省政府) at the time decided to remove the Old Street from the Historical Monument List in 1993 because of pressure from the local community. In 1997, activists cooperated with the local community and the Council of Cultural Affairs (文建會), a national-level agency at the time, to try to convince the Taipei County Government to assign the area as “Special Area for Historical Landscape.” The County Government published a new urban plan for Sanxia in 2003, and the plan included a comprehensive conservation project in San Xia old street along with other compensation plans for the local community to preserve its built environment, including a mechanism for Transfer Development Right (TDR) from the historical zone to the nearby area. Afterward, it took the community five years (2002-2007) to discuss the preservation issue, and finally in 2008 the community agreed to preserve the historical street and to restore the buildings. Local communication relied on the budget allocated from the Central Government to restore the Old Street (Lin, 2008). After the long involvement of the local community in the preservation process, the community had developed a democratic mechanism to protect their heritage. For example, the residents still join the traditional temple festival of Qing Shui Temple (清水祖師廟) even though some of them had moved out from the old street. The local community has also tried to balance tourism activities and community life on the old street.

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<sup>35</sup> Also called 三角湧老街

<sup>36</sup> The Minister of Interior (內政部)

In the traditional society, the internal regulations or traditional knowledge plays important role in the resilience of a group of people. This is similar to traditional knowledge of fishing, memories stored in social relationships in term of life styles, regulation within old and newcomers, etc. Holling (1996) refers to a high degree of internal connections (or internal control) that mediate and regulate the influences between inside processes and the outside world. Similar processes and mechanism can be examined in the continuity of social relationships as well as self-organization or local autonomy in response to change.

### **2.3 Application of Resilience in Built Environment and Other Fields**

The ecological concept of resilience had been increasingly applied to social-environment system as human activities represent growing disturbances to environmental systems. Resilience has been applied to analyze human activities that affect ecosystems, for example in agriculture, lagoon fishery, natural resource management on population, land-use control, etc. The concept had been also used in the field of built environment. In human geography, urban planning, and sociology, resilience can be approached through management of urban growth using the tools of landscape planning and management (Prato, 2000; Ludwig, 2001; Cumming and Spirsman, 2006). Human use of landscapes such as urban area and transportation networks, which are highly related to urban resilience, are directly influenced by local socioeconomic development and arrangement of zoning control (Bureckner, 2000; Liu, et al., 2003). Iain J. Davidson (2003) applies the concept of human-in-nature to illustrate how people dwell in the environment, whereas Sebastian Moffatt and Niklaus Kohler (2008) borrowed from Kowalski and Weisz's (1999) framework of a socio-economic metabolism and the colonization of natural process to investigate the interaction across rings of built environment. The cross-ring area is the manifestation of the material and cultural realms of social process on design, procurement, management systems, buildings, infrastructure and place. Cumming (2011) suggests adaptive managements, learning and innovation within institutions would also suggest resilience in built environment. Mugerauer & Liao (2012) suggest design for adaptation or cope with flood can achieve resilience in a complex urban system.

However, topic about how historical preservation can achieve local cultural-material resilience is still rare. Historically, the planning of built environments has focused almost

exclusively on their physical characters. For example, the “City Beautiful” movement in North America in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century focused on the grand building and their landscaped settings in the era of industrialized urban environment (Johnson, 1997; Pickett, et al. 2004). This view has since been condemned because it neglected social heterogeneity and process (Jacobs, 1961). The vision of “Garden City” introduced new towns and land use control in planning. The structural approach of “design with nature” (McHarg, 1969) considers biological, hydrological, environmental, and cultural features of a place, but rarely were truly dynamic data available. It is therefore a static exercise in which linkage between layers is uncertain (Ndubisi, 1997, 2002; Vroom, 1997). It is only now that ecological data are emerging and can link different scales of landscape (Grimm, et al., 2000; Pickett, et al., 2001, 2004).

#### **2.4 Cultural States: the Definition and Implications of Living Heritage in the Case of Lijiang and Bagan**

Cultural resilience is measured here as the accessibility of heritage by local community and the spatial functions that support practices of living heritage and everyday life. In this study, accessibility is related to spatial functions, frequency of activities, localized management, feasibility of traditional practices, flexibility of laws and regulations, and the continuity of social networking. Accessibility can be physical or is related to identities that encourage traditional practices even though the communities are far away. In terms of political structure, accessibility also includes the possibility for local participation and self-organization. The characteristics of multiple functions of space is defined here as the capacity for providing frequent activities for different stakeholders over time. Stakeholders in the case of Lijiang refer to the original old town residents, including people who have moved out but still return to use the space for traditional practice. In Bagan, the stakeholders in the local belief system include local monks, believers, donors, and pilgrims (monks and civilians) from other parts of Burma whose identities are connected with specific temples. Conservation policy that has the flexibility for contemporary cultural practices contributes positively towards cultural resilience. For example, this involves restoration of places as a living heritage rather than a frozen monument. State or cultural state is defined by accessibility and functions that represent heritage as our everyday life space.

The figure 2.4 illustrates dynamic cultural states in living heritage. The system would jump into a different cultural state because of different degrees of disturbance and the resistance of local system. The healthy state for cultural resilience is indicated by the accessibility for members of the communities, such as old town residents, monks, and Buddhists to practice their daily, yearly or certain cycles of activities. On the other hand, the degraded state is defined by the phenomenon of significantly reduced activities for residents, monks and believers, resulting in large-scale population displacement, unacceptable physical change, abandoned heritages, and social network changes.

Disturbances are key for the evolution of socio-ecological systems. Factors that strengthened resilience include: strong institutions, cross-scale communication, political space for experimentation, equity, and use of ecological knowledge (Cristiana, et al., 2003). These factors are related to connectivity, productivity, vulnerability, and redundancy in a system. On the other hand, characteristics that threaten a place as living heritage include the inability to maintain old town or temple as everyday space, international preservation charters that conflict with local restoration methods, and policies that consider heritage mainly as a tourist spot rather than a residential place. Regarding how to create “buffering capacity” or “robustness through redundancy of structures” (Davidson, 2005: 45), it is essential for the survival of historical areas to confront with urbanization. Specifically, the consideration of resilience in local neighborhood and its regional characteristics could prevent the function of everyday practices from disappearing for people who leave the old town without connections.

For a better discussion about local cultural condition for managing adaptation strategies for building cultural resilience, I provide my definition in figure 2.4 below, in which the accessibility and spatial-functional diversity are two important factors to observe people’s relationship with their heritage. A living heritage in this research means a space that function as an everyday life space, a frequently and routinely used space for the social-cultural practices of residents who have lived there for centuries. An everyday life space is a site for residents to add meanings in the patterns of built environment they had developed as well as the renewal function of space in responses to changes in modern time. Accessibility here means distance from home to a heritage site as well as a fair access for all users including original and new actors to do activities on the site. For example, users of a temple include believers, monks, tourists, and donors. Their fair accessibility also means that the donors are allowed to donate money to repair temple using traditional methods; believers can frequently celebrate temple festivals; monks can preach; and that tourists can visits and participate in

temple activities. Diversity of spatial functions ensures multiple place attachments, including the social-economic-cultural meanings and balanced capacity for multiple stakeholders. Balanced capacity here refers to balanced development and spatial use for the local society. For example, the historical old town could simultaneously function as a living space for residents, a tourist destination, a place for trade, and a place for ethnic minority groups to celebrate traditional festivals.

In terms of different states in cultural resilience, a space is in a healthy state for original old town residents if most of original residents still live inside, with the ability to carry out activities, etc. If the space can balance between its function as a residential space and a tourist spot, its cultural state is in the transition but transitional state for the original old town residents. If most of residents had moved out and the space serves only tourists, it is then in the degraded cultural state for original old town residents in terms of cultural resilience.



Figure 2.4 Dynamic cultural states in a living heritage

***Examples of threshold that trigger regime change in a living heritage include:***<sup>37</sup>

1. Unwalkable distance for worships, meetings, and everyday activities
2. Social network change that stops the possibility of cultural activities
3. Policies and developments that stop the original community from using the sites as daily life space
4. The change of ruling state that stops the possibility of practicing traditions
5. Impossibility for local participation when facing disturbances
6. Limit flexibility for authority in top down political power structures
7. Spatial functions that could not provide daily, seasonally, or yearly activities for monks, believers, and local residents
8. Conflict between international charters on restoration and local mechanisms that stop local traditions, for example: prohibition against building new stupa, gilding, setting up contemporary decoration, etc.
9. New types of spatial usage, policy, or events that trigger large numbers of residents to move out
10. Unacceptable physical change or relocation of significant heritages that alters place identity

I will apply this diagram (figure 2.4) in my analysis of the six sites in Lijiang and Bagan. In Bagan, I chose the temples of Shwezigon, Bupaya and Manuha as my cases. Shwezigon, Bupaya and Manuha all show issues concerning preservation policies and tourism development in the monuments zone while they are each unique in their own networks of donors and nearby villagers. The three temples had gone through different challenges on the restoration of the temples, change in the belief systems, and different stages of governmental

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<sup>37</sup> A threshold can be described as the point at which a relatively small change in external conditions causes a rapid change in an ecosystem. When a threshold has been passed, the system may no longer be able to return to its state (Resilience Alliance, 2002).

preservation policies. Compared to Bagan, Lijiang had more challenges in the resilience of its local culture. The three old towns of Dayan, Shuhe and Baisha have different tourism development experiences and patterns. Different developments have resulted in different levels of disturbance in the local way of life and changes in the cultural states. Later I will discuss the specific disturbances, thresholds, and their adaptations in the different states.

## **2.5 Fieldwork and Selection of Case-Study Sites**

This research applies several social research methods to examine resilience in local community. The open-ended interviews provide a rich empirical evidence of local voices, especially in China and Burma where accounting of local history is lacking. Also, sensitive issues about local changes have not been well recorded or reported. The method of focus-group interview had been applied when people were gathering, celebrating or engaging in family activities with relatives in both Lijiang and Bagan. In both places, I tried to let everybody talk as long as they like when I was conducting my focus-group interviews. In Bagan, specifically, these interviews have conducted for Gopaga<sup>38</sup> committees, Owadar Saria committees,<sup>39</sup> and Damayungs.<sup>40</sup> During most of the interviews in Bagan and Lijiang, I had to be accompanied with a local person since nobody would talk with a foreigner or a researcher from Taiwan that still maintains a sensitive relationship with China. As such, the identities of the interview subjects shall remain confidential except for scholars in China and historians and officers in Bagan who gave me their permission. I was also not allowed to do sound recording for most of my interviews in Lijiang, but had permission to record some of the interviews in Bagan. For some interviews in both Lijiang and Bagan, official permission had to be issued especially when the interviews were conducted for the first time. Most of the subsequent interviews included a wide range of topics. The in-depth interview process

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<sup>38</sup> Temple trustee committee, which is the most important traditional organization to maintain temples in Burma. Normally all members are selected from local communities and the belief system by the Department of Religion in Burma.

<sup>39</sup> The leading monk committee whose members are chosen from nearby monasteries by the Department of Religion in Burma.

<sup>40</sup> Preach hall for Buddhists in Burma. In Burma, not only temple has Gopaga, the Damayungs and monasteries also have Gopaga to organize Buddhist activities to connect monks and believers.

provided a wider view about local history, social-cultural backgrounds, and collective memory about the communities' relationship with their heritage sites.

To observe functions of spaces and spatial transformation after the development of tourism, I applied the non-participant observation method. For example, I observed spatial usages in Dayan, Shuhe and Baisha, including day-time and night-time activities in three Sifang Squares to examine how the space has provided functional diversities or not. The Huachong<sup>41</sup> gathering in Lijiang was significant to observe because this became the most important traditional organization to connect people in the New Lijiang area especially after they moved away from the Old Town. In Bagan, I also conducted non-participant observations at three temples looking at the religious activities, daily or monthly monks offering (the Suanlung in Burmese), Buddhist festival activities (like Tagungyan<sup>42</sup> Thadingyut,<sup>43</sup> Tazaungmon<sup>44</sup>), and tourist activities. These included the annual temple festival at the Manuha temple in September.

To understand disturbances in the local society, I collected available data from the local governments in Lijiang and Bagan related to their urban plans, land use controls, regulations or laws to keep local physical built forms or preservation of ancient monuments, regulations about traditional management groups, and regulation about transforming residential use to commercial purpose. Data also included online information, news coverage, and blogs with reports on historical events (like how Baisha villagers protested and fought for their water

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<sup>41</sup> The Huachong (化崇) is originally a kind of community-based financial support mechanism developed in Naxi society. Members would provide money monthly to the Chongyou (崇友), as a kind of informal type saving (helping) system. In addition to financial support, members would help each other when they have big events in the family, including weddings, funerals, or for harvest or constructing new house in the rural area.

<sup>42</sup> The Thingyan festival is in the Tagu month in Burmese calendar (April), which is the beginning of the Burmese New Year. I observed the festival at the Manuha Temple.

<sup>43</sup> The lights festival is in the Thadingyut month in Burmese calendar (October). People would light up candles at the temple to signify the end of Buddhist lent (Vassa). I observe the festival activities at the Shwezigon Temple.

<sup>44</sup> The Tazaungdaing festival is in Tazaungmon in Burmese calendar (November) on a day of full moon in which people would offer robes to Buddhist monks. I observed this festival at the Shwedagon Temple in Yangon which has the largest festival in Burma.

rights). They also included rich information about the local community from the outsiders' view especially from visits in different years as well as discussion about new pollution and development in Lijiang. Historical analysis had been applied to define cultural states in local communities as well as on governmental responses to changes in local social-physical environment in Lijiang case, as well as change in the local belief systems in Bagan. I also spent a lot of time collecting documents and books about Lijiang and Bagan in local flea markets, and second-hand book market in Kunming and Yangon. There is a lot of interesting information about Naxi traditions and old research about temple restoration, hti, and gilding techniques in Bagan (mostly done during the British colonial era or by foreigners during the 1975 earthquake restoration work).

### *The fieldwork*

I started my fieldwork first in Lijiang, China. Lijiang has three Naxi old towns that have all been designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The three Naxi settlements have all been subjected to transformation under tourism development, as well as UNESCO's mainstream historical preservation practices. However, the three towns also have different degrees of issues in regard to cultural resilience, which is good to look at to see how a higher level of preservation and development policy and the context of China's unique socio-political system had influenced the local society. Following my fieldwork in Dayan, I went to Bagan to look for temples that had undergone changes, which provided another chance to discuss issues of resilience in a non-UNESCO context. When I finished my first trip to gain an overall understanding in Bagan, I chose Shwezigon, Bupaya and Manuha as my case-study sites in Bagan. The three temples are still maintained by local Gopaga (trustee committee) and Owadar-Sariya (monk committee) under the supervision of Bagan Archaeology Office. UNESCO had been involved in the restoration work after major earthquake in Lijiang and Bagan; however, different mechanisms and institutional systems have been developed locally which provides a window into how cultural resilience could be managed or not in local communities.

### *Site 1. Lijiang, China*

### Summary of first trip (March to end of May, 2011)

I first stayed in Kunming (capital of Yunnan Province) to interview with scholars in Kunming Construction Engineering Collage including Jiang Gaochen (蒋高辰) and Zhu Liangwen (朱良文<sup>45</sup>) to learn about recent conservation projects in Lijiang. I also had the chance to talk with Yang Fuquan (杨福泉) and Guo Dalie (郭大烈) in Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences and Yunnan Academy of South East Asian and South Asian Studies about recent development in Lijiang. Arriving in Lijiang, I first stayed in the new city area with a local family that was originally from Dayan old town. I did my field research in three main urban areas that had a large population of original Dayan old town residents. Two of them are apartment style, and one is a courtyard-style house area. I accounted their daily life space, including where they buy foods and necessities, the last time they went back to Dayan old town, and how they celebrate their festivals. Then I moved to Dayan old town to research the history of its spatial transformation. I started from the Sifang Square area. I did my interviews with owners who started their business in 2000, 2006 and 2010 respectively. They like to sit together (just like a focus group interview) to talk about policy change in Sifang Square, rules of business, and change in tourists, etc. I then conducted interviews in the north hillside area of Dayan old town where most of the tourist cafés are located. Most of them lease the buildings from the first generation of outside business owners who came here after the 1999 Kunming World Floral Expo who began to sublet the properties in 2005.

I concentrated on relocation policy and changes in public space when I was doing my research in the new development area near the South Gate. I talked with hotel managers and workers who were originally working in the machine tool company. They recalled where their original buildings were and their life in Dayan old town. Since a large number of publicly-owned housing (政府公房) had been rented out as shop houses in the South Gate area, I talked with some tea and jade shops in this area about incentive policy that government provides to develop this area, and the history of spatial change. I did my research in both west and east sides of Dayan old town while I was staying in the east side with a local family that rents a public house from the government. I interviewed with two managers of 4-

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<sup>45</sup> He is the scholar who first write letter to the head of Yunnan Province (和自强) to safeguard Dayan old town from a road development that originally would run through the old town in 1996. The project was stopped at that time.

star hotels in the east and operators of guesthouses on the west side, including the Wenming Village. I talked with some original residents who were still living inside Dayan. Some of them had decided to move out. I went to join their daily activities for several days, including wedding, funeral, and Huachong gathering in new town area. An old local architect brought me to see how local traditional house had been transformed into guesthouse, café, and shop houses in Dayan. He also introduced me to other architects who were doing cases in Dayan to transform traditional house to commercial spaces. Two of them were from Dali (大理) and three of them were from Heqing (鹤庆) in Yunnan Province. They are all members of the Bai minority (白族). I also spoke with head of the Lijiang Old Town Management Office and his colleagues in the mid-May about zoning control laws, protection of significant buildings in Dayan, Baisha and Shuhe old towns. They introduced two architects who have done work on transforming traditional Naxi house for commercial usage. I interviewed them before my return to Taiwan.

#### Summary of second trip (July to end of October, 2012)

For my second trip. I first stayed in Kunming to talk with Liangwen Zhu about the materials that I collected from the last trip and discussed with him about some policies to protect traditional settlements in Yunnan. We talked about restoration work after 1997 before Lijiang has been designated as a world cultural heritage site, its transformation as a tourist spot, and its urban development plans in 2005 and 2010. We discussed the process of gentrification that expanded from Dayan to Baisha and Shuhe old towns with the tourism boom. He introduced me to a young scholar from Kunming University of Science and Technology who has been doing commercial design in Lijiang. I then talked with two young Naxi researchers from Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences Research Center where I learned that a group of people discussing online to stop the development in Lijiang. The two researchers also mentioned how local people worked together to influence the city government's tourist development plan in 2011 and the end of 2012. The former one will demolish some traditional buildings along the Lijiang River, and the second one is an industrial zone in the city. They shared their view on the commercialization of Naxi culture by outsiders. Moreover, they also discussed the phenomenon of some new residents from other parts of China calling for more attentions on protecting the local Naxi culture and environment via media and the Internet.

On my return to Lijiang, I stayed in Longquan village in Shuhe old town. I studied how spatial transformation was triggering cultural and social changes in the villages of Longquan, Dongkang and Kaiwen where most of tourist activities in the original old town are located. I did my interview with shop house owners in the old Sifang Square about spatial changes in the old and new development areas. They mentioned some conflicts between the Dingya Company and local residents and shop house owners concerning, for example, the compensation for land expropriation (徵收補償), entrance fees, etc. I worked on accounting the percentage of local families joining tourism-related work, distribution of the types of business in the core development area, understanding about a short history about owners, change in Shuhe and day-night changes in spatial use between the old and new town areas before and after year 2005.

Afterward, I moved to Wenming Village to stay with a He (和) family whose houses had been developed as guesthouse run by a couple from Sichuan Province. He family provided me a lot of information about history of Buddhist temples in Lijiang since they believe in Tibetan Buddhism. I got a chance to visit the Yufong Temple and a new Tibetan temple near Shuhe to get a basic understanding of Buddhist landscape in tourism industry at that time. I also did my research in the villages of Renli, Zhonghe, and Wenming where most of original residents are still living inside. A guesthouse owner introduced me to local Naxi and Bai architects who have been doing commercial house design in Shuhe. They talked about governmental regulations for restoring original houses in Shuhe, and they compared the difference between Dayan, Baisha and Shuhe. I also recorded use of public spaces during holidays and compared activities in the old and new Sifang Squares and talked with owners of popular café in the new development area, like the little Paris café. I went to the traditional market near the Qinglong Bridge almost every day because I can buy cheap and fresh vegetable there. I talked with some sellers whose farmland had been developed and moved to the nearby area. They invited me to their new houses near Shuhe Old Town. They like to dance after dinner in their apartment public space, and I got the chance to talk with other residents who were originally from Shuhe. A lady introduce me to talk with an old Dongba (东巴) who was hosting the religious ceremony during the Torch Festival in the Yushuizhai (玉水寨) tourist spot. I went to visit him many times to discuss about funeral ceremony change in Lijiang new town area as well as Sanduo Festival and the Dhama-Kongpu Festival in Baisha. I also had a chance to talk with a manager of the Dingya Company in September in his office in Shuhe. We discuss the company's role in the protection of Shuhe and Baisha old

towns, issue about entrance fee, and the company's future development plan in Lijiang old towns.

At the end of September, I moved to Baisha Old Town to stay in a Li family who is my Dayan family's relative. The family introduced me to the head of Baisha Village whose father had a rich knowledge about Baisha Old Town. The old man provided me with a lot of historical perspective on local cultural activities, like the Torch Festival, Dhama-Kongpu Festival as well as story about temples in Baisha old town. I interviewed with some elders of two Baishaxiyue (白沙细乐) Performance Group on the main street of Baisha old town. They provided me with a rich history about the Baisha Mural (白沙壁画), what they did in that area and the policy changes after tourism development. I also talked with Naxi Traditional Dance Group that used to perform at the Baisha Mural. They talked about the new development and the conflict when local elementary school was relocated, etc. They also provided me with information about the Buddhist temples in Baisha Village area and other issue that challenge local communities such as redistributing water from north to south. I went to visit the head of Dongba Museum, Xi Li (李锡). He talked about budget shortage from government to protect the Dongba culture, the phenomenon of misinterpreting Dongba characters that cater to tourism and tourism development in the Yulong Snow Mountain area. I got a chance to join an elementary teachers' Huachong activity while I was staying in Baisha. It was interesting that most of them didn't have time to do Huachong gathering before because they were too busy with heavy farm work. After the water redistribution policy, they received compensation from the government, and now they have time to do what they used to admire women in Dayan old town were doing. They provided information about their traditional farming system and change after tourism came.

To follow the water issue, I went to visit Yuhu Village to find out more about their protest, local ecotourism development problems, etc. I discuss with Department of Tourism at the Lijiang City Government about tourism development in Lijiang, governmental budget allocation to protect local physical environment, and environmental issue in Lijiang area, especially in Yulong Snow Mountain. I then went back to Kunming to interview with Ruan Yisan (阮仪三) from Tongji University in Shanghai who was developing the newest version of master plan for protecting the three old towns. We discussed general issues concerning different degrees of tourism impact in the three old towns, the political background of

preservation policy, and his experience with cooperation with the Lijiang City Government and UNESCO experts.

### ***Bagan, Myanmar***

#### First Trip (July to September, 2010)

I started my work on Shwedagon Pagoda in Yangon. Shwedagon Pagoda is designated as national monument during the British colonial era and has the most publications among historical sites in Burma. Understanding Shwedagon is helpful for my work in Bagan where most of temples lack documentation. After my stay in Yangon, I went to Bagan to conduct my preliminary field research. I stayed in Nyaung Oo while I was there. I first visited Bagan Archaeology Office to talk with the Director and his colleagues. I received information about numbers of temples with Gopaga, and their recent restoration work in recent decades. I interviewed with some engineers in the office to understand local conservation projects and methodology they are applying in preservation and restoration. The officer introduced me to a local legislator, Sayagi U Aung Kying who has a rich knowledge of local restoration history in the 1970s and 1990s. He brought me to visit some temples that were restored before and after 1996 to see the different restoration methods applied and how they cooperated with in local institutions. I visited temples in Nyaung Oo, Old Bagan, Myingabar Village and New Bagan areas to see the difference. Local people talked about relocation issues when I visited Bupaya although some people refused to discuss this issue. Fortunately, I was assisted by a local scholar in Nyaung Oo city who provided the background to me. The owner of the guesthouse I was staying in Nyaung Oo also talked about local change after tourism development began in the city.

When I visit another scholar in New Bagan, I encountered a Damayung who was conducting Buddhist activities that were different from Nyaung Oo city. I talked with some people there, and they mentioned a brief background about where they used to stay. I visited Manuha temple in Myinkaba Village before I left Bagan. I was originally attempting to see how the local society maintained the cave pagoda of Gubyaukgyi after UNESCO's preservation work in Myinaba. I encountered Manuha where monk-offering ceremony was taking place with activities joined by local villagers. I visited the small village and found that the local village has a close link with their temple. I went back to Yangon to talked with

scholars who helped to repair Shwedagon Pagoda after the Nargis Cyclone destroyed the temple in 2009. They provided me with many interesting technical details about Hti, gilding, and restoration traditions.

### Second Trip (January to April, 2013)

I reviewed temples that I was interested in researching in Bagan that involve long-term local interventions, which were significant for discussing cultural resilience. In the end, I chose Shwezigon, Bupaya and Manuha temples as my cases. Shwezigon (one of four temples with Buddha's tooth in Bagan), Bupaya (in Old Bagan) and Manuha (in Myinkaba Village) show issues of preservation policies and tourism development in the monuments zone. Their respective networks of temple donors and involvement of nearby villagers also make their temple festivals unique. I went to interview with the legislator to discuss the differences between restoration work after the 1976 earthquake, during the 1990s, and the current conservation work. I talked with the Director of Archaeology Department, National Museum, and Library, and Bagan sub-division about laws of zoning control (Monument, Protection, Urban, Hotel zones), laws of trustee committee, and tourist plans. Most of restoration works have been completed by the end of 2010. Now the government only allows donors to carry out conservation work by engineers from the Department. I got a chance to talk with senior engineers who had experience from restoration work in the 1990s. I also studied how government controlled the conservation of these monuments through special laws and trustee committees. There has been a big debate about the authenticity of *Hti*, whether it is suitable to put this contemporary artifact on top of ancient monument. I talked with scholars and senior monks about their view on this topic and checked with all Gopaga about changes in their belief cycles (belonging villages).

I stayed in Nyaung Oo city to conduct my research on Shwezigon Pagoda. I worked closely with the Gopaga members to know how they maintain monuments that belong to this temple, how they cooperate with citizens in Nyaung Oo city for the annual temple festival, etc. I also talked with the senior Gopaga on their restoration work after 1975 earthquake, history of *Hti*, and gold-gilding. I learned about the methods of gold-gilding that changed the surface material of the building and the installation of Hti at the Shwezigon pagoda. Both defied UNESCO's guidelines on authenticity and integrity. Local scholars, senior monks, engineers provided their views from Buddhist traditions, and about managing living heritage.

I listened to café and restaurant owners who talked about tourism development in Bagan and some changes in the festival of the Shwezigon Temple.

I then moved to Old Bagan to conduct research on Bupaya. I interviewed with the Gopaga members and shop owners there. The Gopaga provided me with information about the temple's restoration history from 1976 to now, the methodology they have applied to install *Hti* and for gilding. They also talked extensively about tourism development in this temple, and how temple festival activities have changed after relocation. I interviewed the senior monk of Bupaya, and he talked about changes in Bagan in recent decades, how he sent monks from Old Bagan to New Bagan and the voluntary clinic in his monastery. The Bagan Archaeology Office is located close to Bupaya. I worked closely with the Director who introduced me to speak with a General who was handling the relocation policy in 1990s. The General has since become a monk (出家) and has stayed in Bagan for a long time. I went to visit him, and he provided many details about the process and policies he made for relocating Old Bagan villagers in the 1990s. I also had a discussion about relocation with one of his assistants who is also an engineer in Bagan Archaeology Office. To understand the new life in New Bagan, I moved to New Bagan to interview with five Damayungs that are located in different parts of the city. They talked about their original temples, their visits to the original temple and activities, history of setting up their Damayung, the way Gopaga work in New Bagan and their regular activities in Damayung, and how the belief circle has changed in the new environment. To learn about the 1996 restoration, I went to visit U Win Mong in Mandalay (Upper Burma) who is a famous architect in repairing Buddhist monuments in Burma. He talked about his view toward the major repair by the Bagan Archaeology Office, how the teams worked, how local engineers were involved, and the degree of authenticity, etc.

Manuha Temple is located in a small ethnic Mon minority settlement (Myingkaba village). After my short visit in Mandalay, I returned to Bagan. I stayed in New Bagan while conducting research on the Manuha Temple because there was not a hotel or monastery that I could stay in Myinkaba Village. Manuha Gopaga members kindly provided me with extensive information about the history of Gopaga, how Gopaga functions in Bagan as well as throughout Burma, details about post-earthquake restoration in 1976, recent repair work on *Hti* and temple maintenance, etc. I talked with the leading monk of Manuha Temple who introduced me to his role in leading monasteries in the whole village, his historical

background, his view about changes in Bagan, and a short history about paper figures show in the temple festival. I interviewed the scholar who helped repair Buddha statues after earthquake and learned about the mechanism in cooperating with UNESCO. I went to visit two monasteries where are famous for making good paper figures in the village. They told me how they make the figure with paper, bamboo, etc. They also mentioned that the reason that they excel in making paper figures was that they make good lacquer ware. Therefore, I went to visit lacquer ware workshops near Manuha Temple to interview some workers. They talked about their work as well as about their Buddhist activities at the Manuha Temple. After I finished my work in Myinkaba, I returned to Yangon to use the materials in the library of the Department of Religion, and to purchase books from used book market that were related to my research. My fieldwork in Burma was concluded in April 2013.

## Chapter 3. Cultural Resilience in the World Heritage Site of Lijiang, China

### 3.1 Introduction

Lijiang is famous as a tourist destination not only in China but also internationally. This World Heritage Site (including townships of Dayan, Shuhe and Baisha) developed its tourism industry in just ten years after China opened its economy to the world. Lijiang is a classic case of local development that reflects China's recent economic development model: growth at all costs. What do "Lijiang Model," "Shuhe Model," and "Baisha Experience" mean in the discussion of cultural resilience? Can these three old towns balance their success in the booming tourism economy with the protection of local culture? How do local communities modify their steps to adapt to a new regime created through governmental policy? In this chapter, I will first discuss the overall preservation policy of the three old towns and its impacts in the condition of living heritage in Dayan, Shuhe and Baisha. I will further discuss factors concerning cultural resilience in the context of tourism development, specifically the way these new developments shape local physical environment as well as the accessibility of heritages sites to the local communities.

### 3.2. History of Lijiang Old Towns

According to Joseph Rock (1948), the migration of Naxi<sup>46</sup> ancestors can be traced to the 10<sup>th</sup> century during the Song (宋) Dynasty (960~1279 AD). The Naxi migrated from the northeast part of Tibet, and settled in Lijiang Area among Moxie (麽些) and Pu (濮) aboriginal settlements at that time. The Pu moved to mountain area in a later era and Moxie and Naxi continued to occupy the Lijiang valley and plain.

The population of Naxi was small but they have religious literatures called Ben (苯教), which

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<sup>46</sup> Naxi was one faction of Qiang (羌) people in the ancient time. They were originally called as "Nazu (纳族)" by Moxie people and the "Na" means "black."



Figure 3.1 Sample of the Dongba pictographic glyphs.

(Source:

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dongba\\_symbols](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dongba_symbols))

was the combination of Naxi and Moxie natural belief system. They lived in a nomadic lifestyle, and the Naxi's Dongba<sup>47</sup> scriptures as well as the Dongba dance spectrums are imitations of hunting or animals' act from their hunting memories. The beginning of the matriarchal society was developed during that time along the Yu River (玉河流域). Many outstanding chiefs of Naxi settlements had tried to adapt their culture into Han (汉), Tibetan (藏) and Bai (白) to increase their influence in the three major political regimes—the Tang, Tibet and the Nan Shao Kingdom (唐、吐蕃、南诏國). Naxi people kept their balanced relationship within these three regimes. According to the Mu Genealogy (木氏宦谱),<sup>48</sup> in 1252 when Kublai Khan (忽必烈) occupied Dali (大理), which belonged to the Nan Zhao Kingdom, he recognized Mai Liang (麦良), the leader of the largest Moxie tribe, to be the leader of the Lijiang area and started Lijiang's Tusi<sup>49</sup> (土司, the Native Chieftain System) regime. Kublai Khan helped Mai Liang unify two other large and independent tribal leaders to his regime. The Tusi system had been in place in Yunnan for more than 300 years. Each Tusi was recognized as Mu Tusi, and Mu Tusi expanded his regime to a large settlement during the Ming Dynasty. The Emperor Wanli even wrote two Chinese characters “Zhongyi (忠义)” to honor Muzeng (木增) in the Ming Dynasty (figure 3.2).

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<sup>47</sup> Naxi people believe in the Dongba (东巴) religion. The Dongba scriptures were written in Dongba symbols that constitute a pictographic glyphs system used by Naxi people in southern China.

<sup>48</sup> Chinese text: <木氏宦谱>中记载 “宋李宗宝佑元年，蒙古现宗命御弟忽必烈亲征大理，良(指麦良)迎瀨于刺巴江口...将授职为察尔罕张管民官。”(P.47)

<sup>49</sup> Tusi regime was a system in which tribal leaders were recognized as imperial officials by the Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties in Yunnan, China. It was also called a Native Chieftain System. It was hereditary and controlled by the Chinese administration, which required each Tusi to provide tribute, troops, etc., to the emperor annually.



Figure 3.2 Original photograph of Zhongyi Archway in the 1940s. It was an honor to Mu Tusi from the Emperor Wanli of Ming Dynasty. The stone archway was torn down in 1966 during the Cultural Revolution. (Source: Wu, 2011: 2)

The Mu Tusi originated in the Baisha old town (Guoyu Fang 2006: 3). He moved his office (丽江宣抚司) from Shiku (石鼓)<sup>50</sup> to Lijiang (Fubar<sup>51</sup>, 2000: 89-90) for political and cultural purpose after the Baisah market had been developed because of the tea and horse trade. When exactly the Mu Tusi office moved from Baisha to Dayan is still a subject of debate in the local community. One local elder said the Mu Tusi moved to Dayan in 1277AD during the Yuan Dynasty but most tourist guidebooks have the Mu Tusi moved to Dayan in 1383 when the 8<sup>th</sup> Tusi (阿得阿初;官名<sup>52</sup>木初) set up his office (丽江军民府;衙署) in Dayan's Lion Mountain (狮子山)<sup>53</sup>. The office, Mufu (木府), is now a famous tourist spot in Dayan old

<sup>50</sup> Shiku is 70 kilometers West away from Dayan old town. (Zhongguo Xinan min zu yan jiu xue hui. 1983. Xi nan min zu yan jiu: [di 1 ji]. Chengdu: Sichuan min zu chu ban she.)

<sup>51</sup> 巴夫, 2000, <<马蹄踏出的辉煌-丽江古城与纳西族历史探秘>>,昆明,云南民族出版社

<sup>52</sup> According to “Qianlong Lijiang Fu zhi lue” (Guan, Xuexuan, and Xianyan Wan.乾隆丽江府志略. 2009: 38-50), Lijiang Tusi (阿甲阿得) was given a Chinese surname of Mu (木), which was seen as an honor at that time.

<sup>53</sup> Chinese text: “...明洪武十六年，土司木得(木初)得赴京进贡，见太祖皇帝，回来后便开始营建官邸，以狮子山东侧平川做府署，狮子山做后花园，引玉泉水入城，环绕府署，似一条玉带...” ( Jiang, 1997: 38)

town. The most famous Tusi was the 19<sup>th</sup> generation called Muzeng (木增, 1587-1646) who encouraged the Naxi people to learn Han Chinese culture. Muzeng himself was good in Han Chinese culture and literature. Because he believed in Buddhism, he built many temples in the Baisha village, including Xitan Temple (悉檀寺) and Fuguo Temple (福国寺), as well as hundreds of lamaseries for Tibetan Ben Buddhism (苯教). Because he built many temples and monasteries, the northern Tibet lamas called him Mu Tian Wang (木天王) or Lijiang King (Gaochen Jiang, 1997: 18-22).

From the Ming Dynasty to the Qing Dynasty (about 340 years), the Mu Tusi built many temples and the Dayan old town. The restoration work required hundreds of workers to build palace, temples, and monasteries, which influenced people's view to the regime from appreciate to compliance (Guan, Xuexuan and Xianyan Wan. 55-60). In 1723, during the Qing Dynasty, the new imperial examination (科举制度<sup>54</sup>) became the main system to select administrative officials. This ended the original Tusi leadership in Lijiang. Since then, the Beijing government sent administrative officials to Lijiang, in what was called "Gai Tu Gui Liu (改土归流)." There were 75 officers (Liuguan 流官) sent to Lijiang in the 188 years afterward. Rucheng Zhou (1986: 16-23) said that the Liuguan's office was not as big as Tusi. They stayed in a rather simple house and instituted some new policies to build their prestige in Lijiang, including the release of Naxi slaves, setting up private school (书院) and libraries, which contributed to the creation of local elite or rich merchants. The Liuguan also brought the wave of Han-style building construction and weakening of local religious influence and the monogamy system in the local society in that era.

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<sup>54</sup> The examination system was not new but it had become the main system for selecting officials since the early Ming Dynasty.

**(1) World Cultural Heritage Site**  
**--- Historic Baisa, Shuhe and Dayan**

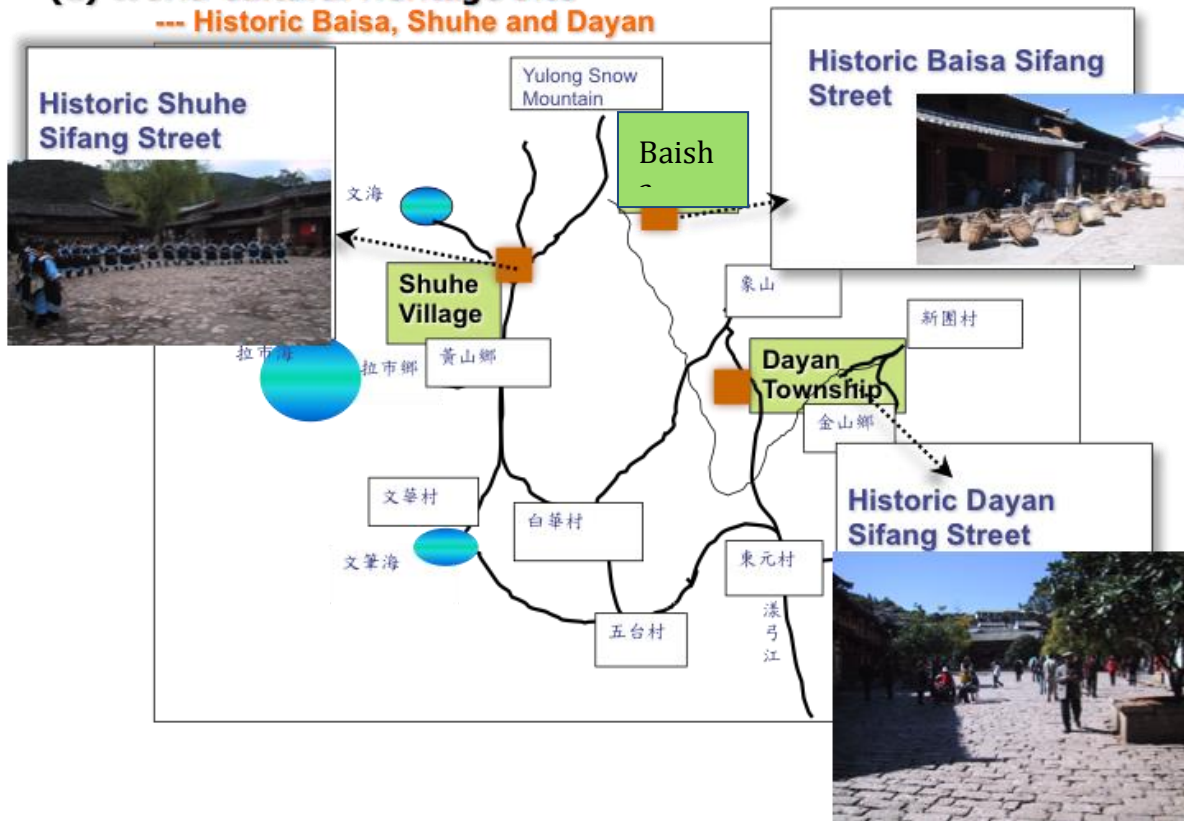


Figure 3.3 Locations of Lijiang Old Towns

***The Origin of Lijiang Old Towns***



Figure 3.4. Sifang Square market in the 1980s. (Source: Wu, 2011: 86)

Lijiang old towns all started from market squares. Mu Lichun (1997: 29) mentioned that there weren't any streets originally before the Song dynasty. Development of Lijiang old towns started under the Mu family's power (Mu Lichun, 1997: 13). In the beginning of Tang Dynasty, there were 12 villages in Baisha and 8 villages in Shuhe. Each village has about a hundred

households. For the convenience of trading activities, local villagers developed a 50 to 60 square-meter square that became the center between the different villages (it was called Sifang Square later). In Tang Dynasty, there were three major open space markets near Baisha, Shuhe, and Dayan old towns (Mu Lichun, 1997: 18). Markets were opened every 3rd,

7th and 15th days in each month in that era. The Moxie settlements along the Jinsha River for trades had become basic patterns for Naxi people to build their Lijiang old towns. Historically, Baisha was the earliest Naxi settlement and the political center before the Song and Yuan Dynasties. Dayan was predominantly developed in 1285 when Mu Tusi's hereditary land (世袭地) has expanded, and he needed a new political center away from either Luobo Town<sup>55</sup> (罗波城)<sup>56</sup> or Baisha old town which was cold and had poor soil. Zhou (2011: 48) thinks since the Tusi wanted to have a new political and economic center in Ming Dynasty, Dayan had become trade center in Yunnan, Tibet and Sichun. Since Baisha was the base of the Long Clan already, adding the Dayan old town would create "two centers," which could strengthen Mu Tusi's regime in the future.

Compared to Dayan, Shuhe was a place of commercial activities without any political consideration. The Shuhe old town was developed while the Baisha market was expanded to the south and when Naxi residents changed their lifestyle from farming to commercial activities. In Yuan and Ming Dynasties, Shuhe has become a large settlement in the Lijiang area. In Ming Dynasty, Mu Tusi set up his administrative office in Shuhe called "Shihe Yuan" (十和院) according to Xu Xiake's Travelogue (徐霞客游记). The town was developed in a "T" shape from North to East, connected closely to the Baisha old town. Houses were built along three nearby rivers. Since the town was developed earlier than Dayan, the town had the earliest private school in Qing Dynasty in the Lijiang area (Yunnan Minzu Chubanshe, 2011: 538). Houses in Shuhe were designed for both farming and commercial purposes. They reflected the change of Naxi people's lifestyle from farming to commercial. Local houses used mud and timber as the basic materials to erect walls. Street scale was narrow and adapting to local steep slopes. The town used to be the center for crafts

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<sup>55</sup> In Sui and Tang Dynasty, the ancient Yu River area in Lijiang had three Moxie clans—Mongcucu (蒙酷酷), Bochong (波冲) and Long (龙). The Long Clan was the smallest but had become the strongest regime who developed the Dayan old town. (Minzu Chubanshe, 1997)

<sup>56</sup> The Lubo Town is today's Shiku (石鼓). The town was located between the two powerful regimes, Nan Zhao Kingdom (南诏国) and Tibet (吐蕃), and had been occupied many times. It also served as the base for another Moxie chief, the Mengcucu's (蒙酷酷) for 30 years.

in Lijiang from Qing Dynasty to the 1950s. The local families' surnames as well as streets names were given according to famous artisans.

Dayan was the last town that Mu Tusi moved his office to from Baisha in Ming Dynasty, and had the same layout as Baisha originally. The date when the construction of Dayan old town



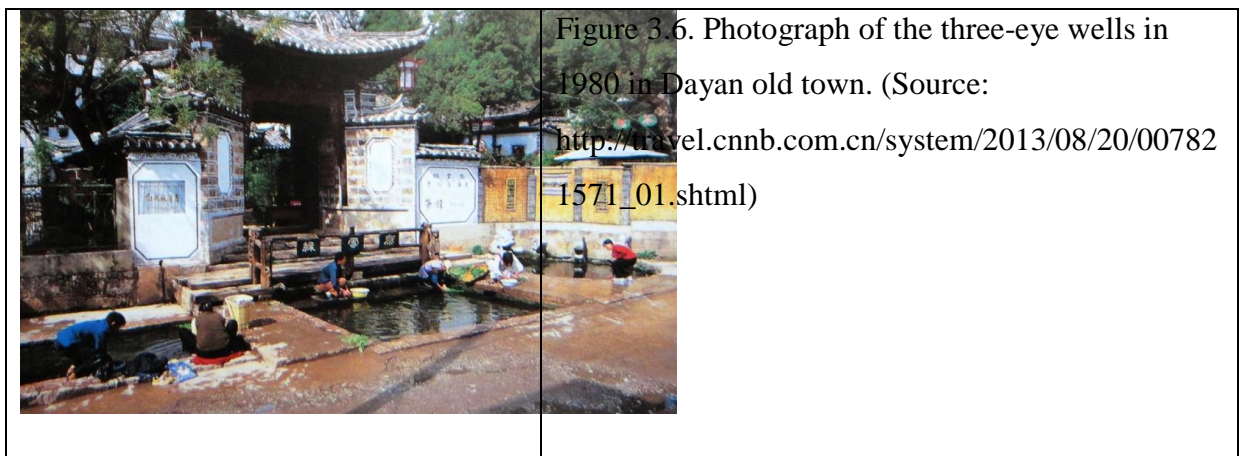
Figure 3.5. The Yu River (central river) is the main source of water supply in Dayan old town. The west and east rivers are artificial channels developed by Mu Tusi. Photography taken in the 1980s. (Source: Wu, 2011:118)

began is still unknown, but Fuquan Yang<sup>57</sup> thinks the basic layout was developed during the Ming Dynasty by Mu Tusi. Jian (1997: 61) classifies three developmental stages in Dayan: Sifang Street (or Zhubenzhi in Moxie) era, Mu Tusi construction era in the Ming Dynasty, and the Liuguan development era. In the first era, Moxie settlements were developed along the central river that ran through the old town. The economy was a mixture of farming and commercial activities. In the second stage when the Mu Tusi developed the old town and set up his office in Dayan, the Sifang Square became a daily market and a center for regional

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<sup>57</sup> Source from inter view materials.

trade. Mu Tusi also changed Zhubenzhi (Sifang Square) to Dayan (大研廂).<sup>58</sup> He had the west river (西河) and many tributary channels constructed for water supply. The water was diverted from the Yu River (the central river water from Black Dragon Lake from the north hill). In Qing Dynasty (the third stage), the Liuguan dug the East River (东河), creating three main water ways in the old town. Mu Tusi developed the West River because his administrated office, Mufu (木府), was located in the west. In a similar fashion, the Liuguan’s administrative center moved to the East, and the development took about 600 years to complete (Mu Lichun, 1997: 31).



We can see that the three old towns have followed the same patterns, for example, by facing the Yu Long Snow Mountain. As the Naxi people like white color (white is the symbol of sun in Naxi culture<sup>59</sup>), each house was designed for getting sun (烤太阳). Houses were built along the hillsides. Most could access water and had family spaces as well as outside public space for social activities. In terms of water supply, Baisha Old Town used a single water

<sup>58</sup> The name has two possible origins: the first one was Yan (研) in Chinese pronounced similar to “砚”, which means his strong will to learn Han Chinese culture; another origin was based the town’s physical and environmental character. Compare to other two old towns in Lijiang, Dayan old town was flat like a yantai (砚台), an ink tablet used for Chinese calligraphy.

<sup>59</sup> The Dongba scriptures said, “the first Naxi ancestors choose their hometown in a place with white stone. All creatures including sun, moon, landscapes and animals are all in white color...”

source for their use of life; Shuhe followed a natural river for building their houses and used it for irrigation; Dayan had a complex artificial water networks developed by Mu Tusi and features like the three-eye wells<sup>60</sup> (figure 3.6) and 365 different styles of bridges (wood, stone bridges with complex shapes). The layouts of the old towns were different according to their historical and cultural significance. The central square used to be a symbol of Mu Tusi's political power, and temples were built beside the square showing the leaders' enthusiasm in religion. Shuhe's street design was more for commercial activities but also skillfully adapted to the local hill landscape. Dayan's streets were the most complex, and its spatial design satisfied both commercial and residential-social purposes. The Dayan Old Town applied traditional Naxi built form but represented increasing influence from Han Chinese culture and lifestyle.

Naxi architectures style represents human adaption in local environment. To increase sun exposure, the patios of Naxi houses are open without cover on top, and buildings are built along the patio. The Li family I was staying with told me that their ceremony of heaven starts from the patio every year on the day of Lunar New Year. The corridor in front of main building, called Xiazi (厦子) (figure 3.7) was designed for getting more sun. Xiazi is also the most important social space with living room inside the building. Naxi architect Afang Li (李阿房) described that way Naxi people are able to build house along the hill. "We can see in the "Dongba symbols," the character of a house has two kinds: one with two people inside a house and another with fire in a building." This means that houses are places for both family and social purpose. In rural area, inside the erected walls is a bigger patio with a large yard for work and living. In urban area, the interior yard has multiple functions serving religious, social, and family activities. Some families would have several sub-patio spaces to show the owners' leisure lifestyle.

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<sup>60</sup> The first well was for drinking, the second one was for washing vegetables, and the last one was for washing clothes.



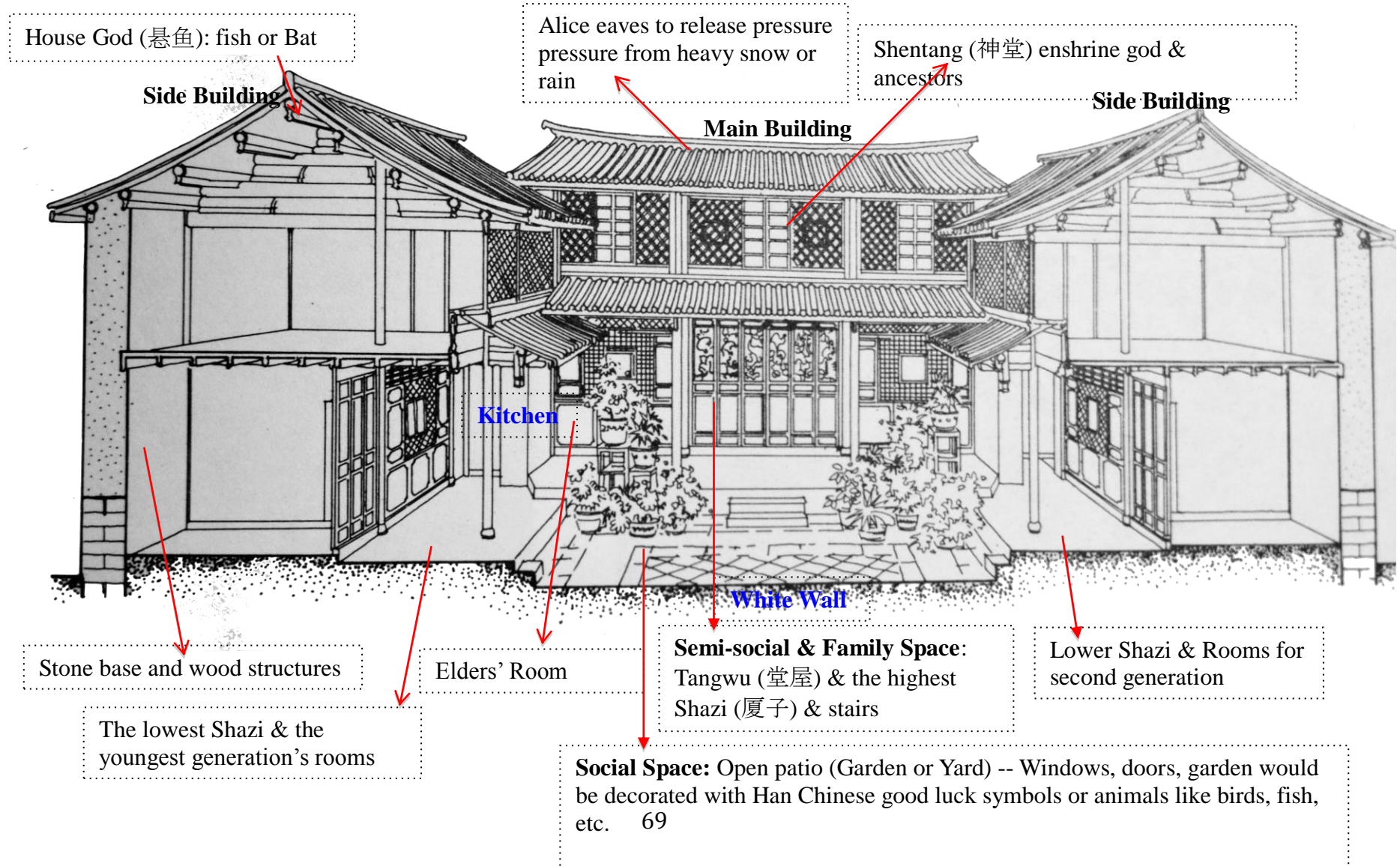
Figure 3.7 The Xiazi space in front of main building with roof of the building set back from the aisle for getting more sun.

Traditionally, the first floor of the main building (normally the main building is a combination of three small two-story buildings) is a family space that Naxi people, when speaking Chinese, called Tangwu (堂屋) for treating guests or as a living room for family. Family elders would sleep in two other rooms. Standing on two sides of the main building, the two side buildings were lower than the main building, and were normally occupied by younger generations. The special design of the Lijiang old towns represented their socio-political history as well as the local community's spatial philosophy. For example, they like to use Fu Lu Shou Xi (福、禄、寿、喜) as symbols to decorate their house, showing the basic happiness of their life. Other symbols like the Bat is symbol of good luck in Dongba scriptures; the picture of fish making big splashes (鱼跃龙门) shows people's hope to be successful in the imperial examination and to become a member of political elite. However, they never used exaggerating symbols such as dragon to decorate their house, reflecting the modesty of a small population group.



Figure 3.8 Houses in Shuhe village, which used to be a house for farmer but the owner moved out in 2010 when more tourists came. The house has a big yard space for crops and animal activities.

Figure 3.9 Traditional Naxi residential building and spatial functions (Source: Gaochen Jiang)



### 3.3 Background of Preserving the Dayan Old Town

The preservation of the Dayan Old Town went through different discourses of preservation and tourism strategies by different levels of governments. Originally the preservation plan was developed at the Lijiang county level<sup>61</sup> before the formation of municipal government in 2002. During the County Government era, Urban Plans were published in 1986, 1994, and 2002. These Urban Plans were developed mainly to bring order to the environment. Conservation plans were included to erase modern buildings, close down traditional markets because they were dirty, and rebuild stone-paved roads, bridges, and tourist attractions. In this time, tourist activities were mainly concentrated around the Sifang Square. The southern and northern parts of the old town were still mainly residential areas for the Naxi people. In 2002, when the Lijiang Municipal Government was formed, the government also set up a Lijiang Limited Liability Company. In the same year, government issued a plan to develop the South Gate area of the Dayan Old Town and decided to release public properties to develop hotels and shop houses in 2005. Also, the County Government started to collect a “Lijiang Old Town Protection Fee” to develop the South Gate and relocate military and police offices, a machine tool plant, and the Lijiang Food Company. In general, the government relocated residents of the Dayan Old Town to the far-north area in 1986, 1989, 1992, and 1995, and to the new town area in the east in 1985, 1996, and 1999. After 2002, the government changed its policy from providing houses for relocated old town residents to providing low-interest loan. Most recently, interest-free loans were given to the residents of the North Gate area of the Old Town after 2010. With the development of new towns, Old Town residents move individually to different parts of Lijiang Municipality, which has made the protection of Naxi culture more difficult (Duan and Yang, 2000). I will discuss spatial transformation of the Dayan Old Town in different eras, looking at factors and characteristics of local community’s life, and significance of Dayan Old Town for original residents, to analyze the cultural state in the different eras.

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<sup>61</sup> It was when Lijiang’s administrative status was elevated from *xian* (county) to *shi*(municipality government, called Lijiang Municipality)

### **3.4. Cultural State and Spatial Transformation in Dayan Old Town: 1986 to 2013**

This research examines the resilience of local culture by investigating factors that trigger regime changes. The Lijiang Government has played the most important role in the development of tourism in Dayan with policies that trigger changes in spatial function and life experience into different conditions (cultural state or regimes). I classify the process into three stages: *healthy state* (1986~1997), *transitional state* (1998~2005) and *degraded state* (2006~2013), according to the diversity of spatial functions and the accessibility of heritage sites for original old town residents. Factors that have been observed for cultural states include development modes, conservation policy, distance of relocation destination and subsidy, tourism developments and policies, and spatial transformation areas as a result of the migration of old town residents. In the 1980s, the local government has considered the Dayan Old Town as a property for developing the county area. They developed Dayan Old Town as a World Heritage site in the 1990s which led to the development of tourism in Shuhe and Baisha after 2003.

It is important to see how local government developed tourism as the same time as the work for conservation was carried out. With tourism development as an important factor, the consideration for classifying cultural states of the Dayan Old Town here follows the time of policy change for tourism purpose. In assessing the connection between physical environment and cultural practices, the most important factors observed here are the number of original residents who have moved out and the frequency of their visits back to significant places inside the old town. The *healthy state* is defined by local residents based on their willingness to live inside the old town and their cultural activities there. The *transitional state* is defined here in terms of their connection and relationship with the heritages even after they have moved away. *Degraded state* is defined here as the residents' disconnect with the heritage site, which is no longer used as an everyday life space or a living heritage. In this sense, as more tourists visit the heritage site, it is possible that on average the whole town is in the transition state but parts of the town might have already been transformed into an degraded state for the original residents. For example, people might have rarely visited or performed activities in the Sifang Square after many noisy bars were located in that area. But it was likely that they were still using some places that could satisfy their needs in the old town at the same time. We should observe major changes in these places since it was likely that changes in these spaces might still turn out to be degraded for original residents.

The number of tourists in this research has been considered as the direct force that accelerated the speed of spatial transformation. This study observes the numbers of tourists in association with the development modes in different eras. During the earlier petty capitalist era (1986~1995) with predominance of smaller businesses, I look into the speed of change in local community's life and where their public spaces were. In the era of big corporations (1996~2005), a large amount of public space as well as many traditional houses had been demolished to develop large hotels. In this era, it is significant to see where the original residents' spaces were and the remaining social connections that they had inside the town. When it comes to the era of petty capitalism plus cooperation, I observe the functions of Dayan Old Town for original residents and define its cultural state at the regional levels. One policy that was strongly related to social change in the local community was the relocation plan. The distance away from the Dayan Old Town is significant for the analysis of accessibility of cultural heritage for original residents. The new environment and new public spaces are also important for them since these have become substituted space.

Another factor concerning cultural resilience is the relationship among policy stakeholders. The conflicts between policies and levels of governments (or developers) in Lijiang have been related to tourism development, budget use, and bureaucracy. Furthermore, another issue is whether local community has the chance to develop grassroots efforts to protect their significant spaces in different regimes. These factors are important in examining whether it is possible to protect the original built form and the local social network simultaneously. These issues are outlined in table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Regimes change in Dayan Old Town: 1986 to 2013

Regimes	State Change Year/Era	Development Mode	Conservation Policy	Relocation of original old town residents and subsidy	Tourism Developments & Policies	Spatial Transformation area	Numbers of residents living in Dayan Old Town
Healthy state for Dayan Old Town residents (Tourism development in the core area)	1986~1997	Petty Capitalists Developing	1. Designated 112 significant buildings.  2. Two layers of protection areas (core + buffer zones)	Housing development in new city area & destination of old town residents moving to:  1. North suburb area: 1986, 1989, 1992 and 1995.  2. East suburb area: 1985, 1996 and 1999.	Tourist attractive & landscape development includes area from main gate to Sifang Square center.  Reduce old town population density plan.  Demolished about 16,000 square meters of concrete buildings and 17 houses on Dongda street.  Moved governmental offices to new town area.  Close traditional markets in core area.  Newly built Mu Family Park.	Shop houses and tourist related service only distribute around Sifang Square and Dongda street.	There are about 30 thousands original residents living in Dayan Old Town in the end of 1996.

Regimes	State Change Year/Era	Development Mode	Conservation Policy	Relocation of original old town residents and subsidy	Tourism Developments & Policies	Spatial Transformation area	Numbers of residents living in Dayan Old Town
Transition state for Dayan Old Town residents (Tourism development extended to buffer zone area)	1998~2005	Big Corporations Developing State	<p>1. New control law on protecting 112 significant buildings.</p> <p>2. Two layers of protection area.</p> <p>3. Cooperation project with World Heritage Fund to restore low-income houses in 2002~2007.</p> <p>4. Demolished about 300,000 square meters of concrete buildings in 2004.</p>	<p>Relocated Machine Tool Company residents in the south gate, and Tibetan who lived in the Yu-Long Snow Mountain.</p> <p>Start from 2005, residents who is 60 years old can get 10 RMB/per month subsidy.</p>	<p>1. Developed and newly built traditional buildings in the south gate, Yuhe square and eco-corridor.</p> <p>2. Moved Machine Tool company to the south suburb from the old town and built big hotels, shop-houses, square.</p> <p>3. Set up Bank Loan to develop Black Dragon Park and outdoor theatre in that area for performance of Impressions Lijiang.</p> <p>4. Extend tourism area up to 30% in the old town toward the north side.</p>	<p>1. Shophouses and tourist activities extended from Sifang Square to the north and west area of Dayan Old Town.</p> <p>2. Golf course hotels and other tourist facilities development in Yu-Long snow mountain.</p>	Numbers of residents living in Dayan Old Town is less than 6,000.

Regimes	State Change Year/Era	Development Mode	Conservation Policy	Relocation of original old town residents and subsidy	Tourism Developments & Policies	Spatial Transformation area	Numbers of residents living in Dayan Old Town
Degraded state for original Dayan Old Town residents (Tourism extend to the whole town area)	2006~2013	Big Corporations + Petty Capitalists Developing State	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Number of significant buildings down to 110.</li> <li>2. Three layers of protection area.</li> <li>3. Published handbook for restoration buildings in old town.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Moving out Lijiang military office &amp; police institutes from the old town.</li> <li>2. Started from 2010, original old town residents can get 15 RMB /per family member monthly subsidy.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Released communally own public houses for tourist use from 2005.</li> <li>2. South gate hotels, shopping mall, bar street development finished in 2008.</li> <li>3. Develop the east side area with the incentive of 30 years of interest-free lone policy.</li> <li>4. More public own houses and spaces had been merged developed as big hotels.</li> </ol>	In 2013, tourist activities area had covered the whole old town.	In 2013, there are fewer than 100 original old town families still living in Dayan Old Town.

### **3.4.1 Healthy state for old town residents and factors that trigger regime change: 1986 to 1997**

#### ***Beginning of tourism (1980-1997)***

According to the Lijiang County Government, there were about 140,000 tourists (less than 400 per day) who visited Lijiang in 1990. At that time, Lijiang's tourism was in the beginning stage. The focus of the preservation plan at this stage was to eliminate all modern buildings in and around the Dayan Old Town. Many tourist spots were beginning to be developed, including the Mu Family Park, Yu-Long Snow Mountains, and development along the Yu-Long River. More than half of residents were still living in the old town, and many local residents still participated in the tourism industry. The Building Control Law mainly focused on 46 most significant buildings and 66 significant dwellings in the Dayan Old Town. In this era, government relocated a large group of old town residents to the north and east suburbs as a strategy to relieve population density without knowingly transforming a living space into a theme park.

#### ***Urban Plan of the 1980s***

The conservation of the Lijiang old towns was related to a national heritage movement in China. Before 1910, there wasn't any protection organization. During the Republican era (1912-1949), an office was set up to manage the town when a county government was formed in Lijiang.<sup>62</sup> The historical old town was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. For example, the Zhong Yi Memorial Arch that the Ming Emperor granted Mu Tusi (木增) was totally destroyed at that time, as well as temple buildings and some decoration of local houses. A new autonomous county government was established in July 1949, and a new national movement on historical properties began on 1983 in China after the legislation of Wenwu Protection Law by Wenwu Ju (文物局). However, at that time, conservation office was located in Dali, (200 km to the south), and the office planned to develop a road through the Dayan Old Town's Sifang Square in 1986. A scholar appealed a letter to the head of

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<sup>62</sup> 丽江县文物古迹保存会

Yunnan province to stop the development.<sup>63</sup> The Dayan Old Town survived the event. At the same time, a list of major historical and cultural sites was chosen for protection at the national level, and Lijiang was soon listed by the Provincial Government in 1986. The first plan to protect the old town was established in 1986, titled the “Protection and Management of Lijiang Historical Old Town.” In this plan, the county government started to move 18 offices and organizations from the Dayan Old Town to a new town, and concrete modern buildings were prohibited in the old town.

### *Tourism development in the 1990s*

In 1994, at a tourism development meeting for Northwest Yunnan, the Provincial Government published “Law for Protection and Management of Lijiang Historical Old Towns,” and set up a supervision office. At that time, the County Government led most urban policies on the Lijiang old towns. To develop tourism, the County Government worked on the improvement of infrastructures and reformed some spaces in the old town into tourist attractions. Before Lijiang was selected as a World Heritage Site, the County Government made urban development plans in 1958, 1965, 1983, 1991, and 1995. In 1995, population in the Dayan Old Town was 61,591 (Yunnan Design Institute, 2000: 49). Shop houses were distributed only along the Dong-Da Street (main gate of the old town), the area around Sifang Square was for selling wood carving, jade, tea, etc. The number of tourists grew slowly, but some large-scale developments were also underway in this decade, including, for example, the Mu Family Park, the Wan-Ku Building, and the Lion Mountain Park. However, many historic buildings were neglected because of the lack of budget.

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<sup>63</sup> The professor was Liang-Wen Zhu (朱良文), Professor of Civil Engineering and Architecture, Kunming University of Science and Technology.

Table 3.2 Numbers of tourists from 1996 to 2000. (Unit: 10,000)

Year	Total number of tourists (thousands)	Domestic visitors	Foreign visitors
1996	106.3	102.1	4.2
1997	135	130.2	4.8
1998	201.3	195.8	5.46
1999	280.4	273.5	6.90
2000	290.4	281.2	9.22

(Source: Lijiang Year Book, 2001)

### ***1997 Earthquake and restoration work***

Lijiang was nominated as a World Cultural Heritage Site to UNESCO in 1995.<sup>64</sup> In 1996, a major earthquake struck the old town, damaging about 2,300 houses (40%) in the core area of Dayan Old Town, about 1,600 houses (20%) in the second core area, and about 850 houses (10%) elsewhere (Guo and Huang, 1996).<sup>65</sup> Restoration work was taken up by the Central and local governments with the help of UNESCO and its related organizations after 1996. In 1997, Lijiang was formally designated as a World Cultural Heritage Site. For both rehabilitation of historic buildings and tourism development, the Lijiang government made an urban development plan to improve infrastructure to create more attractive streets and open spaces for tourists. They rebuilt the Mu Family residence with a loan from the World Bank, restored traditional buildings in the core area, and demolished concrete buildings in the old town. For protection of local dwellings, a working group consisted of scholars from Beijing, Kunming, and Japan, as well as local craftsmen and county government officers. A historic building survey was conducted in Lijiang old towns. They designated 46 most significant dwellings and 66 significant buildings in the Dayan Old Town. Most of them were in good condition after the Cultural Revolution and survived the development of the 1980s. To

<sup>64</sup> Lijiang was nominated by China at the same time as the Ping-Yao (平遥) old town.

<sup>65</sup> Thoughts about 2.3.earthquake restoration, in South-West china cultural studies, Institute of history, Yunnan Academy of social sciences, Kunming, P. R. Chinas

restore buildings after the 1996 earthquake, this working group also made a handbook to illustrate how to restore traditional built forms in the old town. However, due to the lack of budget and carelessness, many buildings were transformed into commercial spaces in the core area. Because of vicious competition, inconvenience of buying daily necessities, and high tax, local residents started to lease out their houses and moved to the nearby new town toward the end of 1990s.

### *Governmental redevelopment after earthquake in 1997*

The Lijiang County Government continued to relocate about 4,000 families, about 16,000 people, from the Dayan Old Town to the north suburb in the 1990s. The Dayan historical town was classified as the core area for protection at about 51.73 hectares, with a secondary area of protection at about 70.08 hectares, and a third layer of protection at 261.1 hectares. From 1996 to 1997, the government removed residents who lived in Xinhua street (新华街), Xi Yi street (七一街) and Sifang Square (四方街). They demolished all concrete buildings along Xinhua street and also those in the core area of Dayan Old Town, including for example, a four-story building called “Notre Dame”<sup>66</sup> (巴黎圣母院) built in 1960s, where there was a busy market for local residents. The government also removed old stones from other alleys of the old town to replace the concrete pavement on the main roads and the Sifang Square. Altogether, the County Government demolished about 20,000 square meters of buildings along the entrance of the old town. Many residents were relocated from the Dong Da street (东大街). Day markets on the Yuhe (玉河) bridge as well as night market along Xin Da Street (新大街) were prohibited. The market closing order also included one third of stalls on the Sifang Square that was changed to selling souvenirs in 1997. Meat was not allowed to be sold in market. Riding bicycles was also prohibited, and shopkeepers were required to wear traditional minority costumes in the Dayan Old Town.

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<sup>66</sup> Nobody really knew why the market building was called “Notre Dame.” Local people said it might be called by foreign tourists first in the 1980s.

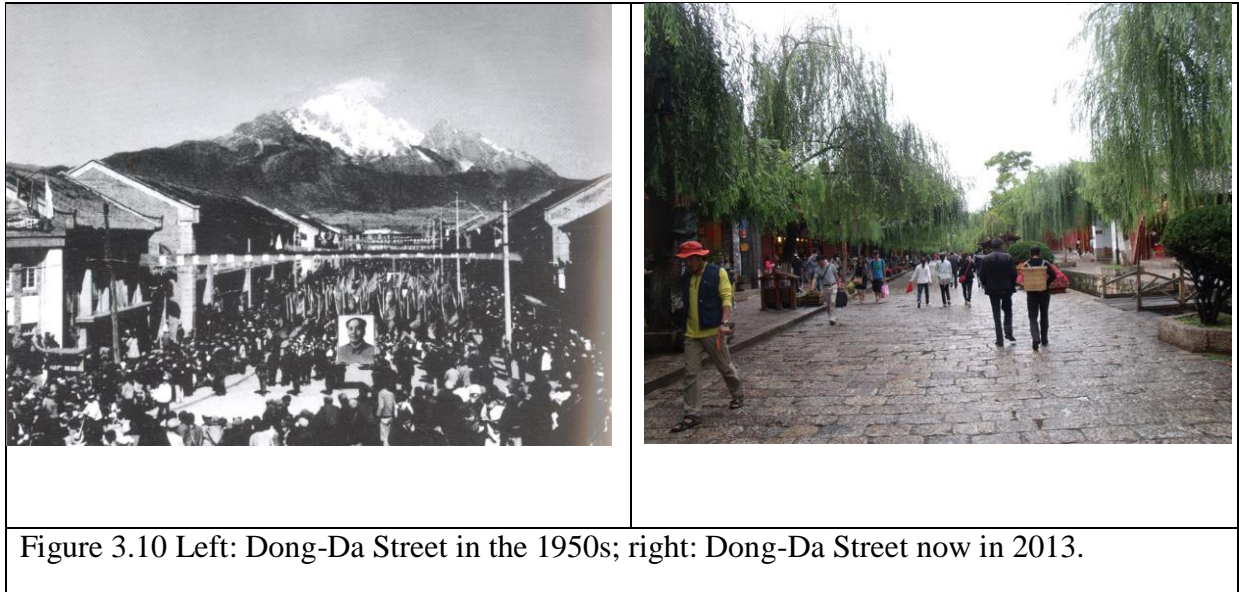


Figure 3.10 Left: Dong-Da Street in the 1950s; right: Dong-Da Street now in 2013.

### ***History of disappearing public spaces in the Dayan Old Town***

The old town was originally developed as a center for trade and a place for living. In this sense, all public spaces had their own social-historical background. In the Dayan Old Town, almost all of the social transformation was triggered by the disappearance of public spaces. I will discuss the history of how these spots had disappeared and how they changed people’s everyday life after tourism came.

#### ***Market closures in the 1980s:***

Guang Yi (光义街) Market and Guan-Men Gate Market (关门口市场) -- Located in Guang Yuan Lane on Guang Yi Street on the east side of a significant stone arch, at about 1,000 square meters, the market was formed after 1949. The market was housed in three wooden buildings. This market provided daily food products and vegetables for nearby residents and governmental offices around that area. This market expanded to Guan-Men Gate in 1970s. In the 1981, there was a fire at the Guan Men Gate market. A modern concrete building was built after that. This special building was called “Notre Dame” for its unique style that resembled the Notre Dame cathedral in Paris. The market was important for people who lived in the south part of the Dayan Old Town and nearby villages. The market was relocated in the 1980s when the government planned to develop tourism (Market a).

Wu Jia Dang (吴家当) Market<sup>67</sup> -- The market was located in Mi Shi lane (密士巷) on Xin-Yi Street (新义街). This market was about 680 square meters, housed in three wooden buildings and a square market. Built in the 1960s, the market was mainly run by a vegetable company selling foods and products. It was a day market for residents in the east side of Dayan Old Town. To develop the new Xian Feng market, the old market was closed in the 1986 (Market b).

Selling Chicken Lane (卖鸡巷) -- The market was located in the north part of the Sifang Square. The County Government relocated about 163 houses and 43 government offices along the lane and rebuilt traditional houses in 1991. For tourism development, they continued to demolish buildings at the west edge of the Sifang Square and transformed the space into open space with gardens in 1993. The market was totally closed in 1994 (Market c).

***Markets closed after 1997:***

Xian Feng Market (先锋市场) -- This market was about 1995 square meters at the entrance of the Dayan Old Town, developed by Lijiang County's own company in 1986. It sold all kinds of foods and daily necessities. To develop tourism, the market was transformed into a privately owned restaurant.

Yuhe Market (玉河市场) -- This market was developed in 1987 after relocating about 20 houses in the main gate of Dayan Old Town. The market originally sold foods and daily necessities before 1998. It expanded in 1998 for selling souvenirs. The market was closed in 2001 for developing the Yuhe Square and was transformed into bar streets, shop houses, squares and a parking lot.

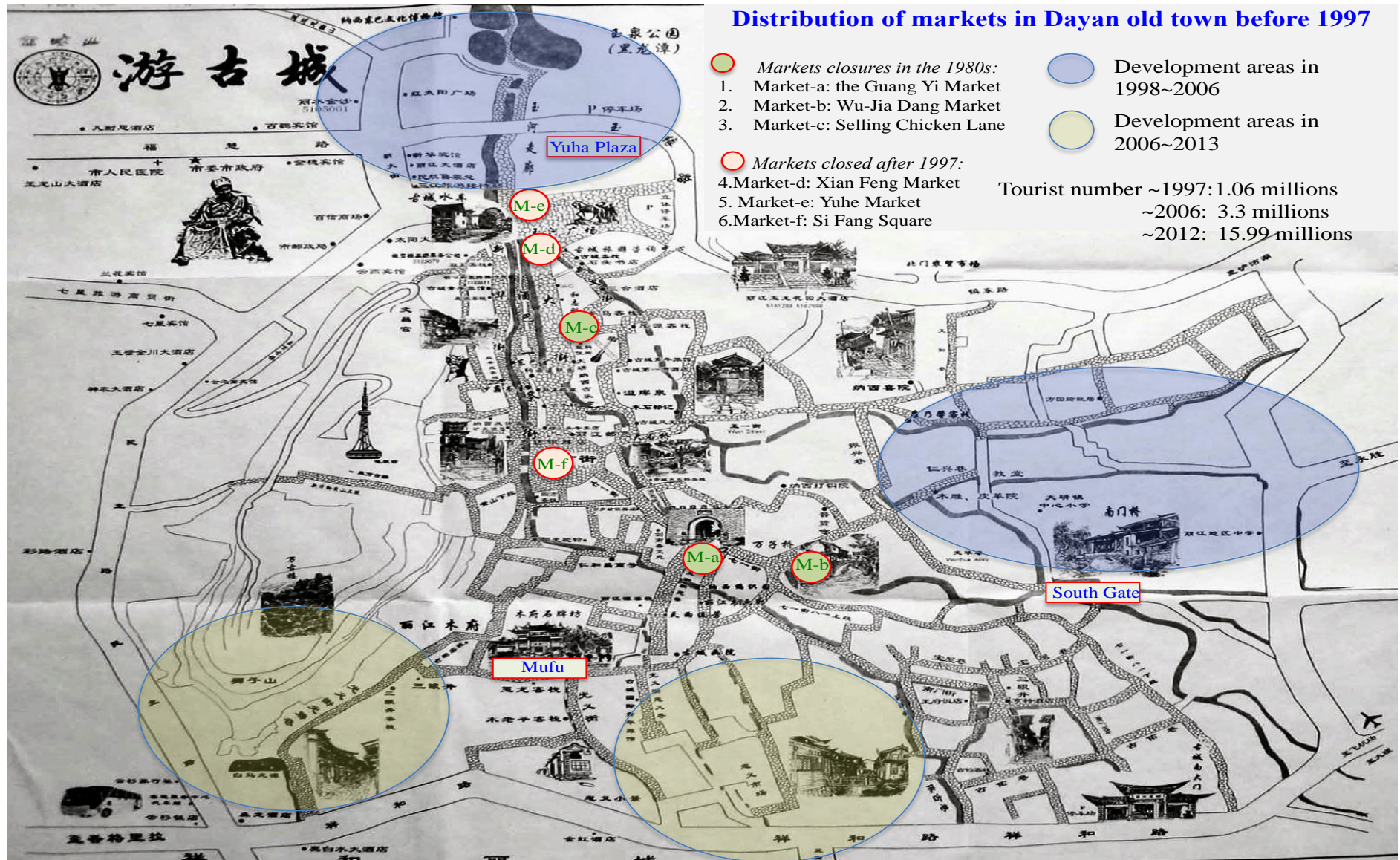
The Sifang Street (四方街) -- The Si-Fang Street or Square was the origin of Dayan Old Town. Located in the center of the old town, the space was significant in daily life and political movements. During the Cultural Revolution (1968-1971), this square became the most important space for political propaganda and posters. During the day, this square was the busiest and most crowded place for selling food and goods in the Dayan Old Town. In the

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<sup>67</sup> Dang (當) means open space in the Naxi language.

evening, the market would be washed with river water. The government transformed the market to sell tourist related products only in 1980s. Since 2005, no vendor was allowed on the square.

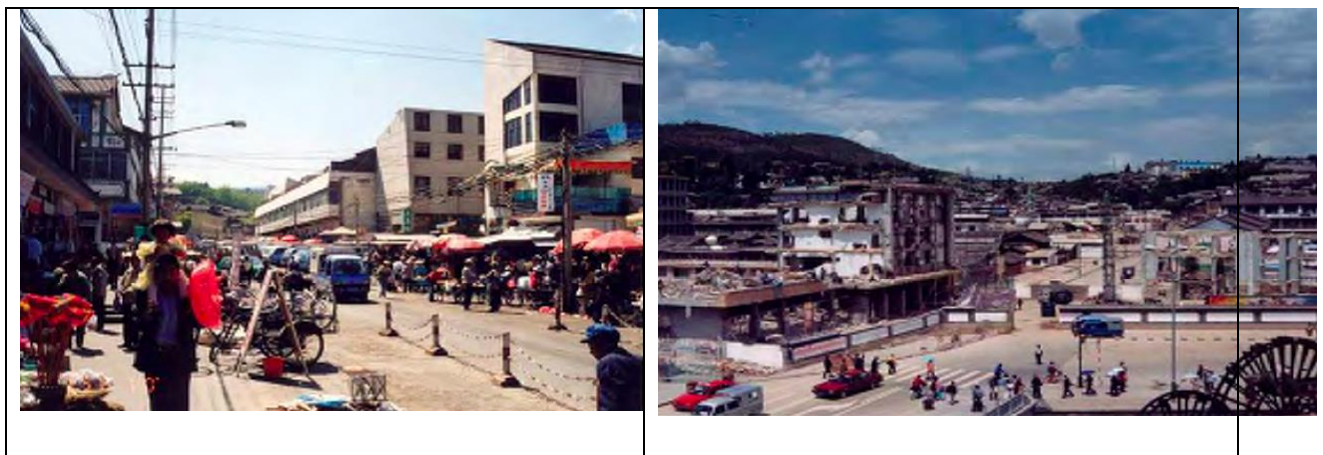
Figure 3.11. Map of tourist developments policies inside Dayan Old Town.

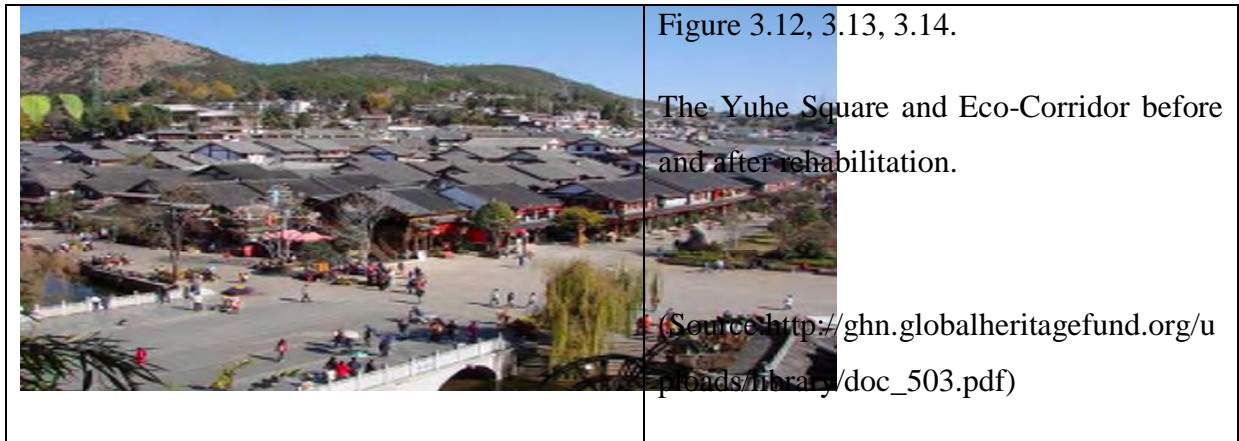


### 3.4.2 Transitional state for Old Town residents and factors that trigger regime change: 2000 to 2006

#### *Tourism development policy*

Many buildings in Dayan survived the destructive earthquake in 1996, but they could not survive the tourism development. A major plan in 2000 was to demolish all the concrete modern buildings in and near to the Dayan Old Town, as well as houses along Yuhe River at the entrance of the Dayan Old Town, to make way for new traditional wooden buildings. Many residents were relocated, as well as shop houses that sold local food and goods, except for a 4-star hotel run by a Japanese investor. From 1992 to 2002, Lijiang government set the goal of opening a new shop house in the Dayan Old Town every day (Zone, 2005). In 1998, about 108 Fujian jade businesses moved into the Dayan Old Town, and many houses were transformed into shop houses (Zone, 2005). The high rental income encouraged residents to move from the old town to the new town and lease their houses to private businesses. Privatization of public spaces was a major phenomenon that started in the 1990s in the Old Town. From 2002 to 2003, the Lijaing Old Town Management Committee (now the Lijiang Old Town Protection and Management Bureau of World Cultural Heritage) developed 18 investment projects including hotels, tourist spots, and new residential areas for relocated residents from the Old Town. Specifically, the Yuhe Square (玉河广场) and eco-corridor rehabilitation (redevelopment) project occupies 800 meters along the Yuhe River started from the Black Dragon Lake Park. The project requested the investor to demolish modern buildings along the riverside and replace them with newly built traditional style buildings (figure 3.12, 3.13, 3.14).





The project was criticized by local people for creating a fake old town. It also blurred the boundary of old town and new town. But in reality, newly built traditional-style buildings were already around in the old town since 1997, including a group of buildings in the South Gate. The South Gate Redevelopment Project demolished a group of significant machine tool plants, relocated hundreds people from that community, and rebuilt traditional style houses in their place. A project of restoring neglected houses was funded by the Global Heritage Fund under the background of the lack of budget aiming to retain residents in the old town from 2002 to 2007. Those houses were to be used by original residents for non-commercial purposes, and low-income households were eligible to apply for the fund. About 174 traditional houses were repaired (Shao, 2012). However, some of those houses have been transformed into commercial use already.

With tourism booming in 2005, the government began to release public properties for commercial purposes. The wave of privatization included some famous family-owned gardens and houses, such as the Li family Park that was built in the Qing Dynasty and has been transformed as gathering place after Cultural Revolution. The site was transformed into a four-star hotel in 1998. A significant building Qianxuelou (嵌雪楼) that used to be a cultural center was rented out as a hotel in 2005.

### ***Tourism activities in 1998~2005 and life condition of old town residents***

In 2001, commercial spaces began to spread around the Sifang Square area. Many were selling cheap food, clothes, and tools. The typical spatial pattern at that time was renting out the storefronts facing the street with local residents still living in the back. With the success

of the tourism industry (about 3 million visitors in 2000), the Lijiang Municipality Government developed the South Gate of Dayan Old Town after 2003. The development restored Naxi-style wooden dwellings covering 90,080 square meters. In the same year, the Lijiang Old town Protection and Management Bureau of World Cultural Heritage Office began a practice of Business License Control.<sup>68</sup> Specifically, it required business owners who hired more than five employees to include 70% local residents. The office hoped to control the path of commercialization in the Old Town. The office even stopped issuing any licenses in 2005. However, this policy didn't stop the expansion of the commercial area. In 2005, the number of tourists more than doubled, compared with 1998. The commercial area continued to expand to Bai Sui Fang Lane, Mi Shi Lane, and part of Wu Yi Street, Guang Yi Street, Xing Hua Street, and Huang San Lower Lane.

Table 3.3 Number of tourists from 1998 to 2005 (unit: million).

Year	Total number of tourists	Domestic visitors	Foreign visitors
1998	1.53	1.48	0.4
1999	2.15	2.08	0.68
2000	2.58	2.48	0.92
2001	2.9	2.79	0.16
2002	3.1	2.95	0.15
2003	2.34	2.26	0.82
2004	2.80	2.72	0.91
2005	3.3	3.14	0.12

Source: 麗江古城志, 2008

<sup>68</sup> “关于在丽江古城实行<云南省风景名胜区准营证>制度的通知”, 2003, 3, 8.丽江古城

The license control resulted in over 2,000 shops becoming illegal in 2007. In the end of 1986, the Dayan Old Town had 4,269 households and 15,279 people (The Nature Conservancy, 2000). But by 1999, about 4,156 households and 14,477 people (35.77%) have left the old town. The exodus of indigenous Naxi people was related to the change of social fabrics in the old town. Traditional markets, institutions, and residents continued to move to the nearby new town area following the 2000 Urban Plan by Lijiang Municipality Government. On Xing-Yi Street, the number reached 75%. In the core protection area of Xing Yi Street, Xing Hwa Street, and Guang Yi Street, it was hard to find any original residents. For the whole Old Town area, about 51% of original residents were still staying (Yearbook of Lijiang, 2005: 533). To keep the residents, the Old Town Office issued a subsidy of \$10 Renminbi (per month/person) to original residents in 2005. Another project supported by World Heritage Fund was for restoring neglected houses in the Old Town by local engineers and residents from 2002 to 2007. The project also provided a master plan to protect the Old Town. However, a tourism-oriented Conservation Plan continued the agenda of beautifying the old town and erasing any concrete buildings in and around the Old Town. For example, a large community connected to the “Machine Tool Company” in the South Gate (figure 3.15)

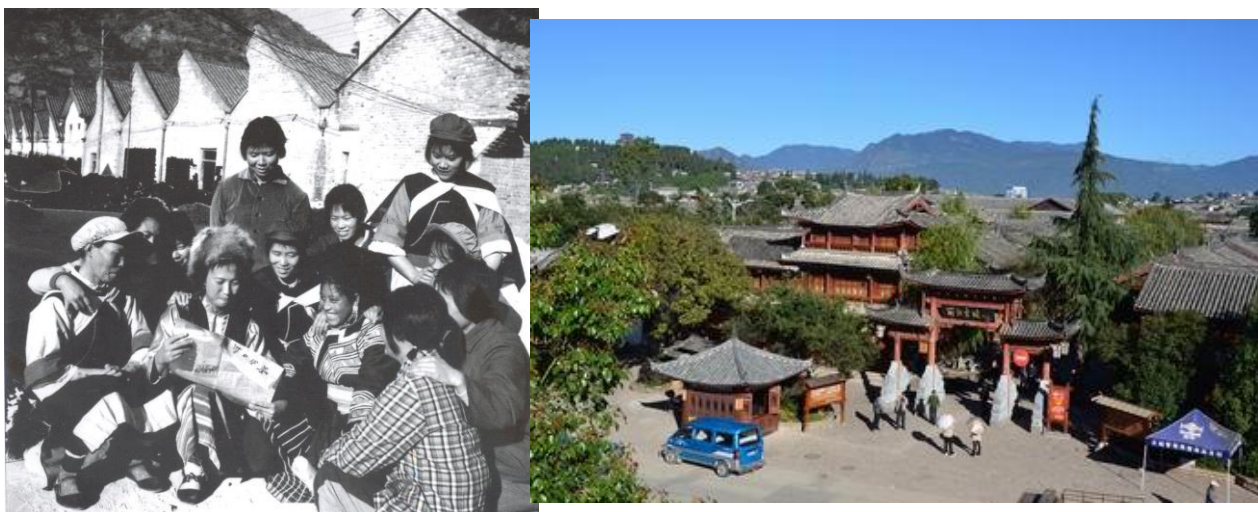


Figure 3.15. Left: Lijiang machine tool plant area; right: contemporary buildings had been replaced with newly built traditional-style shop houses, restaurants, and hotels.

were moved out from the old town and replaced as newly built traditional houses. The same happened to the residents along the Yuhe corridor. To relocate the Machine Tool Company community (with about 700 families) who were still staying inside the old town, the Lijiang Municipality Government spent about 100 million RMB. The Machine Tool Company used to be a large company that helped local residents improve their local farming techniques, and the town was famous for making machines in mid-1900s. The Yuhe community was also

hometown for Naxi people who have conducted Tea and Horse Trade business for hundreds of years. Now, large-scale development projects were carried out by major real estate companies in this era. In return for their investment, the companies were given land use rights, best-interest loans from the bank, and the best location to open 4- or 5-star hotels in places that used to be public space for the original Old Town residents.

### *Change in cultural practices and local adaptation*

I describe the current phase in Dayan as in a transitional state because the context of Naxi lifestyles had changed from the “twin-Naxi settlements” (both Dayan & new city)<sup>69</sup> to the “modern Naxi settlement” (the new city). In the healthy state, spatial functions and cultural practices might have been partially changed. In comparison, the degree of change is more substantial in a transition state. Some spatial changes have inferred other changes in local life in the Dayan Old Town already. For example, in the healthy state previously, public bulletins are about policy propaganda to local residents like the one-child policy, but some of them had been replaced by decoration with Dongba characters for tourists. The transition force also came from spatial competition. Many more local shops are closed every year in this era. It has become more difficult for local residents to sell handicrafts to tourists to earn their living. In the current state, it has become more difficult for local people to adapt (or earn living) in the growing tourism industry. There are now more shops selling cheap foods and living necessities just outside the core protection area in Dayan. These local shops have substituted the function of those closed public markets in the 1990s. However, the rising rent had become a major force to push them out of town. “Especially in 2005, you can’t afford high rent rate by only selling local food even though you are open for more than 12 hours a day,” said an owner of small local noodle restaurant in the north hill of Dayan. “We could

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<sup>69</sup> In this healthy state, both Dayan Old Town and new city area have seen continued cultural practices and social networks. They function as the twin-Naxi settlements. However, cultural practices in Dayan Old Town had gradually disappeared in the transition state, and the speed in Dayan was faster than in the new city area where more Naxi people had moved to New Bagan area.

feel that the percentage of local tour guides had gone down. It's a pity because they were able to talk about their life in the town," said a Han guesthouse owner on Xin Yi Street. "We recognize them, a few years ago (before 2006), they liked to invite Han people from other big cities in China to join their traditional activities either in their houses in new city area or in the Dayan Old Town. We learned about Naxi culture from them," the owner recalled. She said that, "the house yards are still the most important space for treating relatives and friends even though part of house space had been catered to tourists" (see figure 3.16, 3.17).



Figure 3.16, 3.17. Naxi people cooked and prepare for river lantern festival in their yard took in year 2004.

(Source: [http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog\\_4e4b2cfb0100923i.html](http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_4e4b2cfb0100923i.html))

Examples of changes in cultural activities also include the tourist activities starting in 2003 with the river lanterns and Kongming lantern in Dayan. Originally, people would only perform river lanterns on the 15<sup>th</sup> of June in the lunar calendar during the Ghost festival (中元节). People would prepared for about 7~10 days ahead to make lanterns, rice cakes, meat, and wine to welcome the wandering spirits for three meals every day for several days. The last night on the 15<sup>th</sup>, which is the time of Ghost Festival (sending off the spirits), people would burn paper-made tables and luggage to the riverside and throw some fruit into the west river of Dayan Old Town. Before the development of tourism, people would gather to prepare handmade lanterns and Kongming lanterns in their yard as a family activity in the Dayan Old Town. "There used to be a parade after the ceremony. The parade included kids, young generation, old generation who would carry bamboo lanterns, torches, flag of Buddha

or local gods, and walked through the Old Town. It was so much fun because there were many well designed lanterns every year. But the activity had been banned by government for concerns of fire safety in 2000. However, this activity was “revived” for tourists in Dayan Old Town in 2003. Every night, tourists would release lanterns into the river. “The activity was given a new meaning of blessing for the tourists,” said a local resident who felt that it was unfair to the local people.

Traditional Naxi cultural practices changed gradually during this time. Traditionally, people from the rural area and the new town area would join to sing Ah Li Li (阿哩哩<sup>70</sup>) in Sifang Square. People who moved away from the Old Town would also come back frequently to join the Sandou festival.<sup>71</sup> The activity could also be seen in the Red Sun Square in the new town area. “However, the Ah Li Li activities led by rural farmers or local poets had disappeared in 2005 in Sifang Square because Dayan is no longer a place for them to have fun and affordable shopping. But we could see them show up in the Red Sun Square occasionally in those years” (He, 1999: 480). Another example of change in local cultural practices is the traditional Naxi dance called Remeiwu (热美舞 or 热美磋). The Remeiwu has become the most important nightly performance for tourists, which was originally performed over night at funerals (He, 1999: 481). Traditionally, the dance involved people (between 10 to 100) forming a circle with fire in the center for exorcising purpose. Remeiwu was composed of many complex parts that include male and female singing altogether and apart. The dance was supposed to be performed over night.<sup>72</sup> A local elder said the Remeiwu had developed even more complex composition including poetry, singing and dancing in the

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<sup>70</sup> Ah Li Li is a kind of traditional improvisational singing (即兴创作). There would be a leading singer who would make five-character, impromptu lyrics, and the public would repeat afterwards (五言一句, 先唱后三字, 在从第一字唱起). It is a type of duet. The group who could sing the longest would win the leading position. The contents all portray people’s life in the rural area.

<sup>71</sup> Interview with people who used to stay in the south gate and east side where there were still Naxi families before 2005.

<sup>72</sup> According to Naxi legend, a ghost god would eat a person’s dead body at night, so the overnight dance serves as a symbol of watching and protecting the corpse (Ou, 2000: 9).

1940s in the Lijiang area. Since poetry and song are impromptu, and others would repeat after the leaders with several rounds of dancing. The leading man would improvise and create new stories or poems, so people who danced the whole night would not be bored. Since people who joined the dance were friends or relatives of the deceased, so some poems would be related to memories and stories of the deceased.

“Before 2003, residents could appreciate and learn this traditional dance in many festivals or after trade fairs inside the old town. They could be several types of topics with “Re” (熱) created by groups with different social-cultural backgrounds. For example, the ‘Mubure’ (幕布热) was for contemporary funeral’ the ‘Shangduire’ (商队热) described commercial activities in the Old Town; and the ‘Worere’ (窝热热) was created for tea and house trade phenomenon in Lijaing,” said an elder who used to be a leading man for “Worere” dance, and is now staying in the new city area. He said that the disappearance of this type of traditional dance represents not only the loss of local dance, but also the loss of the transmission of language, old terms, and local proverbs, in another word the loss of vocal literatures since the dance used only Naxi language and described the local life. “The version of dance performed for tourists now is a simplified, single tone and simple path of dance,” he said. “We can see sometimes local people would do traditional dance in the farmhouse restaurants<sup>73</sup> (农家乐). But those music is just standardized audiotapes,” he said. However, other people think that at least people have the chance to practice traditional culture regardless if it is rich or authentic. A man who used to stay in the south gate area recalled that during 2000~2007, Dayan town street committee leaders were each responsible dance performance on a different night for tourists in Sifang Square or in the Yuhe Square.

### **3.4.3 Degraded state for the original old town residents: 2006 to 2013**

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<sup>73</sup> The farmhouse restaurant is a type of restaurants open in the rural area or the marginal area of Lijiang Municipality. The restaurant provides the whole day’s entertainment for people to sing, dance, or play games. It is popular for Naxi traditional Huachong gathering in the modern time especially after 2003.

In 2005, the Lijiang Municipality Government invited major hotel merchants from other parts of China, Singapore, etc., to invest in the Dayan Old Town. Since many residents had been relocated to the east and north part of the new city in the 1990s, the sites of their former houses became the best locations for large hotels and restaurants. At the same time, small businesses or entrepreneurs played an important role in developing the town. Many publicly owned properties were released for auction starting in 2005. Lijiang Municipality Government set up a “Limited Liability Management Company of Lijiang Old town” in 2003 to redevelop real estate in the old town. The auction classified properties into residential and commercial usages. The purpose of releasing public properties for residential purposes was for increasing the rate of residents staying in the old town. For the commercial usage, if the property was used for traditional, culture-related business, the rent could be reduced by 30%. The Lijiang government could receive a total of 30,000,000 RMB per year by renting out public properties in the Old Town in 2012.<sup>74</sup> The government continued to release more than 100 properties to the tourist market this year. However, the bidding process has become a battlefield for land speculation. In the meantime, the rent has become higher each year, as a result of most public properties being used for commercial purposes. For example, the rent for one public property was 60,000 RMB per year in 2008, but the price has gone up to 590,000 RMB per year in 2010.

The incentives for culturally related business didn't stop the disappearance of shop houses selling traditional food, clothes, and crafts in the old town. Some publicly owned shops like those selling leather were also closed in 2007, and traditional grocery shops were closed in 2009 in the core area of Wu Yi Street because of high rent. In the meantime, more merchants from other parts of China continued to occupy houses in the town. According to the Dayan Street Office, about 15,165 residents left the Dayan Old Town in 2010. By 2013, it was very hard to find any original residents in the Dayan Old Town. Most of the houses have been transformed into commercial space.

### ***Conservation (construction) plan***

In 2008, based on suggestion from the UNESCO World Heritage Center and the monitoring report from ICOMOS, the Lijiang Municipality Government redefined the protection area.

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<sup>74</sup> See <http://qcyn.sina.com.cn/lijiang/ljnews/ztch/2011/0730/1614081833.html>

Originally, the Dayan Old Town was protected by three layers of protection: 0.5 square kilometers in the first layer, 0.7 square kilometers in the second layer, and 2.6 square kilometers in the third layer. The new policy defined core protection area as 1.1 square meters and buffer zone as 2.7 square meters, which included some parts of the new developed area to the north edge of Black Dragon Lake. To maintain the built form of traditional buildings, the management office published a restoration handbook in 2009. The handbook included the scope of protection zone and requirements, buffer zone and its requirements for control, and environmental coordinating zone and control regulations. Building height in the protection area was limited to 1-2 stories and no higher than 6.5 meters. The government also drew the boundary of view-sheds and planned to demolish tall concrete buildings. In the buffer zone, building height is limited to 1-3 stories and no higher than 8.5 meters. The same requirements applied to the North Hill and the Yuhe Eco-corridor. All buildings in the Old Town area should be restored or rebuilt in the traditional Naxi style. To control commercial development, the handbook also specified different types of shops that were allowed to open in the core of commercial zone, a second layer of commercial zone, a transitional commercial zone, and a supplementing commercial zone. In the first two zones, government allowed only shops for culturally related products such as tea, traditional Chinese medicine, traditional crafts, and bars. The owners of shops in this area should be original old town residents. In the transitional commercial zone, bars and culturally related shops were allowed and the owners were not required to be original residents. However, the terms of culturally related business seem vague and were hard to control. The requirement of original residents was also evaded by having figureheads.

The new policy to control building types had been criticized as misinterpretation of traditional Naxi built form by local scholars. More details of new building control were published in 2006 and 2009. The regulation included requirements for building structures, materials, and types of windows, door location and style of design, yard decorations, living room style, height of main and side rooms, roofs and wall decoration, etc. If designers violated these regulations, they would be charged fines from 500 to 1200 RMB.

### ***Preserved for whom? Issue of the allocation of maintenance fees***

The allocation of maintenance fees caught a lot attention on how the City Government used the money to preserve (or develop) the old town and questions concerning whose memories

and heritage were being preserved. To create the atmosphere of a traditional Naxi settlement, the government seemed to spend a lot of money to demolish modern buildings in the old town area. This intervention had been criticized as an “enclosure movement”<sup>75</sup> driven by real estate development companies to obtain land rights inside a World Heritage Site. They used “traditional Naxi building type” as an excuse to occupy spaces inside the historic town to get their own properties. It seemed to be politically correct to attract tourists and became a profit equation for the investors. The official Conservation Plan provided a platform for developers to both maintain traditional Naxi built form and improve infrastructures for tourists. Funds were never considered for keeping the remaining old town residents. In this period, the government’s purpose was to develop tourism instead of protecting the old town as a living space for local residents.

To invest in making more tourist spots, the City Government collected maintenance fees in 2001, which was originally established for the conservation of the living heritage suggested at the UNESCO conference in Lijiang in 2000. The fees added to up to 1.3 billion RMB over a period of twelve years ending in 2013. The fund was used for constructing new traditional buildings. For example, over the years, the government spent 100 million RMB to rebuild the Mufu (木府), 120 million RMB to relocate the Lijiang Military Office, 170 million RMB to move the Police Institutes, 70 millions RMB to move and demolish a group of buildings belonging to the Machine Tool Community, and finally the City Hospital along with its community from the Old Town. Money was also allocated to demolish other modern buildings in the periphery of the Old Town, development of Yuhe square and Eco-corridor, stone pavement, and lighting. In contrast, very little money was to restore the decayed houses of local residents. They treated concrete buildings as something that must disappear and spent a large amount of money on it. A significant hotel (黑白水大酒店) built in 1994 was seen as blocking the view of the Old Town in 2011 (figure 3.18). In twelve years, the construction and demolition cost 18 billion RMB, of which 9 billion RMB was borrowed.

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<sup>75</sup> Source: <http://news.km.soufun.com/2013-08-23/10842535.htm>



Figure 3.18 Lijiang Government demolished a contemporary building in 2011 because it was not harmonious with the view toward to the Snow Mountain.

### *History of spatial transformation*

Tourism developed very quickly in Lijiang. In 2006, the number of visitors was 3.7 millions, but it soared to 15 millions in 2012. Many large developments joined the industry starting in 2006, further increasing the number of visitors. In particular, “Impression Lijiang” (印象丽江) directed by Zhang Yimou had increased Lijiang’s international reputation. This outdoor opera performed in the Yu Long Snow Mountain attracted significant attention on Lijiang’s culture and has made the city a symbol of creative cultural industry in Yunnan Province. In 2006, the show attracted about 880,000 visitors. After seven years, the number grew to 1.03 million, about 75% of the total number of tourists visiting the whole area of Yu Long Snow Mountain in the first half of 2013.<sup>76</sup> The culture of ethnic minority constructed in the show the strengthened of people’s imagination of the city as a romantic, heterogeneous space. Similar shows have since been performed in bars at night in the Old Town. The bourgeois bohemian character and romantic encounters started to become identified with Lijiang in 2008. The symbol of creative cultural industry provided the soil for investment of small entrepreneurs in Dayan. For example, record shops have become a new phenomenon since 2009. In a one square-meter shop house, they sold ethnic music from other parts of China, and the annual income could be as much as 300,000 RMB. There are about 150 indie record shops in the Old Town in 2013. Most of them played the same tune, which has been called by

<sup>76</sup> <http://stock.stockstar.com/JC2013081200000691.shtml>

some shop owners as the “national anthem” of Lijiang. In addition, bars became a major landscape feature of the Old Town and could be found on every major street.

The number of visitors grew to 11 million in 2011 leading to a second stage of gentrification. Guesthouses, cafés, and souvenir shops were now everywhere. By 2013, the town’s commercial area extended deeper into Wu Yi Street, Qi Yi Street, Guang Yi Street, and Xing Hua Upper Lane of the Huang San area. The Old Town is no longer accessible for the original residents because activities and shops now cater almost exclusively to tourists, with prices that are too high for local residents.

Table 3.4 Numbers of tourists visiting Lijiang in 2006~2012 (unit: millions)

Year	Total number of tourists	Domestic visitors	Foreign visitors
2006	3.702	3.433	0.2691
2007	4.237	3.857	0.38
2008	6.254	5.879	0.4658
2009	7.581	7.056	0.5259
2010	9.10	8.488	0.6114
2011	11.82	11.24	0.58
2012	15.99	15.144	0.846

Year Book of Lijiang, 2013

### ***Local changes and adaptation***

Dayan’s physical environment and the atmosphere of the town had become completely made for tourists. For example, we can see most community bulletins are now decorated with Dongba characters or advertisements. The spatial transformation itself had led to the major change in cultural practices in Naxi communities. Since most of residents had moved away

from the Old Town, traditional festivals are performed mostly for commercial purpose. Compared to the transition state, the cultural practices had gradually disappeared. Except those who joined the Naxi dance organizations would go back to Dayan Old Town for performance, people do not go back anymore. “People don’t need to go back to the Old Town for many reasons. For example, people might go back to the Old Town during the famous Bang Bang fair (or the Milazhi)<sup>77</sup> that used to be in Sifang Square. But the fair now takes place in the west hill outside the Dayan. The reason that it was formerly in Sifang Square was because people would visit relatives in Dayan Old Town during the New Lunar Year, and then they need to buy farm tools for the preparation of a year of farm work. Now, instead of farm tools, the market currently sells garden tools and all kinds of flowers for gardening. But we still like the fair because they are selling the cheapest flowers in the town” (see figure 3.19, 3.20), said a local resident.



Figures 3.19, 3.20. Traditional Bang Bang Fair used to sell farm tools in before 1980s, now the fair is selling garden related tools and flowers in year 2012.

(Photo source: <http://qcyn.sina.com.cn/lijiang/ljtravel/ljq/2012/0204/1442485331.html>)

A major change for the Naxi people has been the development of a new daily life map (figure 3.21). More than ten years ago, Naxi people’s life map would be limited mostly to the Dayan Old Town but their activities are now concentrated in the new city area with new

<sup>77</sup> Milazhi (米拉芝) in Naxi. “Mila” means honeymoon for newly wedded couples, and the “zhi” means market. Milazhi therefore means a market for newly wedded couples. The fair was called Bang Bang Fair in Qing dynasty because the market was selling farming tools in later era (Ou, 2000: 55).

neighborhoods and social networks. However, the daily life maps are different for different generations. An experienced Naxi tour guide who comes to Dayan almost every day to work talked about the difference, “The old generation has not returned to the Old Town for a long time because they didn’t need to. However, the most problematic part is that the young generation comes back like a tourist to say (or learn) about their culture. I am confused about what the authentic local culture is because the Old Town is performing a different version of traditional culture for tourists. Young Naxi people are learning about the culture that most Naxi people (in new city) are not practicing anymore (at least not in that way).”

In some cases, the traditions that people have been learning from the Dayan Old Town are incorrect. For example, some local guesthouses and hotels have used religious symbols that were not used in residential buildings. There has also been a major change in terms of regular festival maps in the local community. Because most of the traditional festivals were organized by the government for attracting tourists, many people no longer join some significant activities like the Sandou Festival in both Dayan Old Town and the new city area. The place people could buy and eat local foods also changed to the Yumihe Food Court (鱼米河广场) north of the Dayan Old Town. “Except for Dongba characters that the government would spend money to protect for tourism purposes, some other local culture practices are endangered such as the Naxi language and Ah Li Li,” said Mr. Li who moved out in 2011.

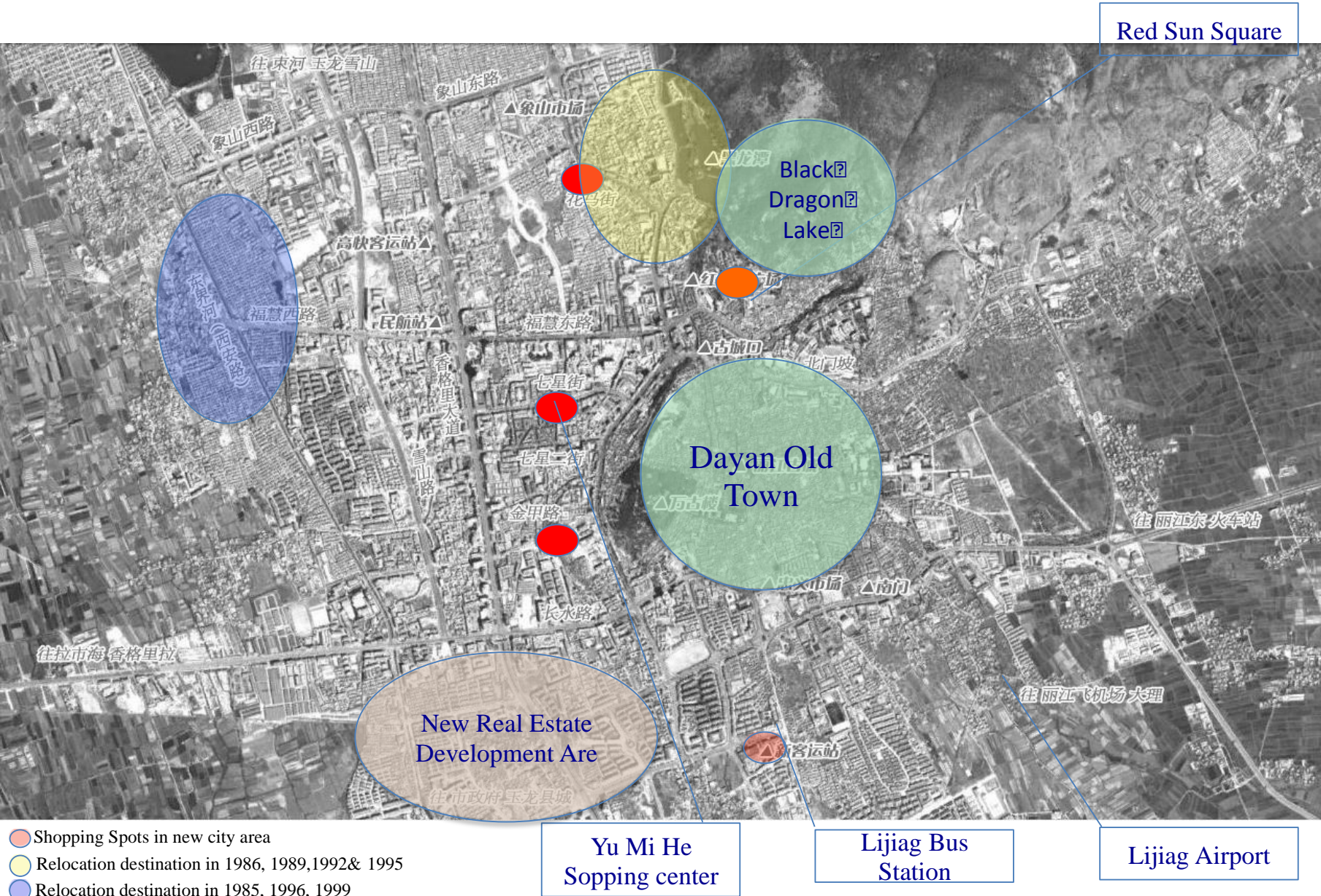
Over time, the local Naxi residents have developed a new version of social activities in the new area. Some people arranged their lives by traveling around the world or gardening at their houses. For example, growing Orchids has been popular in these years. The unique culture of Huachong had become a remaining kind of social network<sup>78</sup> that is still popular in Lijiang. People now have a busy schedule of joining a variety of Huachong gatherings since they rented out their houses in the Old Town and became more flexible in their time. One might gather with others three times a week. Sometimes they would even join three on the same day. “You could only eat traditional Naxi food prepared by at a farmhouse run by Naxi

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<sup>78</sup> From my field, people mentioned that there were other types of social networks. For example, Naxi dance and music, for releasing eagles, wedding and funeral working organizations are still connecting the local society. However, to what degree these social networks are connecting people in the modern Naxi society needs further research in the future.

people,” said an owner of local restaurants in the new city area. “Traditional activities have changed in the new town area after 2005. For example, some Huachong activities have become a type of gambling taking place in farmhouses now,” said a Chongyou (member of a Huachong).

Figure 3.21. New version of life map for Naxi people



### **3.4.4 Changes in cultural states in the most popular tourist site: summarizing the Dayan Old Town experience**

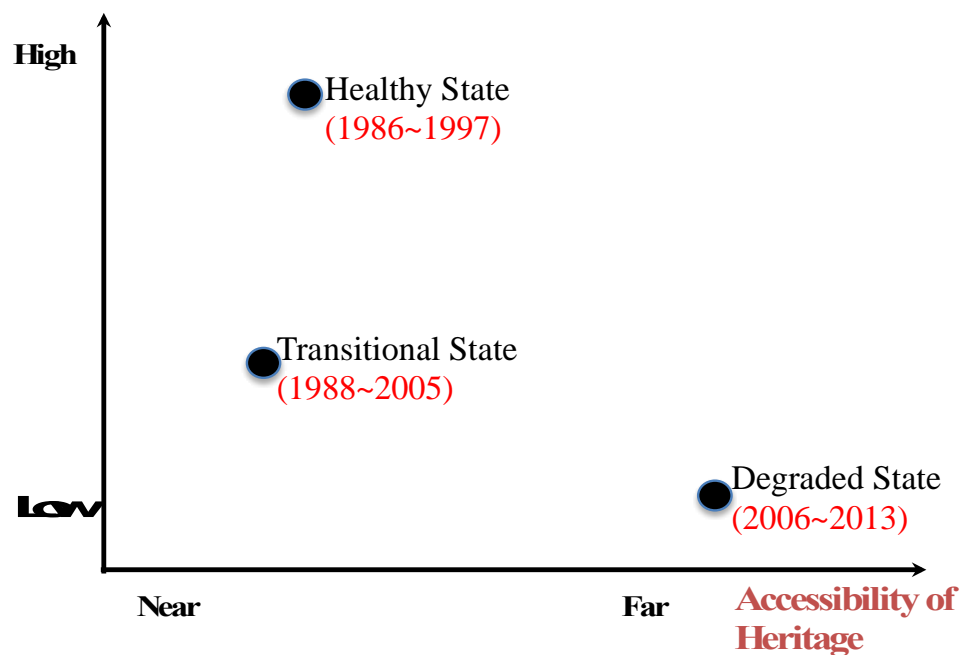
The recent development of the Dayan Old Town was driven by developers and the local government rather than the resilience of local culture. The town first attracted small entrepreneurs to invest in tourism. At that time, the Lijiang Government was under the supervision of the County Government. The government loaned money from the World Bank to develop tourist spots inside the town. With the tourism boom from 1998 to 2005, the city attracted large companies to engage in real estate development in different parts of the Old Town. In this era, the township government was mainly responsible. The development of the Dayan Old Town has been seen as transforming Lijiang into a tourist city. The government demolished all contemporary buildings (memories) to build traditional-style houses catering to tourists in the periphery of the Old Town. To support a population of 1.26 millions in Lijiang, the government further cooperated with both large companies and independent merchants from other parts of China. However, having more development was not always a successful model in Lijiang. More development also meant that the revenue from the Old Town would be divided by more sectors. The local government had been in debt for a long time, and the development was pursued without considering how they would influence the original residents. The success of maintaining traditional buildings did not help the town function as a living space for the original residents. The rigid policies for protecting the built form had triggered an exodus of the original residents.

The spatial transformation can be traced back to 1997 when the Old Town was inscribed as a World Cultural Heritage. The requirements of protecting a World Heritage Site helped the Old Town keep its built form in good condition. However, the traditional cultural practices were not sustained in the Old Town as an everyday life space. From a living heritage point of view, the Dayan Old Town was in a “healthy state” during 1986 to 1997. It was in a “transitional state” for local residents from 1998 to 2005. The place entered into a “degraded state” for the original residents afterwards. During the healthy state, most of public services including schools, hospitals, and markets were distributed equally inside the old town. Main roads were used as places for buying cheap local necessities. The town was the place for traditional festivals and cultures for local people and as a center of nearby villagers. People lived closely together and ethnic residents were the majority. The natural growth of

contemporary buildings made the old town function more heterogeneously. Original residents partly took part in the tourism business in the old town. The walkable distance allowed people to conduct most of their activities including visiting their own relatives, helping each other to welcome newly wedded couples, and organizing funerals. The commercial area was only located in the core protection area, and some shops were run by local owners.

Figure3.22. Cultural State change in Dayan Old Town from 1986~2013

**Spatial-functional diversity**



The policies that triggered the town to go from a “healthy state” to a “transition state” included the relocation policy in the South Gate area for developing new traditional houses for hotels, bars, etc. The policy also resulted in the government’s failure to control the exodus of local residents because of high tax in the Old Town and the development of new real estate in the suburb. In this era from 1998 to 2005, only one traditional market remained inside the old town. Shops on the main streets sold all types of inexpensive goods for both tourists and original residents. However, schools and hospitals had been relocated to the new town area. Few places were left for practicing traditional cultures without being influenced by tourists. More modern houses were developed in new town area that provided a better quality for Old Town residents to enjoy gardens as well as better privacy. Rental price in the Old Town

became higher which made buying a new house outside the Old Town possible and healthier for original residents. Some policies made from 2005 to 2013 triggered the Old Town to turn into a transitional or degraded state for original residents as a living space. This was another stage in the relocation of public institutions, releasing a large amount of public properties inside the Old Town. There were fewer spaces for selling and buying cheap goods for local needs. In the meantime, traditional activities began to take place in the new town as people now lived far away from the Old Town. Most of the significant spaces in the Old Town that were symbols of traditional culture have been catering to tourists. The Sifang Square was only used for tourists now. Original residents now rarely visited the Old Town. They now use the Red Sun Square and the Black Dragon Lake Square as their public space.

Table 3.5 Regime change history for Dayan Old Town residents

Regimes	State Change Year/ Era	Commercial area	Motivation of moving out	Change of Dayan Old Town functions	Development and Functional change of Sifang Square	Places of public activities for original old town residents
Everyday life space – Healthy state	1986~1997	1. Dongda street(東大街) 2. Selling chicken Lane 3. Jishan Lane(積善巷) 4. Qiyi Street, Guanmen Gate (七一街,關門口) 5 Guangyi Street (光義街)-- a. Xianwen Lane (現文巷) b.Guangbi Lane (光碧巷) 6. Xinghua Street(新華街) a. Shuangshi Lane(雙石巷) b. Cuiwen Duan (萃文段 ) c. Huangsan upper Lane (黃山上段)	1. Policy of reducing old town population density. 2. Rent out houses and moved to nearby apartments but still relyng on the remaining social network in the old town.	1. Three traditional markets remained and supplied daily necessities. 2. Main street still selling cheap traditional food, clothes and souvenirs. 3. Schools, hospitals, and public service agencies located in Dayan Old Town. 4. Traditional management network for cultural practices and festivals. 5. Relocated residents still lived in nearby communities and compensation policy is offering financing developed houses by government. 6. Function of new town is mainly serving tourists in old town. 7. Ethnic minority people still the majority in Dayan Old Town. A large group of buildings are neglect and lack of development. Some of guest houses and shop housing were partially transformed to tourism usage and low- income residents are staying in public housing 10.Walkable distance from relocation communities to Dayan Old Town.	1. County government reformed square to concrete floor pavement in 1983. 2. Change the square back to stone pavement in 1994. 3. Central market for Dayan Old Town residents till 1994. 4. Meeting space for traditional festivals for old town residents.	1.Sifang Square and other square in Dayan Old Town. 2.Yulong Bridge Square 3.Community center.

Regimes	State Change Year/ Era	Commercial area	Motivation of moving out	Change of Dayan Old Town functions	Development and Functional change of Sifang Square	Places of public activities for original old town residents
Everyday life space -- Transitional life regime	1998~2005	1. Baisuifang Lane (百歲坊巷) 2. Mishi Lane (密士巷) 3. Wuyi street, Huawen Lane (五一街華文巷) 4. Qiyi Street, Xingwen Lane (五一街興文巷) 5. Guangyi Street (光義街)- - a. Jinxing(金星巷) b. Guanyuan Lane (官院巷)  Xinghua Street (新華街)-- a. Huangsan lower Lane (黃山下段)	1. Policy of reducing old town population density. 2. Increasing life cost & rent rate in commercial area. 3. Vicious competition triggered exodus of residents to nearby suburb of new town.	1. One remained traditional market for buying Daily necessities in the old town area. 2. Main street still selling cheap traditional food, clothes and souvenirs. 3. Schools, hospitals are relocated to new town and remaining schools are mainly for new residents. 4. Few traditional management networks for cultural practices and festivals. 5. New town extended to Yu-Long snow mountain area and home for relocated residents. Traditional cultural life can be observed in some communities in the new town. 6. People from other part of China occupied most streets of the old town. 7. Compensation is relocation policy change in 2004 to prime real estate rate, minority people are distributed separately in new town area.	1.Relocated all street peddler to the south gate in 2001. 2.Not much meeting spaces of celebrating traditional festivals for remaining old town residents.	1.Sifang Square 2.Red-Sun Square in the new town area

Regimes	State Change Year/ Era	Commercial area	Motivation of moving out	Change of Dayan Old Town functions	Development and Functional change of Sifang Square	Places of public activities for original old town residents
Inaccessible regime	2005~2013	<p>Qiyi Street(五一街)</p> <p>a. Xingren Lane(興仁巷)</p> <p>b. Wenzhi Lane(文治巷)</p> <p>c. Wenming Lane(文明巷)</p> <p>d. Zhengxing Lane(振興巷)</p> <p>Qiyi Street (七一街)</p> <p>a. Chongren Lane(崇仁巷)</p> <p>b. Baryi Lane(八一段)</p> <p>Guangyi Street (光義街)</p> <p>a. Zhongyi Lane(忠義巷)</p> <p>b. Xingyuan Lane(新院巷)</p> <p>4. Xinghua upper Lane(黃山上段)</p>	<p>Relocation policy cater to tourism development</p> <p>High rent rate, commercial atmosphere of old town trigger moving out..</p> <p>Services and social networks of new town are mature, a new way of life style has formed.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. One Traditional market remained in the South Gate area.</li> <li>2. Few places selling traditional food and products.</li> <li>3. Most of the houses are rented out for tourist usages.</li> <li>4. Traditional activities are mainly for commercial purpose.</li> <li>5. Institutions in the old town are mainly for tourist services.</li> <li>6. Most of the houses are developed for tourist usages.</li> <li>7. Most of significant culture and spaces are cater to tourism.</li> <li>8. Romantic encounter and bourgeois bohemian are symbols of the Old Town.</li> <li>9. Shop houses are no longer for local but for tourists.</li> <li>10. Affordable houses are no longer within walkable distance to old town.</li> <li>11. Accessibility center for new town residents has changed from the Old Town to Red-Sun Square distance.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Tourist meeting square only.</li> <li>2. Dancing space changed to Yuhe square.</li> </ol> <p>Soth Gate Square</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Red-sun Square</li> <li>2. Black Dragon Lake Square</li> </ol>

### 3.5 Cultural Resilience in a Small Tourist Town: the Shuhe Old Town

The Shuhe Old Town is located 4 kilometers northwest of the Dayan Old Town. It is the second oldest town built by the Naxi ancestors. The town became an important spot on the Horse and Tea Trade Route in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) when local people started their commercial life. In more recent time, the town was famous for good quality of leather and handicrafts, especially from 1930s to 1950s. The ancient city expanded quickly because of the prosperity of the Tea and Horse Trade Route. The current population of Shuhe is about 2,914 with 685 households, including Naxi, Han, Tibetan, and Bai minorities. The original settlement included seven villages. The layout of Shuhe Old Town is similar to the Dayan Old Town with a central square, the Sifang Square, and with two wells and a river running through the town to supply water for irrigation. Generally, villages located in the east side of the Qing Long (Green Dragon) Bridge have He as the most common surname. A large Mu Family of Renli village resides on the West side (Zhang, 2003: 56). The Old Town had been merged with two large villages Long Quan (龍泉) and Kai Wen (開文) with a total population of 3,492 (Yearbook of Lijiang, 2012). The town's Sifang Square and the Long Quan Bridge were two spaces for local trade in the old days. Nearby mountain villagers also came to the Old Town to do business. There was sometimes a night market in the 1950s. "In the 1930s and 1940s, Zangke (people doing business on the Tea and Horse Route to Tibet) donated money to pave the Old Town's stone road" (Yang, 2001: 101).



Figure 3.23 Unique built type of Shuhe old town. Spaces are designed for a variety of uses for family life, crops, and animal spaces. (Ca. 2000.)

Since the Old Town is located in a geographical complex area, local people developed settlements with unique building types along the hill (figure 3.23). The special building types have been copied in the new town area later for tourism development. However, the town's layouts as well as the social networks are difficult to copy. Traditionally, when a family has an important event, their neighbors would provide help. During the Bang Bang fair (棒棒会)<sup>79</sup> (figure 3.24, 3.25) some families would provide volunteer clinic for nearby villages, and people who lived in the Jade Dragon Mountain would come to Shuhe to see doctors" (Du and Zhang, 2008). The Bang-Bang Festival used to be a type of festivals held in temples but had become a festival for trade in Qing Dynasty. The Shuhe Old Town has the most concentrated Buddhist monuments in Lijiang. Most of them have been used as monasteries for Tibetan Buddhist believers as observed from 2000 to 2002 when I conducted my earlier research. Now, the area is used as a special tourism area that includes six villages. Shuhe was inscribed as a World Heritage Site in 1997 because of the town's architecture and spatial layout as well as local social networks. Before tourism development in 2003, local economy was mainly based on farming.

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<sup>79</sup> The Bang Bang Festival is held on the 15<sup>th</sup> of Lunar New Year. It is said that the activities originally took place in Rama temples in Lijiang. Villagers would go to pray Maitreya Buddha, and there would be a market near temple where Naxi people would buy many tools for farming to prepare for the whole year's work. The market later moved to Sifang Square in Dayan Old Town in Qing Dynasty. Now the festival has moved to Elephant Market (象山市场), Zhongyi Market (忠义市场), etc. And the market has been selling flowers and tools for gardening since there has been less farmland in Lijiang. (Source: <http://qcyn.sina.com.cn/lijiang/ljtravel/ljfq/2012/0204/1442485331.html>)

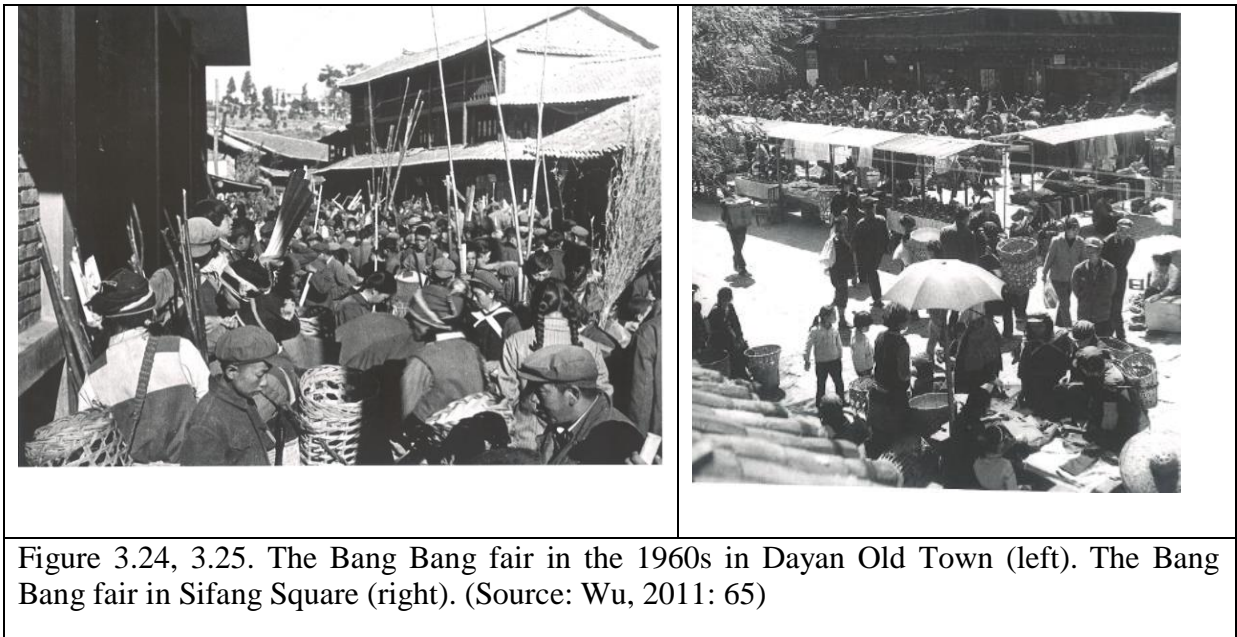


Figure 3.24, 3.25. The Bang Bang fair in the 1960s in Dayan Old Town (left). The Bang Bang fair in Sifang Square (right). (Source: Wu, 2011: 65)

### ***Conservation plan (Figure 3.26)***

Shuhe did not experience tourism development before 2003. Because of the lack of budget, the Lijiang Municipality government tried an approach of granting the development right to a private company from Kunming (capital of Yunnan Province) called the Dingye Company to develop the Shuhe Old Town. According to the contract with the Dingye Company, one of the company's responsibilities is to make a comprehensive preservation plan for the original Shuhe Old Town, which was published in year 2003. The plan classified the town into three protection zones and included details about building control and plans for protecting historic properties that have been designated by the city government. Buildings inside each zone should follow the law accordingly. The law also regulates how local residents should protect natural resources. Details about the law are as follows:

The core protection zone: The total area is 5.42 hectares. Conservation work focuses on building control, restoration of decayed houses, and environmental cleanup. Restoration should follow the official rules.

The Second layer of protection zone: The total area is 15.6 hectares. Built form, height and landscape control area and regulated. Concrete buildings in this area should be restored to traditional style roof or wood facade.

The Third layer of protection zone: The total area is 28.5 hectares. This zone also includes the new development area and linkage area to the original old town. The regulations about

the built environment are mainly concerned with building height control, and protection of water quality.

In 2010, the Lijiang Municipality government changed the protection zone into two layers. The newest law classified the town into a Heritage Zone (14.6 hectares) and a Buffer Zone (68.3 hectares). The new protection zone also includes the new development area and the original Shuhe Old Town. However, the new law still applies the old version of regulations on buildings that were constructed by Dingye Company.

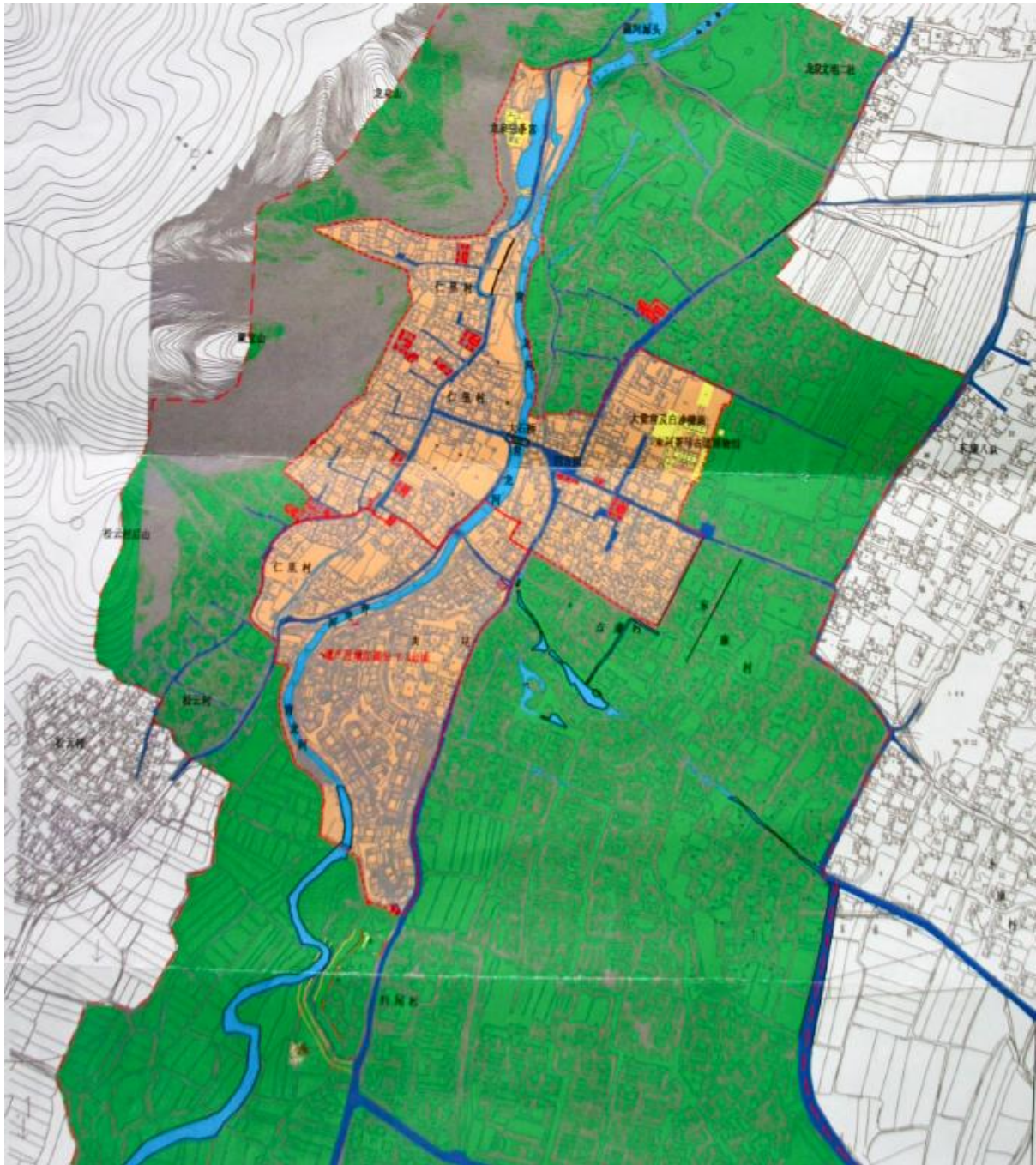


Figure 3.26. Map of preservation plan for Shuhe Old Town and the distribution of significant buildings (the red spots).

### ***Tourism development in Shuhe***

Because of the involvement of Dingye Company, the development of Shuhe was different from the Dayan Old Town. The Dingye Company was responsible for developing the comprehensive plan for protection of the Old Town and develop tourism facilities, real estate, and public services in Shuhe. The plan included a zoning control for the protection of

the original old town historic fabrics as well as developing new town area for a “Film Base”<sup>80</sup> in Yunnan after 2012. The government claimed that the Shuhe Model was to avoid the experience of the Dayan Old Town where tourism was developed inside the Old Town. In Shuhe, the city government tried a different model to develop an identical new “old town” connected with the original one. This new development model had been propagated as a “win-win strategy” for both protecting the original old town.

With tourist activities in the new development area, local residents could still benefit from taking part in tourism industry. However, the real story was that the Dingye Company profited the most from real estate development in the new old town. The new old town copied the original Shuhe Old Town’s physical fabrics with houses built in the old style but serving as shops, restaurants, and hotels. Dingye Company acquired 1,000-2,000 areas (亩) of farmland in Shuhe for developing the new area.<sup>81</sup> The plan to replicate the Old Town also included replicating the six original villages. The new town development was close to the villages of Jie-Wei, Rong-Hua and Dong-Kang. Inside this new development area, there is also a traditional-style Sifang Square (or Sifang Music Square), which serves as the center of the twin new town. In addition, there is a square center surrounding a small pond called “little Paris Bar Street.” The whole area with two-story shops serves all types of tourist activities in this area.



Figures 3.27 and 3.28. Original Sifang Square (left) and the new Si-Fang Music Square (right).

<sup>80</sup> A film base is for making films and related production in Yunnan Province.

<sup>81</sup> Compensation for each household was 15,000 RMB.

The development concept for Shuhe was to create an identical new town for tourist activities with the original old town just for appreciation. The company would profit from renting out spaces in the new development. Furthermore, since the new town is next to the original villages and the entrance to the old town is located in the new town, visitors to both the new and original villages are required to pay the entrance fee set by the development company. Since the company established the goal of recovering investment in five years, it raised the price of entrance fee in 2009 that had an impact on the local business. One of the side effects of the new development has been gentrification and displacement through growth along the riverside that the company developed inside the original old town area as well as the area between the new town and old town. After 2005, when the new town development had finished, the new center for tourist activities had shifted from the original Sifang Square toward the area south of the Si-Fang Music Square and the Little-Paris (figure 3.27, 3.27).

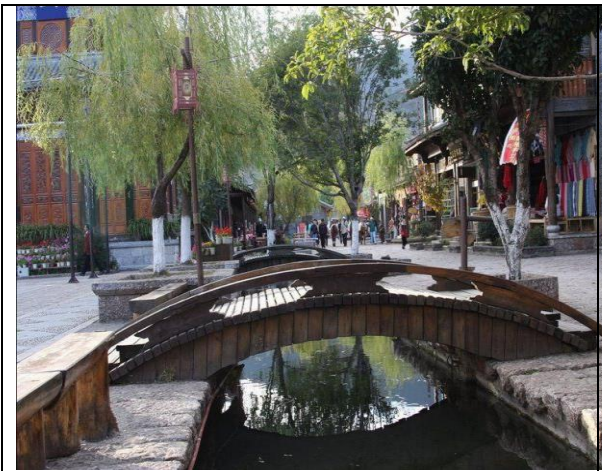


Figure 3.29. New town copied the original old town layout but with a larger street scale.



Figure 3.30. The new pond area now is famous as “Little Paris” bar street.



Figure 3.31. New development inside the original Shuhe Old Town.



Figure 3.32. Newly built traditional shops in the new area. Most of them are two stories tall and have been rented out to outsiders for business.



Figure 3.33. A public restroom following traditional architectural form inside the new area.



Figure 3.34. Farm land that the company return to people to grow crop to create a rural image inside the original old town.

Figure 3.35. Houses beside the farmland had been transformed into bars, restaurants, etc.



Figure 3.36 A recent view of the Shuhe Old Town. The circled area is the new development area. It is difficult for tourists to recognize the original or the new town.

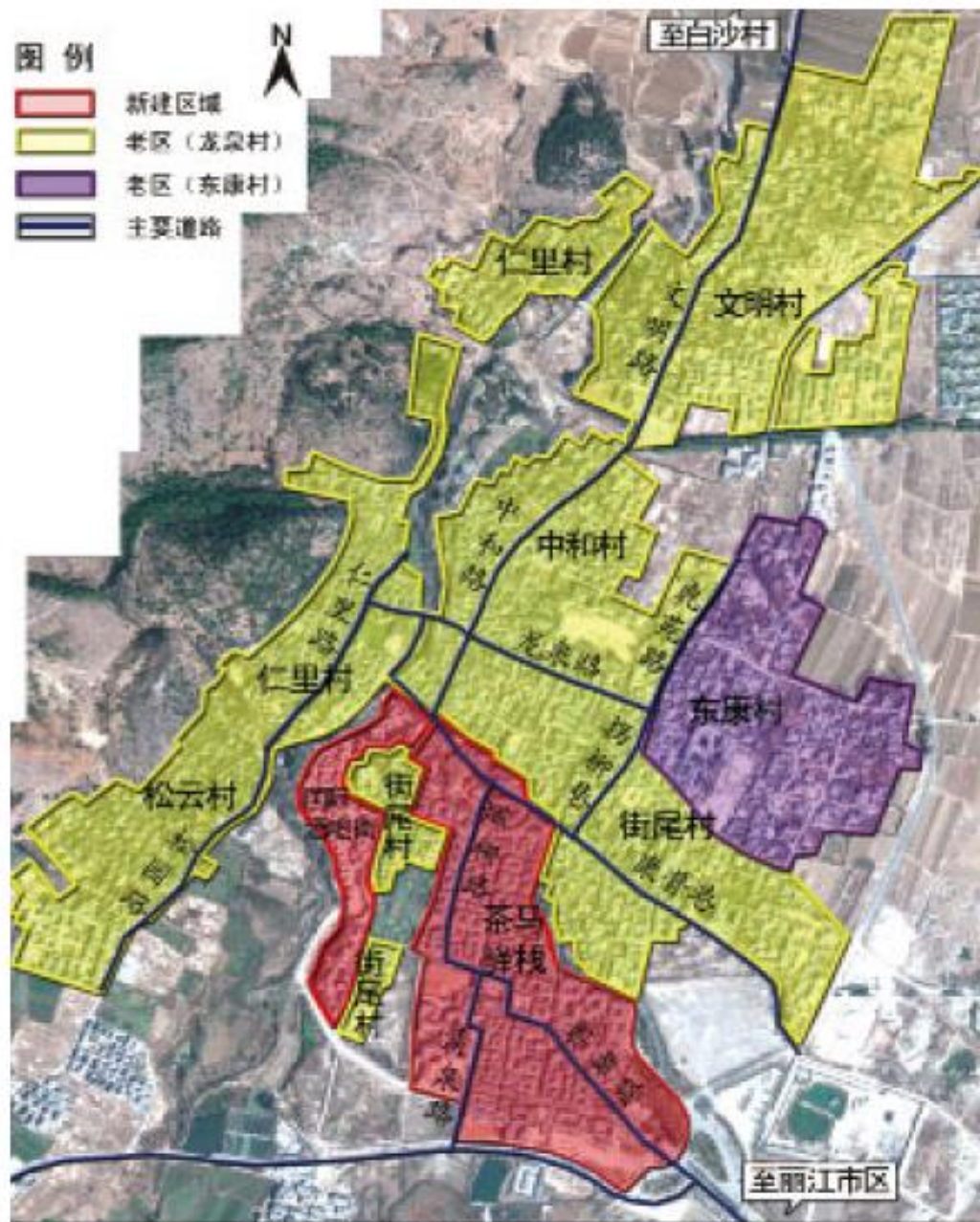


Figure 3.37 The distribution of new development area in the Shuhe Old Town: 2003~2005

- The New constructed twin city area, constructed during 2002~2005.
- Original Shuhe Old Town area. There are new developments along the river.
- Original Shuhe Old Town area, some of new development are located in this area.

Generally, the development in Shuhe can be classified into three phases: 2003-2004, 2004, and 2005-2010. The Dingye Company first constructed a road toward the Old Town, as well as a part of the electricity, communication, and sewage system. It then planned for new developments inside the original Old Town mainly along the riverside by constructing channels and diversion systems from the upstream of the village's water source. During the first development phase, the company relocated original residents to a nearby area. The new development also relocated an elementary school originally housed in a Ming Dynasty historical building in order to develop a new "Tea and Horse Trade Museum." The plan also led to the relocation of the original market in the Sifang Square and on the Qing-Long Bridge that had been important places for original residents to buy daily necessities. To maintain the bucolic landscape, the company acquired farmland from local residents and hired them to grow crops in the tourist area. The crops would belong to the farmers who also received a 400-600 RMB monthly salary from the company for growing crops (figures 3.33 and 3.34). The company also got a 30-year lease from the government for one of the most important ponds that served as water source of the Old Town to develop tourism. In 2004, with help from the local government, the Dingye Company provided trainings for Shuhe villagers to run shops, restaurants, and guesthouses. In the same year, there were about 180 houses in the original Old Town that were leased to outsiders for tourism related businesses. As more tourists came to visit the small town, the Shuhe Street Office published a handbook about how to protect the landscape of the Old Town. It also set up two horse-riding service groups that manage 500 coachmen on their routes inside the Old Town. The office also set the price. At the end of 2006, about 615 houses were leased for shops, restaurants, and guesthouses.

### *Company as government or developer?*

The Dingye Company is surely the winner of "Shuhe model." In the company, the real estate division is responsible for selling 80% and leasing out 20% of properties they had developed in the new town area. The new town, called the "Tea and Horse Relay (茶马驿站)" is located between the villages of Ronghua (荣华) and Dongkang (东康). It provides modern facilities in proximity to the original old town area. In 2013, the price of a typical shop space in the new town area was about 800,000 RMB, and the price for a guesthouse with yard had already gone up to 3 million RMB. The annual rent was already at about 50,000-80,000 RMB for a shop located off the main road. However, the cost of expropriated land was only about 100

RMB per square meter in 2003 with a 30-years land right. Rental price was about 200,000-400,000 RMB each year for a 300 square-meter house along the river in the original Shuhe Old Town. The newly developed Sifang Square has become a new center for tourist gathering day and night. At the same time, tourists only visit the original Sifang Square during the day since the night market and bar street are located in the new town area. For houses in the old town, the rent has risen after tourism developed. For example, a 15 square-meter shop in the core area was 15,000 RMB in 2003, but became 30,000-40,000 RMB in 2013. Furthermore, the company also receives income from entrance fees, real estate service fees, and rents from the tourist industry. The Dingye Company has a total income of 5 million RMB in 2007 (Lijiang Government, 2010).

The gray area of the “Shuhe Model” has been the role of the private sector. Before 2003, the Old Town’s core centers were in the north, southwest and southeast parts of the town. Now people are gathering more in the three open spaces in the new town area in the south. Since the government and company like to hold all types of activities inside the new town, as a result of the design, about 80% of the visitors to the Old Town are tourist groups and only 20% are independent visitors who would stay longer there. The contract allowed the company to receive 100% of the revenue in the first five years. After the first five years, the local government could start to collect 50% of the profit. So in the first few years, the company played the role of quasi-government as well as a private-sector company that had monopolized the market in the end of 2011. For example, when it was necessary to acquire farmland from the local villagers, it was the company that negotiated with the villagers. Initially, the company promised to provide a large number of employment opportunities but ended up with only 140 positions. Most of them were janitorial jobs. The promise of helping local people to grow eco-farms inside the old town had not been achieved. Local government promoted this plan as “win-win solution” in which the company would acquire lands from farmers and return to them to grow crops freely (figures 3.33 and 3.34). However, that arrangement only applied to a small part of farmland inside the original Shuhe Old Town. The new town has become the place where tourists are entertained, and the original Old Town area has become an area for guesthouses and residence.

In the case of Shuhe, the Dingye Company appeared to play the role of planners for conserving the Old Town as well as a developer. The company was required to form a

“Shuhe Management Committee” under the Shuhe Street Office.<sup>82</sup> The Shuhe Management Committee was responsible for organizing tourist carriage, traffic control, and sanitation in the Shuhe Old Town. But the organization of the company has only two divisions: one was running the tourist center and another was for real estate development. There was not a division with the responsibility for decisions on conservation. While the Old Town was outsourced to the company, the local government was still lacking enough funds to improve the local public infrastructure. The sewage treatment system was an important issue for protecting the local environment and water supply. Since Shuhe is located upstream from the Dayan Old Town, the protection of water system was even more critical. However, no sewage treatment system was available in the six original villages where tourism has been developed. The company was believed to be responsible for all of these. It claimed that they had invested about 15 million RMB to develop tourist related infrastructures in the Shuhe area during the first stage from 2003 to 2005. However, most of the investment was mainly for the development of the new town. For example, to develop the Tea and Horse Museum, the company relocated a primary school housed in a building with a historic mural painting. Because the school insisted on staying in the same place, the company had to build a new building next to the mural painting and moved the school there.

The company’s role became more problematic when it came to the operation stage beginning in 2006. For example, in 2006, the company started to collect an entrance fee of 30 RMB and additional 40 RMB for the protection of the old town with a total of 70 RMB. Hotel and shop owners in the old town protested this policy and questioned whether the company had the right and justification to collect the fee. They complained to the Lijiang Municipality Government, but the government seemed to ignore their complaints. To protest against the fee, most of the shops were closed during the long holiday of May 1-4. After that, the company stopped collecting the entrance fee. At the end of 2008, the company started to collect the entrance fee again with Lijiang Municipality Government’s official approval. This time the price went up to 50 RMB with additional 80 RMB for the protection of the old town fee in a total of 130 RMB. The company encouraged shop owners to join an alliance, and all customers of the alliance would be free from the entrance fee. But they would have to provide names of their customers first. Most of hotels and guesthouses owners did not agree

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<sup>82</sup> The street office is supervision villages and community levels of government under the Lijiang old town office locates inside the Dayan Old Town.

to release their customers' information since these were their commercial secret. The Dingye Company itself also runs some hotels. Therefore, other hotel owners did not want to share information with their competitor. The alliance also provided 20 RMB coupons to customers to consume in their related shops. Local business owners disagreed with this as well, and more than 400 business owners wrote letters to protest against this policy. They believed that since they owned the properties, the company should not have the right to enclose their personal properties to collect fees. They asked the City Government to hold a public hearing but the City said the law did not require public hearings for matters like this. The process also ignored the impact on original residents who were still staying there. Most of them felt that it was inconvenient for their friends or relatives to visit them. They also don't know where the fees had gone since they were first collected in 2008.

The case of Shuhe shows the impact of outsourcing the development and protection of a World Heritage to a private company. At the center of the issue is whether the local government has the capacity to handle development and protection of a World Heritage Site. Based in Kunming, the Provincial Capital in Yunnan, the Dingye Company has a stronger relationship with the Provincial Government. At the existing village and community level, it was impossible for the local Shuhe administration to negotiate with the company. According to the law, the Provincial Government is the one who is responsible for the management of a World Heritage site.

### ***Route of spatial transformation***

Before 2003, the original Sifang Square and Qing-Long Bridge were important spaces for trading of leather, herbs, fish, charcoal, and potatoes, and as a place for celebrations. At that time, the Old Town had more than 20 shops that were famous for selling tofu and other kinds of local traditional food. The square also had a night market for horse and tea traders. The Old Town's economic activities were mainly based on farming and husbandry at that time. The old Sifang Square has some shops before 2003 that were selling local products including leather and batik. In 2006, when the number of tourists reached 1.9 millions, the income structure in the Old Town changed to 62% in secondary and tertiary industries (see table 3.6). However, development was uneven across the villages. For example, villages in the core protection area close to the Sifang Square have 90% of their income from tourism. Dongkang Village has 39%, and Wenrong Village has 68%. After 2008, more residents in the

core area have rented out their houses to bars, restaurants, and souvenir shops for tourists. In 2012, the number of tourists in Shuhe has doubled to 4 million, with greater commercial uses of the spaces in the area. The rental price in the old Sifang Square area has become the highest. The traditional market has since been moved under the Qinglong Bridge.

Table 3.6 Incomes for six villages influenced by tourism in 2006. (Unit: 10,000 RMB)

Industry/village	Renli	Jiewei	Zhonghe	Songyun	Dongkang	Wenrong	Total	(%)
Farm	6	14	12	4.8	72	20	128.8	10.7
Livestock	3	6	1	1	40	20	71	5.9
Fishing	-	-	-	-	-	8	8	0.6
The secondary & tertiary industries	250 (96%)	200 (90%)	30 (70%)	100 (95%)	71 (39%)	100 (68%)	751	62.8
Other: Salary	10	10	13	15	51	52	151	12.6
Outside Labor incomes	3	4	13	15	20	30	85	7.4
Total	259	220	43	105.8	183	148	1194.8	100

(Source: Shuhe Village government)

The development of the original Shuhe Old Town has more or less followed the path of gentrification in the Dayan Old Town despite the development of a new old town. The transformation of Shuhe Old Town started from the core protection area in 2004, and extended to the buffer zone recently. According to the Yearbook of Lijiang Municipality in 2007 (Table 3.6), about 65% of houses had been rented out for tourist purposes in the villages of Renli, Jiewei, and Zhonghe in 2006, and the number has grown to 90% during my fieldwork in 2013. The Dongkang Village has different rate of transformation. 80% of houses inside the Core Protection area have been rented out, with and 30% on average in the buffer zone.<sup>83</sup> In terms of the development of the buffer zone (including Songyun and Wenrong

<sup>83</sup> Source: fieldwork in 2012 summer & spring in 2013.

Villages), since they are in the peripheral area, most of original residents are still staying in their villages. In contrast, only about 10% of original residents still stay inside the Old Town in the core protection area. For the buffer zone, about 20% of houses had been rented out, and the rest are used for horse carriages and selling fruits and local foods. There are six other villages in the peripheral area that are not included in the government's protection zone, and most of them are also facing spatial transformation without official protection. For example, a six-star hotel was recently built in this area in 2011.

The booming tourism in Shuhe attracted merchants from other parts of China to do business there. Most high-revenue shops have been opened by outsiders. Before 2003, less than 10% of shops in the original old town were related to tourism. They were located on the Renli Road and Kangpu Road toward the old Sifang Square. In 2013, hot spots for tourists in the original Old Town were located along Zhonghe Road, Renli Road, and Kangpu Road, and in the new town area along the Yinliu road, the little Paris, and new Sifang Music Square. About 40% of tourists would gather in the original Sifang Square; only about 20% of activities happened at night. For hot spots in the new town, about 60% of daytime activities happened there. They grew to about 80% since the new night market and bar streets were also located there. As such, the development shifted the center of activities from north to south of the new zone. The tourism activities changed functions of the original Old Town from an everyday life space to a tourism space especially in the core area. After the new town had been developed, tourists visited both the original Old Town square and new spots. However, local residents still like to use the original Sifang Square more. To avoid the crowd, local people use another gate to enter the Old Town which is close to the Shilian Temple (石莲寺) or the Jiren Hospital (济仁医院).

Some shops located in the upper part and outskirts of the Old Town have been selling goods for original residents. Local kids were still the majority in schools in the Old Town. Spatial functions of the core protection area where most of the significant places for local people are located had since changed to tourism uses. The only everyday market for local people is located under the Qinglong Bridge where most local people still visit in the early morning. Some of the religious sites without many tourists are still used by local villagers for family tour. Since the new houses they are staying now are still close to the Old Town, the residents still visit or do business there. Most of their relatives still stay in the Old Town where not many tourists visit. People who have benefited from tourism agree that this industry has a

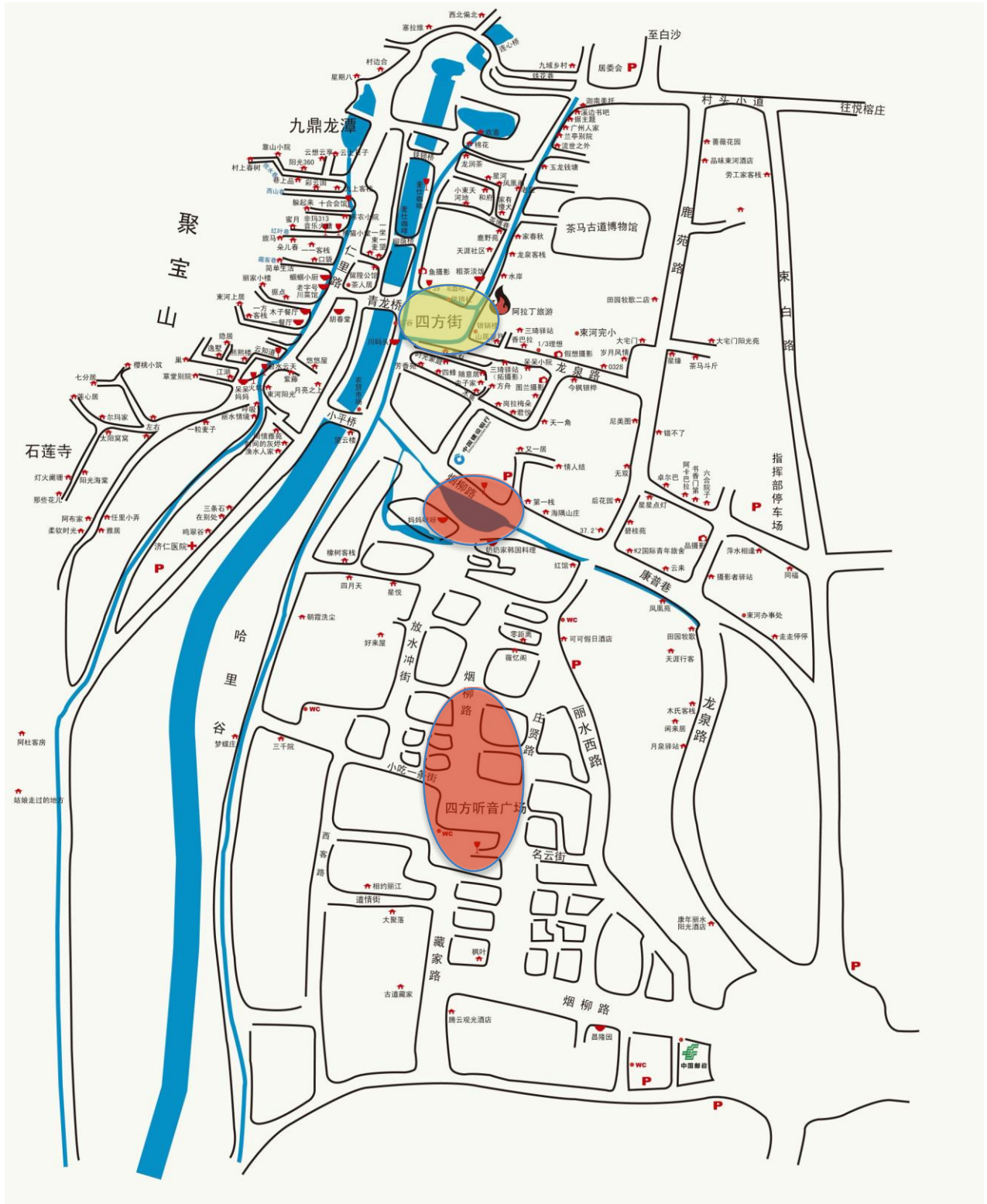
positive influence. However, they are also concerned that the natural resources of the area would be polluted by outsiders. The fast growth of tourism had triggered another wave of spatial transformation. Villagers in the second layer of protection area (for example, Songyun village and part of Wenrong Villages) have begun to rent out part of their houses as guesthouses or hotels by the end of 2011.

Table 3.7 Spatial transformation before and after tourism development.

	<i>Before 2003</i>			<i>Year 2013</i>		
	Development Area	Percentage of tourist activities Area	Tourist related usages	Development Area	Percentage of tourist activities Area	Tourist related usages
Original Old town Area	Renli Road, Kangpu Road	>10%	>10%	Zhonghe Road, Renli Road, Kangpu Road	40% (Daytime) 20% (Nighttime)	90%
New town Area	-	0%	0%	Along Yinliu Road. The little Paris pond area. The Sifang Music Square	60% (Daytime) 80% (Nighttime)	100%

Currently, five of six original villages outside the protection area had not been involved in the tourism industry. They are Wenming (文明), Qingyun (慶云), Hongshan (紅山), Jiuzihai (九子海), and Lari (臘日). However, the commodity prices have risen after tourism came. It is possible that an exodus of residents similar to Dayan can also happen here. But unlike Dayan, building control is rather loose. Many traditional houses had been transformed to western-style houses without governmental interventions.

Figure 3.38. Center of the Old Town shifted from the north (original Sifang Square) to new town area of the little Paris and Sifang Music Square in the south.



### *Cultural state of Shuhe Old Town in 2013*

Before 2003, from the view of local residents, the Shuhe Old Town was in a regime of self-sufficient, everyday life space. It was in a healthy state for the original residents to live. At that time, the occupations for most of villagers were farming or crafts. The functions and services in the Old Town were mainly for original residents and allowed the local society to build close relations. After the development of tourism by Dingye, the function of the town had changed to half tourists and half local residents.

Under the “Shuhe Model,” the new development area indeed relieved part of development pressures from the original Old Town. But it was apparent that some original residents were relocated to other areas for developing tourism. The company had sold out the properties they had developed in the first five years. The revenue should have provided the funds for protecting the original Old Town. However, the local government can’t seem to avoid the same fate of Dayan Old town in its “debt on debt” situation. To attract more tourists, they need to borrow money from banks to improve both tourist services and the local environment. In Shuhe, although public spaces, traditional market, and elementary schools had been moved, they are still close to the original locations and are convenient for some of original residents. But when local government encouraged local residents to rent out their houses for tourism usage from 2003 to 2008, most of the residents in the core area had moved out. Instead of original residents, shop owners are now the ones buying necessities from the market below the Qinglong Bridge. Nevertheless, the market still provides opportunity for villagers who live in the outskirts to sell their crops and goods there. Compared to the old days with the night market opened for Tea and Horse Traders, now the market in the Little Paris sell foods and drinks to tourists only.

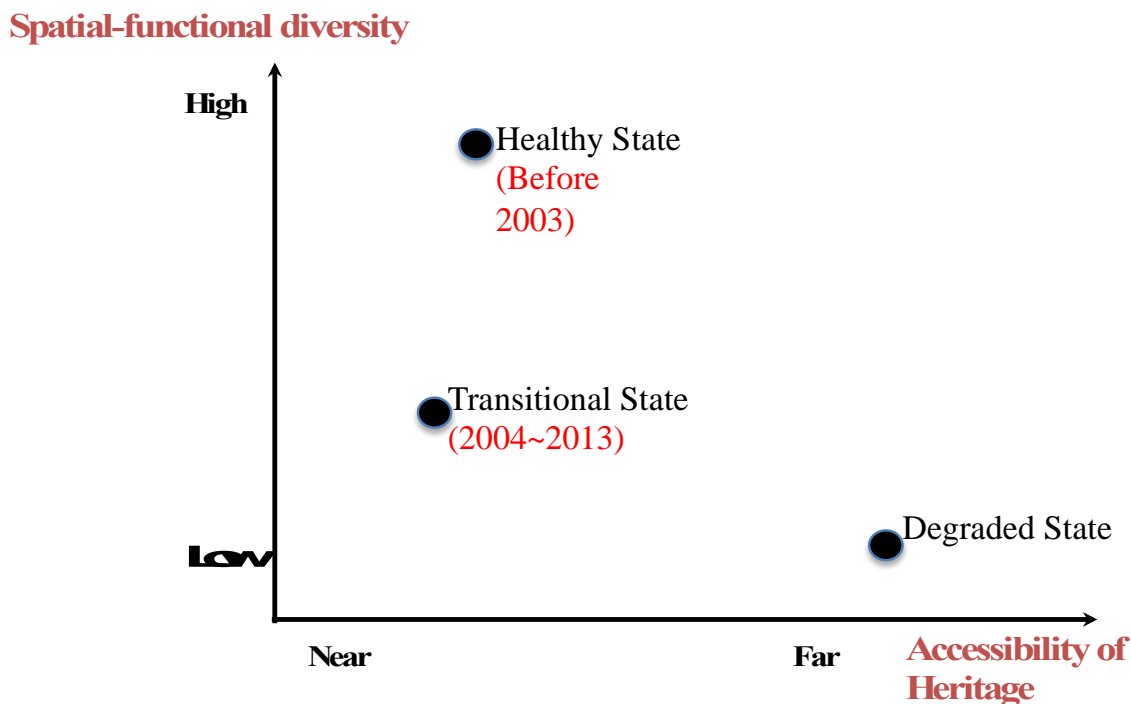


Figure3.39. Cultural States change in Shuhe Old Town from 1986~2013

In addition to original Sifang Square, two spots were created for people gathering. Most of the noisy and high-density activities are located in the new town that allows the original Old Town to be a quiet residential area. However, this new model of development has failed to avoid gentrification inside the core protection area. One reason was that most of infrastructures had been improved are for the needs of new development area. It was unavoidable that the company would consider its own profit over the protection of the old town or the resilience of local cultures. Since the contract between the company and the local government was not clear, the role of private company was questionable. For example, after many years of tourism development the local government still does not have money to protect local buildings including the most important houses. Most of the buildings had been transformed into commercial uses. The job training the company provided was only for its own businesses.

Currently, the Shuhe Old Town appears to be in a transitional cultural state from the perspective of the original residents. However, for the original residents in the core protection area, function of the Old Town has been homogenized compared with the multiple functions that they once enjoyed. For example, there was no market, no place for celebration, and no

space for people to meet and have fun. Most of local residents agree that the Shuhe Model is better than the Dayan Model since in Shuhe, most of noisy activities are located in the new town area. However, many original residents were worried about the exodus of residents from the Old Town as well as commercialization of local culture.

### **3.6 Economic Development and Cultural Resilience in the Baisha Old Town**

The development of the Baisha Old Town has been different from the other Lijiang Old Towns in that the development was only in the beginning stage. Also, the Old Town has a high concentration of religious heritage sites that are handled by different administrative bodies. In Baisha, heritage has become a battlefield between different institutions. In addition, the Old Town has kept most of original residents, which is different from the other two Old Towns in Lijiang. In this section, I will present a short history of conservation and development in Baisha. To examine cultural resilience in this case, I look at local cultural state based on original residents' view on public spaces as well as the available functions that the Old Town still provides. Factors of resilience here include the governmental policy on local economic structures and its impact on the local community.

#### ***Background***

The Baisha Village Group is located at the foot of the Yulong Snow Mountain. It includes nine small villages with a population of about 1,500. All the small villages were developed around an Old Town square as the center of everyday life. The central square was believed to have been built during the time when the Mu Family was ruling the area. The Baisha square market used to be a famous one at least from the Ming Dynasty (1358-1644 AD).<sup>84</sup> The Old Town was the first settlement that the Mu Family built for the Naxi people. According to local elders, it was likely that the original Old Town residents were composed of immigrants from the nearby area. When the Mu Family was in power, they forced all immigrants to change their surname to “He.” People were allowed to change back to their original surname

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<sup>84</sup> <丽江府志略>，

after political power shifted in the Qing Dynasty.<sup>85</sup> So now there are different surnames in the Baisha Old Town where people had been living for more than ten generations. Most of the former immigrants were located close to the center of the Old Town in the Sanyuan Village. They have special skills. For example, members of the large Yang family have been famous as coppersmiths and lacquer-makers for centuries. This was related to the history of the Old Town as an important spot on the Tea and Horse Trade Route in Southeast China.

The Old Town has been restored three times in recent decades. The first time was after a major earthquake in 1953, when local villagers paved stone road to repair their central square at that time. The second was after the 1996 earthquake, in which the Shenzhen Government donated money to pave concrete roads for villagers. The third time was in 2005 when the Dingye Company acquired the development right to the Old Town for tourism development. The company changed some concrete roads to stone pavement along the route with the most tourists including the central square. The old street was extended after each repair and is now 1,300 meters long. The company developed a U-shaped tourist route that included the Baisha Mural Painting spot, which they own the right to operate for 30 years. The route continued toward the northern and eastern parts of the central square and ended at a wooden gatehouse standing beside the square. The U-shaped tourist route created a special scenery with a quiet residential area for original Naxi residents on one side of the wooden gatehouse and the noisy tourist area on the other side. There are about 250 households around the central square. The Old Town's layout is similar to the Dayan Old Town with water running in front of every house. The Kaimei River is the main source of water running from the north toward the southern part of the Old Town. Most of traditional houses inside the Old Town were built in the Ming Dynasty. Compared to the Dayan Old Town, where private houses were simply for residential purposes, the houses in the Baisha Old Town were for a variety of uses including crop storage, husbandry, and gardening. Most of the Old Town residents were farmers who developed their own social networks through a special irrigation mechanism called "Shui Ban" System (水班制度). However, this system is facing dissolution as tourism develops in Lijiang.

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<sup>85</sup> “改土归流”

### *Preservation Plan of the Baisha Old Town*

As a part of World Cultural Heritage site, the Lijiang County Government designated 17 important and significant houses to be protected in 1998. Five of them were designated as the most important houses that should be strictly protected. From 1996 to 2002, the Old Town was protected by street and community levels of government. Tourism was not developed much before 2002. To develop tourism, the Lijiang Municipality Government renewed the Old Town's Protection Plan in 2002. The Old Town was protected through a protection zone and a buffer zone. In the protection zone, all historic buildings and historic fabrics should be preserved. The building height was limited to two stories (6.5 meters), and the regulation allowed only local style when a house was changed to commercial use. The law restricted widening of streets inside the protection zone and only stone pavement was allowed. New buildings and renovations inside the buffer zone were required to follow the Lijiang style only. The protection zone covered an area of 6.7 hectares and the buffer zone was about 39.3 hectares. The Lijiang Municipality Government renewed the protection area in December of 2010.

The newest protection area (now called the Heritage Zone) covers an area of 21 hectares, and the buffer zone is 85 hectares. Most of the important tourist spots were included inside the protection area and the natural area surrounding the old town was designed in the buffer zone. Even though the government has a protection plan, the actual protection work was dependent on the local villagers for a long time. Although the area was included in the World Heritage Site, the local government did not have the ability to protect historic buildings they designed. From 2003 to 2006, Bureau of Lijiang Old Town got the chance to repair about 41 traditional houses inside Baisha with funding from UNESCO's Asia-Pacific Committee. They restored houses to their traditional look, including for example, their rooftops, structures, walls, and painting. In 2013, however, many of them had been changed to commercial use.

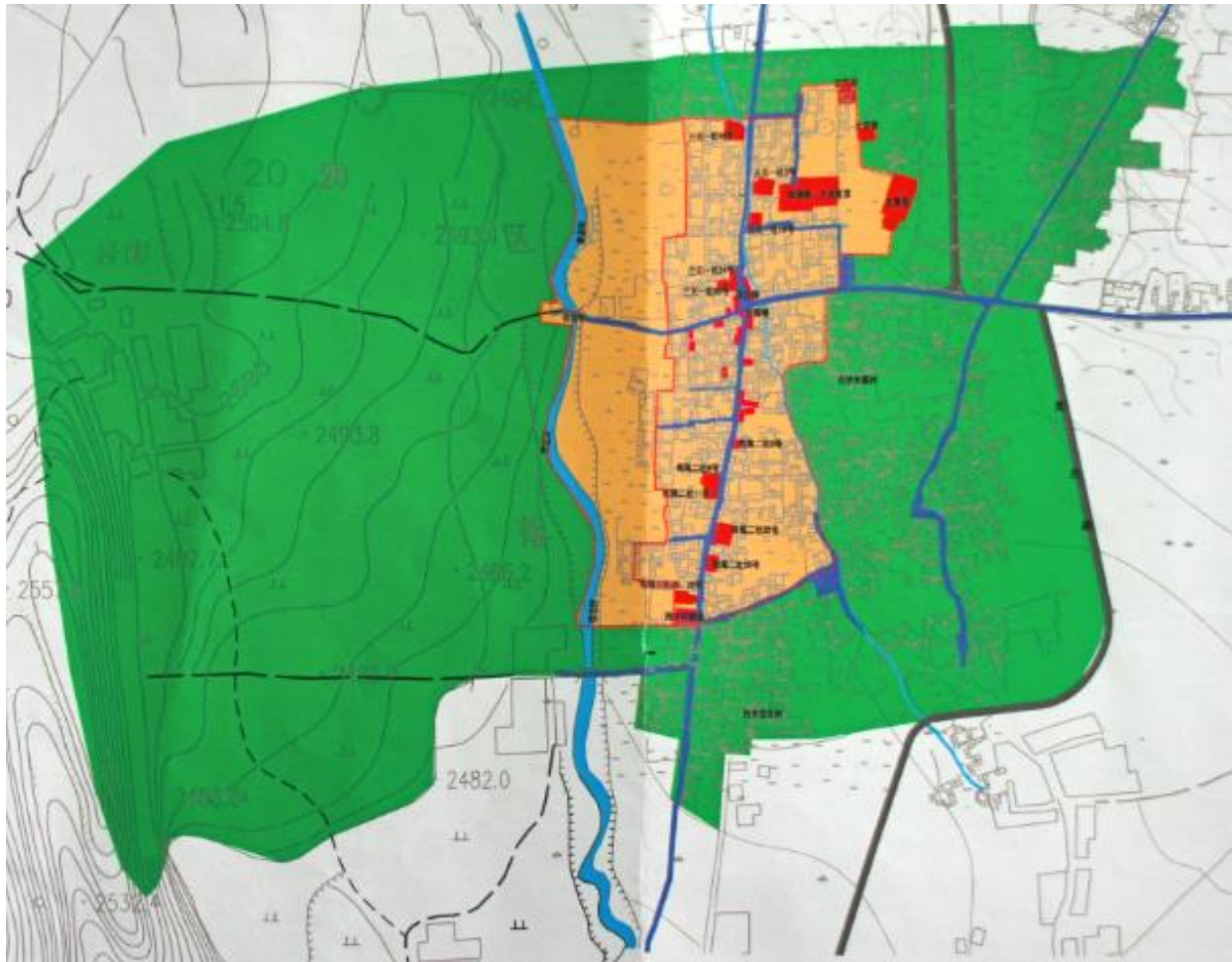


Figure 3.40. Conservation Plan for the Baisha Old Town. The orange area is the core area of protection, and the green area is the buffer zone. Red points are significant buildings designated by the Lijiang Municipality Government.

The Baisha Old Town is a traditional Naxi settlement. According to the local government, about 95% of local villagers speak the Naxi language although most of young generations don't wear traditional dress. Baisha has the largest concentration of religious heritage sites in Lijiang. However, the most famous religion, the Dongba religion (东巴教), as currently practiced, is questionable. Dongba has been propagated by the Lijiang Government as a local religion that originated in Baisha. According to local elders, the Dongba religion disappeared in Baisha after 1945. The religion has been reconstructed mainly for tourists after 2000. Restoration of Dongba did benefit the transmission of traditional Dongba culture to the younger generation. A recent case is the cooperation between the Ford Foundation and the

Baisha Elementary School to edit local materials into textbooks from 2005 to 2008. The project now focuses on documenting oral history of Baisha.

### ***Tourism development in this rural settlement***

The development of tourism in Baisha can be classified into two phrases: 1999-2003 and after 2004. In the earlier phase, tourism development was modest, and the tourist spots were still a part of the local people's daily life spaces. The development of tourism and local economy are rather isolated from other parts of Lijiang. After 2004, the Dingye Company received the operation rights and became responsible for the preservation of the Old Town. The new development changed the function of local spaces. The economy of the Old Town has been influenced by tourism development in Lijiang especially from the Dayan Old Town. The following discusses about how tourism development transforms local festivals and significant public spaces, and present new threats to Baisha.

### ***Rehabilitation of religious heritage sites***

Religious heritage sites are the most important tourist spots in the Baisha Old Town. Except for the Wenchang Temple that was built in the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), other temples were built in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). The Mu Family was believed to be the donor who supported the construction of these sites. Furthermore, the Baisha Mural was protected by the Mu Family members after the family lost its power in 1730. After 1959, the site became a public space although some of the buildings were occupied for storage. The Wenchang Temple became a school at that time. After 1978, the government withdrew its presence from some of the buildings, and the mural painting was given to the Lijiang Museum. The group of Baisha Mural Buildings actually included four religious buildings. Two of them were devoted to Chinese Buddhism, and the other two devoted to Tibetan Buddhism. According to local people, Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist monks each stayed in their own temples before 1949.

There is not much documentation about architectures of the Baisha Murals. Local elites believed that they were built by different Mu Family members at different times. The murals were originally called "Lijiang Murals." Most of the 49 existing murals are located in

the Baisha area, so people called them “Baisha Murals” (Li, 2006: 130). Most of the murals were about Buddhism stories as well as pictures of life in the frontiers. In terms of tourism development, the Baisha Mural and Yufeng Temple (玉峰寺) were two spots that were first developed in the early 1980s. Originally, the group of Baisha Mural buildings was a part of people’s life space. People used open space within buildings as their recreation space after the Cultural Revolution. The land was owned by the villages of Sanyuan and Taiping. During the World Floral Expo in Kunming in 1999, the local government developed an antique street at this spot. Some villagers came here to do different kinds of performances to entertain tourists, including singing and dancing by two groups of Baishaxiyue (白沙細樂) from nearby villages. The Baishaxiyue Performance Group was a free performance that volunteers performed in the place everyday. Members of the group were mostly retired teachers. The performing groups were dispersed in 2003 when the Dingye Company (the same developer as the Shuhe Old Town) acquired the operation rights to developing the Baisha Mural for tourism. The company built a wall to block from surrounding houses and encompassed all the religious buildings inside a walled enclosure for collecting entrance fees. The development involved the relocation of Baisha Elementary School, kindergartens, police offices, and other official institutes inside the wall. Villagers have not been allowed to perform inside or outside the tourist spots after 2004. At that time, there were several protests against the relocation. The company was eventually required to give a small amount of compensation to local villages. The place has since become a privately run tourist spot instead serving as the local people’s life space.





Figures 3.41, 3.42, 3.43, 3.44. (Clockwise from upper left) The original Fuguo Temple; opening ceremony for reconstruction of Fuguo temple in 2009; a Buddhist event in 2013 in Fuguo Temple; the 17<sup>th</sup> Dongbao Zhongba Lama (第十七世东宝·仲巴活佛) joined the ceremony.

(Photo Source: [http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog\\_4b1384050102eja.html](http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_4b1384050102eja.html))

The Dingye Company has not always won in developing tourism in the Baisha Old Town. Although the company acquired the operation rights to the Baisha Mural and Fuguo Temple, the development of Fuguo Temple was not smooth because the religious authority was involved. This Ming Dynasty temple was originally a Mahayana Buddhist temple in 1601 AD. The temple became a Tibetan Monastery in the Qing Dynasty that belonged to the Kagyu sect of Tibetan Buddhism. It has been destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. The structures of the temple and monastery were also stolen after the revolution. The Department of Culture reconstructed the temple during 1970s but two significant buildings, Wu Feng (五凤楼) and Zheng Men (正门楼), were moved to the Black Dragon Park (黑龙潭公园) near the Dayan Old Town in 1974.<sup>86</sup> The temple is believed to be one of the five Buddhist temples in Lijiang, and the building has influenced the four other buildings (Yang, 2007: 215). Local government put the rehabilitation of this temple into its tourism development plan and its “Baisha Cultural Tourism Circle Plan.” The Dingye Company also received the operation rights and sent monks to watch the temple. The local government could receive 40% of the tourism revenue from the company in 2003. However, on June 23, 2003, the Lijiang

<sup>86</sup> Source: <http://ljfgs.com/fxsqshow.aspx?NewsId=23>

Municipality Department of Religion issued an administrative order that the operation rights belongs to the religious sect.<sup>87</sup>

Starting in 2006, the Department of Religion has terminated the Dingye Company's development rights. In 2009, based on the National Religion Law, the Department of Religion in Lijiang reissued the operation rights to another religious organization to rehabilitate this significant temple. The Department of Religion paid living-expense subsidy (like salary) for monks to stay in the temple and attract tourists or people to pray in the temple. This event, on one hand, exemplified how local heritage sites had become battlefields between different administrative bodies in a popular tourist area. On the other hand, it shows how the government used religious heritage sites as a tool for collecting tourism income instead of supporting them as a living heritage for the community of believers and monks who support the religion. The temple rarely had any voluntary religious activity since the authorities rarely approved such activities given the government's interest in controlling religious activities in China. There were fewer visitors in the four other Buddhist temples in Lijiang that had been rehabilitated for tourists in an early era from 2000 to 2005. Fewer monks now stay in the temple, and most of them are very old (Zhao, 2009: 7). The experiences of Lijiang's religious heritage sites suggest the reality that rehabilitation of building doesn't translate into sustainability of local culture if there is no soil for the survival of local social networks.

### ***Tourism development in Baisha***

The Baisha Old Street is the most important tourist resource in the Old Town. From 1999 to 2001, there were about 2,500 visitors. The number of tourists decreased in 2002. According to the local government, tourism income decreased to about 6.75 million RMB. A new tourist plan was developed in 2003 when the Dingye Company acquired the operation right to tourism development in Baisha. The company built new road to this old town from Shuhe, put in stone pavement in the east side of the Old Town, and reopened the Baisha Mural in 2005. Tourist activities now occurred north and east of the Gatehouse, starting from the central square. Since the Baisha Mural is located at the entrance of the Old Town, it

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<sup>87</sup> <http://gwk.ljs.gov.cn/ReadNews.asp?NewsID=377>

resulted in a “U-shaped” tourist route. Most of the antique shops, restaurants, boutiques, and cafés were located on the north side in 2000 but had since expanded to the east side. The north side used to be called “foreigners street” (洋人街) by local people because most foreigners would show up there. The first noisy bar-café showed up in 2013 on the east side, which has changed the quality of the quiet local life. Less than ten guesthouses are located in the Old Town now. Most of them are located in the villages of Sanyuan, Yanjiao (岩脚), and Jiawei (街尾) where there are a total of 90 houses. Compared to other historic towns in Lijiang, Baisha has the smallest tourism development area located mostly along the main road extending from the central square. About 75% of original residents still stay in the old town. The central square still serves as a trading place for local people.



Figure 3.45 (Left) The gatehouse of Baisha old town beside the central square;

Figure 3.46 (Right) A local house. Due to crop reduction, there was not much crop stored in their buildings now.

### ***Baisha’s role in the tourism industry of Lijiang Old Towns***

About 2/3 of residents did not join tourism; however, some of the farmlands are left fallow. How do others earn their living? Local residents mentioned the event of “moving water from north to south” (北水南调) in 2007. Because of land development and possibly climate change, the Dayan Old Town started to have droughts. The Dayan Old Town is the most important tourist spot in Lijiang and without water the Dayan Old Town would change from being a “house by a bridge and water” to a “house by a bridge but no water.” To bring water to Dayan, the government diverted water from other upstream areas. However, Dayan

continued to lack water running through the Old Town for tourists to appreciate. The Lijiang Municipality Government then decided to move 2/3 of Baisha's agriculture irrigation water to Dayan starting in 2007.

The Sansu River (三束河) is the most important water resource in Baisha. Since the local soil is sandy, the water percolates quickly. To keep water in the soil, the villagers developed a special irrigation system and a unique social network. Local people would use a local plant which has fan-shaped thorns and press them with soil on top to hold water. To avoid unnecessary loss of water, the society developed scheduled irrigation (2~3 times each day). People would stand beside the water channel when it was irrigation time, and neighbors would help each other at that time. In the beginning, local farmers disagreed with diverting their water just for creating the scenery of water flowing through the Dayan Old Town. Villagers protested against the Lijiang Municipality Government many times from April to December 2007. The government finally decided to provide some fallow compensation to local villagers. The diversion of water resulted in about 9000 Mu (亩) (600 hectares) of farmland left in fallow, which was not good in a long term for growing crops again. The special local social networks would also disappear if the government couldn't solve the water problem for the Dayan Old Town in the future.

This water diversion policy also reflects the city government's imbalanced approach to improving the infrastructure for rural communities and tourism. Take the Yuhu Village (玉湖村) as an example, the villagers jointly spoke up against the City Government and staged demonstrations many times to refuse the policy. Located in the upstream area of Sansu River, Yuhu was the village most impacted by the policy. The villagers blocked the river for about 14 days in June of 2007. According to the policy, the government agreed to pay compensation based on the area of fallowed land or the amount of crops reduction as a result of the water diversion. There are three communities not included in the policy in Yuhu Village. The incident provided a good opportunity for the local villagers to restart the negotiation with the Lijiang Municipality Government to resolve the local tourism politics. The village also started to develop eco-tourism in 2004, with local party leaders organizing people to provide horse-riding tours to the nearby mountain area. However, people can only get 10-15% of the price that each tourist pays.<sup>88</sup> The villager leaders get the remaining

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<sup>88</sup> Interview with 20 stablemen in 2013 in the Yuhu Village.

revenue. For a long time, the village's tourism resource had been seized by a small group of local leaders.

Since then, the demands for improving the local economy had been suspended for a long time. The compensation is now being equally distributed to Baisha villagers according to the number in each household instead of farm area they have. Spatial use in the Baisha Old Town had changed since their granaries have been empty. Some people have rented out their houses for tourism business. This event reflects the local politics of tourism over agriculture and the vulnerability of tourism in the Dayan Old Town. The policy did not resolve the drought issue in the Dayan Old Town and protection of its most important water source, the Black Dragon Lake. The area of water diversion had been expanded to the upper part of Yulong Snow Mountain area of the Black and White River (黑白水). In addition, more water was brought in from 20 kilometers away east of Lijiang starting in 2008. With drought issue still unresolved in Lijiang, the government started to divert water from Lashi Lake (拉市海) and Qingxi Reservoir (青溪水库) as a long-term supply to Black Dragon Lake. The government spent so much effort to keep water in the Dayan Old Town because the area generates the most revenue to support the city's tourism industry. The long-term impact of the effort to beautify the Dayan Old Town on Baisha is unknown. In the meantime, some of the farmland in the buffer zone of the Baisha Old Town had been transformed by real estate development.



Figures 3.47 and 3.48 Black Dragon Lake before (2005) and after the drought (2013).

### *Change in spatial functions and revivals of cultural activities in the context of tourism*

The conservation policy for the Baisha Old Town applied the same structure as Dayan and Shuhe. The area was divided into a core zone and a buffer zone. Another component was to designate the specific buildings inside the Old Town based on their historic importance. Based on the experiences of other old towns in Lijiang, the protection of built form is not a guarantee for the resilience of local cultural practices. Will Baisha be a different story since many important religious heritage sites are located here? The development of the Baisha Old Town has focused on its history as “the first Naxi settlement” as well as “Naxi people’s belief center.” For this reason, Baisha Old Town’s spatial transformation is closely related to the development of local religious heritage sites. Two stages can be observed: during the World Floral Expo in Kunming in 1999 and after 2004 when the Dingye Company became involved in the local tourism industry and protection of local heritage. In the first phase, some houses along the north side of the main street had already been transformed into commercial space. In the second phase, the spatial transformation had been expanded to a wider area.

The history of Baisha suggests that the town was not only a space where Naxi ancestors were living but also a place for the origin of local religion starting in the Ming Dynasty. If we classify the space of cultural practices into life space and belief space, then Baisha now shows resilience in its function as a life space. However, people’s belief practices had been discontinued beginning with the Cultural Revolution. To develop tourism, the local government has a strong urge to revive religious activities in Baisha. They rehabilitated several religious heritage sites in this area as well as holding related festivals starting in 2005. Can people’s memory be reconstructed with a strong motivation of tourism revenue? How can the government rehabilitate local cultural practices? In the following, I will examine two examples that involved spatial restoration as well as cultural practices: the Sanduo Festival and the Dhama Kongpu Festival.

Most Naxi festivals are similar to that of the Han majority or other minorities in the region. For example, they also celebrate Lunar New Year, the Dragon Boat festival, Full Moon festival, as well as the Torch Festival (创美生恩节 or 火把节). Traditionally, Naxi people believe that Sanduo Festival (三多节) was their own festival only. There were several versions about the god of Sanduo that the god might be from the north and was originally from Tibet (Rock, 1999: 125). Another story was that the Sanduo used to be a soldier of the Mu Family, and people celebrated the festival to commemorate his battle. Most scholars

believe that the festival was related to Naxi people's worship of the Yulong Snow Mountain (He, 1986: 115-117). In particular, the Beiyue Temple was the place to worship the god starting from the Ming Dynasty. Local elders recalled that about 60-70% of Naxi people believed in the Sanduo God in the 1950s. A famous local scholar (方国瑜) first appealed to people that they should revise their traditional festival on February 8, 1985.<sup>89</sup>

The Lijiang County Government recognized Sanduo as a traditional Naxi festival in 1986. The reconstruction of local identity for this festival started from that time. The celebration of Sanduo was justified since rural Naxi villagers would go for outings and dance on the same date. Some other stories about the history of the Mu Family in Baisha also gave the justification to celebrate Sanduo. The Beiyue Temple (北岳庙) located in Baisha provided the best place to celebrate the festival. During 2001 and 2002, the local people celebrated Sanduo festival inside the Beiyue Temple organized by the local government. The festival has since been moved to the square of Baisha Murals to attract more tourists to visit the spot. The festival has been organized by the Dingye Company since 2003.<sup>90</sup> The company designed a ticket that allowed tourists to visit several cultural sites during this festival. They also held a series of performances or activities at places including the Baisha Old Street, the Baisha Mural, the Yufeng Temple, and other nearby tourist spots. The activities included, for example, the competition of traditional Naxi dances and Dongba Dance Performance. Most of these activities are not really related to the original celebration. It was clear that the festival has become a good chance for local government to develop tourism.

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<sup>89</sup> <麗江文史資料>第二輯

<sup>90</sup> See <http://www.17u.com/blog/article/1239845.html>



Figures 3.49, 3.50, 3.51, 3.52. The San Duo Festival and Dtam Kongpu Festival now are both celebrated in front of Baisha Mural Park. The two ceremonies are both started by Dongba, followed by all kinds of cultural performances. (Source: <http://www.17u.com/blog/article/1239845.html>)





Figures 3.53, 3.54, 3.55, 3.56. Torch Festival in 2012 in the central square of the Baisha Old Town. Local residents celebrated voluntarily and the whole ceremony was held till midnight. (Source: <http://q.sohu.com/forum/17/topic/3132155>)

Another festival that the Dingye Company has tried to reconstruct was the “Dhama Kongpu” festival (当美空普节). In the Naxi language, “Dhama” means mother’s house or old houses, and the term “Kongpu” means open the door of house. Therefore, the festival means the festival of opening mother’s house (Mu, 1998: 100). According to local elders, the festival is on the 20<sup>th</sup> of the Lunar New Year, and a Dharmapala (protector of dharma)<sup>91</sup> located inside one of buildings inside the Baisha Mural used to be worshiped during the festival. The name of the god was also called “Dhama,” and the festival might be named after the god as well and was meant to open the door of the Dharmapala’s house (Zhao, 2010: 2). The statue of the god was destroyed in the 1950s. The building was occupied by people after the 1950s, and the rest of buildings in different parts of the Old Town have been used for different purposes. One has been used as a guesthouse, and two of them were storage spaces for crops in a local family’s courtyard. The ceremony was originally performed by a Lama who would open the door of the god’s shrine and throw a live chicken for worshipping. Afterward, monks would chant all day into the night. Local people would go to pray to the god in the early morning, and then went to the Baisha square to buy goods (Yang, 2001: 140).

<sup>91</sup> Mahākāla is a Dharmapala in Vijrayana Buddhism. The god is often the most important protectoe of dharma. The god is typically in black color and this is the reason the god is called as black god(大黑天神). (Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahākāla>)

The controversy over who should be the priest of the ceremony became an important issue concerning the authenticity of the ceremony. Most scholars like Ge'agan and Gengsheng Bai think that the Dharmapala God had become one of Dongba religion's Hunting Gods, and some hunting villages in Lijiang would worship the hunting God facing toward Baisha on the 20<sup>th</sup> of Lunar New Year. However, according to Rock's (1999: 134) account, "two lamas stayed in the Dharmapala Temple. The shrine was always closed and was only opened once a year at the 20<sup>th</sup> of Lunar New Year..." During Rock's stay in Yunnan in the 1930s and 1940s, the ceremony was still hosted by lamas in the temple in Baisha. It is hard to say whose idea is historically authentic, but one old Dongba priest said to me that people did not build a temple to worship the God since the Dongba religion was a natural belief. For example, they didn't build temples to worship a tree God.

Regardless of the disputes, the temple was no longer a place for religious activities, and the ceremony had shifted to a new square for attracting tourists. The revival of the festival started in 2005, and has also been held in front of the Baisha Mural square organized by the Dingye Company. The ceremony is now started by a Dongba priest, followed by all kinds of performances similar to those in the Sanduo Festival. The festival itself has nothing in common with the original religious activities such as going to the temple to worship the God. Baisha residents still join the activities for fun and shop during the festival.

### ***Cultural state in the Baisha Old Town***

After the Dingye Company developed tourist spots in the Old Town, some parts of the space had changed. The Baisha Mural Park that used to be a public space for the local community had now been blocked. Religious heritage sites had been developed for tourists instead of rehabilitation of local belief systems. Cultural activities have been celebrated in new form, and the meaning has changed from religious to touristic performance especially during the Sanduo Festival and the Dhama-Kongpu Festival. In general, the Old Town is in a healthy state for original residents but is facing the danger of jumping into a transition state. In terms of spatial functions, the Baisha Old Town still retains 75% of its original residents. People who have moved out still return to the town to celebrate or visit their relatives. All the shops and guesthouses are only located in the north side of the wooded Baisha Gatehouse, extending to the Baisha Mural Park area that used to be commercial space before the 1999 Expo in Kunming. The souvenir shops, boutiques, and cafés don't produce noisy music and

destroy the atmosphere of this small old town. The central square is still the most important space for a market early every morning. It also serves as a place for celebration for original residents. The ceremony was small, and the host spoke the Naxi language to communicate with participants.

Also, most tourists would not pass the gatehouse toward the residential area to the south. The gatehouse differentiates tourist activities (to the north and east) and residential area (to the west and south). However, some guesthouses had already extended to the west side of the old town. Since the most important tourist resource had been outsourced to Dingye Company or other religious organizations for tourist purpose, it is difficult for local people to earn their living from the tourist industry. After the water diversion policy, many residents could no longer farm, and the economic structure of the Old Town had changed significantly in recent years. Since local people still stay together and with the elders close by, it provides the environment for routine cultural practice and for memory repair. Also the Old Town has the highest percentage of residents who can still speak Naxi language in Lijiang. This makes it easier for the school to edit local materials and for keeping historic record. For example, the volunteer group that used to perform inside the Baisha Mural Park but was expelled by the Dingye Company has recently been reorganized with new members. The organization included some local politicians, and they still perform Dongxing music freely on the main road. The organization is the only group that has the ability to compose and perform new music every month in Lijiang.

Figure 3.57 Cultural State in Baisha Old Town in 2013

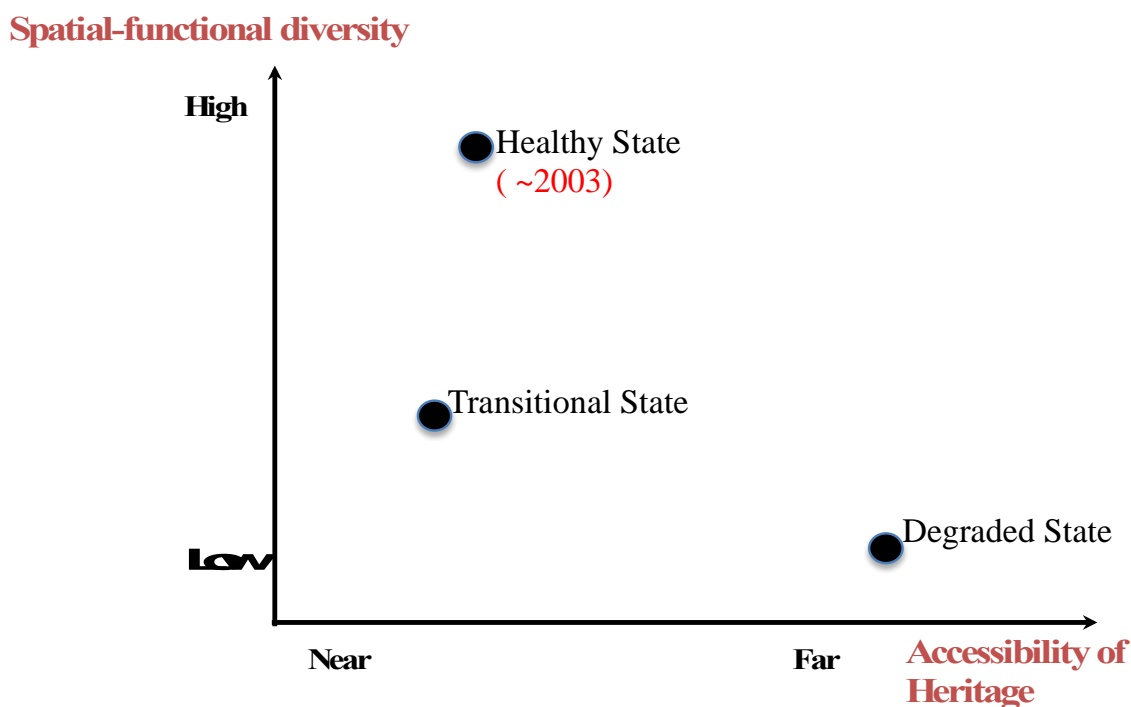


Figure 3.57 Cultural State in Baisha Old Town in 2013

Nevertheless, there appear to be some threats for the continuity of spatial functions in Baisha. Some yards have been transformed into hotels, guesthouses, and café in recent months. The rent now has become higher than 2003 before tourism development. Some of the private houses used for crops storage have been changed because the reduction of crops. If the tourist area expands and more residents move out, and original public spaces are no longer places for cultural practice. As such, the cultural state of Baisha would enter a transition state. The most important factors appear to be rent rate and the government's tourism policy in the future.

### 3.7 Lessons from the Lijiang Old Towns

The Lijiang Old Towns are the first ethnic minority settlements to have been inscribed together as a World Heritage Site in China. The protection of Lijiang Old Towns has a complex history in regard to the role of tourism development. It is significant to examine the Lijiang experience after 16 years of being a World Heritage Site in China, which has the

highest number of World Heritage Sites in Asia. As a World Heritage Site, the three old towns generally followed the UNESCO conventions in protecting their historic fabrics. They also satisfy the ICOMOS's monitory report in 2008, specifically the request to create a preservation master plan and a clear policy designating "core protection area" and "buffer zone." They also made the new developments comply with original historic environment in 2010 (Nishimura and Feng, 2008: 30). However, this is the time to discuss the outcomes of the plans and measures.

The Lijiang experience tells us that this type of zoning control (core protection and buffer zone) is questionable for protecting a living heritage. First, zoning control cuts local living space into several fragments. Using different tools to create historic atmosphere might meet the government's expectation of cultural tourism development. However, this idea has failed to sustain original residents' social-cultural networks since the functions of spaces are interdependent and significant for different social groups. Secondly, since the first time local government published its preservation plan in 1996, and the second time they modified the plan in 2010, local people had gone through three regime shifts in their relationship with the Old Town. Without a vigorous grassroots effort to recreate stable relationships with these spaces, each zone would only be significant for aesthetic appreciation and could not reflect diverse memories of residents over time. Thirdly, the most important public spaces for original residents in these three old towns are located in the core protection area. But because of spatial competition, the core area has always been designed for tourists instead of original residents. As a result, the core area has experienced the first generation of residential exodus. After several years of tourism development, this zone also became an area with the most expensive rent in three old towns. However, if the spatial functions allowed them to return to engage in all kinds of cultural practices, then the Dayan Old Town could still be significant as a living heritage for original residents, as when the Old Town was in its healthy and transition state from 1996 to 2005. When the government failed to control land use competition or produced a wrong policy on the improvement of local life for original residents, more tourism would result in a broader area of gentrification and displacement. Here, the land use competition also included the move to create gated space by developers. In such case, people's relationships with the heritage site would become remote since there is no accessibility for them in terms of functions or proximity.

The model of outsourcing tourism development as well as outsourcing preservation effort to the private sector is also problematic. The company would consider conservation solely based

on revenue generation. In the meantime, issues for the original residents have been ignored. The drought issue was a case in point. The public facilities that the company provides have been developed mostly to generate revenue. The company changed the spatial functions of the towns through their quasi-governmental role, but has been careless about the long-term spatial-financial justification. The Dingye Company's new Sifang Music Square and ticketed events can be examined in this context. The term "landscape coordination" has been overused by the local government as an "environmental cleansing" to move people from the Old Towns. This action has triggered regime change in local life. People's life has changed from a transition state to an degraded state from 2005 to 2013 for the original Dayan Old Town residents. In the Shuhe Old Town, residents' life has changed from a healthy state to a transition state after 2003. However, during transitional state, it is likely to restore local regime back to a healthy state if policy could figure out there's a degraded condition in local cultural practices. Furthermore, the government has tried to ease its financial pressure by "borrowing" both from developers and banks, which has further worsened the local government's finance. The protection fee they collected to protect the old town has been used for demolishing all modern buildings inside and moving out activities that do not comply with the tourism industry. Conflicts between different interests and policies have played an important role of triggering regime change. The Dayan Old Town Government on one hand published policy to encourage original residents to stay. On the other hand, the government continued to relocate institutes, companies, and their communities from the old town.

In general, the Lijiang Municipality Government has a strong motivation to develop heritage sites to grow the local economy; however, they have failed to deal with the social-cultural impacts brought by tourism. Now the government has discovered that there is a limit to what the local environment can endure. For example, the Black Dragon Lake had been in drought for more than two years, and there is less available water that can be diverted. Now the government has a strong feeling that the tourism kingdom they had built for the last two decades is vulnerable. In the meantime, a new electrolysis aluminum project has been planned since 2009. The electrolysis aluminum project is a highly polluting and water consuming industry. The new development is believed to be the biggest threat for local tourism from a larger scale of the city. In the meantime, if tourism development does continue, it is likely that Shuhe and Baisha will follow the footsteps of the Dayan Old Town where residents have left and became a theme park merely for tourism.

## **Chapter 4. Cultural Resilience in Bagan, Burma**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The resilience of heritage management in this research is concerned with how the management systems meet the local needs of sustaining a living heritage. A living heritage in Bagan is the belief system, which refers to continued connections between a site and its users, for example, a temple that continues to be both worshipped by its believers and can attract more believers over time. Bagan is a religious site in Burma. It is also a national-level Archaeology Site. Currently, the monuments are maintained through different mechanisms depending on where they are located. Generally speaking, there are four types of locations: monuments located in the city, monuments located in a small village, monuments in Old Bagan (but their original residents had been relocated to New Bagan area), and monuments maintained by the Archaeology Office. Monuments of the first type each has trustee committee with senior monks and nationwide donors to support the rehabilitation needs; the second type of temples are managed each by a local trustee committee, a monks committee, and nearby villagers as main donors. For the third types of temples, since people who belonged to the temples had moved to New Bagan, their relationships with the temple had changed in the new belief regime because of the distance. I will discuss specific cases later in this chapter. The fourth types of monument are ones without specific association with nearby villagers, and are conserved by the Bagan Archaeology Office. To examine resilience in the local belief system (the cultural-material system) from the local community perspective in Bagan, I chose the Shwezigon Temple as an example of the first type, the Manuha Temple for the second prototype, and the Bupaya Temple for the third type to discuss how their conservation contributes to the resilience of the local cultural-material system or not. I also discuss specific mechanisms that contribute to the resilience of the living heritage. The Bagan Archaeology Office is currently taking care of the fourth type of cases, which is not in the scope of my research.

In this chapter, I begin by providing a short history of heritage management for the Bagan Archaeology Sites in recent decades. The current built form and rehabilitation of the

monuments was influenced by the involvement of UNESCO and international organizations after the 1975 earthquake. Further rehabilitation after 1996 also influenced the state of monuments now. The examination of resilience here looks at whether the temple provides an everyday landscape with multiple and routine functions for local villagers, monks, local leaders, and regional pilgrimage. Related to this, the relocation policy in 1990 is discussed to see what social change occurred in the believers' relationship with the original heritage and how people try to establish the relationships in a new regime. I also discuss resilience in temple festivals specifically how the multi-functional festivals satisfy local needs over time. Finally, I try to discuss factors that contribute to resilience in living heritage from the local perspective in the Bagan case.

## 4.2 Background

Bagan is located in a plain in the middle of Burma, covering an area of about 16 square miles along the east bank of the Ayeyarwaddy River (see figure 4.1). Monuments in Bagan were mostly erected during the Bagan Dynasty (11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century) when the Kingdom has a long history Buddhist religion advocated by its fifty-five Kings. King Pyinbya was the builder of the present-day Bagan city wall.<sup>92</sup> He moved



**Figure 4.1. Location of Bagan in Burma**

<sup>92</sup> The King Pyinbya was the 34<sup>th</sup>

(Source of map: <http://eye-maps.com/bagan-myanmar-land-of->

Bagan residents is for the excavation of this old city wall, which I will discuss later in this chapter.

the capital from Tampawaddy (now known as Pwasato), and as a result the Kingdom had two capitals in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The Bagan dynasty ended in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. According to stone inscriptions, thousands of pagodas had been built in the Bagan plain at that time. Epigraphic evidence suggests that the dynasty began with Anawrahta King (1044~77 AD)<sup>93</sup> who built the Shwezigon Pagoda.

The ancient city of Old Bagan was the ancient capital of Bagan Kingdom. The city also used to be important Buddhist capital for centuries. The Bagan Archaeology Area occupies 19 square miles and is located in the Mandalay Division of Burma. The site has 3,122 ancient monuments built from 10 to 18 AD. Bagan is the top national archaeological site and monument zone in Burma. It was first inscribed in the “A list of objects of archaeological interest in Burma” in 1884 by the British colonial government. The area was designated as Archaeological Site in 1901, and the office was located in the north side of the Mahabodhi Temple. In 1902, the Burma Epigraphic Office was the branch of Indian Archaeological Office. The office set up a museum in the Ananda Temple in Bagan in 1904 showing historical properties, stone inscriptions, carving, etc. The museum was the first one in Burma. Official rehabilitation work was started in 1931. At the same time, murals, Buddha statues, and ancient artwork were also repaired by this branch office. An independent Epigraphic office for Burma was set up after Burma’s independence in 1937. During World War II, the Mandalay office moved to Bagan and set up a tentative office for protecting monuments in Bagan in 1946. The Archaeology Office under the Ministry of Culture was set up in 1964 for extending interests on Mon, Burma and other minority culture in Burma.

The first version of the Cultural Protection Law was published in 1962, and the Ministry of Culture started to work the conservation of monuments. The first hotel of Tiripaccaya was constructed in 1972 where the “Buddha Slave”<sup>94</sup> villages were located originally. They were relocated to south of Shwezigon Saydi. Major work on rehabilitation of

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<sup>93</sup> Source: <http://www.tourpagan.itgo.com/archi2.html>

<sup>94</sup> Buddha Slave means people were chosen by the King to take care of temples and Buddha stuffs started from ancient Burma era. Their dignities are hereditary and not transferable. People will donate part of their crops to the temple and Buddha slave would eat them. Buddha slaves are begging when lack of offerings. In Burmese tradition, it is a sign of luck to offer to these “Buddha Slaves”.

Bagan monuments was carried out after the 1975 earthquake in the area. The nation formed a “Research Committee” and a cooperative office between the Departments of Archaeology and Construction to restore monuments destroyed by the major earthquake. Many funds came from international organizations with expertise from Japan, China, India, Thailand, and Indonesia. Bagan was known internationally after the earthquake, and international conferences were held to discuss methods for conserving the site. Bagan was nominated by Burma government as the UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1994, but the nomination was refused later because of Burma government’s construction of a two-way road and golf course. In 1994, the Japan Trust Fund funded a master plan made by Professor Yukio Nishimura of the University of Tokyo for protecting Bagan monuments.

During the military Junta era, the government moved residents in the Old Bagan area to New Bagan in 1988. The relationships between people and heritages have changed after that move. In addition, people were not allowed to build a new Saydi (venerated Buddhist building, see below definition) in Bagan in 1988. However, in the same year, the government designated four hotel zones for developing tourism. Without resident in the Old Bagan area and the decay of monuments, the office conducted a donation drive for repairing monuments in Bagan from 1996 to 2006. Addition to the nation wide donation for repairing Bagan monuments, the Bagan Archaeology Office got budget support led the rehabilitation of monuments during that time. Before 2000, the government allocated 10 million Kyat per year for repairing monument in Bagan, and planned to repair about 30 Saydis annually.

### *Significance of Saydi*

A Saydi is not only a building. They become more significant when the society keeps worshiping and developing unique social-political mechanisms to support the religion. In Burma, Saydi involved almost every social class in its history. In Bagan, the history started from the kings and nobles who donated to construct Saydi, the elites class donated Buddha slaves to take care of the temple, and civilians were required to or voluntarily offer foods and money to monks and to restore their Saydi to maintain them always in good condition. These Buddhist buildings have a long history of being sites of Burma’s political and social movement. In this section, I explore the significance of Saydi not only as a built form but also as a social field to discuss the relationship policy that related to rehabilitation, relocation and resilience.

Buddhist architecture in ancient Burma was influenced mainly by India and Ceylon where the religion originated. According to the Buddhist Sutra (Nidhikanda Suttam), all holy objects can be called “Citiya (Saydi in Burma).”<sup>95</sup> Citiya is not necessary a building, it is an abstract meaning. Objects including stone, hills, or forest can all be called Citiya. According to the Magadhi Dictionary, citipa is Saydi. In the beginning, the term of “citiya” was referring to solid building, and a hollow built type was called “Saydi” (Burmese-English Dictionary, 2005). The term of Stupa (thupa in Pali) has been used as Citiya (Saydi) in Burma (Panita, 2011: 19). I use the term Saydi in this dissertation, which is used in Burma now. In the Fuzang Scriptures,<sup>96</sup> things that have been used by Buddha like his alms bowl, cassock, stick, cups, etc. are homage objects. The Buddhist scripture of “Kalinga bhodijataka atthakatha” describes four types of Saydi: Relic Saydi, Buddha Statue Saydi, Object Saydi, and Symbolic Saydi. A Saydi with relic objects enshrined inside is “Relic Saydi.” Other types like a Saydi that collects Buddha’s objects is called “Object Saydi,” a Saydi that has Buddhist theology or classics is called “Symbolic Saydi,” and a Saydi that has Buddha statue inside is called “Buddha statue Saydi.” Buddha had said that “four types of people should worship in saydi: Buddha, enlightened people (Pali: Pacceka Buddha), Arhat (Pali: Arahant)<sup>97</sup> and Chakravartin (Pali: Cakkavatti).<sup>98</sup> These Buddhist buildings were originally from India but had developed different crafts of art after the religion has thrived in Burma for centuries.

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<sup>95</sup> Original scripture in Pali language is “Cayitabbanti cetiyam, pujetabbanti vuttamhoti, citattava cetiyam.”

<sup>96</sup> Fuzanf Scriptures (Pali: Nidhikanda tika) is a series sutra. Original scripture in Pali is “cetiyananti atthamdasseti buddhehipari bunjitabboti patta, civara, dandadini, paribhagonama, paribogo bhagavata paribunjitabba bavato, sacetiyanca devamanussehi pujetabbatoti paribhogacetiyanam devamanussehi pujetabbatoti paribhogacetiyanam buddhapatimatibuddham patisadisam katva manitabbati buddhapatima, dhatugabbha thupati dhatugabbhasmim, ete sam cetiyananti dhatugabbhaca tethupa, cati dhatugabbhathupa.”

<sup>97</sup> Arhat is a perfected one who has attained nirvana.

<sup>98</sup> The term is from Indian legend meaning a king that rules the earth and universe.



Figure 4.2. Encased pagoda and encased Buddha statue in Bagan. People found the inner layer after 1975 earthquake. Bagan Archaeology Office didn't restore the outer shape and leave it as it was to visitors.



Figure 4.3. Inner Buddha statue was found by treasure seekers.



Figure 4.4 There used to be an outer Saydi enshrining the two Saydis inside but that was destroyed in the 1975 earthquake. And scholars think that the two small Saydis might be the original models of Bupaya and LawKaNanda Saydis.



Figure 4.5 Schematic diagram of Shwedagon's 7 layers encased pagoda. (Ashin, 2008: 330)

A Burmese saying that “One hundred thousand of elephants, horses, carriages, or a jewelry girl can not compare with a people on his way to respect Saydi.” Many Buddhist scriptures describe stories about how respecting Saydi can have human-world, heaven and

nirvana merits. In Burma, the construction of a Saydi represents the Burmese view of the universe and a process of transmitting traditional crafts. There are two ways of constructing Saydis. One type is called “encased pagoda” (see figures 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4), which enshrines a smaller-size Saydi inside; the other is a single-layer Saydi. Burmese like to enshrine or encase Saydis that they respect for, and they have a complicate history of building a higher Saydi each time to cover the holy one inside to get more merit. The Shwezigon in Bagan is an example of a double-encased pagoda. The inner one was built by former King Anawrahta and the outer layer was constructed during King Kyanzitta. There are also triple-encased pagodas in Bagan, like Dangti Daung Saydi. The Shwedagon Saydi in Yangon is a famous example of encased pagoda. Since its complicated history started before BC with no record from that era, and as Burmese kept building a higher Saydi covering inner buildings, it is hard to prove how many layers of buildings are inside. The legend said “originally the Saydi has 7 layers of pagoda<sup>99</sup> (see figure 4.5), and was only 66 inches high when the Ukkalapa King built his layer in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The Saydi was maintained by the coming 32<sup>nd</sup> King to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Saydi became 338 inches tall in 1775 when the King of Shin Pu built the 7 layers of *Hti*<sup>100</sup> (umbrella in Burmese)” (Ashin, 2008: 331).

The rehabilitation of Saydi involves a complex history involving political leaders’ ambition and the significance of the Saydi to civilians in Burma. Just like other parts of Burma, craftsmen consider it an honor for restoring Saydis and ancient monuments in Bagan. Each Saydi has its own small belief society of monastery, monks groups, different levels of management committee and affiliated village groups. In the Burmese tradition, people want to build a larger Saydi and hope to restore decayed Buddhist buildings with the best techniques they have in their era. Since locals have a strong identification of specific Saydi near their neighborhood, monks who link the religion and civilians play an important role in the society. They provided education to nearby villages, solve social issues, influence the government, and lead people to restore their temples in modern time. If a Saydi exists already, donors sometimes would be suggested to build a higher Saydi to enshrine the

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<sup>99</sup> It is believed that 7 layers of encased pagoda included golden, silver, copper, bronze, iron, marbles, and small pagodas insides.

<sup>100</sup> Hti is the top portion of a pagoda that is the symbol of worshipping Buddha with umbrella. In Burmese tradition, umbrella is the symbol of Kingship or venerable.

original one inside. The benefit is that it won't destroy the existing belief systems. For this reason, the government published laws about constructing or restoring Saydi (or Buddha statue) for the peacefulness of local politics. Repairs should be made with the permission of the Ministry of Culture, Owadar-Sariya, and the local government started from 1982. The regulations also included how to name a Saydi, how to repair the *Hti*, taboos of opening treasure box enshrined in the original Saydi when restoring, and the application of constructing a monastery, etc. The law was published after the first National Executive Sangha Meeting June 2, 1982. The Directory Document was for maintaining a peaceful order of local communities (donors), as well as the harmony among religious groups. For example, some might exclude other Buddhist factions from constructing new monasteries in a place.

According to traditional saying, ancestors were taught to build three-dimensional grain Saydis by the God of Sakka who was leading the Heaven. Shwedagon Saydi is an example of this story. A circular Saydi is called "Ceylon type" or "Sa Gain" type in Burma. It is believed that the type of Saydi was directed by Moses Tuo who brought Buddhist Tripitaka (佛法三藏) to Ceylon in Ashoka the Great era (304-232 BC). Bupaya is an example of this type. Buddhist Sutra mentioned that people could get merit from worshipping Saydi. According to the Mahaparinibbana Suttam, Buddha said "Ananda,<sup>101</sup> people who respect Saydi with their whole life, their reincarnation would be in Heaven."<sup>102</sup> Burmese believe that they could get the merit of the World, Heaven, and Nirvana if they worship Saydi as well as through accumulation of good Karma (Pali: parami kusala).<sup>103</sup> Worshipping Saydi can get

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<sup>101</sup> Ananda was one of the principal disciples and devout attendants of the Buddha. The Annansa had the most retentive memory and most of the suttas in the Sutta Pitaka were attributed to his recollection of the Buddha's teachings during the First Buddhist Council. He was known as the Guardian of the Dharma.

<sup>102</sup> Original Pali record is "Yehikeci ananda cetiyacarikam ahinthanta pasanna cittakalam karissanti. Sabbete kayassabheda pamarana sugatim saggam lokam upapajjissantiti."

<sup>103</sup> In Buddhism, Parami refers to the perfection of certain virtues, and these virtues are cultivated as a way of purifying Karma and helping the aspirant to live an unobstructed life, while reaching the goal of enlightenment. In the process of transmigration, one who wants to become a Buddha or Arahan should follow 10 kinds of Paramita (including generosity,

merit not only for this life but also for the next life. In Burma, a Saydi normally has two to three collection boxes. The boxes are for collecting not only relic objects, but also treasure to satisfy the Ten Perfections. The Ten Perfections influence the Burmese lifestyle and their relationship with Saydi.

### ***Issues of Rehabilitating Bagan monuments from 1976 to the 1990s***

If we visit the site now, we can see that most of monuments have been rehabilitated. The rehabilitation works was done in different eras. In recent decades, works was done in two phrases: first after the 1975 earthquake and then from 1990 to 2008. According to the Bagan Archaeology Office, the rehabilitation of Bagan monuments generally followed the UNESCO international guidelines for the preservation of monuments with “minimal intervention.” The government conducted some conservation work rather than renovation since Bagan was in the tentative list of UNESCO World Heritage site. There were about 90 Saydis with their tops remaining in the original condition. However, some of them look totally new now. Before we talk about the built form, we should discuss the social mechanisms that supported rehabilitation work in different times. From 1975 to 1996, UNESCO provided equipment and experts on an advisory board.<sup>104</sup> UNESCO helped repair three temples at that time, and the rest monuments were repaired by the Special Construction Group in Bagan including experts from Yangon and local engineers. Most of the monuments were repaired by local Gopaga but through consultation with the Bagan Archaeology Office. Each temple has its own donors as hosts to rehabilitate damaged monuments. After the major earthquake in 1975, Bagan caught a lot international attention and ICOMOS experts had stayed in Bagan to develop a “Master Plan” for managing Bagan Archaeology Site in 1994.<sup>105</sup> However, after the political system changed in 1988, the site had been forgotten for a long time.

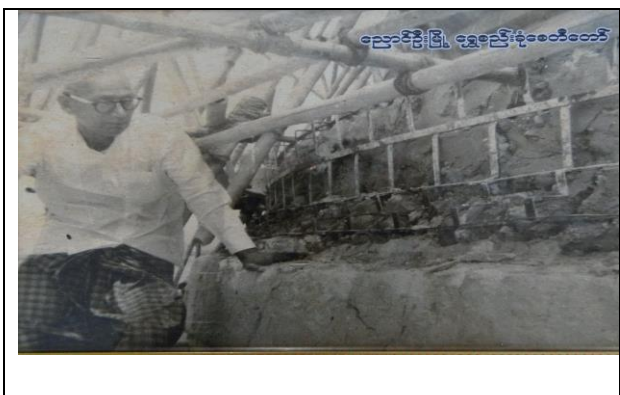

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virtue, renunciation, transcendental wisdom, diligence, tolerance, truthfulness, determination, loving-kindness and equanimity.)

<sup>104</sup> Experts from Italy: Mr. Lugen, Miss Sari, Mr. Baobegin, from Yugoslavia: Mr. Cahwanbun, and Mr. Pierre Pichard.

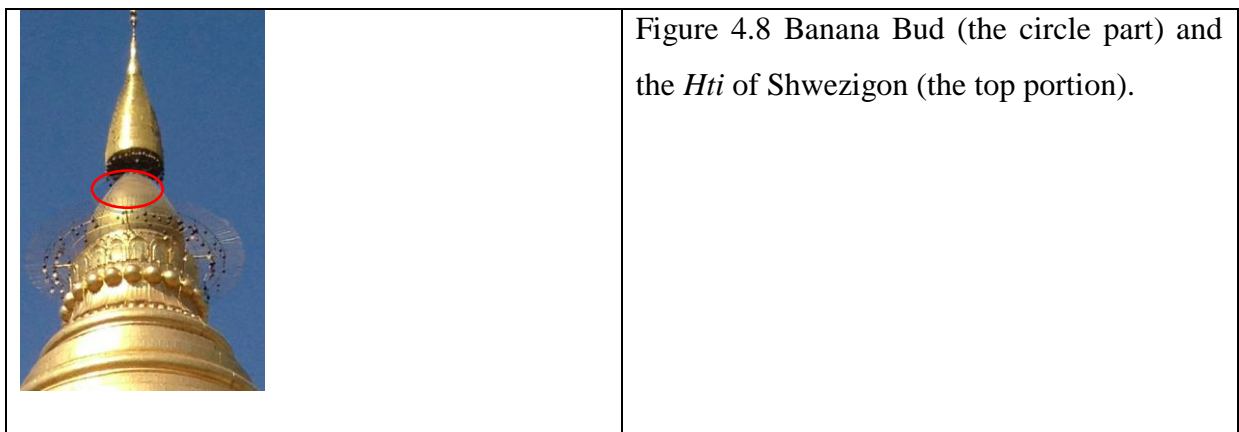
<sup>105</sup> Yukio Nishimura who was former vice president of ICOMOS and Professor of University of Tokyo.

There was not much attention by people toward restoring monuments in Bagan before 1996. At that time, monuments were maintained by villagers who belonged to the belief system. From 1996 to 2000, to rehabilitate neglected monuments, the Bagan Archaeology office announced a nationwide fundraising effort for restoring monuments in Bagan, Mandalay, and Yangon in newspapers. The government formed two “Special Construction Groups” to restore Bagan monuments. One group was led by Daw Tin Nwee Aye specialty was restoring large Saydi. She has 4-5 architects whose background were engineers. Another Special Construction Group was led by U Aung Kyng whose specialty was restoring medium and small-size Saydi. They reviewed all applications of restoring Bagan monuments from 1996 to 2008. Rehabilitation works was asked to follow John Marshall’s concepts from his book Conservation Manual. The two working groups had their office in the Bagan Archaeology Office. At that time, donors would be allocated specific Saydis that needed to be repaired in Bagan. Architects would provide budget plans to donors and methods of rehabilitation.

	
<p>Figure 4.6 Photo of repairing iron frame of Shwezigon in 1996. (Gopaga provide)</p>	<p>Figure 4.7 Photo of placing steel axis of Shwezigon in 1996. (Source: Gopaga)</p>

If there was a lack of record about what the original monuments looked like, the working groups would refer to existing Saydis and murals, like those inside Nandamanna Saydi, as samples to repair different types of Saydis. The government collected donation money from the entire country to repair Saydis in Bagan. This included an annual budget of 10 million Kyat to repair the Bagan monuments from 1975 to 1996 (see figures 4.6 and 4.7). For some wealthy temples like Ananda and Shwezigon, the government just provided 50% with the

other 50% from the temple's Gopaga<sup>106</sup> (trustee committee in Burmese). For famous Saydis like Bupaya, their funds were raised with the help of elites in Burma. Small Saydis were repaired by groups of donors whose names were inscribed on the stone. Most monuments in Bagan now have been repaired from 1996 to 2008. Since Saydis are allowed to gild, before gilding, large temples like Shwezigon, Ananda that were allowed to put iron frames and steel axis on their Banana Bud<sup>107</sup> (made of alloy of five metals; see figure 4.8) for setting up (crown) simultaneously. For this reasons, the Banana Bud from the top portion of most Saydis in Bagan had been newly restored after 1995.



However, the methods applied from 1996 to 2000 were criticized by UNESCO as “a Disney-style fantasy version” of rehabilitation on the most significant religious site (Hudson, 2008; Crampton, 2005). The criticisms were all about issues of authenticity concerning the built form and decorations, such as the *Hti*. For the *Hti*, it was criticized as “a standard feature of modern Saydis” (Hudson, 2008). However, the additional *Hti* had been set up on top of Shwezigon in the 11th century when the King Kyanzitta finished the temple and enshrined with Mon style *Hti*. The issue of authenticity here might be relevant if they were setting a metal *Hti* on top of Saydis that did not have it originally. However, it was difficult for a site without enough records to consider authenticity. Also, in the Buddhist tradition, Saydis were repaired for hundreds of years by donors who were always willing to apply the newest crafts,

<sup>106</sup> Gopaga is a trustee committee composed of local retired elites. Gopaga's mission is to maintain the temple, festival organizing and routine Buddhist activities arrangement.

<sup>107</sup> Banana Bud is normally composed of Sathwa Bud, big zoon, the vane, small zoon, and the *Hti* (crown), and Diamond Orbit.

although the style was not allowed to change according to the Burmese custom. Actually, people have applied traditional methods for rehabilitating a Saydi in Burma, which had been used for a long time before the Cultural Laws had been published. The traditional rules had been transmitted via local craftsmen. For example, donors were not allowed to change the style of original Saydi.<sup>108</sup> They also could not change the name, and were bound by several taboos. This traditional knowledge has assured that most monuments were kept in the same shape although there might be some differences. These included decorations or some conventional methods of introducing additional structures that might damage the remaining portion. For example, if people setting up new *Hti* on top of an encased pagoda, the iron pipe would need to stick into the top of inner Saydi. It was possible to damage the inner top of Saydi. A Bagan officer said:

“Sometimes we should compromise since Burma is a Buddhist country. We also know that gild Gold Leaf on the surface of monuments does not conform to international guidelines. However, we restore monuments as a place of worship and as living heritage. There are also benefits of contemporary methods, such as putting an iron net on the surface of monuments will extend the longevity of gild. But it is true that we will not able to see the original monuments. However, monuments in Bagan have been repaired many times in history. Because it is believed that by restoring a Saydi, people can get merits for their life. They don’t want their Buddha or where their Buddha live to be in bad conditions. For this reason, we started our major rehabilitation work in 1995.”

Since Bagan is being proposed again for consideration of the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage site, a new regulation was issued in 2013. According to the new law, temples that already applied gilding are allowed to continue. But new restoration has been prohibited in recent years (the government allowed people to restore monuments in the condition of mounds or decayed stupas that have or have not been re-gilded by unknown donors). The rehabilitation work in 1976 and 1995 of Bagan monuments also resulted in Saydis becoming higher. It is the tradition in Burma that temples should be greater or higher after each

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<sup>108</sup> According to “Regulations for Constructing or Rehabilitation Saydi”, they classified many types of Saydi in Bagan type, Caves Saydi, Bo Bo Gyi Paogdas, etc. The National Sangha committee would recognize the style, names, process of repairing, ceremony, etc.

rehabilitation. For example, the Bupaya is a totally new construction since its whole Saydi fell into river during the major earthquake in 1975. The top of the Manuha Temple also became higher after 1996. However, some monuments in good condition and with minor renovation in 1996, such as the Shwezigon and Ananda temples, remained in their original size. Another issue of rehabilitation in 1996 was about the top of Saydi where there now normally has a Hti in Bagan. It was known that before Ava era, there was no iron (or copper) hti (or umbrella) on top of Bagan monuments. In early era, the Concentric Rings or the Banana Bud was symbol of Buddha, which was the top of Saydi in Bagan. According to a Bagan Archaeology officer, “the Burmese style of Hti was set up on top of Banana Bud after Ava era. The layered (normally in odd number) umbrellas (or Hti) represent saluting of Buddha by many gods. Some scholars think that modern Burmese Hti is symbol of crown that deifies the royal power” said a Bagan Archaeology officer.

Laws that influence management systems in Bagan include new regulations published by Department of Religion. There are several changes in traditional management mechanisms recently. At temples with Gopaga, it was their responsibility to maintain and carry out minor repair works after 1996. The laws included regulation of Gopaga in Bagan and Nyaung U area in opening the money collection box once each month and storing money in banks. When Gopaga needs to repair temples, they need to submit a proposal to the Bagan Archaeology Office. Once they are allowed, they can withdrawal money from bank. Normally, the Gopaga will get an advance from temple’s saving to repair the temple, and then engage in fundraising afterwards.

### ***Routine maintenance of monuments in modern Bagan: the Hti (umbrella) and Gilding***

A recent issue for the conservation of Bagan monuments is about the topic of authenticity, specifically whether they should install the Hti (metal umbrella), believed to be a modern decoration on top of the Saydi or temple. Another issue is whether people should gild these ancient monuments resulting in the inability to appreciate the original fabric of the monuments. Here, I discuss the origin of Hti and the history of gilding in Burma. Then I discuss how different actors look at their recent interventions in terms of the conservation of ancient monuments and the sustainability of their religion.

#### **The Hti**

In Burmese culture, the umbrella is the metaphor of noble power or Buddha. Umbrella is also a symbol of a palace or imperial power in Burma. For the Emperor, *Hti* has the significance of highest ruling power or core power. People have used “broken umbrella and split drum” as metaphor of a subjugated nation. To respect Buddha or holy objects, people would put umbrella on top of Saydi. Putting an umbrella on top of Saydi means Buddha’s all knowledge (in Pali: sabbabhu).<sup>109</sup> Burmese use the term of “opened umbrella” as metaphor of Buddha’s all-knowledge. In some murals of Bagan Saydi, umbrella has usually been used as a symbol of Buddha.



Figure 4.9 Shan-style Hti enshrine in Thakong, Shan State in Northern Burma. (Source: <http://www.flickrriver.com/places/Myanmar/Shan+State/Samka/>)

Traditionally, *Hti* has been installed on top of every religious building or Buddha statue. In India, Buddhist buildings built by the King Adawga in 200BC in Sanchee Area also included the *Hti*, symbol of a complete Saydi. In Burma, there are three types of *Hti*—

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<sup>109</sup>一切知智：佛陀菩提樹下證得的智慧，就是叫一切知智

Burma-style, Mon-style and Shan-Style. “The Burma-style (figure 4.12) might be the first *Hti* that appeared in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, followed by the Mon-Style (figure 4.13) enshrined in Shwezigon in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and the Shan-style hti enshrined on stupas in the Shan State (Figure 4.9) in the 15<sup>th</sup> century according to Aung Kyang. From bottom to the top, the structure of these Indian religious buildings have Bisaya as the base, followed by semicircular steps (Pali: Anda), a square box shape (Pali: Hamiga) for enshrining holy objects for people to pay respect, and finally the Hti on top (Pali: Sadawali). The terraces (or Bisaya in Pali) have paved corridor for people to make a formal visit to the Buddha (Soe, 1986). By being at the highest level, the *Hti* means the Buddha. With the semicircular step below that signifies Mt. Meru, the *Hti* means that Buddha is the highest.

	
<p>Figure 4.10 Mural painting shows flag was the decoration on top. (Source: U Win Mg Myint, Old Photo of Bagan period mural painting taken in 1905)</p>	<p>Figure 4.11 Monuments in Bagan. Bagan-era the Banana Bud is the top of a stupa, which had been called Hti.</p>

Is it true that the addition of *Hti* or metal umbrella is “a standard feature of modern Saydis” after restoration in the 1990s (Hudson, 2008: 11). The debate concerns whether it is historically authentic to add a metal Hti on top of ancient Bagan monuments. Here, we should discuss if there was metal Hti in the Bagan Dynasty. The Mon-style Hti installed on top of Shwezigon and composed of several types of metal materials is believed to be the first metal *Hti* installed on top of a Saydi in the 11<sup>th</sup> century in the Bagan area. But there was another

view that there were not many metal *Hti* installed on top of Saydis in the Bagan dynasty; only smear lime *Hti* has been constructed on the Saydi. Also, if we see some murals from the earlier era (figure 4.10), we could see there was a Dagan (flag) hanging on the top of a completed Saydi. Therefore, it might be true that the Banana Bud (Pali: Sadawali) was the top of Saydi in the earlier Bagan Dynasty. Some scholars believe that there was no umbrella on top of Saydi in the early era (Hlain, 1992: 116). However, some stones in the Bagan Dynasty have the words “constructing umbrella and hanging bells...” inscribed (Minnandatulay Myet Saydi’s stone inscription). People only hung bell decoration on metal *Hti* rather than on the Banana Bud portion. “We believe the *Hti* in the Bagan Dynasty might mean the Banana Bud portion of a Saydi (see figure 11, from the lotus to the top), the metal umbrella might be rarely used” in Bagan Dynasty (Tu, 2001: 100).



Figure 4.12 Post-Bagan Dynasty, there enshrined a metal *Hti* on top after the Bagan Dynasty. Metal *Hti* has been widely used is between 14 ~15<sup>th</sup> century in Inwa Period, however, scholars believe there is a metal *Hti* had been enshrined on top of Shwezigon in 11<sup>th</sup> century by Kyanzitta King.

When was the Burmese-style umbrella (*Hti*) first installed on top of a Saydi? The first Burmese-style of *Hti* might be in the Dayikidaya period (6<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> century) and was used in a small region. “At the Ngwa Saydi, excavated from Dayikidaya Khinbar Mountain, the Saydi looked so similar to the Indian Saydi in the earlier era with *Hti* on top, which is believed to be the first additional *Hti* in the Dayikidaya period. The *Hti* (once called the Burmese-style *Hti* and now simplified as *Hti*) was classified into the Pondyeet (in Burmese), Down-turned lotus petals (or called Gyar-mouth), up-turned lotus petals, banana-bud, the Vane, and the Diamond Orbit portion in a later era” (Soe, 1986:10). Hlain (1992: 122) also believed that the

Burmese-style *Hti* has existed during the Dayakidaya Period. However, the first common use of Burmese-style *Hti* in Burma was in that Ava era (1364~1555) in Burma (figure 12). A stone inscription has these written, “...there are five layers of *Hti* on top of Saydi...”<sup>110</sup> The Burmese-style *Hti* is composed of six portions: spindle, cover, the *Hti* (crown), Sathwa Bud (cone), the Vane (Nya-Myat-Na)<sup>111</sup> and Diamond Orbit (see portion number 27 in table 3 or in figure 4.21).<sup>112</sup> Holy birds included mandarin ducks, black woolpack birds, parrots, and golden fowl (Ashin Obhasabhivamsa). According to the Buddhist Sutta,<sup>113</sup> the *Hti* means the supermundane (the nine supermundane things)<sup>114</sup> that is significant at the lokuttara level (出世間無餘涅槃界),<sup>115</sup> and this is the Buddhist theory applied by later architects who build stupa and always installed the *Hti*.

The *Hti* then evolved into different styles. There are three types of *Hti* in Burma now: Burma style, Mon style and Shan style. The *Hti* is the most important portion of a Saydi that shows the significance of the donor’s good wish. During the imperial era, the king liked to make crown-shape *Hti* as a representation of imperial power. The layers of *Hti* were normally in odd numbers, and the number had its own special meaning in Buddhism. For example, eleven layers of *Hti* means eliminating eleven kinds of agony to reach the level of Nirvana. Shwezigon in Bagan has once enshrined a nine- layer *Hti*, means nine kinds of merits from Buddha. In Burma, some Saydi even has two types of *Hti* on top of Saydi. At the Shwe-San-Daw Saydi (figure 13) in Prome city, the Saydi has Burma and Mon styles of *Hti* on top since the Kongbaung Dynasty (18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century) since King Alonmin Taya occupied the city. It is a symbol of friendship between Mon and Burma people since that time. Setting up *Hti* became a creative work of art in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The styles of *Hti* have depended on donors.

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<sup>110</sup> Stone inscription of Khin Ba Hill, in A.D. 1484, in Mhaw Zar City of Burma.

<sup>111</sup> The Vane is a rest place for holy bird. It is also called as Nya-Myat-Na in Burma language

<sup>112</sup> Diamond Orbit (or ORB) means putting a kind of gems on top of Dagan flag.

<sup>113</sup> The Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta, which is a Buddhist text that is considered to be a record of the first teaching given by the Buddha after he attained enlightenment.

<sup>114</sup> Supermundane is a term for the 4 paths and 4 fruitions of sotāpatti with Nibbāna as ninth.

<sup>115</sup> The highest level of Nirvana or extinguishing.

For example, King Kyanzitta<sup>116</sup> originally donated a Mon-style *Hti* on Shwezigon Saydi in Bagan. But it was replaced by a Burma-style one in the Konbaung Dynasty (1752-1885). The original Mon-style *Hti* was removed and exhibited in the temple's Dhammayuang building (preaching hall). Another case was the Setkeinte Saydi (in Min Bu county) constructed in 1956 by the U Nu government in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The temple has Mon and Burmese-style *Hti* and an earth shape ball in between the two *Htis*. In Bagan, the government allowed people to install *Hti* in 1995 as requested by donors. There are now 50 Saydis with Burma-style *Hti* in Bagan. Most of them are made of iron during restoration after the 1990s. It has become a common method to have two umbrellas if there has an additional metal *Hti* enshrined on top of a Saydi.

### ***The Gilding and issue of destroying original historical façade***

The controversial issue of gilding on Bagan monuments concerns the method of applying a copper frame on the original façade. This was blamed for destroying the original historical fabric from the perspective of the UNESCO preservation discourse. Mosaic with fragments of mirrors on the surface of monuments in Bagan is another popular method for beautifying the Saydi in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Ananda Temple used to have mosaic in 1903 as well as the Saydi like those built by the Indian King of Ashoka. "It is natural that donors would like to do what they think was the best to beautify their Buddha. Now we are not allowed to do mosaic" (figure 4.14) said Archaeology Officers. "For the gold gilding, the technique started from the Pyu Period (in the Dayakidaya area of Burma) during 1<sup>st</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries. The technique was transmitted to the Mon people in the Datong area (near today's Mandalay) when they built a brief Kingdom in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Then the Burmese built its Bagan Kingdoms and learned about the technique from Mon and Pyu people in the 11th century. When Anoratha King occupied Datong City and captured King Manuha in the 11th century, the King settled various types of craftsmen in the southern gate of Bagan city. One of them was a goldsmith who started the industry of gilding on religious buildings called "Shwe-yee-aye-di in Bagan period" (means smearing gold clear starch in Burmese). In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the technique had widely spread in Burma, and Gold Leaf (Shwe-Myat-Bar-Kar in Burmese) was starting to be used to gild temples and royal palaces.

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<sup>116</sup> The King Kyanzitta showed his friendship with Mon people in applying Mon and Pali language in stone inscription as well as relief art works.

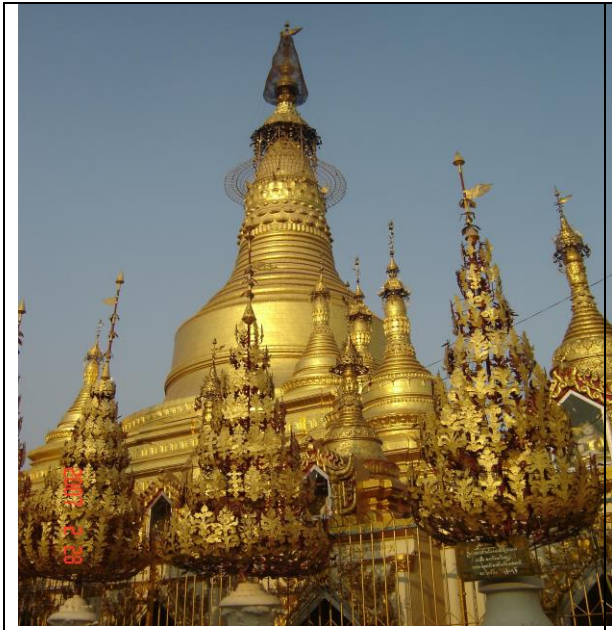


Figure 4.13 The Shwe-San-Daw Temple is enshrined of both Burma (top) and Mon (below) style Hti. The temple was built by the King Kyazitta in the Bagan Dynasty. (Source:[http://www.photoplus.ws/menu/myanmar/mn\\_py\\_shwesandawpagoda.php](http://www.photoplus.ws/menu/myanmar/mn_py_shwesandawpagoda.php))



Figure 4.14 Mosaic on the Saydi done by donors in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.



Figure 4.15 Bupaya's gold gilding the top portion (left) in 2011.

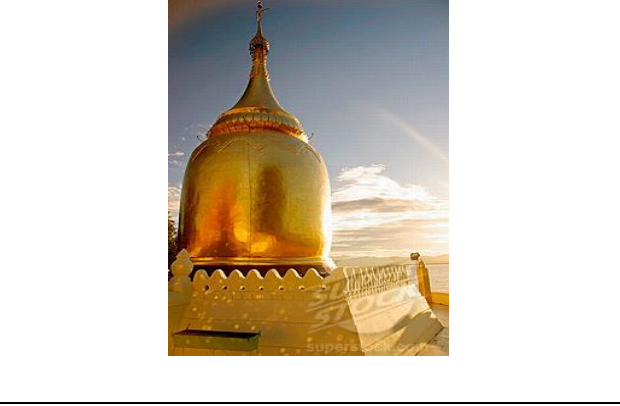


Figure 4.16 Bupaya's gold gilding had done for the whole Saydi in 2012 (right).

The country has a long history of gilding gold on any holy or royal buildings or goods. There is an old saying in Burma, “people will not respect to a Buddha without gilding on it.” The total amount of gold donated to the Shwedagon Saydi was about 742.128 kg till 1936 which suggests the long story of people worshipping their Buddha with gold (Oo, 1972: 5).

The traditions of gilding on relic objects in Burma came from when Pyu set up their kingdom in upper Burma in the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century (Oo, 1972: 10). The term gilding gold leaf (now called “Shwe Myet Pa” in Burmese) means “wiping gold.” It was called “A Myet Khat” in the Konbaung Dynasty (1752-1885), and was called “Shwe Myet Pa” (Mandalay Newspaper, 1875). The technique of making gold leaf has existed in Burma from the 6<sup>th</sup> century brought by traders from India and Ceylon (Oo, 1972: 12). It is believed that making gold leaf was popular in the Bagan period based on stone inscription of Parapathu in Thailand. It was the cheapest way for civilians to worship the Buddha. The history started before the Bagan period. The tradition of “wiping gold leaf” has been recorded in history of Man Shwe Cet Taw Saydi: “...the King Kyanzitta arrived at the Saydi, worshiped Buddha’s footprint, donated, and wiped gold...” In the Ava era (1364-1555), the king wiped the Shwe Nan Kyot Shin Palace (located in Nayapati) with gold leaf as well as temples’ gallery. Before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, temple would only gild when a King donated gold to make gold leaf. After the 19<sup>th</sup> century, gilding became a very important routine work for Gopaga. Also, instead of Kings or the noble class as the great donors before, civilians are now donors for gilding the temple. Considering the budget limit, some of local Gopaga would decide to just do gilding on the top of Saydi. For example, Bupaya only had the top gilded before 2011. The former Senior General Than Shwe visited the temple and suggested Gopaga to gild the whole Saydi (figures 15 and 16). Gilding represents not only an era’s aesthetic feeling but also an issue of competition (or imitation) among temple Gopaga groups.

In Bagan, five Saydis were allowed to gild their temples. They are Bupaya, Shwezigon, Lawkananda, Dhammaracaka, Tu Rin, and Alotaw Pay Saydis. For a better quality and longevity of gilding, a modern technique is applied by Gopagas in Burma, which involves putting an iron net (or copper frame) on the original façade of Saydis. The Shwedagon Saydi in Yangon was the first one applying this technique in the 1960s, which was imitated throughout Burma. This was believed to make the gilding more efficient in protecting gold and prevent from treasure hunters. People feel the new technique makes their Saydi more beautiful and holy. Temples in Bagan started to put the net on the surface of temples in 1995 as the government was restoring a large amount of Bagan monuments. A Bagan archaeological officer said,

“Considering international guideline on historic preservation, we banned people to gild Saydi anymore if they haven’t done it before 1995. Sometimes it is hard to follow the doctrine of leaving ‘as it is’ instead of ‘as it was’ for living heritages in Bagan. We still opened a small

window to routinely gild their temples by those nearby villagers who wish to practice the religion.”

### ***Social change: relocation of residents in old Bagan area and life in New Bagan***

The ancient city of Old Bagan was the ancient capital of Bagan Kingdom. The city also used to be important Buddhist capital for centuries. Almost most important political leaders would visit the ancient city to worship and donate for the rehabilitation of Saydis there. For example, the Queen Victoria, General U Nu, Then Shwe, and Daw Aung San Su Kyi have all visited Bagan. The city was divided into 11 regions and villages, and each village has its own temple cared for by local people for a long history. When King Di Baw was caught by the British army in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, ending the local autonomy regime in Burma, the city started an era of ruling by officers sent from central government. In March of 1988, when students’ demonstrated for democracy, the military government took power after the nationwide demonstration. The new government changed three presidents in one month. A new government was formed in 1989, and set up a new administration framework of counties, divisions, provinces, townships, wards (or quarter), and villages. To develop tourism, the Bagan/Nyaung U township chairman and Department of Archaeology proposed to excavate in the ancient Bagan palace, walls, and city trenches. After the excavation, the government brought 3000 si (Burma measurement, about 4,944 Tons) of water each day to restore the scenery of the ancient moat. This excavation and irrigation were done in two years, and many officers from central government joined the opening ceremony. The plan provoked a lot of criticism by destroying ancient monuments. Specifically, the careless excavation of the ancient city ditch using machinery had destroyed some underground monuments. Experts worried about bringing water to the ancient city moat soaking the monuments. The plan also included a controversial project of relocating the Old Bagan villagers for the purpose of monuments protection. The relocation plan has been considered in the U Nu and U Ne Win era before the 1990s. But it was not implemented because of local objection. In the U Saw Mg era, the plan was implemented disregarding the local voice.

In 1988, the military government ordered solders to clean up streets of Bagan plain. At that time, solders were everywhere in villages and cities. A former general, now a senior monk named Ashin Sasanapala (former township chairman General Than Win) was one of

the head leaders under the four northwest provinces of Upper Burma.<sup>117</sup> When the troops cleaned up Bagan's ancient cities and villages, they found people digging gold inside the monument zone. As villagers clustering around monuments, it was feared that the squeezed settlements might destroy ancient heritages. To develop tourism, the administrator planned to excavate and repair the ancient city wall of the Bagan Palace. The Provincial Governor and General U Saw Mg, the Registry U Khin Nyunt, and U Tun Oo together promulgated the relocation orders in September 1988 and May 1990. People who lived inside the wall (from the Sarapa Gate to the Irrawaddy River area), including southern part of Old Bagan to Zon Gon Quarter were forced to leave the Old Bagan area. The government envisioned Bagan as an international tourist destination and that people who lived inside the monument zone were not proper for tourism. Heads of villages, students, and students protested in front of Chairman General U Than Win's temporary house and hoped to negotiate. However, the effort failed. The demonstration was repressed by the military government, and some students were sent to prison.

The government first decided to move people to the Myat Zigon (see figure 17) monastery and the west side of Wedgi Village in the northern part of the main road (near Irrawaddy river area). But local villagers were against moving there because of the distance and the sandy soil. After several meetings in the Ananda Temple, the government decided on a second location in the Bagan airport area in the Nyaung U city. However, Old Bagan villagers refused to be ruled under Nyaung U city. The third version in the Lawkananda Temple area was denied by the Archaeology Office because it was inside the historic zone. The government then expropriated farmlands in the Diribisayard Village, Nadgimy Village and Dutayegan Village to develop the New Bagan city for the Old Bagan villagers to relocate. The villagers finally moved to the present New Bagan area in 1990. The villagers requested Bupaya's senior monk to lobby and hoped to change the policy. However, the government still required people to move to the New Bagan area in 6 months, and they could get a 60 by 80 foot plot of land for each household in the new town. The government provided low price materials for people to settle down in New Bagan, including one ton of wood, 10 bags of concrete, one gallon of coal oil, and 400 Kyats supplements for each household. The residents needed to buy at market price for extra materials to build their houses. Some people still refused to move out of their home at that moment, and still stayed

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<sup>117</sup> Sagan, Mandalay, Chin and MarGui Provinces.

in the villages of Dawnbi and Whedgi-in, or stayed in monasteries. The administration cut electricity, water, transportation, and foods to residents who did not move. In the first few years, people earned their living by digging gold back in Old Bagan illegally. They ate rice and drank dirty water for years. The original head administrator admitted that compensation was too little at that time because of the small budget. There was exception to the relocation. For example, hotels, monasteries near Bupaya, the Sabbenu and Ananda temples, Lacquerware School, and the Archaeology offices were not required to leave the Old Bagan area because the government thought they would not have the issue of population growth and that these institutes would not destroy monuments in Old Bagan. However, with people (donors) leaving Old Bagan, monasteries in the ancient town faced the problem of survival. The New Bagan is five km away from Old Bagan.



Figure 4.17. Relocation from residents inside old city wall of Old Bagan settlements to New Bagan area in 1990. (Map source:<http://www.worldisround.com/articles/19743/photo67.html>)

The city of New Bagan was soon designated as hotel zone 3 as a compensation for relocation. New Bagan has three main roads from east to south. The city is divided into north and south, and each has five streets. Old Bagan residents are relocated into blocks each composed of 16 houses. Roads were named with flowers and kings' names. Location in New Bagan was decided by ballot. People were not allowed to move the statues of Buddha from their temples' in Old Bagan to New Bagan. People could have a larger house in New Bagan with little subsidy. In New Bagan, people were not allowed to renovate or build new Saydis. The government provided lands for people to build a lecture hall in their neighborhoods as substitutes of their original temples.

### ***Tourism Development in Bagan***

The development of tourism started in 1990. The government allocated four hotel zones for developing tourism related land use in the Bagan Archaeological Site. The development of tourism industry was just started in 2005. Some horse riding and tour guide companies were set up after 2005. In the end of 2010, there were 6 hotels located in Old Bagan, 28 hotels in New Bagan, and 14 in the Nyaung U city. Because tourists were mainly backpackers, there were about 21 guesthouses and 48 restaurants located in Nyaung U city. Some of them were internet-cafe. However, not many people visited the place because of political instability in Burma. More tourists came to Bagan after 2010. The number of tourists boomed from 85,000 to 200,000 in 2013 after political changes in Burma.

Table 1. Numbers of tourists from 2010~2013 in Bagan Archaeology Site

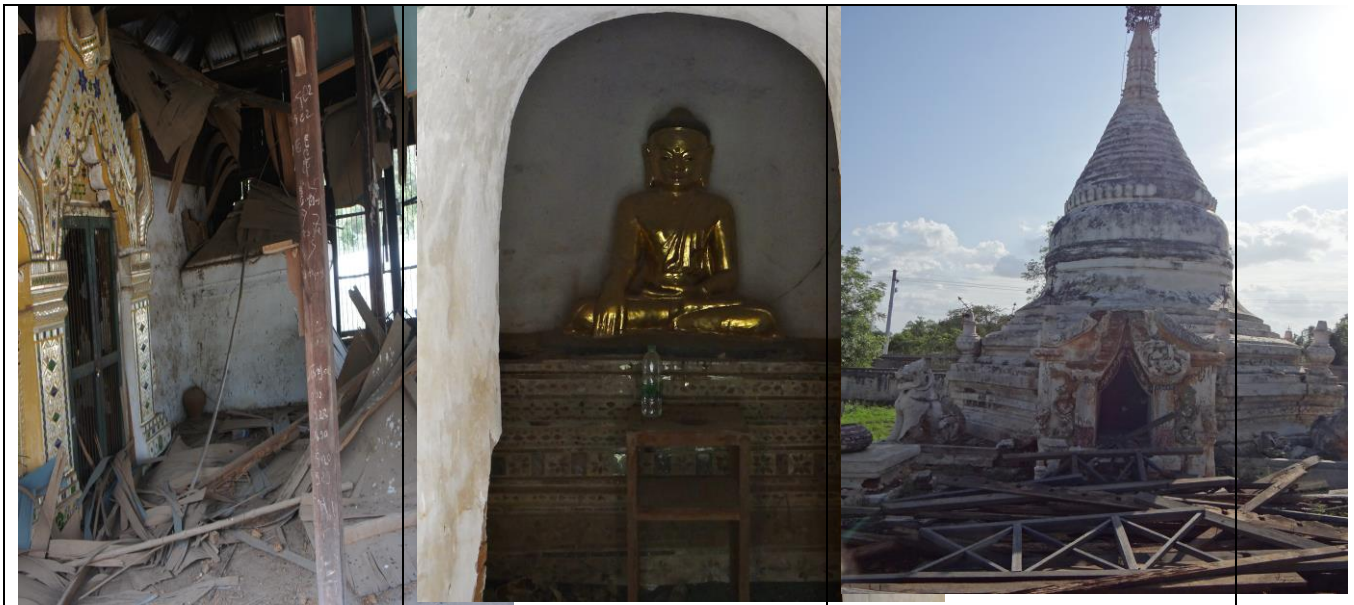
Months	Year 2010-2011		Year 2011-2012		Year 2012-2013	
	Number of tourists	Fee (US Dollars)	Number of Tourists	Fee (US Dollars)	Numbers of Tourists	Fee (US Dollars)
April	3621	36210	4760	47600	7751	77510
May	2229	22290	3372	33720	4745	47450
June	1585	15850	2238	22380	3654	36540

July	3483	34830	4210	42100	6504	65040
August	5255	52550	6349	63490	9691	96910
September	3287	32870	3723	37230	6524	65135
October	6592	65920	9459	94590	16466	164325
November	11339	113390	16101	161010	27732	277280
December	10721	107210	15133	151330	24972	249630
January	13237	132370	19997	199970	12850	128500
February	13939	139390	19231	192310		
March	10000	100000	15621	156210		
Total	85,288	852,880	120,194	1,201,940	120,889	1,208,320

Source: Bagan Archaeology Office.

### ***Religious activities between Old Bagan and New Bagan***

According to the law, people in New Bagan were not allowed to build any religious buildings such as temples or Saydis, except for Dhamayuang. Dhamayuang means a monastery for Buddha. It's a place for preaching and meditation. The government provided land for Dhamayuang in each quarter for New Bagan residents. However, some of Dhamayuang land was sold by some Gopaga. People were allowed to celebrate their original temple festivals in Old Bagan with permission from the Archaeology Department. Their daily religious activities were only allowed in a Dhamayuang in New Bagan. Most of temples' Gopaga went back to Old Bagan for celebrating their original temple festivals in the beginning years. With the high cost (double of original cost) of transportation to carry festival equipment, most of them decreased the scale of celebration year by year. "We were happy to celebrate our festival for our Buddha in Old Bagan, but we always ended up with sadness coming back to New Bagan every year," said a Gopaga member. "People saw their Buddha and their original houses in ruin, and cried (figures 18, 19, and 20). We were very happy when we stayed in Old Bagan, we stayed with our Buddha and took care of the temple day and night. Now, if we want to celebrate our festival in Old Bagan, the first item of fundraising is transportation cost. I believe most of Gopaga in New Bagan are facing the same condition," said one of Gopaga.



Figures 4.18, 4.19, 4.20. Conditions of temples after their caretakers had moved to New Bagan. The temples were no longer shiny and Buddha statues are sitting alone in the abandoned temples.

In the table below, I provide some cases of New Bagan residents' connection with Old Bagan neighborhood. In the beginning, most of Gopaga organizations from the original temples would continue to go back to Old Bagan to celebrate their original temple festivals even after moving to New Bagan. Now many of them have stopped going back because of the lack of money or that an old Gopaga member had died. Even though they still going back, most of them have scaled back the celebration by not having entertainment programs in Old Bagan. Activities only included preaching and offering to monks in Old Bagan area. People would join temple festivals in both New Bagan and Old Bagan every year if they were held. Some people stopped going back to Old Bagan for festivals after their Dhamayuang (preaching hall in Burmese) was built in New Bagan. About 50-70% of people still join temple festivals in Old Bagan. The culture of temple festivals change every year in New Bagan. For example, people would buy "Paper Figure" from Myinkaba Village in Old Bagan to please the crowd.

Table 2: Sample cases of New Bagan residents' connection with Old Bagan neighborhood

Name of Dhamayuang in New Bagan	Original temple in Old Bagan	Year in which Dhamayuang was built	Years of going back to Old Bagan doing temple festival	Dhamayuang Neighborhood (Households)	Daily care of original temple	Number of households join original temple festival
Kyaw Swar	Tan Byan Swar Bayar	2007~2012	1990~2012	100	No	75
Aung Jambu Min Nan Tu	Min Nan Tu Phaya	2012	1990~1996	37	No	27
Aung Tiddhi	Kantawpalan, Pawtawmu, Shin min pwin ca, Shin min pwin lin, Gu phyu Saydis	2003	1990~2012	700	Yes	400
Pan Tigu	Pan Tigu	2012	1990~2011	140	No	120

### *Zoning control and recent policies on preservation*

The National Protection and Preservation of Cultural Heritage Regions Law was published in 1998 by the State Peace and Development Council. The law provided a framework for protecting monuments in Bagan. The law protects cultural heritage, ancient monuments that has been existed before 1886,<sup>118</sup> ancient site, etc. The law prohibited any new construction or extension and renovation of ancient monuments without permission by the Minister of Culture. Different from other World Heritage Sites with core protection areas and buffer areas, the city has been protected by a plan with a monument zone, a historic zone, four urban zones, four hotel zones,<sup>119</sup> and a protection zone within the 19 square miles of that

<sup>118</sup> Definition of ancient monuments changed as “those that have existed for 100 years before the date on which the department made inquiries as an ancient monument,” in a modified law in January 2009.

<sup>119</sup> Hotel Zone 1 (HZ1) (37.99 acres) is located around Magala Zedi; HZ2 (45.55 acres) is located south of Thayarwatee; HZ3 (32.41 acres) is in the east of Kyaut Gu Umin; and HZ4 (501.8 acres) is in the north of Gan Ga area.

Bagan Archaeological Site that has existed in 1998. The New Bagan, Nyaung U city, Myingkaba village are all urban zones for residents. The Bagan Archaeology Office separated the city into 11 parts for protection. The law restricted building height and boundary, and required that the style of buildings should be consistent with the monuments. For Buddhist activities, the law regulated against any activities that might destroy the original surface of monuments such as plastering, upgrading, lime-polishing, gold gliding, installation of new *Hti* (see in figure 4.21, the *Hti* normally includes portion number 26~31), building of new monasteries, and building of residential houses. Any renovation of existing buildings should apply for permission. Population and building control have been included in a governmental plan in 2013. The new law bans the extension of living area as well as new population in this area, especially in the Nyaung U and New Bagan cities. Buildings in urban area should be lower than three stories. Those located near monuments should be less than 30 feet or two stories. Under the new regulation, new buildings should be 120 feet away from existing monuments.<sup>120</sup> Farming within the Ancient Monument Zone and Ancient Site Zone should be away from monuments for at least 15 feet. Under the newest law in 2013, the office regulates renovation of existing houses in this area. There were 75 hotels, guesthouses, and motels in Bagan. To harmonize modern buildings with monuments, decoration of hotels and guesthouses are also included in the new landscape law. For example, they should not use religious symbols as decoration. No new *Saydi* has been allowed in this area since 1998. The Bagan office also forbids new restoration of monuments in 2012.

Table 3. Structure of Stupa from top to bottom.

(Please contrast with figure 4.21 below structure illustration in Shwezigon Pagoda).

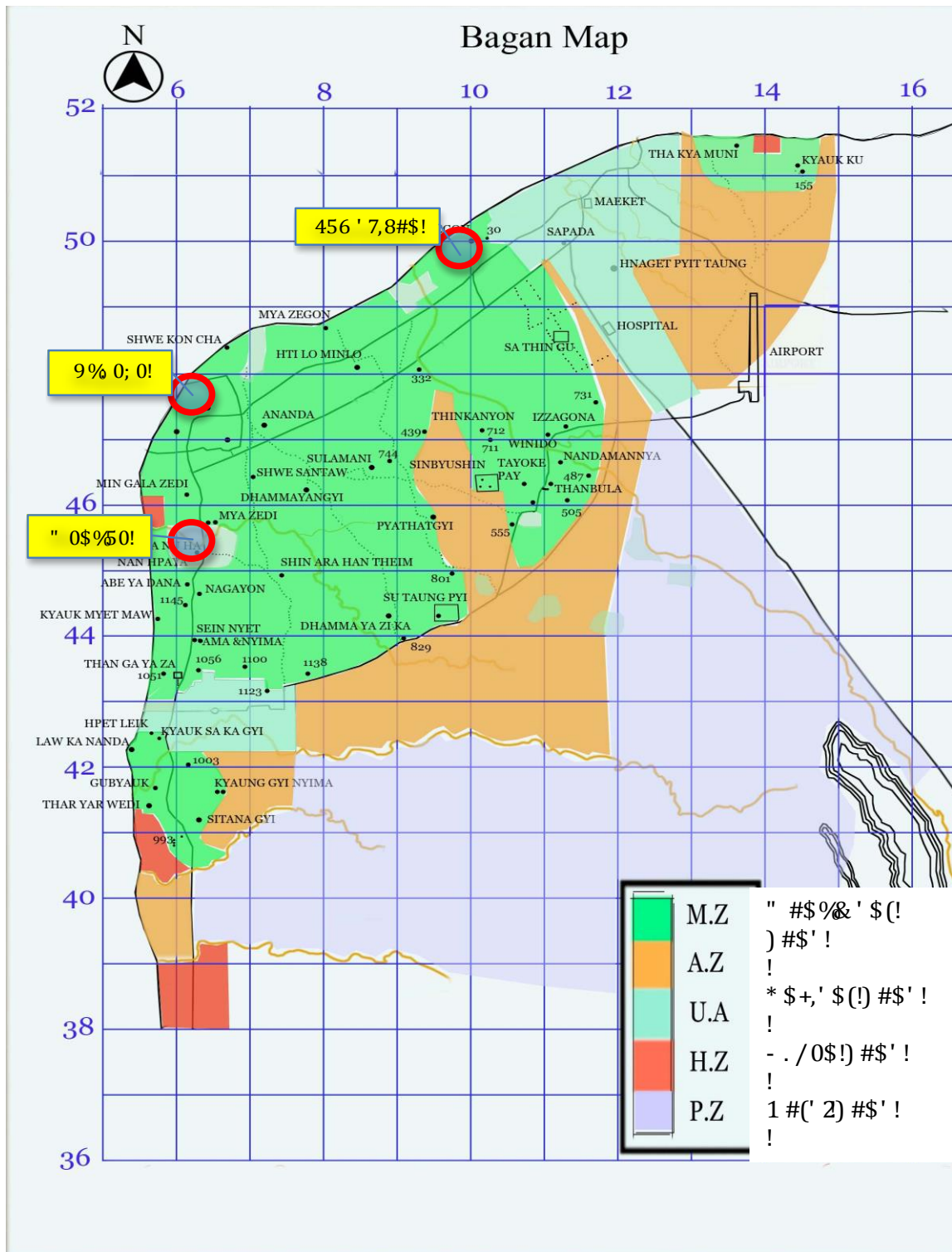
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<sup>120</sup> In the original law published in 2011, buildings should be at least 90 feet away from an existing monument.

Burmese	English Translation	Portion Number			
စိန်ဖူးတော်	Diamond ORB	31			
ဇွန်းသေး	Small Zoon	30			
ငှက်မြတ်နား	The Vane	29			
ဇွန်းကြီး	Big Zoon	28			
ဆပ်သွားဖူး	Sathwa Bud(Cone)	27			
ထီးတော်	The Hti(Crown)	26			
ငှက်ပျောဖူး (ပဉ္စလောဟာချယားသီး)	Banana Bud (Finial made of alloy of 5 metals)	25			
ကြာစိပ်		24			
ကြာလှန်	Up-Turned Lotus Petals	23			
ရွဲ	Bosses	22			
ကြာမှောက်	Down-Turned Lotus Petals	21			
ကြာစိပ်		20			
ဖောင်းရစ်	Concentric Rings	19			
ပတ်သေး	Small Bands	18			
ပတ်ကြီး	Big Bands	17			
မိုးလျှာ	Slope Roof	16			
စိန်ဖူးတော်	Inverted Bowl with Friezes(Bell shaped dome)	15			
သပိတ်မှောက် ပန်းဆွဲ ရင်ဖွဲ့	သပိတ်မှောက် ပန်းဆွဲ ရင်ဖွဲ့	Belt	Dado		14
			Ogres Holding		13
ခေါင်းလောင်း	The Bell	12			
ခေါင်းလောင်း	Bell Stang	11			
ခေါင်းလောင်းနား	Corner Stupa	10			
စေတီရံ	Bronze circle	9			
ကြေးဝန်း	Lotus circle	8			
ကြာဝန်း	Kalatha Pot	7			
ကလသာအိုး	The Third Square Terrace	6			
တတိယ ပစ္စယာ	The Glazed Plaques Depicting Scenes From Jatakas	5			
ဇာတ်တော်စဉ်းကွင်းများ	The Second Square Terrace	4			
ဒုတိယ ပစ္စယာ	The First Square Terrace	3			
ပထမ ပစ္စယာ	Flight of Steps for angles	2			
နတ်လှေကား	Makara	1			



Figure 4.22 Zoning control of Bagan Archaeology site and location of three research temples.



Source: Bagan Archaeology Office

Bagan Archaeology Office planned four hotel zones (see figure 4.22) for the construction of tourist-related buildings and services in 1994. Not many hotels were built before 2010. For example, only two hotels were built in the 500 acres of hotel zone 4 in 2013. “We will consider returning the land to original owner of the farmland if the present owner don’t want to invest in a hotel,” said Bagan Archaeology Office. It is because the Foreign Investment Law regulates that the maximum of Foreign Investment Ratio (FIR) is 51%, and domestic money is not enough for operating hotels. However, the newest legislative proposal (by National League for Democracy led by Aung San Suu Kyi) raises the FIR up to 80%. The historical area also faces the issue of population growth, but the village area is not allowed to expand according to cultural laws in Bagan. For example, population increase in the monuments zone of Myinkaba village (where the Manuha temple is located) is a serious issue. People might need to extend their house within Buddha’s land because no more residential area is available there. The Burmese Parliament has been discussing the opening of a new residential area in Bagan Archaeology area.

### ***Traditional management mechanism of Bagan Monuments***

In Bagan, Kings and royal families were great donors to temples for getting merit for themselves or to their parents. For example, the Denpyaya temple was built by King Kyanzittha’s son King Yasaqumarla to give merit to his father. He built the temple when his father was sick. The temple was then managed by his descendants and Saydi slaves. In the imperial era, donors for repairing temples were mainly royal families. During British rule, British royalty and Burmese elites also became donors of temples in Bagan. After independence in 1980, Archaeology Office set up its regulations, and monuments were protected by Gopaga and Owadar-Sariya. After 1980, the monuments were under the management of the Bagan Office of the Department of Archaeology. Different administrations have changed the relationships between stakeholders and the temples.

Generally, in Burma, a community of believers (see figure 4.23) is required at a temple to provide functions for related monasteries and believers (or donors). Before 1980, donors could decide how a temple should be repaired by referring to Buddhist traditions and monks committees. After the Bagan Archaeology Office set up new regulations, Gopaga’s

role became more important to negotiate with government, donors, and the Owadar-Sariya committee. In this sense, each temple had developed closer relationship with local communities since Gopaga members and Owadar-Sariya committee were chosen from local villagers and monasteries. It localized a temple with its grassroots network. In this sense, it was necessary for a temple to be located inside its belief circle where its donors and monks lived and practiced activities. The organization of Gopaga played an important role of managing routine works, communicating with monks for preaching and festival activities, collecting money for repairing the temple, and negotiating with governments. Each temple had a Owadar-Sariya committee who made all kinds of decision about the temple. They provided advices for local monasteries on the order of local society. Owadar-Sariya groups were ruled by their villages, townships, districts, and regional and central Sangha Nayaka Committees level by level. The temples served as places for offering to monks, celebrating, worshiping, and donation. If government makes irreversible changes to such mechanism, the temple would no longer be a living heritage or everyday life space. I had discussed how traditional mechanism works generally in Bagan in modern time before. Then I will look into each selected case to discuss how heritage management has modified local practices to satisfy the needs of different stakeholders.

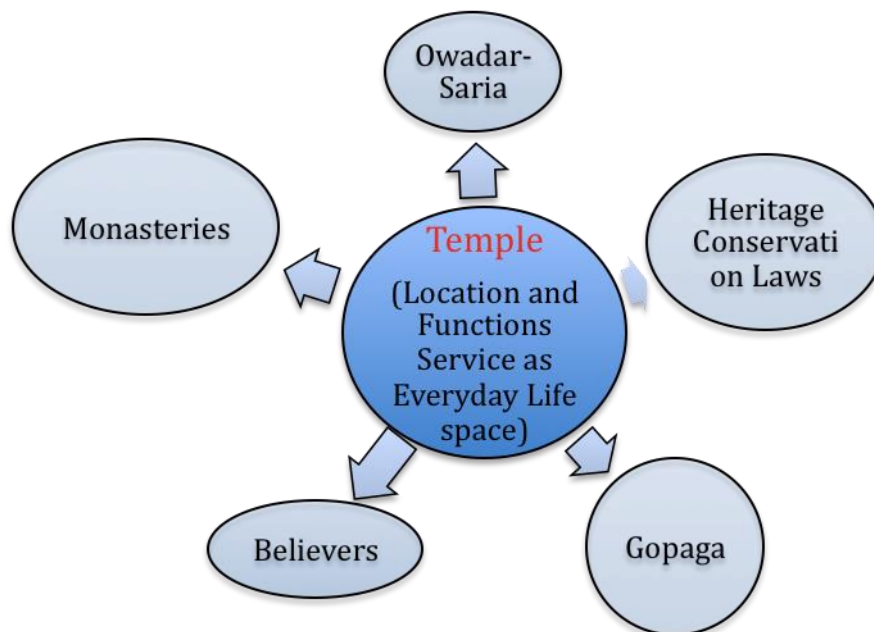


Figure 4.23 Traditional management mechanism in Bagan after 1980.

The term of Gopaga or “Go-Pa-Ga” meaning guardian. Originally, it was called “Paya Lukyi.” Gopaga is a group of people who are guarding a temple led by a group of monks called “Naya-Gar.” The legend said that the first trustees started before the 4<sup>th</sup> Buddha was born in the Ga da Ba Paya era, were called “Paya Elders” (U Min Ci Tu, 2001: 7). The monk offering ceremony of Ma Ha Dou started in the Sakyamuni Buddha (Gautama Buddha) era was held by Gopaga.<sup>121</sup> At that time, every family was responsible for offering one monk decided by ballot. Gopaga were chosen from nearby settlement or villages that were connected to the temple. The Gopaga were tenured and voluntary members in taking care of their temples. There were about 19 Gopaga organizations in Bagan. Ten of them already existed during the British colonial era in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, such as the Shwezigon, Ananda, Manuha, Lowkananda, Mya Zadi, and Bupaya. Before 1995, Gopaga had more power on the conservation of temples in Bagan. The government only sent archaeological professionals to Gopaga at important temples to ensure that their conservation works would not damage the historical fabrics of monuments. For example, U Win Mg Myint was a member of the Shwezigon Temple who was retired from the archaeological office. U Myo Nyunt at the Ananda Temple was a trustee. Some Gopagas were volunteers formed after Burma’s independence, as in the case of the temples of Bupaya, Gawtaw Palin, and Hngyat Pyit Taung. Another type of Gopaga was formed by the government for the protection of importance monuments in 1995, as in the case of the temples of Hti Lo Min Lo, Dhammayazake, Lay Myet Hna, That Byin Nyu, and Alo Daw Pyi. This was because Gopagas had independent fundraising ability for repairing temples and continuing Buddhist activities. Also in 1995, the government started fundraising for repairing monuments in Bagan. The most important tasks of Gopaga was to manage donations, hold annual temple festivals, perform regular gilding, install new *Hti*, etc. Donations should be deposited in the bank monthly after money was collected. Banks would give interest to them. One exception was Shwedagon Saydi (in Yangon) that did not get interest from the bank because the Saydi was too rich. The money collection process was supervised by the Department of Audit in the Central Government. Gopagas were chosen by the Region Management Department in Bagan. The nomination process involved consultation with the leading monk (Owada-Sriya Sayadaw Gi)<sup>122</sup> of the temple.

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<sup>121</sup> Sakyamuni Buddha is the founder of Buddhism in 565 BC to 486 BC.

<sup>122</sup> The chairman of Owada-Sriya.

Take Shwedagon Saydi in Yangon as example, the temple has 12 Gopaga members. Shwedagon members can vote and nominate six Gopaga members. The rest are assigned by the Minister of Religion. Committee members take turn each month to serve as the chair. People could nominate and vote for Gopaga members according to the Gopaga Rules, but all members have been assigned by the government after 1988 when the military government took power. The Gopaga are organized into management, engineering, and finance departments. There's an advisory board consisting of three to five people assigned by the Department of Religion. The Owada-Sriya, chosen by the government, is the highest position that supervises Gopaga and the advisory board. The missions of Gopaga are mainly to hold annual festivals on significant date like the Nat Festivals<sup>123</sup> (Wagaung month, August), Robe Offering festival (Waso month, July), Thadingyut (festival of lights, October), etc. Shwedagon Gopaga also needs to manage Buddha's land, donated by believers for centuries. The temple could get income by renting out Buddha's land for both official institutions and private sectors. At Shwezigon in Bagan as example, Queen Victoria of the United Kingdom provided a large area of land to this temple that included the whole Nyaung U city. Now the land is managed both by Shwezagon as well as Bagan Archaeology Office.

Balancing the protection of ancient monuments and sustaining Buddhist traditions is a task shared by Gopaga and Bagan Archaeology Office. The office used to send Archaeology experts to Gopaga to influence the decisions makers. One officer of the Bagan Archaeology Office said,

“Some Gopaga members were not honest especially on donations, so we used to send retired Archaeology officers or experts to the committee. However, our friends had become the target of violence. So we stopped sending our people to Gopaga in 2003. Our former director Mr. U Khin Nyaunt also said that Gopaga were so complicated. Sometimes government should lend her hand in it. For example, the government replaced all Law-Ka-Nanda Gopaga members in 2013 because of financial management problem.”

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<sup>123</sup> Nats are spirits (gods or ghosts) in Burma. Nat belief has existed before Buddhism came to Burma. The worship of nats is closely related to local communities. Most nats were killed in tragic events, and people believe they are very powerful and their tragic figures are worthy of worship.

In 2008, when Burma went through Sangha Revolution, it was known that all the Gopaga members were replaced after that demonstration.

#### **4.3 Cultural Resilience of Temples Located in Big City: the Shwezigon Temple**

The building of Shwezigon Saydi was originally commenced by the Bagan King Anawrahta in 1076 AD. The temple was believed to enshrine one of four relics of Buddha tooth in Bagan. The Saydi's bell-shaped dome became a prototype for Saydis built later all over Burma, including, for example, Atwin-Zigon Saydi and Mya-Zigon Saydi in Bagan built during 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> century (Ban, 2013: 3). To take care of Shwezigon, the King Anawrahta assigned the captive King of Manuha from Datong Kingdom and the king's family members as Buddha slaves. He also donated (or assigned) 10,000 men and women as "Damayadka" (Dharma-defenders) at the East Gate of Shwezigon Saydi to guard the temple and 10,000 workers as "Dayawayadka" (Heaven Watchers) at the West Gate. The King also donated the "Dihayadka" (Lion-defenders) and "Yazadeka" to provide foods to Buddha and monks. It was the tradition to donate Buddha slaves to take care of Saydis and monasteries in Bagan. In addition to money donated to buy Buddha slaves, some people became Buddha slaves through volunteering. In Burma, Buddha slave a holy occupation. Now, most of Buddha slaves still live in the same villages dating back to the Bagan Dynasty. Their identity is hereditary, and they are normally popular when they beg for foods in front of a family.

The temple is believed to be one of the two largest and most significant temples in the Bagan Archaeology Site. It is not only because the building is very tall. It was also because its location in the city where the township government is located. It is significant to examine how the temple's management mechanism adapts to the local needs of rehabilitation and different version of monument laws from 1975 to now.

#### ***The growth of Nyaung U City***

Nyaung U is currently a modern market town and administrative center that retains its archaic name. The boundary of Nyaung U City was drawn in 1902. It was upgraded to a city level when the Queen Victoria visited Bagan in 1970. The city covers an area of 113,563.7

hectares. The city's population is currently at one million. The growing population and the need for housing developments in the area make it difficult to excavate new archaeological sites. There are groups of colonial style buildings and traditional-style monasteries remaining in the city. But most of them have been neglected. The government's efforts still focus on ancient monuments rather than the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century buildings. To protect ancient monuments inside the city, the government published various types of land use control as well as regulations on building heights and types. On the other hand, the government controls population by restricting people from moving into the area starting in 2000. However, the population still grows quickly. It is hard for people to build their houses 90 feet from monuments since the city is located inside the archaeology site. After the British colonial era, in addition to general population growth, the number of Shwezigon believers grew as well. The Shwezigon Temple is located in Nyaung U city where most of the city sites on the temple's Buddha land. As a large temple with national reputation, Shwezigon are still mainly serves the local communities in Nyaung U city. This section discusses how the temple, the government, and monks work together to sustain the temple as a living heritage in modern time.

### ***The Shwezigon Gopaga***

Shwezigon Gopaga has the longest history of managing the temple in Bagan. The temple was cared for by Buddha Slaves donated by rich people in the earlier eras. Some old and rich donors would also retire and live near Shwezigon to take care of the temple starting in the Bagan Dynasty. Before the Konbaung Dynasty (1510-1785), Gopaga was called "Paya Lukyi" (patriarch of a temple). People in Shwezigon neighborhood came to watch the temple voluntarily. In that era, there were not people specifically assigned to take care of the temple. The Sit Tha was the first version of Gopaga in Burma history started from the Konbaung Era. The record describes: "in Konbaung Era, a chancellor named Kin Wan Min Kyi visited Shwezigon Saydi before his visit to France." The record also stated that the chancellor donated his money to Sit Tha (local officer) who seemed to be a protector of temple instead of Gopaga," said Shwezigon Gopaga.<sup>124</sup> "The historian U Khin Mg Nyint mentioned that a

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<sup>124</sup> Sit Tha now means soldier in Burmese.

comprehensive plan to protect Bagan monuments was first made in the British Colonial Era,” said U Win Mg Myint.

In recent decades, the National Religious Law (published on October 6, 1982) regulates details on safeguarding temples, land use, and allocation of temple finance, and allows a temple to form a Gopaga committee with the permission of State Peace and Development Council (Regulation of temple Gopaga Committee in Bagan and Nyaung U city<sup>125</sup>, 1997). Gopaga are controlled by the city-level Peace and Development Council and Minister of Religion in Bagan (Article 9). The city-level Sangha Committee also consults with Minister of Religion to approve and appoint candidates chosen locally to a Gopaga position. The law allows the county-level Peace and Development Council to agree or dissolve all Gopaga members if necessary (Article 9-1). There are ten Gopaga members at Shwezigon. The term of each Gopaga is four years and can be extended or until the next one is assigned. Male Burmese citizens aged between 40 to 75 years old, who are Buddhist, healthy, and with household registered in Nyaung U city are eligible to be chosen as a member of Gopaga (Article 15). Shwezigon Gopaga was formed during the British Colonial era (1885-1948). The temple has about 520 acres (445.73 acres had rented out, and the remaining 74.27 acres are used by Shwezigon currently) of land in Nyaung U city. About six governmental offices on the temple’s land used to be required to pay rent. When government wants to develop the Buddha’s land, they should have the agreement from the Gopaga. The arrangement demonstrated the power of Shwezigon Gopaga.

Shwezigon Buddha land has been rented out to several institutions and private companies (see figure 4.25). The total area of Aung Mingala Hotel and its cinema under construction is 2.91 acres. Private companies need to pay rent to the temple. However, governmental institution like the City Development Office (or Cin Pin Taya), County Court House, and Department of Agriculture are not required to pay rent after 2007 since the land use control changed. Some Buddhist organizations like monasteries, preaching hall or school for monks (see figure 4.24) don’t need to pay rent, either. On the other hand, they are required to support all the Buddhist activities in the local communities including the annual temple festival.

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<sup>125</sup> Published by Nyaung U City Peace and Development Council.



Figure 4. 24. Shweziogn Buddha land for monk school near Nyaung Oo City.

**Figure 4.25 Distribution of different land use unit on Shwezigon Buddha land**

(ညောင်ဦးမြို့နယ် တုရွင်းတိုင်စုကွင်း ကွင်းအမှတ် ၁၄၄၃ အတွင်းတွင်ပါဝင်သည့်မြေဖြစ်သည်)



1. Aung Mingalar Hotel
  2. Aung Mingalar Cinema
  3. Ci Pin Taya district office
  4. Tiripaccayu Company (the 4<sup>th</sup> office)
  5. Tiripaccayu Company (the 5<sup>th</sup> office)
  6. Ci Pin Taya Office
  7. Ci Pin Taya garden
  8. County Court House
  9. Office of Trade and Agriculture
  10. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Elementary School
  11. Dormitory for Burma Agriculture staffs
  12. Department of Forest (City level)
  13. Special District for Agriculture
  14. Research Institute
  15. The Burma Transportation Company
  16. Martyr Stone Memorial
  17. The Post Office
  18. The Pyi Khin Pyo Political Party Office
- Total: 445.73 Acres

မြေစည်းခုံစေတီတော်ပိုင်ဝတ္ထုမြေဖော်ပြသောဧရိယာ  
The boundary of Shwezigon Buddha Land

Currently Shwezigon Gopaga is led by five Owadar-Sariya members (monk committee) with two from Mahavisularema Monastery and one each from the monasteries of Angadaunt, Shwe Ceti, and Shwe Oo Mhin, located around the temple. The tasks of Owadar-Sariya are mainly to decide on things related to the building, temple repair, and those related to Buddhist traditions. Owadar-Sariya had been involved recently with a famous temple located in Pakhukku region (a city outside Bagan). The temple would like to hold a temple festival. But considering the recent religious conflicts, the Owadar-Sariya suggested government to close shops operated by non-Buddhists during the temple festivals in April 2013. The Gopaga has ten members, and one of the members is an archaeologist who has been monitoring the rehabilitation of the ancient monument. Since Sawezigon Saydi is a famous temple located in the administrative center of Nyaung U City, its Gopaga has published its own regulation of Gopaga in 2010 at the request of the city government. The committee now has four working groups in charge of planning and management, finance, maintenance, and financial investigation. Almost all the land of Nyaung U city belongs to the temple. Managing rents from shops, hotels, and government offices became one of the most important tasks for the Gopaga. The committee also needs to collect money from the donation box on the 25<sup>th</sup> of each month under the supervision of the county-level sheriff.

The working groups cooperate for events and special project. For example, the temple was the first to apply the modern gilding technique of copper frames from 1979 to 1982. The new technique involved plating gold leaves on the copper frame (from Sathwa Bud<sup>126</sup> or the Cone portion to the Bell, but not including the Sathwa Bud), which has been installed on the surface of original Saydi. The financial working group would fundraise for the new gilding and at the same time bidding to the public to make very thick gold papers. Then the construction group would make bamboo frame for workers to paste gold leaves. When the plating was finished in 1982, Gopaga held a religious ceremony for worshipping. “Believers like to see their Buddha wear a new clothes (gilding with Gold Leaf) but the process needs many sectors to cooperate with one simple goal,” said head of Shwezigon. “The reason the copper frame had only been pasted on top of Shwezigon Saydi while the rest of the original façade was kept was because only the top has holy objects enshrined. Gopaga decided not use copper frame on the Sathwa Bud because the Bud was equally made from five kinds of metals (gold, silver, copper, black and white lead). The Bud is significant as the top of the

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<sup>126</sup> See figure 4.21. The Sathwa Bud is the portion number 27 above the crown (*Hti*).

building. So the King used the best materials. We found out there were Buddha statue enshrined in it when we repaired the top after the 1975 earthquake,” said U Win Mg Myint. Shwezigon gilds the Saydi every eight years with about 20,000 gold leaves. The temple called their gold leaves “Shwe Myint Par” (named after the place that produced them in Mying Par district of Mandalay). Before gilding new gold leaves, workers would curettage the remaining old gold on the Saydi. Then they will hold the auction of the old gold. Shwezigon Gopaga would decide on the price of old gold but county government would watch the whole process. The Gopaga would have to apply for their gilding project to Bagan Archaeology Office prior to their work, and then the office would check after all work was done in the end. The schedule of gilding depends on people’s donation and budget. Sometimes it would take five to 6 months just for gilding the Bell Stand portion. In 2008, the temple spent one whole year to gild the whole Saydi.

The modern intervention of applying copper frame for more efficiently gilding has been an issue of preservation in Bagan. The Shwezigon Saydi was the first temple to apply copper frame as a modern technique of gilding the Saydi. In 1979, the temple started to wear copper frame and sheets from the Slope Roof to the Banana Bud. The second stage of copper frame was started in 1980-1983 with a total fund of \$13.7 million Kyat. The second stage covered the portion from the Bell-shaped dome to the Bell. The portion from Bell Stand to the Third Square Terrace was done in the third and fourth stages. The construction of the whole Saydi needed about 30,000 copper sheets (326 million Kyat) donated by believers. The Gopaga ran several events for fundraising from 1978 to 1983. After the construction, Shwezigon would just need to gild again every eight years. It influenced 14 other temples in Bagan that wanted to copy this technique and put a copper frame on the original façade. Now people are considering applying a newest technique of making Gold Chips to paste on top of the Saydi, so that they won’t need to gild again for a longer time. Gopaga of the famous Shwedagon Saydi in Yangon has been thinking about this issue. “Traditionally, plating gold leaf on the original façade of Saydi can’t last for a long time, and we need to do gilding again about every three years. If we plate gold leaf on copper frame, it can last eight years,” said Shwezigon Gopaga. “We are learning about the newest technique of electroforming, which forms gold on a metal to become Gold Chips that do not need to be replaced frequently (about 15-20 years). Many temples in Thailand have used this newest technique of using Gold Chips to paste on top of their Saydi by some Italian companies. However, the color of electroforming is too shiny and not stable. Also, people like to gild their Buddha with their

hand to feel the sense of merit,” said U Mg Mg Kyi (a gold plating expert of Shwedagon Saydi).

Bagan is an ancient monument site, and this is an issue for government of course. Actually, the Bagan Archaeology Office didn't have much influence on Gopaga in Bagan in 1979 when Shwezigon was installing copper frames (1979-1981) on the Saydi. After the registry U Khin Nyint led the Bagan Archaeology Office in 1987, the office expanded and became more powerful. “If we see the international guidelines, it is not allowed to change the original surface of monuments which would destroy the original fabric. Now, the result of putting copper frame and gilding on the façade of monuments is that visitors can't see the original fabric of the monuments. However, we are a Buddhist country. People wish to restore decayed temples to merit their Buddha. Sometimes it is hard to balance historical preservation and the Buddhist viewpoint. But we try to consider both needs,” said a Bagan Archaeology Officer. The government banned gilding on all monuments in Bagan in 1998, except temples that have gilded before 1998. For example, Shwezigon, Bupaya, and Manuha were still allowed to gild their temples and Buddha statues.

### ***Rehabilitation of the temple***

The Saydi was found to be a “Double Encased pagoda” after the rehabilitation of 1975 earthquake. It proved the legend that “the inner Saydi was built by King Anawrahta and the outside covered and newly built a higher Saydi by King Kyanzittha (1084-1113),” said Gopaga. In 1975, the top was damaged (from the Booses to Diamond Orbit) (see figure 4.26). At that time, the Hti (umbrella) was tilted toward the northeast. When the temple committee cleaned up the Booses portion, they found the top of inner Saydi, which was coated with brass. “The legend might be true that King Anawrahta commenced the construction of Shwezigon but it was King Kyanzittha who completed the rest,” said Shwezigon Gopaga. The Saydi was soon covered by Gopaga for an efficient repair who now regret that they didn't research the inner Saydi. According to the legend the inner Saydi was like the Doekamouth Saydi, located on the east side of Shwezigon Saydi. “Anawrahta built the Doekamouth Saydi as a small model of Shwezigon. So, the inner stupa must be similar to Doekamouth. It was estimated that the distance between inner and outer layers Saydi was about one oxcart big,” said Mr. U Win Mg Myint.

There was no record about how many times the temple has been repaired in history. In 1975, the earthquake destroyed the top of the Saydi (mainly from the Bosses to the Hti). “At that time, the rehabilitation group found that the Saydi coated a small Saydi inside which was likely built by King Anawrahta,” said a member of Shwezigon Gopaga. We also found an Arahant statue enshrined in the top of in the inner Saydi (figure 4.27). The temple was restored by a UNESCO group in 1976, and Gopaga was responsible for fundraising. Engineers were from the Bagan Archaeology Office.



Figure 4.26 Bosses portion and the Hti were damaged in 1975 earthquake. (Provided by Shweziogn Gopaga)



Figure 4.27 The hand drawing of Arahant enshrined inside the top of Saydi. (Source: U Aung Kyng)

The history of repairing the Shwezigon *Hti* shows that the temple had a close relationship with Mon people. “Shwezigon Temple was the first temple with a Mon-style *Hti* on top of the Saydi. When the King Kyanzittha built the temple, he used Mon and Pali language on the stone inscriptions describing the stories of Buddha. This shows that Mon people had significant influence in Bagan at that time. Shwezigon was enshrined by a Mon-style *Hti* before. A Burmese-style *Hti* was set on top during the Konbaung Dynasty,” said expert U Aung Kyng. The first donor of Shwezigon *Hti* was the King Anqwrahat, followed

by King Kyanzitta<sup>127</sup> (1084~1113), Prince of Da-Lun Kingdom (1654), Shin-Pyu-Shin King<sup>128</sup> (1768), and civilian people in 1977. Each version of Hti was higher than before following the Buddhist traditions. In the early era, we could only see the term “Hti Daw.” “Only when the third Hti...” means that the term of Diamond Orbit was inside old stone inscription about Shwezigon. “Local Gopaga estimates that there maybe the first Diamond Orbit was enshrined in the Bagan Dynasty,” said local scholar U Kyi Ben. In 1957, when a Zewingaba master (a monk) visited Shwezigon, he vowed to bring a Diamond Bud donated by people. The Zewingaba started preaching at the Saydi, and many believers donated treasures to the Gopaga member U Tun Shein at that time. “Then the monk went to Moe Gaut to get a diamond to be enshrined on top of Shwezigon. Some rich merchants wanted to donate a huge diamond to him, but he refused and insisted on donations by every civilian. The monk wanted to share the merit to every body, I think,” said one of the Gopaga members. Finally the monk used 1.5 million Kyat to buy a diamond for the Shwezigon Temple. An elder Gopaga said,

“A believer from Moe Gaut informed the Shwezigon Gopaga to convene the civilians in Nyaung U to welcome the diamond in 1958,” said Gopaga. Gopaga thought about the history of people welcoming Buddha’s tooth from Ceylon to Bagan, and the King stepping down to the river to welcome the tooth. So a man dressed like a King stepped down to river to welcome the diamond. At that time, thousands of believers were waiting. The diamond and Vane portion were carried by an elephant around the Nyaung U city before going to the east gate of Shwezigon. The temple was decorated with traditional Burmese-style pavilion and palaces. The Hti (including the Vane and Diamond Orbit) was carried by a colorful cart controlled by a long rope held by every believer. People prepared foods and rice to offer to the monks. The monks were preaching for five nights. The ceremony impressed Nyaung U citizens, and they had a feel of meriting their own Buddha after that event.”

The newest Hti donated by Nyaung U citizen has eleven layers and was made in Mandalay. The old Hti donated by King Shin-Pyu was exhibited in the temple.

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<sup>127</sup> King Kyanzitta’s Hti was in Mon style with nine layers.

<sup>128</sup> Shin-Pyu-Shin King’s Hti is in Burmese style with 11 layers.

### ***The temple and its people: duty and the festival***

As a famous Saydi in Bagan, a significant religious center in Burma, Shwezigon Saydi has its own special festival related to its own history. On the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> nights of new moon in the Tan Chaung Pon month, some farmers would come to spread their crops at the temple as an offering. This ceremony started its history when people living inside the Saydi land were required to offer one tenth of their crops to the temple. Although the rule no longer existed, the relationship kept going annually. The temple is also significant for enshrining Buddha and local spiritual Gods in the temple. The temple enshrines 37 officially recognized Burmese Nats (Burmese Spiritual or Natural Gods). The ceremony of worshiping Nat is a national-level festival that occurs twice each year. People would worship all Gods to please the Nat. For example, the Ko Kyi Kyaw Nat (originally Min Kyawzwa) was famous as a drunkard and cock fighter but also a good rider who was killed by his victims-turned devils in the Bagan Dynasty. So Shwezigon would worship this Nat with wine, chicken, and fish, etc.

The annual festival of the Shwezigon Temple takes place in the whole month of November (Dyazong Moon month in the Burmese Calendar). King Kyanzitta decided the date of festival when he finished constructing the temple in the ancient Bagan Dynasty. The celebration used to last only 4-5 days but has been extended to 20 days. Ten days are for reciting Patthana (a Buddhist scripture) and 13 days for monk Dharma (7:00PM to 10 PM). Since people within 15 miles around the Nyaung U city would join the festival, the festival involves local officers to support all the needs. During the festival, the head of every village and quarter would set up their own office inside the Shwezigon Temple. The power department helps provide stable electricity. The health office provides support for medical treatment. Half of fire trucks from the Fire Station are ready for any accident. Nurses are required to provide service in rotation. Police would take care of the safety of visitors. This kind of large-scale official support is rare for festivals in Bagan. Only the biggest temples including the Shwezigon Temple and Ananda Temple have this scale of official involvement. There are overnight drama performances every two days. So every department is in service 24 hours a day to guide and help visitors. The festivals have monk enlightenments every night till 9pm. In Tan Chaung Pon full moon day, people would offer foods and money to monks for the entire day. The Shwezigon Gopaga would invite 3,000 monks in the Nyaung U district to receive the arm-bow and food offering. Normally, the Shwezigon Gopaga would not need to fundraise for the festival. People would offer new monk's bowls, daily goods, oils, cooked rice, and other foods to the temple. The temple would put all offerings in line. Then

Owadar-Sariya would ballot 100 new bows donated by believers and put them around the huge bow inside the temple for worshipping Buddha. The rest of the offerings would be put in line in the center of the square, and traveling monks can claim them. For the local monks, they would offer three bows to senior monk, two bows to young monks, etc.

People who belong to the Shwezigon Temple are villagers who live within 15 miles around the Nyaung U City. They participate in the temple festival every year, and have their own schedule to offer and worship at the temple. The core area of belief circle includes believers from the east village groups (25%) of Nyaung U City that include kanpa Ni, Nyaung Kyi, Kan Taya, the south village groups (30%) including Taung Ba, Mye Ne, Gon Tan Kyi, Pwar Saw, Tant Cin Kye, and the north village groups (15%) including Myint Chye and Cwar Kyi. These villagers must join the Shwezigon festival because King Anawrahta donated land to Shwezigon, and people who lived on the land were required to donate to the temple. Almost 90% of people from 80 villagers in Nyaung U City would join the temple's festival because they live closely with the temple. Among them, 75 villagers are required to join and are obliged to offer to the monks. About 40 to 50% of people from Yea Nan Choen City, Geoud Ba Dawn City and Chauk City also join the festival. They would drive or ride motorcycles across the Ba-Ku-Gu Bridge to Nyaung U City. The bridge was rebuilt in 2011, so now people can go join the festival and return home in one day.

People who live on the Buddha land are required to donate one tenth of their grain to the temple. Villagers would come to the temple to spread their grains at the temple as a symbol of offering to the Buddha in the months of Ti Tin Kyont and Ta Chaung Pon in the Burmese calendar. The southern villagers of Mye Tin Twam, Taung Ba, and Mye Ne would offer palm sugar to the monks since they plant palm trees in the month of Ta Bon in the Burmese calendar. The percentage of people who visit the temple also shows its broad influence in Burma. In 2012, 30% of the visitors are from other parts of Burma: Yangon and Mandalay (75%), Morlarmian (Mon people, 10%), nearby cities of Ma Gua, Geoud Ba Dawn, and Yea Nan Choen (5~7%), and foreign tourists, etc.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Source: Shwezigon Gopaga.

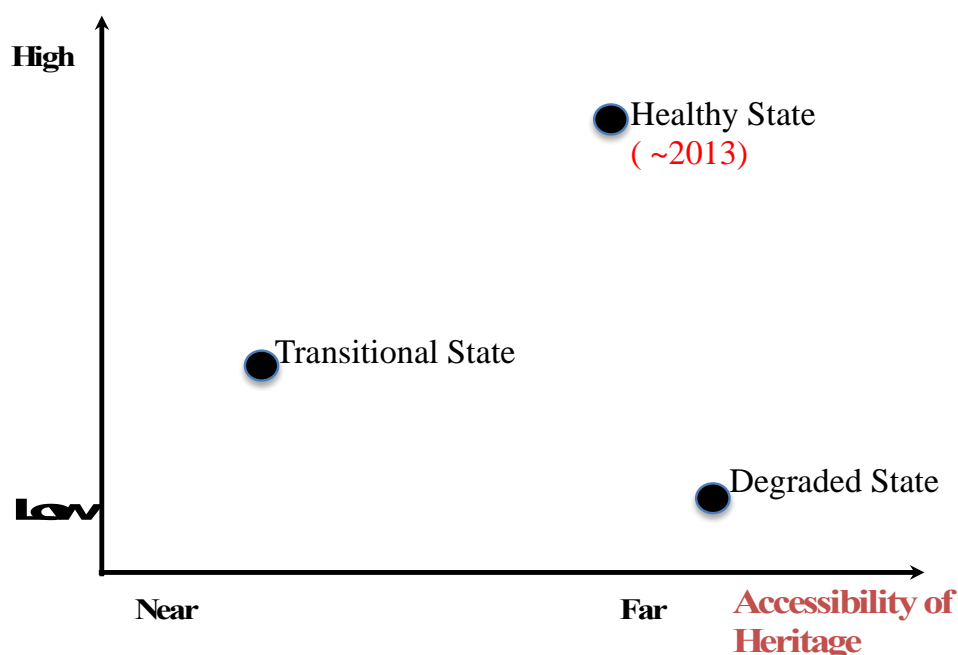
### ***Regime, cultural state, disturbances and resilience at the Shwezigon temple***

The Shwezigon temple has a strong relationship with its people and monasteries over time. Shwezigon Saydi was originally donated by the Kings, but was cared by its people for centuries. If we look at the temple's management regimes, there were five regime changes since the Bagan dynasty. The first was Buddha Slaves Regime in the Bagan Dynasty (849-1297); the second was the Sat ta Regime in the Konbaung period (1752-1885); the third was the Paya Lukyi Regime after the Kongbaung period; the fourth was the Gopaga Regime in the British Era (1885-1948); and the current regime (1948 to the present) involves Gopaga plus the Archaeology Office. Each regime has applied different techniques of maintaining the monuments because people believe it was their duty to repair and always make their Buddha look new. The era of local management started in the Sat ta ruling regime in the Kongbaung Kingdom. The organization was composed of nearby villagers. During the Paya Lukyi era, the organization had a leading monks committee to watch the temple together with Paya Lukyi. In this era, monks still lived inside the temple, and Paya Lukyi were required to follow senior monks' guidance.

During the first three regimes, the Kings were the major donors for restoring significant monuments. They also designated specific villages to do routine works of caring for the temples. For the two recent regimes, civilians became the main donors, and the temples created a mechanism for increasing their rental income from their Buddha land. The mechanism gave donors the right to decide on the form and materials. When someone wanted to donate for new repairs, Gopaga must inform and discuss with the original donor about the new donation. In this sense, certain rights of donors are associated with their donations.

Figure 4.28. Cultural State of Shwezigon temple

## Spatial-functional diversity



In Burma, the Owadar-Sariya has influence over a temple's reputation to believers. This is why many religious groups in Burma are trying to influence the education of monks. Mechanisms of managing monks have changed several times. During British rule, as population grew, there were eight monasteries set up around Shwezigon. If we include the original three monasteries that existed from the Konbaung Dynasty (1752~1885), the temple had eleven related monasteries. After independence, the military government established different levels of Sangha Committee to lead the local Owadar-Sariya in the 1980s. The number of monasteries near Shwezigon increased to 1,1130; however, there were only four to five seats for the Owadar-Sariya of Shwezigon. So the county government decided on the selection of monk committee by taking turns at the temple. The temple also provided two meditation centers (open 24 hours) for these monks to preach and teach meditation. Shwezigon has five Owadar-Sariya chosen from nearby monasteries. One was Central Sangha Representative; two were District Sangha Representatives; and two were leaders of monasteries in Nyaung U City. In this sense, the temple has regional and local influence on the society. Another change was for the Gopaga. About one third of Gopaga members should

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<sup>130</sup> They are from different Buddhist Factions. 4 of them are teaching schools provide chance for children to learn about Damasariyar (Buddhist Sutra). Monks can get high school level of degree when they graduate from those schools.

be retired officers,<sup>131</sup> which is quite different from the Paya Lukyi era when all of the members were chosen randomly.

Since the temple is one of the major landmarks in Bagan, it has a stricter regulation from Bagan Archaeology Office. Guidelines and regulations about Gopaga and Owedar-Sareyar Owadar-Sariya produced by the Minister of Religion started from the 1970s. On the other hand, the temple's recent conservation work has also shown that the temple has the ability to spend a big budget for maintaining the temple. Also, the temple had received a lot of expert support from the government as well as international attention after the 1975 earthquake. The temple still had the permission of applying copper frames in 1979 even though it changed the original façade of the monument. The temple was permitted to continue to install new Hti that had been criticized as contemporary decoration. It also continued to apply Gold Leaf inside the temple. But for safety, it was not allowed to burn candles inside the temple after 1994 except during the Lighting Festival (Thadingyut Festival) in October and November. As the authority of the Bagan Archaeology Office increased after 1987, the temple was subjected to more regulations from the authority. For this reason, the temple has the most extensive written record in Bagan because of the number of applications to different levels of government.

As the population grew to 2 million now in Nyaung U city, about 90% of its citizens are still Shwezigon believers. As one of the four Saydis enshrining a bone and tooth of Gautama Buddha, Shwezigon has the privilege of having nationwide visitors from Yangon, Mandalay and upper Burma from December to March every year. The temple has its own stable base of donors and related monasteries to support all types of Buddhist activities, especially from July to October for believers of different ages (the Vassa, in Waso, Wakhaung, Tawthalin months of the Burmese calendar).<sup>132</sup> It also has had international Buddhist visitors starting in 1990. For example, there were three groups from South Korea and seven groups from Taiwan in year 2009. However, the temple mainly serves Nyaung U city. For example, the annual temple festival provides a chance for local villagers to make offerings to monks, buying and

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<sup>131</sup> In Bagan, these are forestry, agriculture, accounting, or archaeology officers.

<sup>132</sup> The Vassa is the three-month annual retreat observed by Theravada practitioners. Taking place during the rainy season, Vassa lasts for three lunar months usually from July to October. Monks should remain inside monasteries and temple, and should not travel.

selling goods, and enjoy entertainments. With the benefit of its location in a big city, the temple has the most expensive Hti made of gold in Bagan. Even though it requires a large budget, its Gopaga still have the ability of repairing the Hti and gilding the façade every eight year.

The new threat for the city is population growth. According to the law in Bagan, buildings should be 90 feet away from a monument. If the control is not changed, people may need to move toward the farmland, which is far away from Shwezigon. The relationship between the temple and heritage might change similar to the relocation of Old Bagan villagers in the 1990s. Another issue of conserving the temple concerns tourist activities. The number of tourists in 2010 was 85,000 but it grew to 120,000 in 2013. Compared to other tourist destinations in Asia, Bagan is still in the beginning stage of tourism development. It is significant to see how tourism influences local population with more hotels, guesthouses and shops run by outsiders in the future. It has been a tough issue for Bagan Archaeology Office to release more land inside the archaeology zone for tourism related constructions.

From the local perspective, the cultural state of Shwezigon is in a transitional state (healthy but threaten; see figure 4.28). The temple is with an accessible distance (by walk and motorcycles) to the 75 Villages in its belief system. The supporting social network allows the temple to continue to serve as one of two largest temples in Bagan as well as a landmark for tourist. The flexible policy on rehabilitation allows traditional management to cooperate with government even though some of the practices are in conflict with international guidelines for heritage preservation.

#### **4.4 Cultural Resilience in a Small village: the Manuha Temple**

The temple of Manuha is located in the Mingaba village in the Bagan Archaeology Site. The village is located in the east of Old Bagan. The village has 637 houses distributed in the east, central, and southern part of the Manuha temple. The Mingaba River runs through the center and south of villages, and provides water for irrigation. The village is famous for its lacquer-ware and bamboo handicrafts. There are twelve monasteries and eleven ancient monuments

(temples and Saydis)<sup>133</sup> inside the village. The village was originally named Anuyadha Village, and was one of 19 villages of the origin of Bagan Kingdom. Mingaba is named to memorize King Suggadye after he died in a war with King Anawrahta. According to the stone inscription at temple, the Manuha Temple was donated by a Mon-minority-captive-king Manuha. The name of Manuha was a combination of Manu and maha. Manu was the name of the King, and maha means venerable or king. King Manuha was from Tahton (or Dahton) City near the Mon state. King Anawrahta attacked the Tahton City to get “the Three Bitaga” from the Mon Kingdom. King Manuha refused, and the King with his family members, courtiers, and craftsman were seized and settled in the Mingaba Village (Ben, 2004: 13), near the Nan Paya. It was said that Manuha King sold his diamond ring to build a sitting and one reclining Buddha statues at the location of Manuha temple. The Buddha Statues were built in 1064 (Year 429 in Burmese calendar) and have one giant bowl in front for devoting. When the Buddha images were done, the King of Bagan (King Anawrahta) joined the opening ceremony, and donated 80 Buddha slaves to take care of the temple.

### *Stories of the building of the Manuha Temple*

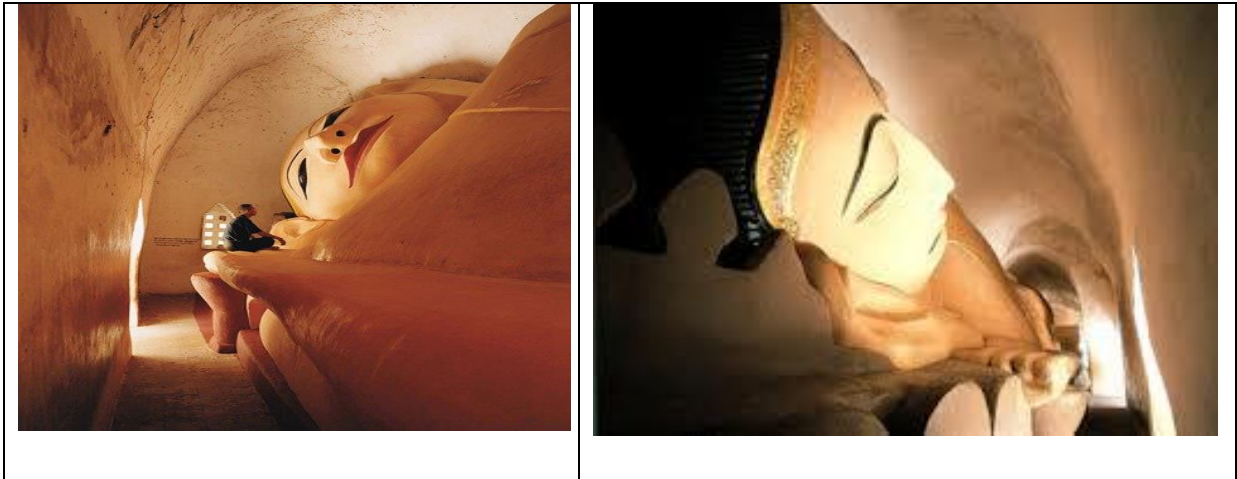
People were skeptical about why King Manuha wanted to build such a small building to cover four Buddha statues. The temple enshrines three huge seated Buddha's in the front and an image of Nirvana reclining Buddha statue in the back. The colossal Buddha's are squeezed in a small two-story building. “All the Buddha's seem too large for their enclosures, and their cramped, uncomfortable positions are said to represent the stress and lack of comfort that the 'captive king' had to endure. It is said that only the reclining Buddha, in the act of entering Nibbana, has a smile on its face, showing that for Manuha, death was the only release from his suffering,” said in Guidebook to Bagan.<sup>134</sup> Some scholars also believe that the two-story building was built by the Mon King of Manuha on purpose. The colossal images of Buddha

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<sup>133</sup> The Gu-Byat-Gyi Paya, the Myat-Saydi Paya, Mingaba Paya, Shwe Paya are in the north part; The Shwe Paya are in the east side of the village and the Oodama Paya, Nge Paya, Nan Paya, Phyat Sar Shwegu Paya, Nagaryuan Paya, Apya Ratana Paya are in the southern part of the Mingaba Village.

<sup>134</sup> Source: <http://bagan.travelmyanmar.net/index.htm>





Figures 4.31 and 4.32. The reclining Buddha in the backside of the building. The Buddha statue faces north. The Buddha's mudra (ritual gesture) is in Nirvana.



Figure 4.33 (above right). The huge bowl is believed to have been built by King Manu.

Actually, I think the Buddha statues themselves might answer some of their believers' confusions. If we look closely at the front and back Buddha statues, we can see that the description of Manuha king's unhappiness might be too theatrical. For the sitting Buddha, there is no close carving<sup>136</sup> on the body of the Buddha, and Buddha's mudra is in Dhyana meaning that the Buddha is meditating. The Buddha's eyes are slightly open to show Buddha's condition of peaceful mind. Moreover, the reclining Buddha in the back is entering Nirvana. The Buddha faces north with eyes slightly open. The face is in an uncomfortable condition (figure 4.30). For this, the craftsman might be trying to imitate the painful condition when Buddha is going into Nirvana (figures 4.31 and 4.32). So when was the two-story building built and by whom (figure 4.29)? Local scholars believe the building of the Manuha Temple might involve a dynamic process by different donors. "The King Manuha's

<sup>136</sup> Some craftsman would not carve Buddha's clothes because Buddha would put on a robe to cover the body when doing meditation.

grandchild Naga Saman might be the donor for two layers of buildings,” said Ko Kyi Ben. Young local historians prefer a less dramatic version about why King Manuha wants to build the colossal Buddha statues and squeezed the two statues into such a small temple. U Gti Ben believes that two sitting Buddha statues on both sides of the front gate and the two-story building were built in a later era in posterity when local craftsmen just started their technique of building two-story building to house large Buddha statues in later Bagan to Awa era. He believes that King Manuha originally just built one sitting and one reclining Buddha statues as well as the big bowl (figure 4.33). “It is obvious that cave-type Saydis did not exist in the early Bagan Dynasty when King Manuha was still alive. One can see that the building was built abutting the Buddha’s back. This shows that it is not possible that they were built at the same time even though the building was in the Mon style,” he said. His reasons are: first, the top of the building enshrined one big Saydi accompanied with two small Saydis on the side and 34 other small Saydis around the temple with a total of 37 Saydis. “The 37 Saydis means the commemoration of 37 enlightenments<sup>137</sup> which was a popular art developed in the Awa Era (1364~1555 AD). Secondly, the east and west sides of the wall were decorated with Bagan-style cement graphic. However, the upper portion of additional decoration on the wall was added on top of the Awa Era cement graphic. It was also said that the temple might be constructed in the late Bagan Dynasty but the 37 pagodas on top of the building (figure 4. 34) were built in the Awa period. Thirdly, the existing stone inscription (the original stone inscription of the King Manuha was not found anymore) of the Munuha temple restored in the Awa Era did not mention who was the donor.” So U Gyi Ban thinks the King’s unhappiness is just misinterpretation.

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<sup>137</sup> The 37 dhammā of enlightenment (Bodhipakkhiyādhammā) are qualities (dhammā) conducive or related to (pakkhiya) awakening (bodhi). (Source from: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bodhipakkhiyādhammā>).



Figure 4.34 The Manuha Temple has 37 Saydis on top of its two-story building.

“King Manuha’s grandson Naga Saman<sup>138</sup> might be the donor of the building. He himself built two other sitting Buddha statues in the front accompanied with King Manuha’s Buddha statue. He also built the two-story building at the same time” (Ban, 2004: 48). Gyi Ban thinks Naga Saman wanted to build a building as great as the temple of Hti Lo Min Lo<sup>139</sup> (another significant monument in Bagan) to merit his grandfather. In this sense, King Manuha might only build an enormous Buddha’s outdoors for everybody to see from far away. A scholar agrees that the building might be built after King Manuha since building Buddha statue without covering was a typical method applied by Mon people in the early era. Sayagi U Aung Kying said,

“Actually in the early era, there were some other cases like in Pago<sup>140</sup> in the Kingdom of Mon people, where the King built enormous Buddha statue without building covering. However, the building and the 37 Saydis were both built in Bagan Dynasty. Actually, the temple had been repaired during the Binya (13<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries) and Awa (14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries) period. The cement decoration was done originally in Bagan period, but the reason

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<sup>138</sup> Naga Saman is the grandchild of King Manuha. He was the son in law of Bagan King in 12<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>139</sup> Htilominlo temple was built in 1218 by King Nadaungmya King, which is also enshrined with a huge Buddha image.

<sup>140</sup> The Shwe Tha Lyaung reclining Buddha is located on the west side of Bago (Pegu) built by Mon King Migadepa.

that they looked differently might be because different techniques were applied in later rehabilitation.”

The discussion highlights the issue of the tradition of donor in Burma before the Cultural Law was published that considered historical authenticity or integrity. Before, donors could decide how to repair a temple. Regardless of the debate, after ten centuries, the temple has kept its role as a local temple hidden in a small village of Myinkaba. Unlike the Shwezigon Temple that enshrined expensive *Hti* and big diamond on top of the Saydi, the *Hti* of small 37 Saydis on top of the Manuha Temple enshrined iron *Hti* and the façade of building only has small repair by local villagers. The Manuha Temple is like a small temple hidden in remote villages guarded by nearby believers in Burma. After centuries of close connections with the local society, the temple has become center for education, religion, and politics in the local society in Bagan. For example, senior monks of the Manuha monastery stopped the construction of road that might have relocated local villagers in the 1990s.

### ***The temple and its people***

The Manuha Temple is special not only in terms of its built type, but also for the people who have safeguarded their Buddha for hundreds of years. The Myinkaba village has the largest concentration of Mon people in Bagan. People no longer call themselves as Mon minority but as Mon-Burmese. However, the way they celebrate temple festivals and worshiping Buddha is still in the Mon tradition. The story of how King Manuha migrated (or was captured) from Datong City<sup>141</sup> to Bagan bringing the Purple Gem<sup>142</sup> has been a popular theme for the paper figure show at the Manuha festival. This means that people still remember their origin as Mon people. There are two large ancient temples in the Myingaba Village. One is Manuha, and another is the Mya Saydi Temple. Only these two temples have their own annual temple festival, and both of them have paper figure show in the temple festival. People like to pray and join their own temple's festivals and activities. If we apply a similar idea of belief circle in the small village, we can easily find believers within walking distance of the temple. About 80 households of villagers living in the village group (officially

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<sup>141</sup> Datong City used to be the capital of the Manuha Kingdom in the early Burma Kingdom.

<sup>142</sup> The Three Jewels or the Three Treasures were Buddha, Dharma and Sangha.

called region) of Taung Gon, A Lan Gon, Shwe Chan and Myo Ma belong to Mya Saydi. Villagers who live in the three village groups of Shen Gon (also called Taung Gon Region), Shwe Lan (also called A Lan Gon Region), and Tamyin Chan (also called Shwe Chan Region) belong to the Manuha Temple.

***History of the temple and its management: Gopaga, monasteries and the role of leading monks in the Myingaba village***

The Manuha Temple had its own monastery ever since the temple was built. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Manuha Temple was managed by monks from the Manuha Monastery. The senior monk led routine work at the temple, allocated labors for festivals, and engaged in other religion activities. Manuha Gopaga (temple trustee members) was first formed in 1964.<sup>143</sup> Gopaga committee was selected from three village groups in the Myingaba Village. Manuha Gopaga has 15 members: five from Shein Gon, five from Shwe Lan, and five from Tamyin Chan. Since 1988, Manuha Gopaga had 15 members but three members have left the position because of health reasons. Unlike the Shwezigon Temple, Manuha Gopaga doesn't need to publish its organizational regulations since it is a small temple in a village. Head of Gopaga is selected from temple members. The main task of Manuha Gopaga is to manage money from donors, rehabilitate temple, and arrange preaching and offering to monks. Gopaga has been collecting money monthly and put money in the Burma Economy Bank supervised by county government for 23 years. The bank provides interest to the temple. The Gopaga are also responsible for serving donor's activities and equally distribute donations to other monastery. Gopaga will host offering to monks at least twice each month to build the temple's relationships with nearby monasteries and the whole Bagan as well. For example, every year in Burma calendar of Thadingyut (October, festival of lights, the end of Buddhist lent of Vassa), the Manuha Temple would present offerings to 500 monks and 100 nuns. The temple holds at least four times of monthly preaching which might be the most frequent in Bagan. It is because the temple has its own monastery and monks who have close relationship with villagers.

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<sup>143</sup> First head of Gopaga members is Mr. U Ba Gyi, followed by Mr. U Hla Mg, Mr. U Mya Shin, and Mr. U Taung.

Since 1988, the military government set up a village-level lead monk committee. The village has its own monk committee dealing with all issues about monks—for example, monk education, judiciary decisions, and disputes among monasteries. The Manuha Temple’s Owadar-Sariya (Monk consultant committee) are selected from 14 monasteries in Myingaba Village. Candidates are provided by each monastery. The leading monks of the Manuha monastery will choose five members for Manuha’s Owadar-Sariya committee. Most of them are senior monks. In other words, these monks are also serving as Mingaba’s village-level monk committee. Owadar-Sariya makes all major decisions about the Manuha Temple. In 1988, the national government issued a Law of Gopaga Committee. Under the law, if a temple needs to repair the *Hti*, Gopaga will need to ask Owadar-Sariya first, and then propose to the Bagan Archaeology Office followed by an application to the County Government (the Township & District General Management Office) to withdraw money from the bank. In other words, before 1988, donors could decide the whole rehabilitation or ceremony, and Gopaga members were assisting only. For example, in 1989, donor U Paramavanna Siddhi presided over the fundraising process for temple conservation. In 1997, the rehabilitation of the temple was completed by donor U Tan Hla with his own money. The donor owned a company of making the *Hti* so he could handle the whole ceremony. Considering a broad participation of donation by civilians, the first time that Gopaga decided to direct the *Hti* (crowning) and gilding ceremony was in 2013 even though some major donors were willing to provide the whole budget.

Table 3. Short history of repairing the 37 *Hti*

	<u>Donor</u>	<u>Repair part</u>	<u>Repair Time</u>
<u>First Hti</u>	Directed by-U Paramavanna Siddhi	Set up a Nine layers of silver Hti and Diamond Orbit about 9 KG.	1989
<u>Second Hti</u>	Directed by-U Tan Hla	Newly set up a nine layer of Iron Hti and Diamond Orbit.	1997
<u>Third Hti</u>	Directed by Manuha Gopaga	Newly set up silver Hti and Diamond Orbit.	End of 2013

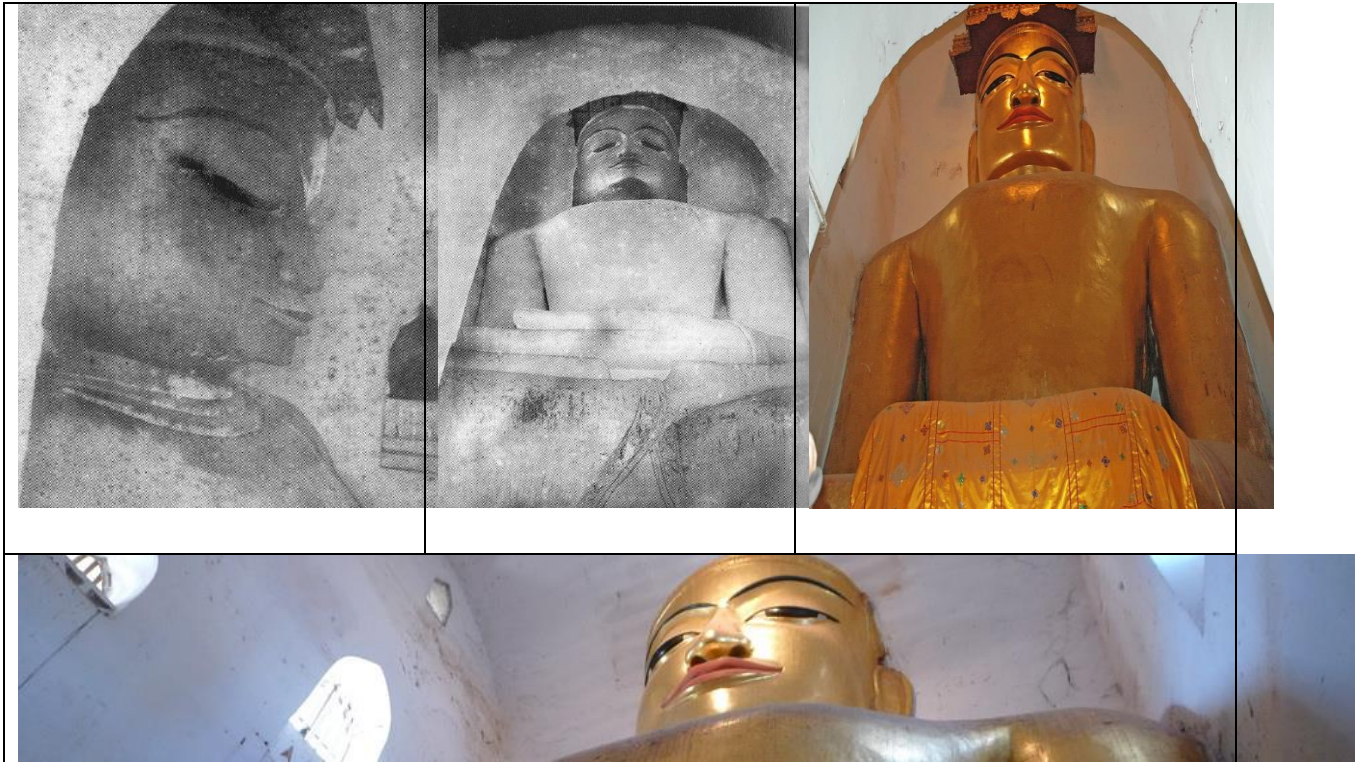
Manuha started to have gold gilding during the colonial era. Normally, they would also do Hti repair or install a new one at the same time. Repair work would be done simultaneously before gilding on top. At Manuha, a local engineer Mr. U Yan Aye started to put iron-frame on top of the Saydi for gold gilding from the top of Saydi to the Inverted Bowl (bell shaped dome) portion in 1997. Donors also provided copper pieces to improve the quality of gold gilding on top of the Saydi. The temple would hold an auction to sell old gold scraped from original Hti and Saydi to the public to collect money for the next project. The information would be published in newspaper or other media. Then Gopaga would hire local engineers (through bidding) to repair, gild, and install the Hti. Mingaba Village is famous for its lacquer-ware technique. Therefore they can find a professional company to do gilding. Generally, it takes two to three months to finish.

The temple received donations after it became famous in 2006 when a Japanese monk visited the temple and the temple festival's special performance of paper figures displayed by monasteries or a group of young people. About 10,000 pilgrimage groups visit the temple each year from Yangon (90%), Mandalay (10%), Naypyidaw and Shan state (5%) and other parts of Burma. Some are long-term donors of the temple since 19 years ago. Villages from three related quarters need to prepare and share budget to hold the festival. Before Manuha has Gopaga, Manuha's leading monk (also the head monk of the whole Mingaba Village) would assign tasks for monasteries in the village to prepare for festival and donate money to the temple. Now, the larger village groups of Taung Gon and A Law Gon regions provide 80% of the temple festival's spending. The small region of Shwe Chan provides 20% of the spending. The Saydi has its own land in a 4-acre area around the temple owned by the whole village but managed by Manuha Gopaga. People need to rent land from the temple but the rent rates are decided by renters.

### ***Rehabilitation work after the 1975 earthquake***

In the 1975 earthquake, the sitting Buddha in the front gate was seriously damaged. The middle roof of the building was also damaged at that time. The main and surrounding Saydis on top of the building fell down as well as some portions of the two-story cave building. The head of Buddha statue broke down. The main Saydi and four other Saydis near the center of the building completely broke down. This was the first time archaeologists confirmed that the Buddha statues were made from brick. After the earthquake, Myinkaba

villagers and the Pakukku soldiers helped clean up the environment and found that Sapphire and Relic bottles were enshrined inside the body of Buddha. The Special Construction Group (led by Dr. Daw Tin Nwee) from construction department was responsible for repairing the Buddha statue; Archaeology officers were responsible to make the model. Local craftsmen like U Than Shein, U Hla Aye, and U Maung Mya were invited to join the rehabilitation group. At that time, Manuha Gopaga was responsible for fundraising and a monastery in Popa Mountain donated money for repairing the temple. The Bagan Construction Committee helped restore 41 temples, and Manuha was one of them. The committee used reinforced steel to repair the roof and made it look the same as before. Then was the difficult part about the Buddha head. The process applied local crafts of making bamboo figures. In the beginning, they tried other engineers from outside to make the model of Buddha here, but they could not restore the face of the original Buddha statue. The Special Construction Group in Bagan thought about the idea of using bamboo to make the shape of Buddha head. The method eased the weight of the upper portion of Buddha statue. They found Mr. U Maung Mya who was from the village and was very familiar with what the statue looked like before. “We could see that the proportions of Buddha statue from head, upper part of Buddha’s body, lower part of Buddha’s body was 1:2:4.5. The statue’s shoulder was 22 inches wide, so the head must be 11 inches, half of the shoulder,” said Mr. U Maung Mya. He used bamboo, sticky rice, palm robe, paper and straw to weave Buddha’s head, which was the same technique for making paper figures for the annual performance at the temple festival. His Buddha face was much more similar to the original face of Buddha. “I looked at a small photo of Buddha’s head as reference for my work,” he said (figures 4.35 and 4.36). His model was approved by the rehabilitation group (composed of eleven architects), and then an iron frame was used to sculpt Buddha’s head with concrete. “The rehabilitation group couldn’t make a similar face as my model. After their work, the Buddha’s face was so different from the original (figures 4.37 and 4.38). Then Manuha Gopaga hired another concrete sculptor Mr. U Than Shwe to use 600 bricks to repair later. Now the face has just about 50% resemblance of the original one,” said U Maung Mya.



Figures 4.35, 4.36, 4.37, 4.38. Buddha statues before (1918) and after the 1975 rehabilitation (2012). (Source: Photo records of Saydis and Temples in Bagan Volume-2, From 1906-1920)

The temple had not had major repairs for a long time before the 1975 earthquake. But it was routinely maintained by Gopaga in recent decades. For example, the temple had the new *Hti* in 1989, 1995 and 2013 supported by donors from Yangon. In 2008, the temple started to gild the Buddha statues and the big bowl. As a small temple, the temple's structure is not as new and big as other large temples in Bagan. The temple was inscribed as a monument in 1920, but a stricter regulation from the Archaeology Office about rehabilitation was imposed in 1980. However, from 1980 to 1988, lime was still applied on the façade of building whose white color signifies purity. After 1988, the temple was told not to whitewash its façade with lime. No new building inside the temple was allowed after 2012.

***Celebration, teasing government & representation of the Mon culture at the temple festival***


During the British rule, the Manuha Monastery played the role of educating villagers. Boys aged six to ten were sent to the temple to learn about the three Sutras. Government elementary school started in Myinkaba Village in 1925. After 1955, monasteries were

changed into educating monks only. Another special function of monasteries in Myinkaba Village was the training of traditional crafts in making paper figures as well as other skills. The Manuha Saydi Festival was a good time to show their crafts. The festival has been held every year in September for two to three days (one day before the Full Moon Day of Tawtalin in Burmese Calendar). During the festival, Manuha Gopaga would invite famous monks to preach for 12 days and provide performances donated by villagers in the last three days. As in the tradition of Mon minority, they provided rice cakes and pickled winter melon to all participants.

In Mon minority cities, there has been a tradition of making bamboo and paper figure during festival. For example, at the Dancing Elephant Festival in Kyaukse, near Mandalay, they have skills in making paper figure similar to Myingaba Village. In the early 1900s, the temple festival started to have paper figures for the Nat God performance provided by monasteries in the village. In the Bagan period, most paper figures were animals, and the puppets would perform in front of the Manuha Temple to please the Buddha. The performers would donate money back to their monasteries. During the Gongbon period to the Yadana Bon Kingdom in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the first human paper figure was made during the festival. Nobody knew why the paper figure was made for the festival. The head of Gopaga guessed that it might be from a funeral for a senior monk originally in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. “During a parade of the monk’s body for the funeral. A paper figure was put on top, and people would donate money as the figure passed by people’s houses for them to worship,” said the head of Manuha Gopaga Mr. U Soe Mong. Those paper figures were made in the monasteries in the village, or from some donors of the monasteries who hired artisans to make the figure. “It is also a merit to please their believers,” said a local reporter. The figures were made from bamboo (as frames), paper maché, and sticky rice. After they finished the bamboo frame, they would cover it with colorful papers as outfits.

People would make all kinds of figures or puppet like tigers, King Manuha (see figure 4.37), King Anarota, cows, and the popular drunken Nat God of Ko-Gyi-Gyaw to please people. People started to make Nat God Ko-Gyi-Gyaw in 2000 when the Nat God’s song has been created in a fast-paced style (similar to a rap song). Young people liked the song so that it became a popular show at the festival. It is an interesting performance of two men dancing to the rhythm together inside the puppets. If people liked the figure, they would put money on the puppets. The monastery would then donate all money they collected to the Manuha Temple,” said the reporter. Traditionally, men wouldn’t pray to the Nat God because they

would not be treated as orthodox Buddhist. So when the first Nat came out as paper figures, people debated whether they should be worshipped at the festival. Later, they accepted the performance as a type of show.

	
<p>Figure 4.39. Paper figures of King Manuha and Ko-Gyi-Gyaw Nat at the temple festival in 2012.</p>	<p>Figure 4.40. A kid sat on a tiger paper figure in the parade at the 2012 festival.</p>

The population in Myingaba Village is about 4500 in 2013, and about 2300 people join the Manuha Saydi Festival. So the festival is very crowded, and monasteries in that area try their best to make the most popular puppets to please the crowd. There are 20 to 30 paper figures shown at the Manuha festival every year in average. The figures included animals and Kings, and some popular idols would also perform in the show. For example, King Manuha and his family have traditionally been in the show every year. Other stories about Buddha, and even the colonists during the British Era have been popular which is politically ironic. “It is Buddha’s festival, so the government couldn’t do anything about the colonial reference,” said one of senior Gopaga members. Puppets of land speculators were also performed at the festival as a symbol of criticism against who have been in power in recent years. Opposition leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi (figures 4.41-44) became a new popular figure after her visit to the Manuha Temple from 2011 to 2013. Originally, only paper figures were used in the show. In recent decades, there have been real people sitting on paper figures or the puppets would dance with dance with several people depending on the story. The show required sound equipment to please the audience now. It has become more like a show and

competition now during the annual festival. People would not know ahead what would be on show even one day before the parade. The performance has been imitated by other temples in recent decades.

The story about the spread of the paper figure culture started in 1960. Temples from other regions would come to Myinkaba village to buy those puppets for their temple festivals. Started in 1989, after people moved from Old Bagan to New Bagan, they would come back to Myinkaba to buy puppets to celebrate their temple festivals in New Bagan, too. The paper figures became a popular culture in Bagan. The cultural performance that used to be celebrated only at the Manuha Saydi Festival has now been commercialized to attract tourists. Some hotels in Bagan would buy those popular puppets from Mingaba Village and use them in shows in their restaurants charging a high price. A craftsman in Mingaba Village said,

“We do not reuse these figures for next year. The figures are bought for performing someone who is from other area. For example, temples outside Mingaba Village would buy figures after the Manuha festival, redecorate the figures, and then put on a new performance in their own Saydi Festival starting in 2008.”

Buyers for the puppets come from other villages or New Bagan after people were relocated in 2010. In 2011, similar performances of paper figures became popular in New Bagan. “We hope at least the figures are used for religious purpose. Tourists will not understand the context of the puppets unless they understand our culture. For example, the Nat God of Ko-Gyi-Gyaw is popular by young generation since his story somehow referring their wish of being successful,” the craftsman said.



Figure 4.41 Daw Aung San SuKyi paper figure show was popular at the 2012 Manuha temple festival.



Figure 4.43 Daw Aung San Suu Kyi worshipped in the Manuha Temple in 2011.

Figure 4.42 Paper figure of a foreign visitor at the 2012 Manuha temple festival.



Figure 4.44 The Paper figure of Aung San Suu Kyi was popular at the Manuha temple festival in 2013.

As the temple festival became famous, the paper figure show was developed to be a type of competition in 2013. The Associations of Hotels, Restaurants, Souvenirs and Tour Guides proposed to Manuha Gopaga about having the competition at the Manuha temple festival. The purpose was for developing tourism in Bagan. About 20 groups from Myinkaba village joined. The first and third winners were performances about King Manuha riding a white elephant (paper figure) to bring Buddhist Sutra from Daton to Bagan. The second winner was a prayer about Prince Dudanu (performed by a real person) riding on a giant bird (paper figure) in Daton City. First and second winners were from Shwe-le village and the third winner was from Myatzadi monastery. All of them have the longest history of making good paper figure show in the festival.

There have been some recent changes in the festival. During the last three days of the Manuha Temple Festival, normally, people would donate overnight traditional Burmese performances to please the Buddha. The temple used to have a special performance of the oxcart <sup>144</sup> contest program. Beautifully decorated oxcart would line up in front of the temple

<sup>144</sup> The cow cars with beautiful decoration.

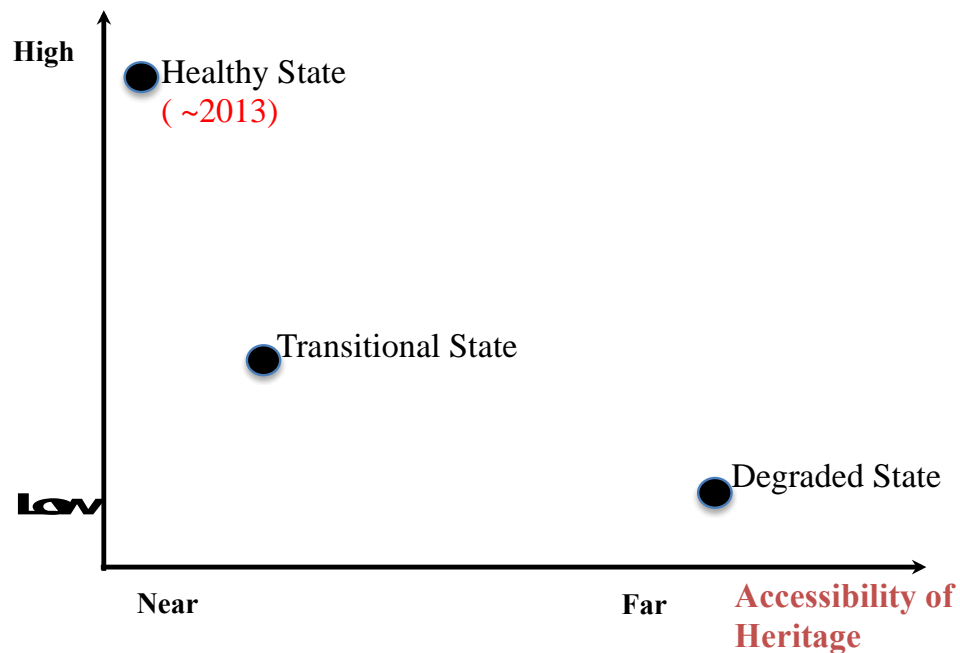
and perform stories to the audience. People would hire the best one to please Buddha. The stories were all from Buddhist Sutra or Buddha's life. The teamwork required them to rehearse one or two months ahead. When automobiles became popular, the cow-wagon performance had disappeared in 1962. All shows have been on automobiles since. People started to hire professionals from other big cities, like Mandalay, to perform traditional Burmese dance since they have better audio equipment. The temple restarted the "Whole Bowl Donation" in 1948, and Mr. U Aung Nyunt was the first donor. At the ceremony, people would fill up the large (one-story tall) bowl with cooked rice to offer to the monks. They would compete to be the first donor at that time. Because of Burma's economic condition, the "Whole Bowl Donation" ended after 1948. In 1991, Mr. Ko Kyaw Ni started the donation that continued even now though he had passed away. His money from the bank continues his donation. Concerned about too much left over rice, Manuha Gopaga changed the ceremony in 1999 to have only a portion of rice cooked, and monks could take the uncooked rice to go. For example, if the donation were twelve big bags of rice, only two would be cooked. The rest would be divided into 100-130 bags for the monks. As a temple located in a small village, Manuha was a typical case with a very high frequency of Whole Bowl offering in Bagan. During the Manuha festival, the temple would provide cooked rice and food to 65 monks. But for monks who travel from other monasteries, the temple offered about 650 alm bowls of offering every year in average. About 50% of monks from monasteries in Myingaba village would be offered to during the Manuha Temple Festivals.

### ***Cultural state and factors of resilience at the Manuha Temple***

As a local type of temple, the Manuha Temple and its related monasteries provide a variety functions in the local cultural practices. The temple can be defined as an everyday life space for villagers in the seven related quarters located in half-hour walk distance. Fourteen monasteries with close relationships with the Manuha Temple are distributed in about equally distance within the villages for preaching and meditation. Almost all Myinkaba villagers (only men) have been students in these 14 monasteries, or learned skill there. They became big donors to these nearby monasteries. During the Manuha festival, people would go back to their own monasteries to help monks make paper figures.

Figure 4.45. Cultural State of Manuha Temple in 2013.

### Spatial-functional diversity



In my analysis of resilience, the temple is now in the Archaeology Office plus Gopaga ruling regime. Even though the temple's Gopaga was organized very late in 1920, senior monks still play a leading role in the temple as well as the whole village. The temple started to have frequent tourists in 1996. A strict regulation on rehabilitation of the temple began in 2000. It was partly because the temple did not need major repairs since 1975. Manuha Gopaga started to replace the 37 Hti in 1998 and gilded the huge bowl in 2011 when more tourists visited the temple and gave donation. No hotel is currently located in Myinkaba Village yet. As a result, domestic visitors are still the majority at the temple. In terms of resilience of local cultural practices, the way the villagers worship and celebrate their Buddha has been kept in traditional ways. Regardless of the stories about the building and King Manuha's unhappiness, people chose to remember a happy version of their King Manuha (the paper figure) at the festival. Since the temple doesn't have much Buddha lands, the Gopaga office is very simple. The Mon-Burmese style temple festival is resilient in terms of having new paper figures (or hero) that are closely related to people's life. I will analyze the resilience of the Manuha belief system in Chapter 5.

#### **4.5 Cultural Resilience of A Monument in the Preservation Zone: the Bupaya Temple**

Bupaya is located in the northwest part of Old Bagan, on the east bank of the Ayewarddy River. The temple was in the north part of the Old Bagan City Wall, the north gate of San Nan. The temple has always been threatened by flooding in the past. For example, there was a serious flood in the King Mindon era. About 10 ft. of the Saydi was under water. The King then came and restored the temple at that time.

##### ***History of the Bupaya Temple***

Bupaya is a case in which the temple's related villagers had been relocated in 1989 to New Bagan, and the temple is now managed by Gopaga who are chosen from original villagers living in New Bagan. The temple's annual festival changed from a more entertaining style to a more religious one after the move. Compared to some other temples in Old Bagan, Bupaya Gopaga still routinely maintain and gild the temple since it is a significant Saydi built in the third century by Pyusawhti. The temple has often been mentioned as an early type of Saydi in entire Burma. In this section, I present a short history of the temple's rehabilitation in recent decades especially after the 1975 earthquake. I also discuss changes in traditional management mechanism, people's relationship with the heritage, and policies that impacted the relationships in the case of the Bupaya Temple.

The name of Bupaya means a "gourd-style Saydi" (Burmese: Bu) in Burmese. According to the legend, King Pyusawhti (162-243 AD) followed Buddha's prophecy: people should build a Saydi at the location where people get rid of the gourd-like climbing plants and four other kinds of evils that infested the riverbanks in the third century. The legend says that Pyusawhti eradicated the Bu infringing from the Midpya Village to cross the river of Aungda Midchye region in the early era of Bagan. To commemorate his effort, the Bu Saydi was built on the bank of Ayeyarwaddy River. The stupa is in the Pyu style, which is believed to be the oldest Saydi in Bagan. The Saydi fell down to the river in the 1975 earthquake, and the one now was rebuilt entirely by local Gopaga and the Bagan Archaeology Office. "We looked at the Bowd-bin-yar Saydi, Put Paya or Mimalaung Kyaung as a reference for the original shape of Bupaya" (Ban, 2008: 6). The Concentric-Ring part of Bowd-bin-yar has been restored once in the Bagan Dynasty. But the original body was as smooth as Bupaya.

Another reason that Bupaya looked different from Bowd-bin-yar Saydi now was that the monument had been repaired twice during the Myndong Dynasty and the British colonial era. During the 1975 earthquake, the Pyu-style pottery reliefs, treasures and lacquer ware from the Bagan Dynasty and the Konbaung Dynasty, and silver coins from British era were found enshrined inside the Bupaya Temple. From the oral history, it was said that both the Bupaya and Bow-bin-yar Saydi were donated by King Pyusawhti. Indeed, if we compare similar shapes of Saydi in Burma, Bupaya was built earlier and looked much like the circular shape of Bo Bo Kyi (built in the 5<sup>th</sup> century) and Byua Ma Saydi built by Dayekidaya Pyu people. The circular shape of Bupaya was the classical artwork of the Pyu people. The Saydi was restored in different times and became the bell-shaped Saydi nowadays. “The original Bupaya-shaped Saydi was built on a circular platform and the inverted bowl or funnel Saydi was built in the 11<sup>th</sup> century,” said Bupaya Gopaga. “Bupaya was one foot higher than the original (30 feet) in the 1975 rehabilitation. It is the tradition of Burma Buddhism that the Saydi should become taller after each rehabilitation,” said U Cho Cho Gopaga.

Original villagers near Bupaya have been relocated to New Bagan. This policy influenced the temple’s festival, nearby monasteries, and Buddhist activities inside the temple. The temple festival is especially related to how people survived from flooding in the past. For example, there was once a rich merchant named U Shein Bu who made a bamboo Saydi filled with sand on the riverbank. A Buddhist ceremony was held there, and the temple was crowded with villagers from that area and making offering to the monk there. The temple is believed as the first Saydi in ancient Bagan built by the Pyu people. It is very difficult to imagine how the Bupaya looked like. Most monuments in Bagan had the same fate of being restored or repaired in different eras and by different donors. For example, “the original Bupaya has no belt,<sup>145</sup> and the height might be about 35 ft. There were Concentric Rings at the upper part of the Saydi originally,” said one elderly Gopaga member. “Originally, the belt had not been seen in a Bagan Dynasty building. The bell designed could be found in a 12<sup>th</sup>-century Saydi. In this sense, Bupaya has been restored in the 12<sup>th</sup> century,” said Gopaga.

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<sup>145</sup> A belt is classified as the middle part of Saydi between Bell Stand and Inverted Bowl (or called bell-shaped dome).



Figures 4.46, 4.47, 4.48 (from left to right). Old photographs of Baw-bin-ya Saydi and Bupaya in 1906 and Bupaya in 2012.

Bupaya is a Thupa type with a circular-shape Saydi representing the culture of Byu people. Compared to the Bo Bo Kyi Saydi built by Byu Kingdom in Mhaw Zar in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, which had three terraces covered with a circular-shape Saydi known typically as Byu style, or Inverted Bowl, there are 54 Byu-style Saydis in Bagan area, and the Bupaya was the earliest one. The Saydi has the Buddha relics enshrined inside. The name of “Bu” was derived from its circular shape similar to the calabash (Bu in Burmese). The monument was repaired in different dynasties. The shape of the Saydi has changed to the 11<sup>th</sup>-century style since that time.

Under King Myin Don (1214-1240), the monument was restored twice due to flooding. The temple was totally rebuilt after the 1975 earthquake since the whole body of the Saydi fell into the river. The Bagan Archaeology Office found holy objects or treasures enshrined in the Saydi from different eras including Byu, Bagan, Konbaung Dynasty and the British colonial era. The original Saydi (figure 4.47) is 30 meters tall. It is now 31 meters tall (figure 4.48) after the 1975 reconstruction. Bupaya might be the earliest Saydi in Bagan according to documents about the temple. Its form is very similar to the Bowd-bin-yar Saydi (figure 4.46), which is circular and non-bell type. The upper portion of both Saydis is also wider. Other examples that could help track the Saydi’s era are the Nga Kywe Nadaung and Shain Min Pwin Saydi north of Bagan Hotel. In 1975, the temple was found to enshrine treasures from different eras. “Those treasures might have been stored when the temple was restored in the Konbaung Dynasty. For example, a white jade sculpture of Buddha and silver pennant flag

made in 1903 were enshrined in the Saydi. But now, the government had moved those treasures to the Bagan Museum to avoid the treasure hunters,” said Sayagi U Aung Kyang.

### ***Rehabilitation of Bupaya after 1975***

Reconstruction of Bupaya was done during 1976 to 1978. The whole stupa of Bupaya fell down to the Ayewarddy River in the 1975 earthquake, including the original Diamond Orbit and the Hti (or the Crown). However, when the Bagan Rehabilitation Committee newly made the Saydi, the original Hti wasn't installed on top. “It is the taboo of Burmese tradition that fallen Hti cannot be put back,” said Bupaya Gopaga. Gopaga installed a new Hti on top. “We put the original Saydi in the temple for about one to two years, and for safety reason, we sent treasures enshrined inside the Saydi to the Bagan Museum,” said Sayagi U Aung Kyang. Scholars believe that it is a long tradition to announce to public when the Saydi Niche<sup>146</sup> would be closed at least in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The silver pennant flag (donated from U Aye Mya and Daw Ta Mya in 1808) was one example. When the Committee wanted to close the Saydi Niche inside the newly constructed Saydi, the Gopaga announced to the public that it was going to enshrine secret goods. “Some people put Buddha images, treasures, relic, etc. “In 1975, we found many treasures enshrined under Saydi, so we accounted all of them including measuring small Buddha statues,” said Bagan Archaeology Officer. According to the Burmese tradition, those treasures can be used as funds for repairing a Saydi when people found them abandoned. Bupaya's Saydi Niche is located in the southern part of the temple. The law used to give Gopaga the right to open the Saydi Niche for donation before, but this had since been prohibited. During the Awa Kingdom when the King fought with Rajatarit, people escaped to Bagan and dug treasures from Saydi to earn living. Many monuments were destroyed at that era. Some people also dug treasures for commercial purposes. Similar phenomena also happened in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the Bagan Archaeology Office banned the activities after 1990.

There is no record showing exactly how many times Bupaya has been repaired. However, there has been a major earthquake about every 200 years historically. According to the record, Bupaya had been repaired five times in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the 12<sup>th</sup> century, 1588 (Toungoo Dynasty), 1777 (Konbaung Dynasty), and 1975. Some scholars believe the temple

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<sup>146</sup> Saydi niche (Bali: *stūpa-gṛha-pratisaṃyukta*) a place to enshrine Buddha images or holy objects. It is a small cave or box put inside a Saydi or a Buddha statue.

had been restored four times according to treasures from four eras found enshrined in the Saydi Niche in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Saydi Niche was opened only when the Saydi has been in a major repair. “It varies with different Saydis. People might donate their old collections to enshrine in a Saydi,” said Sayagi U Aung King and Bupaya Gopaga. Another evidence is the height of the Saydi. For example, Bupaya is one meter taller than before after the 1975 reconstruction. Bagan Rehabilitation Committee used reinforcing steel, red brick, and cement to make the Saydi more stable. The rehabilitation also dug down 16 feet for the foundation of the new Bupaya Saydi and used steel Saydi Niche to enshrine 70 holy objects from different eras. After they closed the niche, they had a traditional resettlement ceremony. The working group found Pyu-era ceramic relief Buddha statue and the Maitreya Buddha statue. In the 1975 rehabilitation, a donor named Sayadaw U Paramavannasiddhi (a monk from Popa Mountain across Irrawady River in Bagan) also led the Hti crowning ceremony. Bupaya Gopaga also donated part of money. “Original Bupaya is in a long, circular shape and its base is lower and pretty similar to Baw-bin-ya Saydi built by the same donor, King Byu-Saw-Hti in the third century” (Ban, 2008: 15).

On the temple’s eastern side, there used to be a house built in the Konbaung Dynasty (1752-1885) that was destroyed in a flood. During the same dynasty, King Min Don built a new one when he restored Bupaya. The original platform of Bypaya was in circular shape, and it was square after 1978. The lions, stone Buddha statue and other buildings were newly built at that time. Because Wind God was enshrined at the temple, fishers would come to Bupaya to pray.

The temple was maintained regularly by Gopaga since the British colonial times. Gopaga repaired the Hti and gilded the Saydi in 2012 for two months. Repairing Hti, Diamond Orbit and gilding the Saydi become Gopaga’s routines work about every seven years, in 1977, 1988, and 2012. The Hti and Diamond Orbit were repaired by a donor U Aung Ban. Before 1995, gilding was only done to the upper portion (from the Belt to Hti) of the Saydi. The Saydi started to have a copper frame to cover the upper portion in 1990. “The reason we didn’t cover the whole Saydi with copper frame was because we wanted to keep the traditional method of gilding on cement surface even though gilding on copper could last longer,” said U Cho Cho (head of Gopaga). See details about the recent repair of the Hit and gilding in 2012 below. All photos are provided by Bupaya Gopaga.



Figure 4.49. Before regilding and repairing the Hti, there's a ceremony after all part of the Hti had been unloaded. People would carry each portion to walk around the Bupaya pagoda for blessing later works in 2012.



Figure 4.50. Brushing special glue before pasting gold leaf, showing the original decoration pattern of the pagoda.



Figure 4.51 Repairing one layer of the Hti by local craftsman at the Bupaya Temple.



Figure 4.52 Gilding the Diamond Orbit part by craftsmen inside the Gopaga office.



Figure 4.53 Brushing glue (the black color) before pasting gold leaf in the bell shape part of Bupaya.



Figure 4.54 When workers finished gilding the pagoda, they would install the Hti at the top. View from the top of pagoda. Each part of Hti would be carried by the ropes we see in the photo.



Figure 4.55 The donor and his family members were holding the diamond orb before tying it on the rope to send to the top of pagoda. This donor is from Patou (close to Mandalay).



Figure 4.56 The colorful vehicle for carrying all portions of the Hti to the top of the pagoda. The man is a Burmese priest (道士) who hired by donor is watching and leading the ceremony

for donor. The vehicle is put on the rope and pulled up by manpower (人力) in this ceremony.

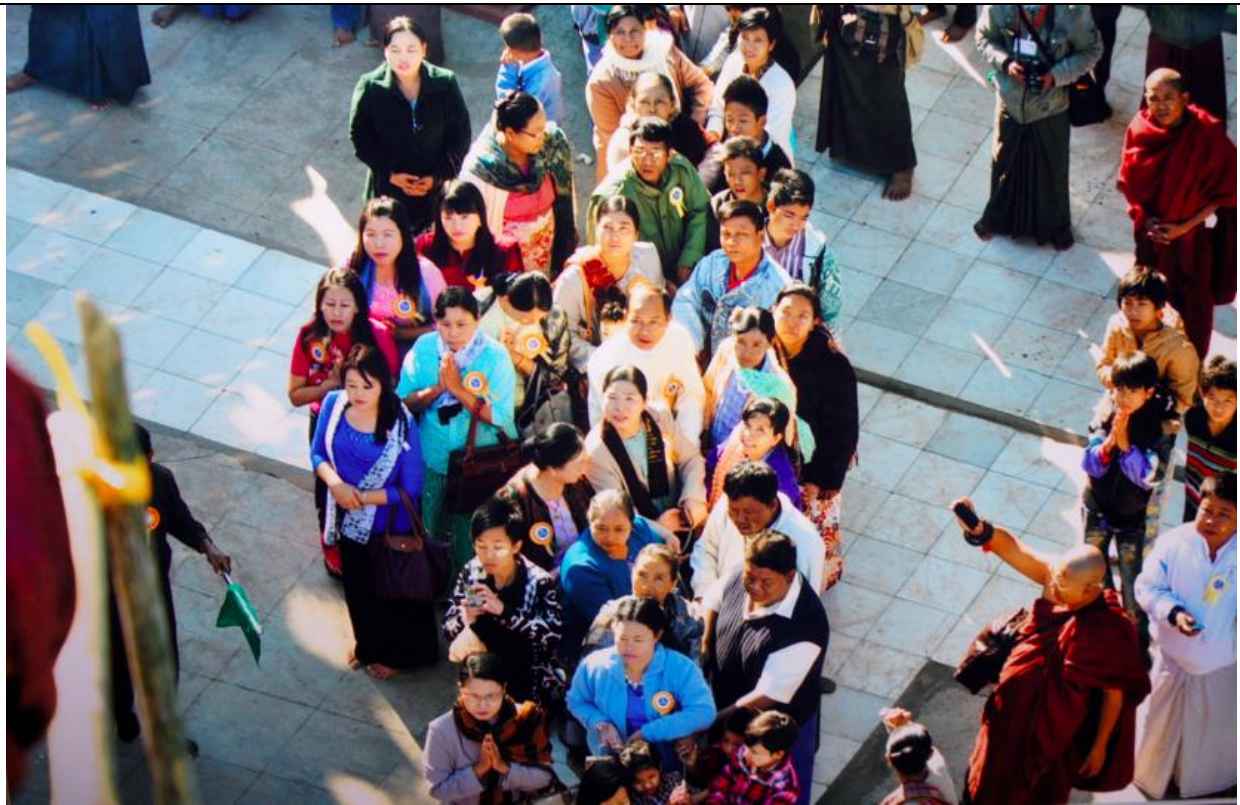


Figure 4.57 Believers pulled the rope together to send Hti to the top of the pagoda for ceremony later. Traditionally, the whole Hti crowning ceremony should be finished in the same day before sunset.



Figure 4.58 After crowning the Hti on top, monks would provide preaching. These monks were members of Bupaya's Owadar-Saryi, and the center one is the highest one.

### *Changes in temple festival and relationship with their believers*

The government relocated villagers from ten original quarters (4 village groups) from Old Bagan to New Bagan for the reason of excavation in the ancient palace of Bagan. Another reason was that people lived too close to the ancient monuments. There used to be six monasteries closely related with the temple. But now three of them had moved to New Bagan. Bupaya is still luckier than other small temples in Old Bagan whose donors or built type are not famous or unique. Therefore, the temple's Gopaga can still undertake routine management. Bupaya Gopaga was formed after Burma's independence in 1948. Its members were selected from original villagers. However, after the relocation, monasteries that still stayed in Old Bagan had to go to New Bagan to find their donors. The way Gopaga holds the temple festival has also changed from allocation of budget among 11 quarters to have one quarter be responsible only. Only about 10% of original villagers still go back to join the festival since they had been distributed into different places. Another reason is that people already have a new Da-Mar-Yuang for preaching and holding festival. Considering the

transportation cost, they would not go back to Old Bagan. As a result, Bupaya’s mediation hall is rarely used now.

Traditionally, the Bupaya temple festival takes place on the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> days of Daw Adline month in the Burmese calendar (August-September). In the past, when original settlements were still there, people would hold all kinds of entertainments, dragon boat race, and boat riding show in the morning of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup>. Now these performances have disappeared and have become Games, kick vine ball racing, and religious ceremony like monk offering, reciting scriptures, etc. During the temple festival, people within 24 miles of the Chyaunt District would come to join and do business. About 200 to 250 villagers would stay in the Kyaunt Mor town (75%), the Chyaunt District (10%), and villagers from across the river (15%) who are also Bupaya’s believers. They are responsible for all the activities at the festival, for example, playing movies, boat racing, etc. There are 100 people from the other side of the Ayewarddy River who earn their living from making lacquer ware. People from the Chyaunt District are public servants. Some of them in the petroleum business would also join. They now live in Tamuddari Town in New Bagan. Fewer people would come back to join the festival now because of the transportation cost, and they already have their Gamaryoung in their neighborhood now. The relocation influenced the frequency of monk offering. Nowadays offerings to monks are made in the Loknanda monastery near New Bagan. In the past, people would cook in the temple to offer to more than 150 monks in Bagan .But now the temple only make offering to 45 monks and outsource the cooking to nearby monasteries.

Table 4. Changes in the functions of the Bupaya Temple before and after 1990

Changes	Before 1989	After 1990
Quarters related to the temple festival	11 quarters (100%) in 4 village groups	1 quarter (Guak Mor Quarter)  Original quarter coming back from New Bagan to Old Bagan to join the festival (10%)

Related monasteries	6 monasteries	3 monasteries (3 moved to New Bagan)
Type of Festival	Entertainment more than Religion	Religion more than entertainment
Function of temple	Everyday life space	Out of everyday life distance
Frequency of offering and preaching	3 times per month 100 alm bowls and 150 monks	One time per year 90 monks and 45 alm bowls
Preparation for monk offering	Cooked by local villagers and inside the temple's kitchen	Contract with nearby monasteries to cook food
Mediation Hall	Frequent use	Rare use.



Figures 4.59, 4.60, 4.61. The truck brings monks from Old Bagan to New Bagan. The volunteer clinic is open every day to take care of local people's health.

The temple now has three Owadar-Sariyat (leading monks) from Nat Thung, Taya Aye and Mya Tita monasteries in Old Bagan. Those monasteries had a close relationship with original people who stayed near Bupaya in the 1990s. When the government decided to relocate people from Old Bagan to New Bagan, these monasteries became temporary shelters before people built their homes in New Bagan. Taking Ashin Samvare's (Bupaya's head leading monk) Nat Thaug Monastery as an example, the monastery had provided lunch for

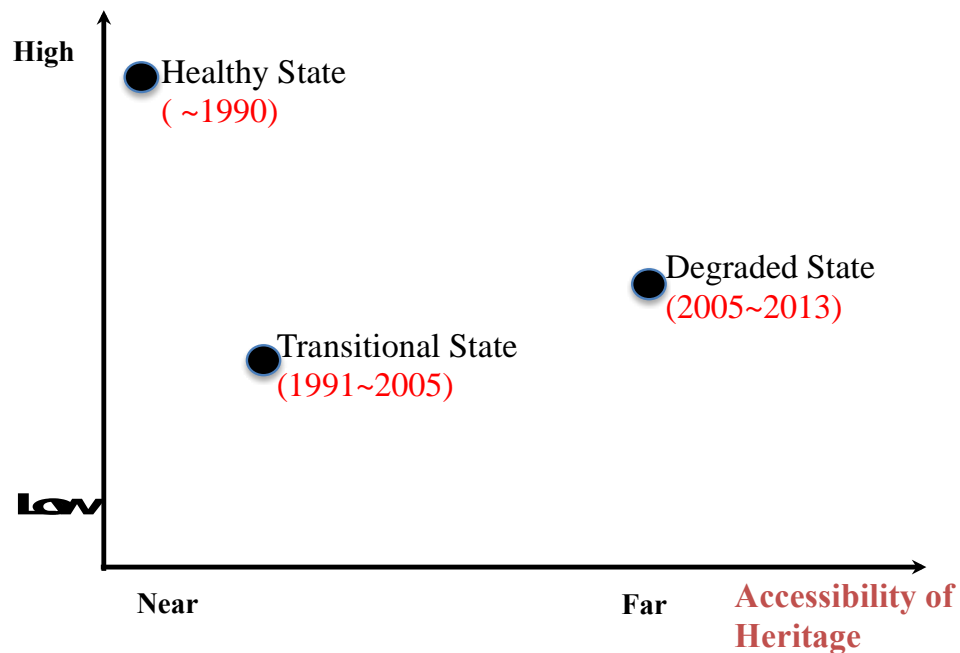
70 to 80 monks for the whole month when people were moving to New Bagan. In the beginning, the villagers were not able to offer to the monks because of the distance. The senior monk then provided one truck (figure 4.59) to bring monks from Old Bagan for alms in New Bagan everyday since 1990. His truck collects monks at the Taraba Gate (the main entrance of Old Bagan) at 6 am and then takes them back to Old Bagan an hour later every morning. “There are about 23 monasteries in Old Bagan area, so I donate a two storage trucks and gasoline for monks to travel from Old Bagan to New Bagan every day. The truck can carry about 60 to 80 monks,” said Sayadaw Ashin Samvara. He went on,

“I feel that sometimes as a monk, we don’t have the ability to influence mundane affairs. For example, in 1988 when Burma went through the democracy movement as well as in 1990 when the government decided to move residents from Old Bagan to New Bagan, many believers urged me to say or do something as a leader to influence the government at that moment. However, I decided to use a way to do something for everybody , like the trucks. Most people had moved to New Bagan. This means that the remaining monasteries in Old Bagan had lost most of their donors for survival. Providing a truck is better than cooking breakfast for them. This way they should build their relationship with their donors.”

The senior monk also provides his monastery to a volunteer clinic (figures 4.60, 4.61) every day. His clinic has three doctors who serve about 700 people every day in his monastery. Most patients are from Bagan, and half of them are from New Bagan area.

**Figure 4.62. Culutral State of Bupaya Temple.**

**Spatial-functional diversity**



***Regime change, disturbance, thresholds and resilience at the Bupaya Temple***

Bupaya is a case in which social transformation brings changes to spatial functions. After 1989, Bupaya is no longer an everyday life space for people who belonged to the temple originally. The current functions here can be separated into two parts: one is a ritual place, and another is tourist value. People and the temple had developed new functions for the continuity of relationship between the monasteries and villagers who still stay inside the ancient city. As a ritual space, such function has been sustained because one original village still exists near the temple that can be defined as living heritage. However, changes in festival participants, style of temple festival, and functions of monasteries are key factors that contributed to an irreversible regime shift in a smaller scale from the view of some original believers. During the repair of Hti and the gilding ceremony, we can see that it still follows the local Buddhist tradition, which demonstrates the resilience of cultural practice, even though major donors had changed locally and nationally. On the other hand, the lasting belief system still remains in a healthy state for people who still live near Bupaya and people who are still willing to go back to join Bupaya activities. For the original residents who do not return to take part in the Bupaya belief system, then it is in a degraded state from their point

of view. However, the degraded state is much different from the Dayan case, in which there is a decoupling of built environment and cultural practice. Also, cultural practices in Dayan have changed to tourist performance whereas Bupaya's cultural activities are still carried out in the Buddhist tradition for local believers and not for tourists.

The new small belief system of Bupaya is currently composed of people who still live inside Old Bagan. The temple is now guarded by the Guak Mor quarter. The Guak Mor quarter is the only village that still joins Bupaya festival because it has not been relocated. To them, Bupaya is a living heritage space located near their houses and with a high degree of spatial functions. But because of tourism development, the temple's space had gradually been catered to tourism. Most of the residents participate in tourism business around the temple now. In terms of spatial function, tourists are the main visitors who come to appreciate the "early Pagan type Saydi." However, the scene of people bustling around the temple and monasteries day and night no longer exists. "Old Bagan now is shriveled because people had moved out, and monasteries are merely places for senior monks who used to stay in Old Bagan. Monks school had all moved to New Bagan to be close with their donors as well as for convenience of transportation," said a local scholar. However, the temple's built form has been well preserved because of the regulations by Bagan Archaeology Office.

Compared to other small temples in Old Bagan, Bupaya is allowed to make routine repair, gilding the temple and install new Hti. All seven Bupaya Gopaga members now live in New Bagan, but all Owada-Sariya Owadar-Sariya's leading monks are from Old Bagan monasteries. As a famous Saydi, it is not so difficult for the temple to look for big donors for repair. For daily offerings, Bupaya had depended on major outside donors rather than local ones since 1990. After 2008, less people have returned to join the festival since most of Damayung were finished in that year. This somehow means that from many believers' view that they are no longer responsible for Bupaya's festival, which is a major change in the Bupaya belief system. However, they still make offerings to monks from Old Bagan, which means that they have adapted in the new belief connection between Old Bagan and New Bagan. On one hand, Bupaya's physical environment and its cultural practices are resilient because a new belief network has developed in New Bagan by the persistent believers. On the other hand, the functions of Bupaya have been replaced by Damayung. Since Bupaya is away from the daily life space of the original residents now, it is difficult to say when the remaining 10% of original residents will stop coming back to join the Bupaya temple festival. It seems that as more Damayung are built in New Bagan, the less people are likely to return.

#### **4.6 Lessons of the Bagan Archaeological Site**

The cultural-material system of Buddhism in Burma consists of the temples, believers, Gopaga and Owadar-Sariya. The temple is the place for people to communicate with Buddha directly and a place for people to apply newest technique for beautifying their Buddha for merit. Without this function, the cultural practice is not integrated. For example, the government only allowed Damayung to be built in New Bagan instead of owning a nearby temple. However, Damayung is merely a building, not a Saydi that enshrines holy objects and allows for regular maintenance to keep their Buddha in good condition, as well as a sense of identity. The ways people can practice their belief is through the spirit of the place. The Shwezigon Temple is located in a big city with a mature management system built during the British Colonial Era. As a large, established temple, it accepts help from different levels of the government and even national-level monks' leadership group for holding temple festival and rehabilitation of its properties. The fame of Shwezigon enables its belief circle to be open nationally and internationally. The location of the temple is far, but it's the temple's functions that make the distance become accessible since the temple has a wide range of services in Nyaung U City.

Compared to Shwezigon, the belief ring of Manuha is rather enclosed. Many remote temples in Bagan can be classified as this type. However, they have created their own special cultures. As a Mon minority, Myinkaba villagers developed their own culture in terms of offering special food, making paper figures, and having monasteries involved in local education. The story of King Manuha is always popular for people to remember who in turn worship the giant Buddha.

Resilience is lost if cultural practices go through major changes even though its built form is well preserved. When people are no longer using a temple as an everyday life space, the temple is no longer a living heritage for people in the belief circle. This applies to Bupaya and all the other Old Bagan temples whose residents have moved outside the belief circle.

## **Chapter 5. Resilience of Local Cultural-Material Systems**

### **5.1 Introduction to the Framework of Cultural and Built Environmental Resilience**

Resilience is about the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and reorganize while undergoing change, so as to retain essential functions, structure, identity and feedbacks from learning (Resilience Alliance, 2002). It emphasizes the ability to adapt. The idea of cultural resilience is also about the stability and ability of managing changes to keep local culture in the same state. The characteristics of institutional learning, local-level self-organization, and diversity of memory storage are commonly examined in social-ecological systems (Folke, 2006; Carpenter, et al., 2001), especially in the context of integrated systematic feedbacks, cross-scale dynamic interactions of panarchy (Folke, 2006; Gunderson and Holling, 2002). Traditional preservation practice focuses on restoring back to an authentic cultural state. For a living heritage, it might be possible to restore built form, but it is difficult for to keep life experiences from changes. When it comes to disturbance, it is easy to pass the threshold to jump into another regime since traditional preservation is a rigid practice with a singularly defined notion of authenticity. But cultural resilience treats the system as an open one that requires a society to learn and practice in a specific space, especially for religious activities or festivals. In this chapter, I focus on how the cultural practices and built environments interact with each other in Lijiang and Bagan. Specifically, I examine the factors that positively or negatively impact the resilience of a living heritage. I also discuss the challenges in building cultural resilience and possible strategies for constructing partnership via a social-learning process to manage future adaptation cycles.

### **5.2 Factors of Resilience in Lijiang and Bagan**

To understand resilience of a cultural-material system, I start from understanding how living heritage had been managed. For government, a living heritage could satisfy a regional or national agenda. But a living heritage from the perspective of local residents is a space of living. The term “local actors” has to be read from local history, social norms, and local politics. As such, local needs can change over time. For example, local needs had changed as

monks, Buddhists and the temple try to develop a stable environment for religious practice in modern Burma. A living heritage for Naxi ethnic people is one that allows Naxi people to live in and continue their social networks in the town as an everyday life space.

The difference between the government policies in Lijiang and Bagan was the first factor on heritage management. An analysis between different scales of historical events to is also needed to understand the management mechanisms. International bodies as a higher-level system can provide international experiences and knowledge (or memory) on heritage management for state parties. They can provide resources to restart an adaptive renewal cycle in the exploration phase of local government that might stabilize the system (Berkes and Folke, 2002: 125). However, international knowledge can also fail at a local level because it operates in a rigid, top-down manner. The protection of heritage sites in China and Burma are both influenced by UNESCO discourses on restoration. These discourses directly influenced governmental interventions and also indirectly influenced local cultural practices. In this section, I discuss how these factors trigger local adaptive renewal cycle and analyze how a cycle emerges of policy formulation, policy implementation, failure, and new or altered policy.

Institutional governing is the most important part since it would directly influence vital traditional mechanisms and localize international experience in terms of a conservation policy. Figure 1 illustrates the relationships between the local practices, government interventions, and UNESCO practice. There exist two levels of “revolt-remember efforts” between local practices and government interventions as well as between government interventions and UNESCO practice. In Lijiang the revolt happened in the case of Baisha villagers’ protest to the Lijiang Government to protect their water source and the shop owners’ protests against entrance fee. In Bagan, the revolt happened when government decided to relocate residents from Old Bagan to New Bagan. Several years after a belief system had been established through Damayung in New Bagan, fewer original residents refused to go back to Old Bagan. The sadness of seeing temples in Old Bagan in ruin has discouraged the residents from returning.

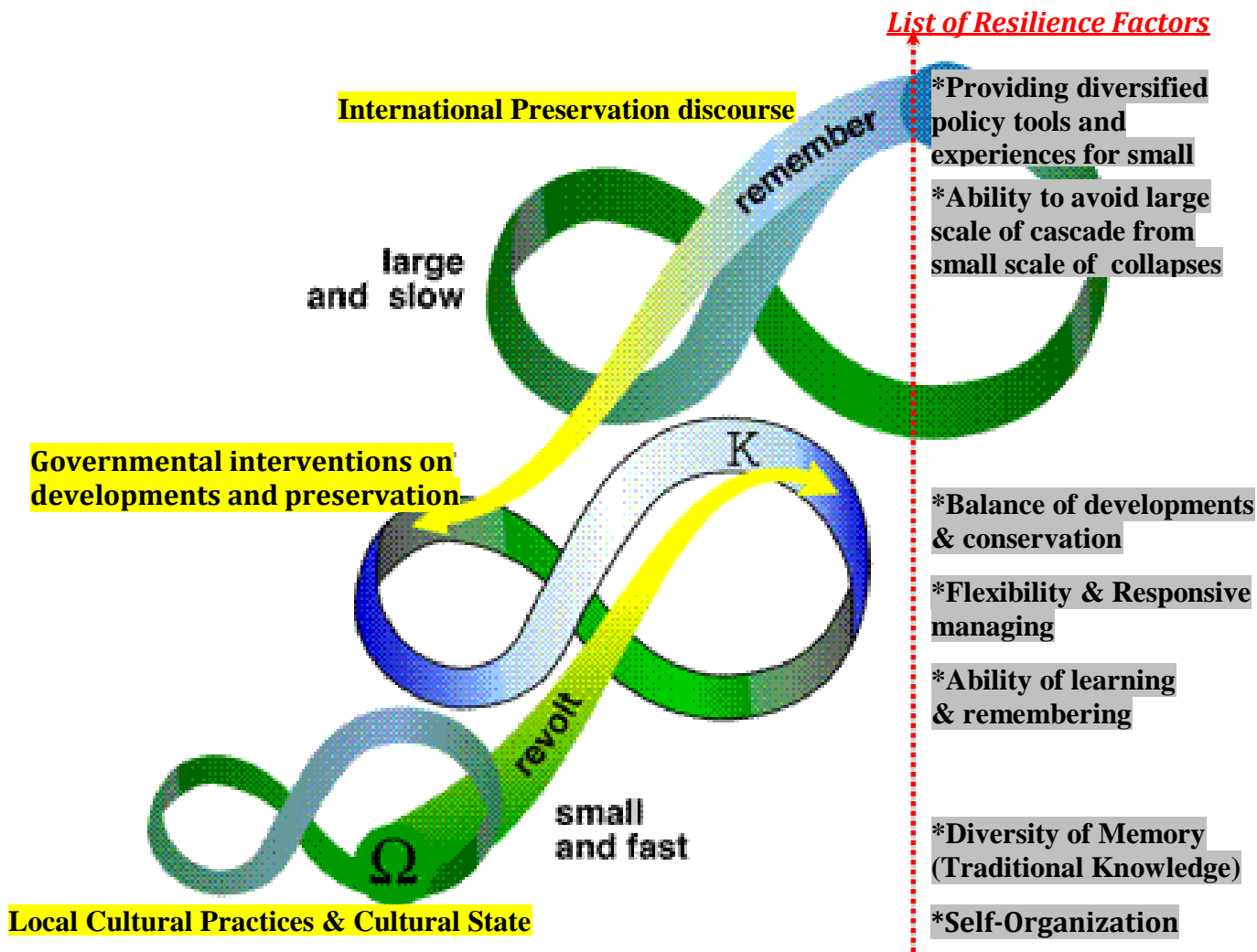
There are two types of remembering forces and positive/negative loops that relied on governmental decisions. For example, a remembering effort happened in Lijiang and Bagan when they received help from UNESCO after the major earthquakes in the 1990s and 1970s. UNESCO provided international help to both sites, but the results were different in Lijiang

and Bagan. The Lijiang Government took this chance to develop a tourism regime (a renewal cycle); however Bagan's religious system remained stable (remaining in the same regime) because monuments were repaired mainly through local Gopaga. A typical learning opportunity for government on international experiences is from conferences and policy suggestions. It is important to observe how the government localized the international knowledge to build or harm short-term or long-term resilience.

Governmental decisions on crisis or learning ability appear to be the most important factors that influenced Bagan and Lijiang. The ways they manage heritages imply how they understand the space and culture. Has conservation been simplified as focusing only on spatial restoration? How could the local society open the opportunities for cultural rehabilitation? The renewal process in a small system can be fast, but the process tends to be slow in a larger system. We can discuss the success of a policy at both lower and higher levels. Factors of resilience here are related to the governments' ability in balancing developments and conservation to slow down local change.

Flexibility is a factor related to self-organization in Lijiang and Bagan. The characteristic of self-organization at the local level is helpful to resilience since the local society has the ability to observe disturbances to avoid a larger scale of regime shift (Levin, 1998). Flexibility is especially important in dealing with policy crisis or gaps between expectation and implementation. The factors of flexibility and local mechanism exist in between tourism and conservation, between residents and commercial entities, and between historical and commercial significances. For example, it is related to whether the Bagan Government should allow temple leaders to continue gilding their temples for the continuity of Buddhism on the ancient monument, as well as if the Lijiang Government could develop political space for local residents to jointly manage their own heritages. On the other hand, the Bagan belief system and traditional knowledge have a much greater capacity for self-organization, and this is related to flexibility at the state level with less dependency on either UNESCO or developers' help in heritage conservation.

Figure 5.1 Panarchy of historical preservation systems



For the institutions, a responsive policy is a key factor to avoid regime shift at several levels. A resilient system requires institutions to learn and remember when they go through perturbations. Memories are stored in various levels of local knowledge and social practices that directly influence our landscape. Local knowledge is the resource to provide paths for learning and remembering to manipulate the renewal cycle for local level of adaptation without disrupting a larger-scale collapse (Berkes and Folke, 2002; Alcom and Tredo, 1998). Different places develop different knowledge that creates different historical landscapes. For example, the way the Dayan Old Town celebrates its festivals has been different from Shuhe and Baisha, and so are their unique cultural landscapes. In this sense, it is important to develop a local-level knowledge to diversify memory and learning of social practices. For Naxi people, the society is struggling with “memory fault” for a long time after the Cultural

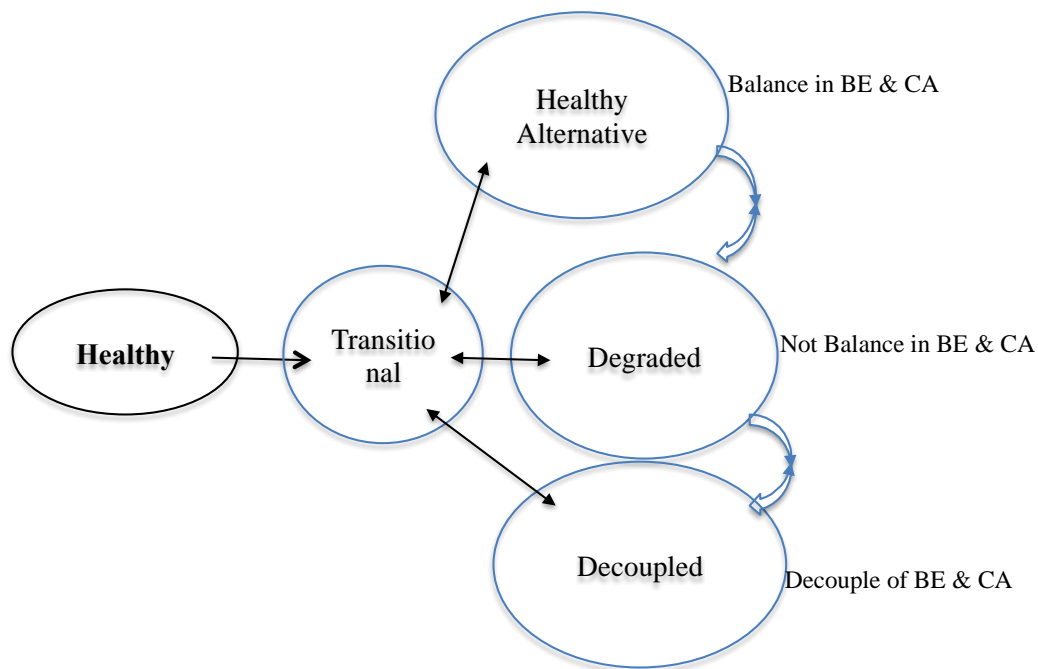
Revolution. In this sense, the revival of local culture would be a long reconstructing process for the society since fragments of memories might be stored “in different patches and in different stage of succession” in the local society (Berkes, 2002: 137). Misinterpretation of traditional cultures for tourism would harm the resilience of local culture. The panarchy diagram above tries to explain how the international body has influenced regional governments and local communities. Specifically, the international discourses have directly influenced governmental policies. When the policy fails to solve local conservation issues, the international institution could provide experiences (process of remembering) for the government to stabilize system. This would be a beneficial loop for resilience. These are characteristics related to cultural resilience. These factors are applied in the analysis of my cases below.

### **5.3 Analysis of Cultural States: Lessons from the Field**

It is obvious that the cultural states in Lijiang and Bagan are dynamic with several situations that depend on how robust the local system is. In previous chapters, I assumed that an original local cultural system would flip into healthy, transitional or degraded states. However, lessons from my cases suggest that the changes between alternate states are more complex. Specifically, the system may jump into either a healthy alternative, degraded or decoupled regime (see figure 5.2). The healthy alternative state means there is a balance in local built environment and cultural practices. The transitional state is the state pending between original healthy state to the healthy alternative, between degraded to healthy, between degraded to decoupled states, or a sharp jump from healthy to decoupled state depending on the local conditions. Also, the system is in the transitional state if it appears to be healthy but threatened, for example by new tourism development. A degraded state means there is not a balance between the built environment and cultural practices in local community. And the phenomenon of decoupling between the built environment and cultural practice can eventually happen because of the high emphasis on the preservation of physical environment while ignoring local cultural practices. Many tourist spots in Asia are in this state, such as Buddhist monuments in Thailand including the Shukhothai where most of Buddhist activities are occurring outside the World Cultural Heritage Park. However, it may be possible through policy interventions for local communities to repair or restore their

relationship with their heritage sites. For example, the Bagan Archaeology Office asked local people to form Gopaga to manage some significant temples in 1995. People from the nearby area became members of Gopaga to maintain and rehabilitate the new belief system in the local society including the temples of Hti-lo-ming-lo, Dhama-ra-ska, Lay-myet-hna, That-byi-nyu and Alo-paya in Bagan. In these cases, a negative feedback was created to restore the local cultural state from decoupled to a healthy alternative state. I will provide more analysis of the case later in this chapter.

Figure 5.2. Dynamic conditions of alternate cultural states



#### 5.4 Analysis of Resilience in Lijiang and Bagan

In this section, I classify positive and negative factors in the evaluation of cultural resilience. The characteristic of living heritage requires that it function as an everyday life space or frequently visited space. The space's cultural practices are mostly for the local society, which is a significant process for local memory and confirms social networks. The local residents' involvement in cultural practices is positive for the rehabilitation of culture and identity. However, cultural practice only for tourism is a negative factor in the cases of Lijiang and

Bagan because it makes the local cultures superficial in general. In reconstructing social memories, a fragile system can be disturbed by governmental interventions in preservation or tourism. In this sense, the government's preservation policy might be a negative factor if they ignore the continuity of local culture. The strictness of preservation policy might be helpful for preserving built form in a specific condition; however, transformation might still happen if the preservation ignores the changing needs of users over time. Governmental budget allocation might be a negative factor for cultural resilience if it is not helpful for the continuity of local cultural practice. It means that they fail to balance development and the preservation of local built environment. It requires the government to create flexibility and include a participatory process in the local management mechanism. Diversifying policy consultation at both international levels and local levels is positive for cultural resilience. International guidelines can be a both positive and negative factor for cultural resilience since they assume a fixed yield on preserving physical environment. Table 1 below presents a list of characteristics of cultural resilience including positive and negative factors in relation to resilience.

### *Lijiang*

In Lijiang, the cultural states of the three Naxi ethnic minority settlements are examined through the factors outlined above. The impact of each factor is compared with the cultural state before tourism development. For the Dayan Old Town, the cultural state in 2013 is compared with its condition in 1986. For the Shuhe Old Town, the time frame for comparison is between 2003 and 2013; Baisha's cultural state in 2013 is compared with its condition in 2005. The Dayan Old Town has in a low degree of living heritage for the original residents since its cultural state has become a tourism regime. However, this tourism regime is fragile because of the over-exploitation of the town's cultural and natural resources. The Shuhe Old Town is currently in a mixed state of tourism and everyday life space. The town's cultural resilience is in a middle degree compared to the time before tourism development. But its everyday space is fragile, as tourist activities have grown rapidly in recent years. Baisha continues to be a living space for its old town residents since their cultural practices and functions of space have not gone through major changes. To what extent Baisha residents can continue their cultural practices and their social networks in the face of major disturbances is still unknown. Compared to Dayan or Shuhe, the current degree of development in Baisha is

considerably low. If we use the Naxi music performance and the female Naxi dance groups as examples, they continue to play at the entrance of Baisha even though they had been dispersed from Baisha Mural Park by Dingye. The groups have somehow adapted to the change. However, Baisha is far away from Dayan and yet close to the Yulong Snow Mountain which is ecologically more fragile than the other two old towns. The key to the future of Baisha might depend on how the Lijiang government develops the small town.

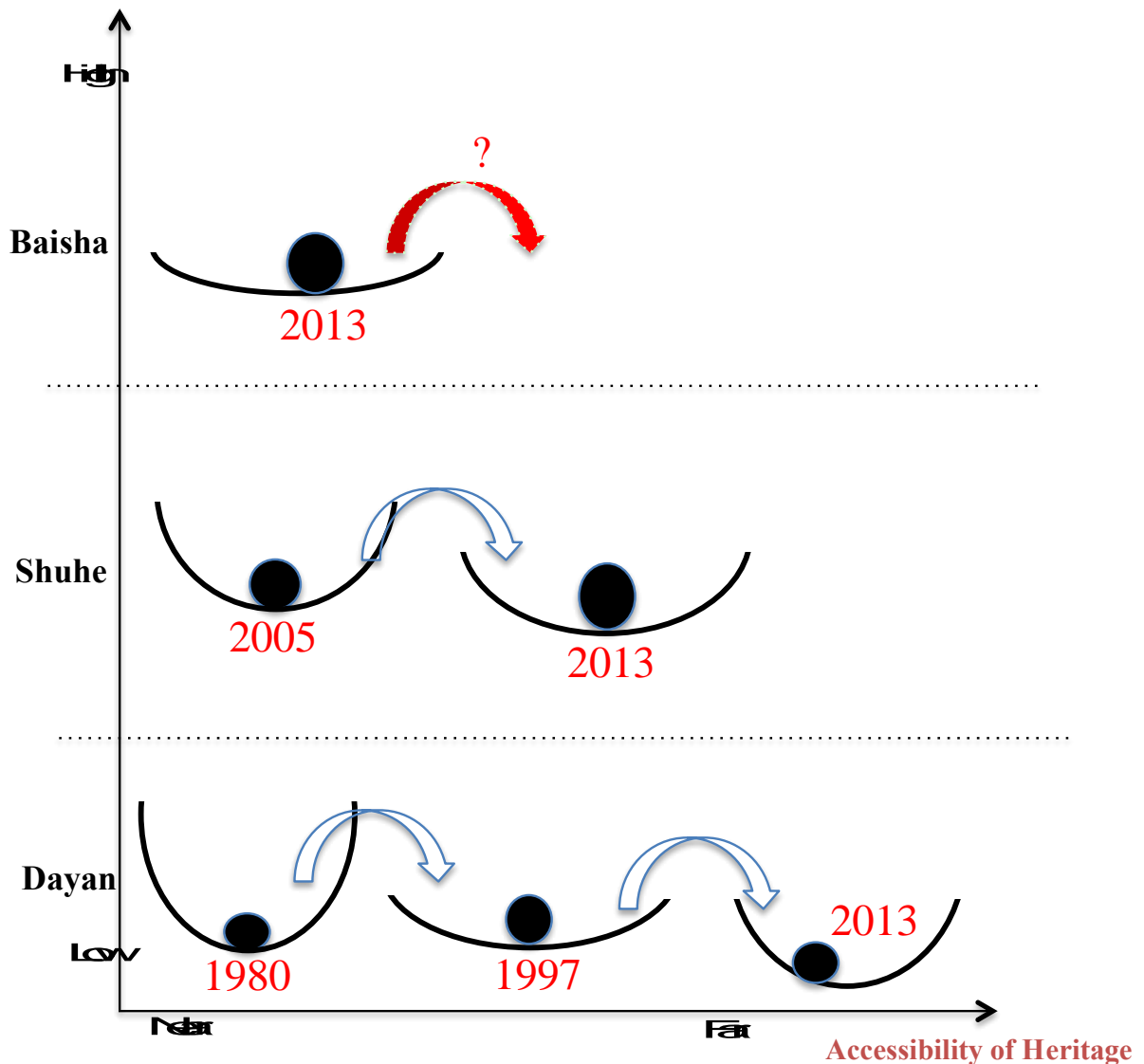
Table 5.1 Analysis of the characteristics and factors of cultural resilience in the old towns of Dayan, Shuhe, and Baisha in Lijiang, China

Characteristics	Factors (+/-) of cultural resilience	Dayan	Shuhe	Baisha
Everyday life space	[+] Percentage of original residents still staying inside	Low	Middle	High
	[-] Percentage of public spaces had been shifted for tourists	High	Middle	Low
	[+] Degree of heritage accessibility for original residents	Low	Middle	High
Cultural Practices for Tourism performance / Knowledge transmission	[+] Degree of original residents join cultural activities	Low	Middle	High
	[-] Frequency of cultural performances for tourism	High	Middle	Low
	[+] Local participation of decision making process	Low	Low	Low
Memory storage &	[+] Degree of traditional cultural practices	Low	Middle	High

Connectedness at local level	[+] Degree of informal/ family networks	Low	Middle	High
Spatial interventions	[+/-] Governmental budget allocation on conservation/ tourism development	High	Middle	Low
Balance developments & Responsive governing	[-] Degree of economy relies on tourism	High	Middle	Low
	[+/-] Strictness of conservation policy	High	Middle	Low
	[+] Diversity of spatial functions	Low	Low	Middle
	[+] Percentage of public space for local people	Low	Middle	Middle
Institutional memory -- preparation of surprise	[+/-] Degree of international attention	High	Middle	Low
	[+] Degree of direct influence by UNESCO policy	High	Low	Low
	[+/-] International involvement on conservation/ restoration	Yes	No	Yes
Degree of cultural resilience from the view of living heritage		Low	Middle	High
Cultural State of the heritage		Decoupled	Transitional (From healthy to degraded)	Transitional (Healthy but threatened)

Figure 5.3 Change of cultural states and resilient condition in Lijiang old towns (1980~2013)

Spatial-functional diversity (Capacity for the multiple practices)



The comparison of cultural resilience states in the three old towns is shown in figure 5.3. The spatial function of Baisha Old Town has the highest diversity and accessibility of all the sites. It could be recognized as a stable living space for the town's residents. However, this small town is no longer an isolated stable regime anymore. The Old Town is in a transitional state now even though the local society has a somewhat healthy balance between its built environment and cultural practices. However, because the Dingye Company is going to do more tourist investment inside, the local system is threatened. To what degree the town's cultural-material system could be resilient in an unstable regime is the question raised in the

above diagram. However, Baisha residents had a stronger identification in history as evident in the protest against water reallocation and that older people still perform funerals in the traditional way, etc. Shuhe is in a transitional state, transformed from healthy to degraded regimes. The new development area accommodates most of the intensive activities while the original Old Town area is still for residential use. However, tourism has expanded quickly. Some residents in the core area have already moved out, endangering the function of the local heritage site as an everyday life space. If the company (or government) doesn't deal with this issue, a large population may soon move out from the town. The Dayan Old Town is currently in a decoupled state since its built environment no longer supports the local cultural practices. The physical environment is no longer used by the original residents, and there is a high degree of change in the local culture.

The relationship among the three old towns has also changed after the development of tourism. The economy and culture of the three towns have been independent from each other historically. Each town had their own unique industry and cultural activities. They were not necessarily related together. After tourism came, there has existed a “panarchy of tourism” within the three old towns at the regional level. The policy of assigning Lijiang as a Tourism City in the Yunnan Province changed the function of the three towns in the last 20 years. Also, tourism development in Shuhe and Baisha are now highly dependent on the Dayan Old Town. If the tourism industry in the Dayan Old Town collapses or weakens, the other old towns would be directly impacted as well. The development of tourism in Shuhe and Baisha led by a private company was also an important factor to observe in the stability of local states. It is still difficult to say how stabilized the tourism regimes are in Shuhe and Baisha. However, for the Dayan Old Town, its tourism regime is rather fragile since it relies on the support (for example, water supply) from other parts of Lijiang to keep its physical environment. The cost of maintaining the town's tourism will become higher in the future as the local culture and natural resource declines.

### ***Bagan***

In Lijiang, cultural resilience is strongly related to development of tourism industry, which had triggered local regime shift from healthy to transitional or even to the most serious degree of the decoupled state. There is no traditional mechanism for self-organization that serves as buffer between the government and the local communities. In the case of Bagan

(see table below), local cultural resilience is related to the stability of the local belief system. The site has a strong local management system to balance the influences of monks, donors, governments, and believers. Compared with Lijiang, the local community has a strong influence on the protection of the three Buddhist heritage sites. Some routine maintenance practices do not conform to UNESCO's international guidelines on historic heritage, but they meet the local needs. The tradition of donors making decision has been changed after the Bagan Archaeology Office was established. But there exists flexibility in the restoration policies on the three temples. All three temples have their own Gopaga (local elites) and Owadar-sariya (monks committee). However, the relocation policy in the 1990s had a strong impact on the Bupaya Temple's belief system, and had changed the local regime from healthy to degraded state. Since people had been moved to New Bagan, most of local people and their spaces had changed to new place. The accessibility of Bupaya for the original believers has become low because of the distance. However, the believers at Manuha and Shwezigon are still mainly local residents. Cultural practices and social networks, like temple festival and numbers of related villages had changed for Bupaya. The villages of Shwezigon and Manuha are still in a persistent relationship in terms of preparing festivals and making donations to monks. Currently, Manuha is in healthy state but Shwezigon is in transitional state threatened by likely developments in the future.

There are about 300,000 visitors in Bagan per year. Less than 30% are foreign visitors; 70% are domestic pilgrimage groups. However, the intensity of tourist activities is different at three temples. Shwezigon has the largest number of tourists (including Buddhist pilgrims from around the World). The international donation has been growing in the recent decade because the temple has one of four relics of the Buddha tooth in Bagan. Shwezigon Gopaga also has more influence in the government and local Buddhism. The Bagan Archaeology Office spends more attention on the conservation of the Shwezigon Temple, too. The Manuha Temple has a low number of tourists in recent years, but the number is increasing since its paper puppet performance became famous since 2005. There is not a balance between Bupaya's built environment and cultural practices because of more tourist activities in the temple since Bupaya is an early prototype of pre-Bagan era monuments. More tourists visit the temple recently compared to the 1990s.

All of the three temples rarely have cultural activities performed for tourists and are still managed in the local tradition. The Shwezigon Temple festival has changed more after the growth of Nyaung U population after the 1990s, and in an effort to satisfy the modern culture

of younger generations. The Manuha Temple festival has a low degree of cultural change as a festival for a remote small temple. Myingabar villagers are still the temple's most important donors in general. It rarely received funds from government for restoration.

In terms of economic development, the three temples are economically independent from each other. Tourism is only one type of the local economic activities, which is helpful for stabilizing the local belief system and cultural resilience. The economy of Myingabar and Nyaung U City still relies on agriculture and craft-making with the lowest level of tourist development. Three temples are all located in the hotel zone area but have different degrees of tourist service available. Nyaung U and Old Bagan have more hotels than Myingabar. As a result, Shwezigon and Bupaya have more tourists than Manuha. However, most luxury hotels are located in Old Bagan. As a result, Bupaya has most foreign tourists. The only remaining villagers near Bupaya are engaged in tourism business on the temple's land. The Shwezigon Buddha's lands are in various uses such as preaching, business, agriculture, and government offices. The numbers of domestic and foreign visitors are rather balanced in Shwezigon.

The restoration of local temples has different degree of international attentions. Generally, the Bagan Archaeology Office makes the ultimate decision on all temples in Bagan. Shwezigon has more international and national level knowledge support. On the other hand, UNESCO and other international institutions have low influence on the restoration in Bupaya and Manuha since Bagan is not a World Heritage Site. However, since international institutions joined the restoration works after the 1975 earthquake, the government has followed the international guidelines although the practice remains flexible for local inputs.

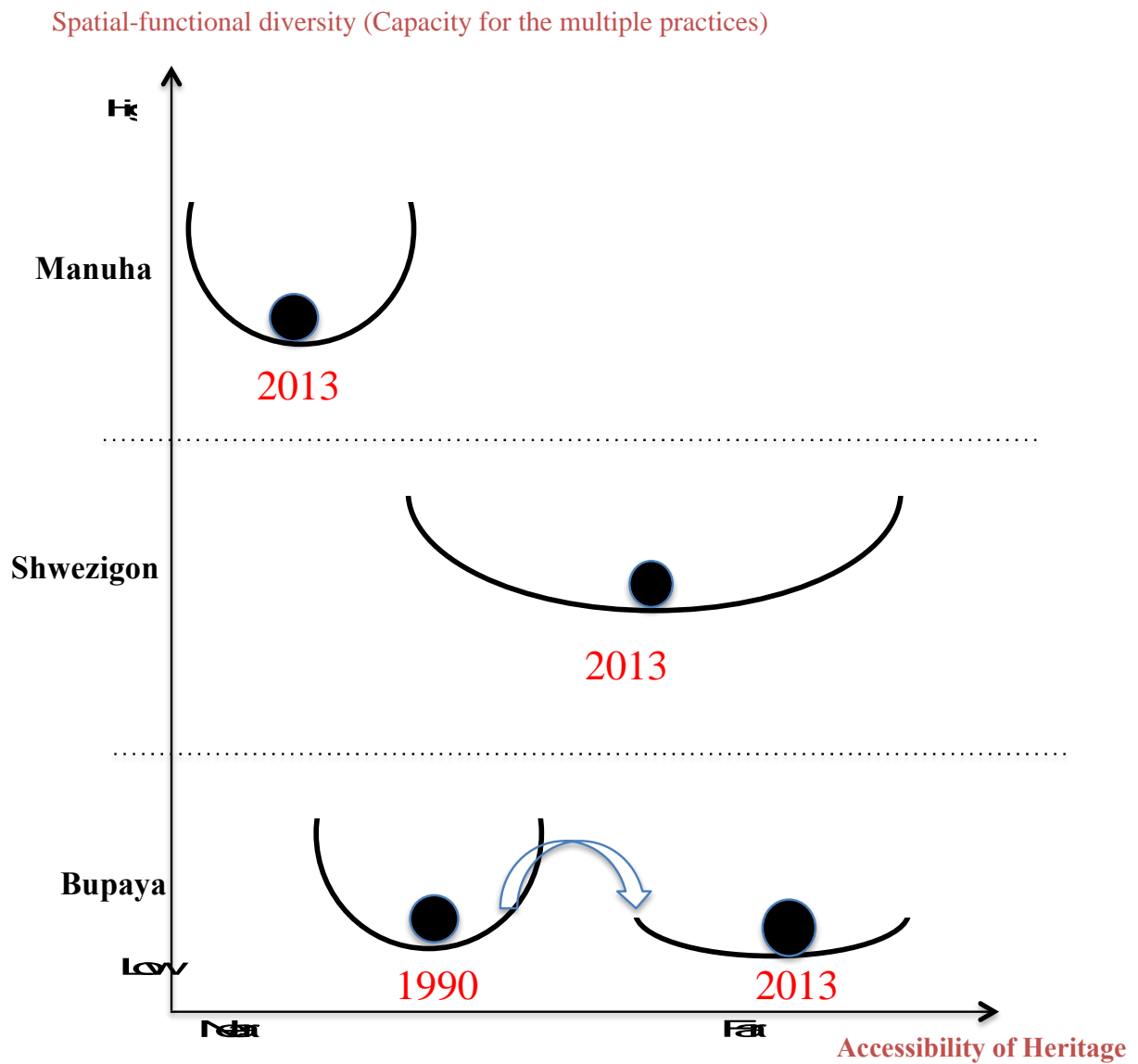
Table 5.2 Analysis of characteristics and factors of cultural resilience in the temples of Bupaya, Shwezigon, and Manuha in Bagan, Burma

Characteristics	Factors (+/-) of cultural resilience	Bupaya	Shwezigon	Manuha
Everyday life space	[+] Percentage of original residents still staying around	Low	Middle	High
	[+] Percentage of public spaces	High	Middle	Low

	had been shifted for tourists			
	[+] Degree of heritage accessibility for original residents	Low	High	High
Cultural practices for tourism performance & knowledge transmission	[+] Degree of original villagers join cultural activities	Low	High	High
	[-] Frequency of cultural performances for tourism	Low	Middle	Low
	[+] Local participation in decision making process	Low	High	Middle
Memory storage & connectedness in local level	[-] Change in temple festival	High	Middle	Low
	[+] Degree of traditional management mechanism on heritage conservation	High	Middle	High
Spatial interventions	[+/-] Governmental budget allocation on conservation/ tourism development	Middle	High	Low
Balance in developments & responsive governing	[-] Degree tourism activities	High	Middle	Low
	[+/-] Strictness of conservation policy	Middle	High	Low
	[+] Diversity of spatial functions	Low	High	High
	[+] Percentage of public space for local people	Low	Middle	High
Institutional memory -- preparation of	[+/-] Degree of international attention	Middle	High	Low
	[+] Degree of direct influence by	Low	High	Low

surprise	UNESCO policy			
	[+/-] International involvement on conservation/ restoration	Yes	Yes	Yes
Degree of cultural resilience from the perspective of living heritage		Low	Middle	High
Cultural state of the heritage		Degraded	Transitional (Healthy but threatened)	Healthy

Figure 5.4 Change of cultural state and the current cultural state at the three Bagan Temples



Compared to the three Naxi old towns of Lijiang, the three temples of Bagan have been rather independent both in their built types and their belief systems, which allows Bagan to have a higher degree of cultural resilience than Lijiang in general. However, there are differences between individual cases. Specifically, Manuha has a high degree of cultural resilience since the temple has a stable belief system in a small village where there has not been much disturbance in the local society. The temple has a variety of functions and can be easily accessed by the believers. Manuha appears to be in a healthy state for the local villagers. Its

cultural practices were persistent even in the colonial era when the government prohibited religious practices. The paper figure story was an example. In contrast, Shwezigon is located in a big city, in which it is influenced by different kinds of developments and tourist activities in Nyaung U. This is the reason that its cultural state is shallower in contrast to Manuha. However, Shwezigon's belief system remains resilient in this rather unstable system by having built more complex relationships with villagers and monastery networks. If we compare with Lijiang's experience, Shwezigon's cultural resilience is related to its more flexible preservation practice based on Buddhist traditions. It contributes to an organic growth (or adaptation) and stability of the belief system. In addition, although the accessibility of Shwezigon is rather poor for some villages in the southern part of Nyaung U City, it is still in an acceptable distance for believers to join the festivals at Shwezigon.

Bupaya's belief system used to be in a stable condition before it has changed to an unstable state after the relocation in 1990. Now, its original belief system is in degraded state since most of public spaces for original villagers have disappeared or are rarely used by either monks or original Old Bagan villagers who moved to New Bagan. The temple's old belief system is highly related to the stability of new Buddhist regime in New Bagan. The number of believers returning to join festival activities has decreased year by year because a healthy alternative regime seems to have been developed in New Bagan through the building of Damayungs from the perspective of the believers. However, for monks, there is a separation between the original built environment and cultural practices. Monks played an important role in the stability of Bupaya's belief system. For the monks, their area of daily activities had moved to New Bagan, as some villagers have their new Damayung in New Bagan already but the monks still live in the monasteries in Old Bagan everyday after visiting New Bagan. As such, Bupaya's functions as a daily life space have not totally disappeared for some original Old Bagan villagers and monks. However, the temple is far away from New Bagan. Monks who still stay in Old Bagan have to travel far to meet their donors and preach in a new area, which puts their relationship with the believers in a fragile condition. With more and more people not coming back to join the temple's festival, Bupaya as daily life space from monks' point of view have changed from healthy to a degraded state since they are tired of traveling between Old Bagan and New Bagan. Some of the monasteries have moved to New Bagan, which became an important factor in changing the stability of local belief system (see figure 5.3).

From the believers' point of view, Manuha and Shwezigon are still living heritage sites, with Manuha having a higher accessibility than Shwezigon. Buyapa's role as a living heritage has reduced significantly since the temple is far away from its believers, and most of the original believers have developed a new Buddhist network in New Bagan, which has weakened the original belief system. On the other hand, monks in Old Bagan played an important intermediate role during the transitional state. People recalled that in the first few years, they had a strong sense of loss and stopped their temple festival for several years. But it was the monks who encouraged people to stabilize their heart and reconstruct their new belief system in the new environment. The Bupaya case inspires us in the consideration of an intermediate role for self-organization mechanism that is essential in building a healthy alternative instead of jumping into a degraded or decoupled state.

#### **5.4 Feedback Loop between Built Environments and Cultural Practices**

In this section, I examine the relationships between built environments and cultural practices when facing disturbances. The higher connectedness the two systems have, the more potential there is for cultural resilience. Factors influencing the connection between built environments and cultural practices include the meaning and interpretation of space over time for local residents as well as actual accessibility in using the physical space. In Asia, tourism is a common form of disturbance for heritage protection. It is unavoidable that most heritage sites are co-managed by different institutions or involving local community to manage heritages depending on their culture. Lijiang old towns and Bagan monuments once fit the criteria of living heritage in which one was hometown for Naxi people, and another was a religious center for villagers.

##### ***Analysis of management system***

A resilient cultural system benefits from a self-organized, co-management mechanism since it provides chances for the continuity of local traditions and identities. In Lijiang, heritage sites were restored by the government in the early stage of tourism development, followed by a private company involved in the work in later years. Compared to monuments rehabilitated by local Gopaga and monks, a private company would only consider its profit rather than

religious purpose as in Bagan. It has been frequently mentioned that local politics might result in mistakes in restoration. For example, the Bagan trustee committees have white-washed their stupa before the Bagan Archaeology Office banned it in the 1990s. However, the trial-and-error process is essential for building flexibility in making the rules for construction for local community. So they would then develop the basics of adaptive management knowledge (Holling, 1978; Walters, 1986; Lee, 1993). Spatial interventions reflect the transmission of traditional crafts. In Lijiang, the society has developed a strong ability in replicating and commercializing traditional Naxi architecture. However, the three towns have different degrees of such practice. Craftsmen in the Dayan Old Town are more skillful than in Shuhe and Baisha. In Bagan, the three temples have developed a rather equivalent level of skills in restoring their temples and holding religious ceremony and festivals, although Shwezigon and Bupaya do have more money on restoring its physical environment than Manuha.

#### *Analysis of disturbance: built environment & cultural practice*

Ironically, conservation plans can also be a type of disturbance in heritage management. The vitality of cultural practices is related to the spatial functions in a built environment. Restoration itself indeed became a big disturbance in Lijiang. The rehabilitation of Dayan Old Town had triggered regime change since the rehabilitation was accompanied by many other impacts, including relocations, change in public space functions, change in local political economic power (tourism industry controlled by Han Chinese), and oppression of local traditions by international preservation discourses. The local regime might not have changed if there was no relocation and that people could continue their cultural practice in the newly restored environment. In 1976, the pagoda at Bupaya had been newly restored but still allowing traditional cultural practices to continue. Similarly, in Shuhe and Baisha in 1997 post-earthquake rehabilitation process was not accompanied by relocation, change in public space functions, and tourism economy. In Dayan, however, the conservation plan directly changed local spatial functions as well as its social network. For example, the plan classifies spaces according to their historical significance but ignored their importance in people's contemporary life. The tourism industry, as a new type of economic pattern also changed the local political structure. For example, the County Government and the international tourism investors had gained much more influence in the local economy. The tourism development

has followed a cookie cutter approach (e.g., UNESCO notion of authenticity and integrity) to transform Dayan's built environment and the local regime into a state of rapid economic growth. In comparison, in Bagan, regime changes in the local belief systems did not happen after the restoration in 1976. Aside from Bupaya, the two other temples have maintained a balanced relationship between the believers and the temples for decades after the restoration. Its preservation policy was concerned more with local needs such as control of building heights and accessibility for people, including distance from temple to civilians' houses. They have not (or not yet<sup>147</sup>) imposed new historic significance on the heritage sites. All monuments are significant to their own believers.

### *Analysis of institutional response to crisis*

Institutional response to crisis presents an important opportunity to build connections between built environment and culture practices depending on the ability of the institution. Berkes (2002) suggests that there are three types of institutional response to crisis, judging by the institutional ability: ineffective response, response without experience (creating a large-scale crisis), and response with traditional knowledge-base experience, which would build institutional ability in dealing with crisis. The analysis focuses on the institutional ability in handling local-level disturbances and stopping collapse in a larger social-ecological scale. Earthquakes are a good example to discuss how government actions enhance or harm long-term cultural resilience in the rehabilitation process in Lijiang and Bagan. After the 1994 earthquake, the Lijiang Government planned for tourism development together with rehabilitation in the city. In contrast, the Bagan Government depended on traditional mechanisms to restore monuments in Bagan. The evolution of conservation in these repaired heritage sites in the post-earthquake era reflects what social networks these heritage sites are serving for. The Lijiang Government and tourism developers shared responsibility on protecting historic fabrics and maintaining budgets. In Bagan, it was Gopaga's responsibility to look after temple restoration. It is clear that the Lijiang Government planned to transform the towns into tourist spots (a degraded alternate state) while the sites in Bagan were rehabilitated as religious sites (the same state of living heritage).

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<sup>147</sup> The newest application for UNESCO World Cultural Heritage site is currently under going review.

Another example with which to analyze institutional ability in building resilience is the relocation policy. Does the new environment provide space for relocated residents to continue their cultural practices? Relocation of residents happened in Lijiang several times in different eras but it only happened one time in Bagan. Compared to Lijiang's new town area, New Bagan (alternate space for original residents' survival) is a similar environment for the Old Bagan residents. New Bagan provides a similar environment for the continuity of both built form and religious activities. The New Bagan environment provides more potential for people to develop their cultural practices. The residents are staying together in New Bagan, and the government provided free land for each temple and each Gopaga to build Damayung. In the long term, the Bagan festival culture has not had much change since the 1990s. Damayung substitutes for the function of original temple for the practicing and transmission of traditions in New Bagan. Nevertheless, the relocation process was cruel and painful for the Old Bagan residents, which became the most important factor why people were not willing to go back.

### *Analysis of alternative states*

Analyzing the inter-relationship between physical and cultural space on alternate states allows us to understand the institutional ability to manage living heritage as well. It is important that the functions of the relocation site are highly connected with cultural state of the original heritage. If residents of the Lijiang old towns no longer practice their traditions in the new environment, the performances in Lijiang become a dead culture. On the other hand, alternative space that provides similar spatial functions can contribute to cultural resilience because people can develop similar social networks in the new place. A highly connected society can rapidly continue cultural practices and develop strategies for adaptation to disturbances. On the other hand, if New Bagan does not allow Gopaga to continue managing festival and activities at Damayung, it is then impossible for them to practice religious activities in Old Bagan. As a result, Old Bagan would no longer be a living heritage.

The development of Damayungs in New Bagan is significant for most planners to think about the question of whether we can plan for the continuity of culture in a new environment if relocation is unavoidable. In Old Bagan, Gopaga were involved in the relocation plan when the administrative general was developing the relocation plan. The working group developed the Damayung as compensation for people losing their stupa in Old Bagan. This brought

about a surprising result of cultural continuity. During the transitional state of the early 1990s when residents had just moved to New Bagan, their life was pending in the new environment and was not able to continue their belief. Some Gopaga started to be reformed in 1995 to arrange Buddhist activities in a big Damayung in New Bagan. At that time they did not have the ability to build a new Damayung even though Bagan office had provided Damayung land for each temple. The first Damayung was built in 2000 with the encouragement of monks from Old Bagan. Most of relocation plans are considering compensation from a social justice point of view but rarely consider from the perspective of cultural resilience. Compensation policy could be developed to nurture a healthy alternative state for cultural resilience. It is a contrast to the Lijiang case.

In comparison, plans for Lijiang Old Town residents only provided houses based on household size from 1986 to 1999. After 2000, the Lijiang Government only provided money for residents to establish their own house in the new city area. On the other hand, because the new city area was developed without the consideration of traditional spatial use and customs of Naxi people, the Lijiang new city became a completely new environment for ethnic people different from original town environment. In addition, since original residents had spread out in different directions, it is difficult to sustain social networks. In both Lijiang and Bagan, the relocated residents rarely visit their original hometowns, but residents in Bagan have maintained a stronger social network than residents in Lijiang. People's life and economy development in Bagan has not changed much after the relocation, but life has changed a lot in Lijiang. The Dayan and Shuhe old towns have gone through several cycles of regime change. In Lijiang, tourism is a preferred model of success. It has greatly depleted local cultural and environmental resource and contributed to the rigidity of institutional capacity in dealing with disturbance, such as the drought issue in Dayan. This is likely to become a long-term environmental issue if they cannot control over development.

Lijiang and Bagan have different paces and paths on changes. In Lijiang, its physical environment changes almost every year, but changes in Bagan are at the scale of decades. Lijiang's social culture has changed as quickly as its physical transformation. The city has gone through different scales of impacts brought by tourism industry in terms of its natural resources, social life, and cultural identity. Bagan is a rather slow-speed environment. The Buddhist pilgrimage spots have seen tourism development but the city's economy is not dependent solely on tourism. They developed a variety of sources for maintaining local livelihood that stabilize the local regime to observe challenges. Compared with Lijiang,

Bagan has more characteristics to support the evolution of cultural resilience. The potential of a resilience regime in Bagan is demonstrated by the existing flexibility for temple restoration, frequency of monks preaching, and frequency of Buddhist activities. These attributes also frame the local belief system as a living heritage. The different heritage sites are in different cultural regimes, but they are similar environments for people to easily adapt. The original regime (1) illustrates temples in Nyaung U city and Myingabar Villages where people have stayed with their own temples for centuries. The alternate regime (2) infers monuments in Old Bagan and New Bagan whose activities had been changed because of preservation or tourism plans, but the residents and believers still keep their networks to grow in new environment. The capacity they build for adapting to the new environment contributes to a stable regime for the continuity of cultural practices. The Bagan story suggests that planners can reconstruct physical environment but resilience cannot be built by outsiders. New Bagan residents spent ten years to reorganize their original social network and finally created a new Damayung Gopaga to sustain their Buddhist activities in recent years. This means that the reconstruction of relationship takes time to build. In the following I discuss how we can apply the idea of social learning as strategy for building or strengthening the local society's ability in dealing with disturbances over time.

Figure 5.5. Potential for resilience in original and alternate regimes in Bagan

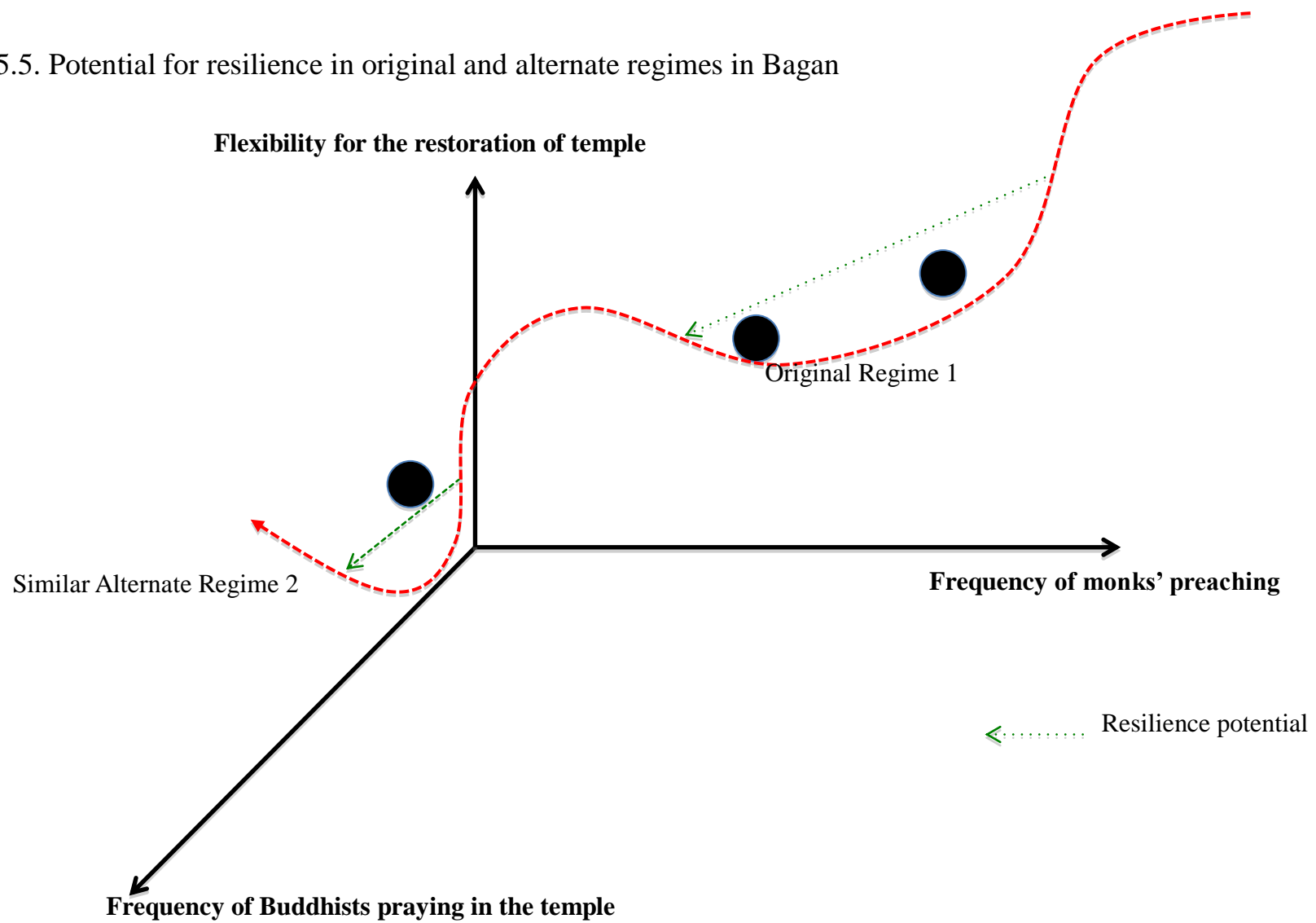


Table 5.3 Institutional analysis: comparing connectedness of built environments and cultural practices in Lijiang and Bagan

Linking physical environment & cultural practices	Facts about cultural resilience	Lijiang	Bagan
The Heritage	Living heritage	UNESCO World Cultural Heritage Site, living spaces for the Naxi minority	Non-World Heritage, Buddhist destination in upper part of Burma
Co-management mechanism	Restoration Budget sources	[-] Government + Developers	[+] Donors + Government
	Conservation mechanisms	[-] Government + Developers	[+] Local Gopaga (mainly) + Government (monuments without Gopaga)
	Transmission of traditional crafts	Practicing methodology of building traditional houses and transforming them for commercial space	Practicing methodology on restoring temple, gilding, setting up Hti, and festivals traditions
Physical environment increase or decrease cultural practice	Conservation Plan	[-]  1. Government or tourism developer are responsible for conservation works  2. Core & Buffer Zones control	[+]  1. Gopaga manage temple  2. Bagan government made protection law  3. Zoning control system: heritage sites located inside settlements and no

			3. Classify significances of landscapes	classification of significance
			4. Strong regulation on restoration	4. Allow regular restoration, gilding, activities
	Tourism development stage		[-] Mature (150 millions of tourists)/ Domestic mainly	[+] Beginning stage (30000 visits); domestic mainly
Institutional response to crisis:  Potential of cultural resilience	Post-earthquake restoration	Time	1996	1975
		UNESCO involvement	Yes	Yes
		Restoration works was done by	Government+ Tourism developers	Gopaga + Government
		Strategy of Restoration	“Environmental Cleansing” for Tourism	Restoring Heritage for Buddhist purpose
		Restoration money from	Government + Developers + Bank Loan	Donors
	Conservation policy: Development of alternative state	Relocation policy and developments	Dayan:  1. To the north suburb in 1986, 1989, 1992, 1995. To the east suburb in 1985, 1996, 1999. To the south suburb in 2005	1. Relocating Old Bagan to New Bagan area.  2. Low level of developing allowed in Old Bagan monument zone.  3. Donation for restoring monuments in Old

	in heritage sites		and 2012.  2. Developments of south gate, north square & tore down modern buildings, 2005~2013.  Shuhe & Baisha: Outsourcing heritages to private company	Bagan area during 1996~2008.
		Evolution of alternative states	<u>Tourist Spot:</u>  Function of space are different  For nurturing “invasive species (tourism industry)”  Commercialized cultural practices  No substitute places for cultural practices in new city area	<u>Religious spot:</u>  Allowing yearly festival in Old Bagan  Completion functions of New Bagan: including schools, preaching halls, public spaces and economy construction to settle down original residents  Continue Gopaga organization on Damayung
	Connectedness between original heritage & new environment	Visited back	Dayan: 1997~2005; Shuhe: 2003~2013	Bupaya: 1990~2010
		Persistent social networks	Weaker	Strong
		Change in life	1.Traditional housing style in New city	1.Continuity of cultural spaces

		style	area is disappearing yearly  2. Traditional spatial use patterns disappear in new town area	2. Gopaga continue operating in New Bagan  3. New Bagan residents lost the chances of restoring/gilding their own temples and Stupa
	History of regime change in original heritage		Dayan: Living space → combined living & tourist space → Tourism mainly space  Shuhe: Living space → combined living & tourist space	Bupaya: Everyday space → Remote temple
	Renewal adaptation cycle		Dayan & Shuhe: In average 10 years	Bupaya: Slowing change in 20 years.
Preferred cultural resilience model	Characteristics that fit in management of living heritage in Asia		Not-preferred	Preferred

[+] Positive to cultural resilience; [-] Negative to cultural resilience.



## 5.5 Discussion

There are many sources in literature on adaptive co-management of social-ecological systems. The main idea emphasizes that applying different temporal and spatial scales in dealing with disturbances can be a tool for planners to manage changes in heritage. Adaptive co-management is an evolutionary idea in resilience management. It nurtures a horizontal and vertical linkage for joint learning-by-doing within formal and informal institutions. The purpose is also to facilitate a power shift in management. It focuses on nurturing local networks of self-organization and relationships of all partners, which is also important in managing our spatial identity. Compared with the existing methods of “participatory planning process” in heritage management, adaptive co-management is concerned more with the long-term relationship building instead of the process of decision-making. It is also concerned more with bottom-up adaptive outcomes. However, adaptive co-management does not necessarily promise a successful outcome on dealing with disturbances. Instead, it is a process involving social learning and leading to co-management-as-governance (Berkes, 2009). In the Bagan case, we could see that once people’s connectedness with heritages has been sustained, and local networks would build its own cultural resilience. On the other hand, without relationship building it is impossible for the physical environment to carry functions as resilient living heritage, as in the case of Lijiang. However, it might be difficult to develop self-organization in Asian countries without the mechanisms that rely on social norms such as the tradition of Gopaga system in Burma. In this sense, we could treat adaptive co-management process as a rediscovery of “traditions or justifications” that has existed in local culture.

A cultural system shares the characteristic with natural resources as common property, but in human society the identification is more a personal decision. In this sense, human identification is hard to be “co-managed” especially for place attachments. Mikelsen et al. (2007) mentioned that participatory process might be reduced to a bureaucratic mechanism especially in the context of ethnic minority. However, adaptive co-management of heritages is essential for long-term resilience building. How could we look for traditions in adaptively co-managing our identity? There might be no unifying answers for this. We should look at what local communities have learned themselves, but some possible adaptive co-management strategies are worth trying in Lijiang and Bagan. Figure 5.6 illustrates three general evolutions of panarchy on heritage sites in terms of the healthy, degraded and decoupled

states. Each state has its own possible traditions that the local society could learn from. In the Lijiang case, its informal management mechanism is weak, and the adaptive co-management provides a chance for power shift from developers to local residents to safeguard their own culture. Compared to Bagan, it is more appropriate in Lijiang to apply specific adaptive co-management strategies on revitalization of culture.

The first applicable adaptive co-management idea is to build multiple knowledge and capacities for a wider range of stakeholders (Berkes, 2011; Eamwe, 2006) especially in the RS1 effort in figure 5.5. The reason is that the society still has rich knowledge and connected networks at this stage, and such knowledge serves as a rich resource for local community in dealing with disturbances. The second one is participatory research as co-management process to re-construct local knowledge and build trust among institutions in an ethnic society (Arnold and Fernandez-Gimenez, 2007). This is especially important in the RS 2 force in Figure 5.5 since the society has lost some memory at this stage, and it would normally take a long time to confirm trust in ethnic society when facing outside interest groups. The third strategy is participatory scenario building (Bennett & Zurek, 2007) that could become a way to share experience through learning-by-doing. This is suitable for systems that have jumped into a decoupled state or when it is very difficult for the storage of social memory (RS3 effort in figure 5.6). Planners can observe instant phenomenon (or needs) from the local community. The Lijiang Government and developers can also build multiple sources of knowledge to develop a resilience cultural tourism.

In the case of Bagan, its local communities and cultural practices are rather active. However, they also lack knowledge about managing impacts from tourism and other new developments. It is important to build co-management strategies among temple Gopaga, monks, and believers to establish a learning-by-doing process on dealing with development issues. Co-production of knowledge (Davidson-Hunt and O'Flaherty, 2007; Berkes, 2009) can be the first strategy for place-based learning communities. Especially for the Shwezigon Temple, the adaptation strategy (RS2 & LR2 in figure 5.6) can be easily copied to the other temples in Bagan. An adaptive co-management strategy for Manuha at this stage (RS1 & LR1 in figure 5.6) would be for the government to build knowledge and collaborate in monitoring local changes. This strategy is helpful to observe resilience potential and to enhance local capacity on problem solving in a remote village since the speed of change is fast and the system is fragile. For cases like Bupaya when the system is in a weak stage, possible so-management strategy might be a cooperative knowledge building process (RS3 &

LR3 in figure 5.6). Bupaya Gopaga and monk committees can take this opportunity to reconstruct original social networks in any new environment. In general, an adaptive co-management strategy in Lijiang would involve rebuilding of relationships and networks in the local society. As in Bagan, the process is to build stronger relationships in local society.

## **Chapter 6. Cultural Resilience: Towards a Theoretical Framework for the Conservation of Living Heritage in Asia**

### **6.1. Introduction**

Many living heritage sites in Asia are close to urban areas. Therefore, they have become frontline victims of rapid urbanization and development. According to ICOMOS, there were only eight cities with populations of over five million in 1970 in Asia. The number of cities with populations over five million population in Asia has grown to 30 in 2011. Many of these cities are threatened by natural disasters (such as typhoons, tsunami, or landslides), different views about heritage preservation (such as over-development of tourism), and other issues associated with urbanization. One of the most common issues for conserving living heritage in Asian cities is the disappearance of intangible heritage (such as life style, social networks, crafts, and culture). I think the disappearance of intangible heritage is often related to the choice of local development strategies that apply non-traditional adaptation approaches in heritage management. Changes in the physical environments also impact their ability to support continuity of traditional knowledge.

The traditional adaptation mechanisms in managing heritage sites can be as complex as the history of landscapes and communities in Asia. Similar landscapes could have different local adaptation histories even by the same population. Different countries could have similar built forms related to the similar colonial histories, international commercial activities, and religious influences but with different underlying histories. For example, in the discussion of Penang's application to be recognized as a World Heritage Site, we could find similar shop houses elsewhere in Southeast Asia but with different historical backgrounds. In this sense, we cannot consider the "uniqueness" of physical environment without referring to the way local communities adapt in their complex history, especially in the post-colonial era. Their unique adaptations imply authentic mechanisms of local knowledge in history and contemporary spatial politics. We could see colonial buildings developed with different patterns even in Yangon and Mandalay in Burma.

In many heritage sites in Asia, the local adaptation strategies are related not only to their complex history but also to their local politics. Take the Matsu (媽祖)<sup>148</sup> belief popular in the southern coast of China, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia for example, Matsu temples are built differently in Taiwan compared with those in the coastal provinces of China. Taiwan's Matsu temples apply more traditional Min (閩) patterns, using local stories and miracles as decoration, and Miao Gong<sup>149</sup> (廟公 or temple custodians) are from the local society with diverse backgrounds. The history of Matsu religion in Taiwan is also different from China. For example, Matsu used to be worshipped locally. During the Qing Dynasty in 1684, Emperor Kangxi (康熙) conferred (追封) the highest rank of Goddess (天后<sup>150</sup>) to Matsu to balance the belief of Xuanwu God (玄天上帝<sup>151</sup>) who was one of the higher-ranking ] popular deities. Belief in the Xuanwu God a major influence in the Ming Dynasty, the base of Min loyalists at the time. Xuanwu was the Guardian God (護法神) of the Ming Dynasty. So his temples became the bases for revolt against the Qing regime. For political reasons, Emperors Yongzheng (雍正), Qianlong (乾隆), Xianfeng (咸豐) and Guangxu (光緒) continued to honor Matsu as Goddess of the Ocean. With this official encouragement (or empowerment), Matsu became one of the most important popular deities in Taiwan. The official recognition of Matsu as an Ocean Goddess was a good strategy since this could also incorporate the local Wang Ye (王爺) belief in Taiwan. The Beigang Temple (北港朝天宮) in Yunlin (雲林) County and Tianhou Temple in Tainan City (台南大天后宮) were both built (or expanded their influences) in this context.

A belief system would not be resilient if it did not adapt to local concerns. For example, Matsu temples have been concerned more with people's everyday life, especially by

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<sup>148</sup> Matsu was originally believed to protect fishermen.

<sup>149</sup> Board of temple management, whose members are not necessary Min Nan(閩南人) .

<sup>150</sup> Source: <http://ylib3.pixnet.net/blog/post/12380517>- 「我的台灣初體驗」——《清朝權臣回憶錄》

<sup>151</sup> Xuan Wu God is believed as a powerful god, able to control the elements and capable of great magic. The god also widely revered in Fujian and Guangdong Provinces, which share similar background of Matsu.

providing food and necessities to relieve poor people in the Qing Dynasty. People had a strong identification with these temples, and temples themselves also have socio-political influence in the local society. The Tainan Tianhou Temple has an especially complex history. The temple was built in 1644 during the Ming Dynasty<sup>152</sup> but went through a major repair in the Qing Dynasty. The building used to be home for a local imperial pretender (寧靜王朱術桂) who was the symbolic focus of the most powerful anti-Qing force commanded by Koxinga (鄭成功), a Ming loyalist. The house had been transformed into a Matsu Temple after the anti-Qing force collapsed in the Qing Dynasty, and was expanded to today's size. When restoration was finished, the Qing Emperor Kangxi (康熙) sent an inscribed board (康熙御筆：”輝煌海滙”匾額) that is still inside the temple today. As it was a building with multiple layers of history, there were many interesting discussions when the temple was going to be repaired in 2006 about which aspects of history to preserve. Similarly, in other Asian countries, preservation policies also are faced with complex local politics. In the cases of Matsu temples, preservation policy is not an independent system but is related to the colonial history, relationships between different colonial powers, and changing demographics of population at the heritage sites.

This brief history of temples in southern Taiwan provides an example of adaptive co-management, which is a complex process that involves constructing and negotiating social relationships within and between different cultural groups. Each heritage site has its own resilience issues and its ways to build robustness in dealing with disturbances.

In this last chapter, I return to my main original questions on cultural resilience in Chapter 1:

1. How are local cultures and traditional preservation practices changed by preservation policies and practices?
2. Did physical transformation increase the risks of destroying or weakening relationship between heritage and people as time goes by; what governmental interventions trigger major changes between heritage and society?
3. How can key concepts of preservation such as authenticity and integrity be redefined through understanding at the local level?

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<sup>152</sup> The Ming Dynasty lasted until 1662 in Taiwan.

4. How can the understanding of the cultural state contribute to new practices in historic preservation in Asian as well as a reflection on the practices of UNESCO and other international organizations?

Finally, I discuss how resilience thinking and adaptive strategies could serve as an alternative to UNESCO preservation discourse and practices.

## **6.2 Relationship between Changes in Built Environments and Cultural Practice**

If we think of traditional historical preservation as appreciating culture that has been classified into specific types of meanings based on universal values from the elites' point of view, then the perspective of cultural resilience is trying to sustain diverse and vigorous local voices for the local adaptation. In discussing place and identity, one cannot ignore Norberg-Schulz's notion of "Genius Loci" (1979). Historically, the term originated from the Romans who believed that each place was guarded by a spirit. People feel a sense of place according to the structure of place they live in and the phenomenon of place that form their identity. Based on the characteristics of space, we feel the timeless spirit of a site. According to the notion of Genius Loci, the structure or phenomenon of place might change but the spirit of place would always exist in the users' minds. The issue is how we read and use the places in response to the genius we try to understand. In this section, I connect the characteristics of resilience in historical preservation to how a local society applies the spirit of place they understand to shape the local physical environment as well as cultural practices.

### ***Genius Loci and biotic legacies***

In heritage management, the spirits of place are typically defined by experts. At the national level, the "spirit" of UNESCO World Heritage Sites has typically been re-interpreted from the perspectives of national and economic interests. In terms of economic interest, the spirit of place has become a commodity or a consumed authenticity in some Asian countries' cultural tourism markets (Besio and Ooi, 2002). Cultural tourism has become an industry to make culture look better than the reality. Many landscape scholars have tried to deal with meanings of designing historical sites according to their existing historical fabrics as the sites

have become targets of transformation. In the cases of Lijiang and Bagan, meanings are important not only to the formal management system but even more for the local communities who attach to functions of space with unique cultural practices. In Bagan, with Gopaga and Owa-Sarsara committees, each temple has its own unique temple festival and social networks. Hence locally based mechanisms are an important factor in the resilience of living heritage in Asia.

The notion of Genius Loci is similar to the concept of “biotic legacies” in ecological environments. Nyström et al. (2000) find that biotic legacies provide paths for coral species to recover from a hurricane disaster. It has become a kind of seascape memory for species to reorganize and renew after disturbances. Similar to biotic legacies, traditional memories can be observed from changes in spatial functions for cultural practices at heritage sites. We can read systematic interactions between physical and cultural realms by considering the following factors: who decides the genius loci in spatial restoration? What is behind the interpretation of spirit? Who “invents or discovers” the spirit of place? Whose memory has been excluded?

### ***Relationship between Built Environment (BE) & Cultural Practice (CP) systems in the Institutionalized Preservation Paradigm***

We have discussed a lot in previous chapters and understand that institutional heritage planning typically classifies heritage sites into core and buffer zones. The paradigm assumes the protection of the built environment can also sustain the culture practices. This type of planning method interprets spaces by their historical significance rather than the spatial functions for communities. When developing a conservation plan, the government publishes laws about rehabilitation of buildings and some symbolic representations of local culture in the built environment. The institutional reform cycle is propelled by events of gaps between expectation and reality, or by interventions by international institutional or local activists, as well as by crises in new economic development (such as a sharp drop in the number of tourists). These catalysts would trigger new decisions for a stricter regulation to protect historical properties. Challenges for preservation come from transformation starting at the lowest level of family space. They also come from tourism development. The local cultural practices become endangered when there is no alternative space to continue the practice. If institutions fail to deal with the challenges, a large-scale spatial management crisis could

happen quickly. The renewal cycle would happen in and between physical and cultural realms. In other words, the institutions shape the heritage sites, and these changes in turn could eventually affect institutional stability.

In institutionalized preservation practice, the mechanism for dealing with crises in the built environment is not helpful for bringing about local social learning. For example, when the government found that historical properties no longer carry local cultural symbols or meanings, it normally would establish a new and rigid regulation (command and control) to deal with the cultural issue. Different versions of preservation laws and the criteria for Intangible Cultural Heritage were developed to deal with such issues. The establishment of more formal institutions to manage the cultural-material system separately would create more challenges between the two systems. Also, competitions within institutions and bureaucracies sometimes also result in new challenges in the local system.

### ***Relationships between BE & CP Systems in the Cultural Resilience Paradigm***

Social customs or taboos as related to spatial management have been a type of traditional knowledge with a long history in local societies based on trials and errors. This paradigm approaches the way a society constructs spatial meanings and functions based on social norms and adaptations. Through this learning-to-adaptation process, the local society confirms, transmits, and renews traditional heritage management rules. This paradigm also requires strong local networks to help build the capacity for local communities to carry out their cultural practices when facing new challenges. Interventions in this paradigm try to deal with network issues in physical and cultural systems simultaneously. Local practices and hierarchies of identities (from single person to family, cultural groups, neighborhood or village, settlement or village groups, city-regions, and the nation) become the best mechanism for producing the meanings of landscape.

When transformation renews the local adaption cycle and leads to a new regime, cultural resilience requires institutional ability to manage the physical environment to support old and new users simultaneously. In this sense, planners should understand the evolving forces in the local society. Specifically, a spatial policy should provide acceptable options for the local society to perform their traditions in a new system. Strategists should balance spatial functions for old and new users. Diversity of spatial functions including policies allows for

stable accessibility for different spatial and temporal uses in celebrating and worshipping, and constructing and inventing new forms of place attachments for knowledge sharing and transmission.

### **6.3 Mechanisms for Cultural Resilience of Living Heritage in Asia**

Institutionalized historical preservation mechanisms rely on the institution's ability in addressing the issues of integrity and authenticity of a heritage site. Most heritage protection mechanisms in Asian countries do not focus on the capacity for local management, especially when it comes to addressing issues in the local society. ICOMOS or other international organizations have traditionally focused on the integrity of the built environment. The built environment may be easier to monitor but the intactness of social-cultural system is harder to observe. Also, the state of authenticity in reality relies on diversity of cultural memories and the continuity of cultural practice in learning and adapting to new conditions in a living heritage site. Diversity of spatial functions is needed to serve a variety of cultural practices. The accessibility of heritage is also related to whether integrity can be sustained. My suggestion for cultural resilience is to focus on the robustness of the local society as well as the government's ability in dealing with crises. A vigorous local society promises a connected social network to practice regular activities at heritage sites. It also promises that the society has a mature learning mechanism in exploring the depth of its own culture and its significance. In this sense, authenticity and integrity have already resided in the cultural practice.

For example, we would not question the authenticity and integrity of a remote settlement on the first visit as outsiders, since there exists a regular cultural practice and the society that nurture the practice. We might also not question the locals to justify what was authentic or original, since the society had known and learned from its own networks. In this sense, cultural resilience is not a complicated idea to approach. The role of government is to help develop rules or laws to deal with some side effects of complex local politics on heritage management. When the government learns together with local society, it becomes a "value adding" process in which the government and the local society co-operate on the "adaptive co-management" approach (Cifor, 2008; Berkes, et al., 2007). The process involves a multi-

level, self-organized network with different entities participating in the management of a heritage site.

Self-organization and democratic participation are highly relevant to the discussion of cultural resilience in Bagan and Lijiang. Bagan has a strong self-organizing system because most of the restoration budget is from donors whereas in Lijiang it is mainly from government or international organizations, which sometimes become disturbances for local system. For example, the Global Heritage Funds provided money to repair houses in Lijiang old town and improve the Yuhe Plaza. The project on one hand restored traditional houses for poor families but on the other hand relocated a traditional market near the Yuhe Plaza. The traditional Market was one of the last two remaining markets where Dayan residents could buy cheap foods and goods. Even though the houses of poor families had been repaired, the families could no longer afford the expensive living inside the old town. This is an example in which without a self-organization mechanism, it is likely that preservation policy would become a disturbance and weak cultural resilience in the local community.

Compared to Lijiang, the cases in Bagan generally have a self-organizing mechanism, and the government sent preservation experts to Gopaga committees with the goal of constructing a healthy self-organization. A strong local management mechanism requires periodic reforms in the local mechanism itself to learn and adapt when faced with new development, political regime changes, changes in customs, etc. It suggests that local learning and adaptation can narrow the gap between policy and reality, and stabilize system from a fragile condition. A democratic mechanism is also important in building a healthy regime especially for strengthening the local capacity for adaptation after disturbances or in a new regime. The local capacity to adapt should be understood from the history of physical and cultural changes from the local perspective.

While in Bagan Gopaga play the role of negotiating with government, there is no such option in the decision making process in Lijiang. For example, in 1997 when a hotel wanted to develop a square near the Mu Family Park, local people refused to accept the new development because the place used to be their public market land. They hoped the government would at least provide alternate market space near Sifang Square, and they hoped the square would appear as the best option for the new market. At that time, Lijiang's application to be a World Heritage Site was under review, and some people tried to tell UNESCO experts to deal with this issue. UNESCO personnel promised local people that the

space should be for public use (the outcome of negotiation was to build a combined “earthquake museum” and market space). However, the museum project was terminated, and the square was developed as a four-star hotel after Lijiang’s successful inscription as a World Heritage Site in 1999. Local residents never got the chance to participate in the decision making process in Lijiang.

A democratic mechanism could nurture a healthy system and also help the system recover from a decoupled or degraded state to a healthier system. However democracy needs time to be constructed, especially in Asian countries without such tradition. Many articles on resilience mentioned adaptive co-management mechanism in social-ecological systems. In the field of historical preservation, the process varies according to different political and contexts.

### *Cultural states and cultural resilience*

The impact of changes in the built environment on culture practices can happen in several ways. Lifestyles and social memories can be different in four regimes of living heritage that I suggested: the healthy, transitional, degraded, and decoupled states. When a heritage site is in a healthy state, spatial transformation often starts from family space, moves to semi-public space, and then extends to large public space. In Lijiang, the forces of transformation came from changes in the functions of public space from serving a diverse group of people to mainly tourists. When the squares become a place for nightly entertainments for tourists, it was no longer possible for original residents to maintain their original lifestyle. Relocation policy presents another sharp change for the continuity of cultural practices. However, if memory or legacies can be developed in a healthy alternative environment, it means the society has an effective ability to learn and adapt.<sup>153</sup> When local networks are in a condition of high connectedness, the speed of social learning to adapt is quicker. The rehabilitation of

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<sup>153</sup> I use the term “memory legacies” instead of traditional knowledge because the skill the society has is not necessarily from traditional experiences. Also, “memory” implies that the society has already learned and memorized. My idea of legacy includes: knowledge has been innovated or transformed into modern knowledge; localized experience from outside; and ability for future challenges through cooperation with institutions.

the built environment and cultural practices relies on local networks. In other words, as a neighborhood learns to deal with challenges, it is building resilience to avoid triggering a large-scale adaptation renewal and crisis.

In the transitional state, spatial functions change the way people practice their activities, and the functional diversity has dropped. Spatial functions can satisfy local needs at the settlement level. Some neighborhoods may have moved away, but there is still a balance of multiple uses by new and old users. In this state, the rehabilitation or speed of learning from disturbance is in the middle range, and tends to take longer to adapt. Also, old social networks are falling apart and waiting for a new form of sustained relationships to emerge in the new environment. The renewal process depends on cooperation between new and old communities to learn together from traditional knowledge and produce alternative solutions in heritage management. On the other hand, if institutions fail to balance the needs of old and new users, then a fast exodus of old residents could happen. The balance in spatial functions and diversity of economic activities at this stage are changed by land use and other policies at village, neighborhood and city levels. For example, if the city only relies on tourism industry and lacks redundancy for survival, the system becomes fragile for local markets. Institutions tend to deal with short-term (or single-type) problem solving and avoid developing long-term (or multiple) solutions. Crises happening at a small spatial scale would become crises at the city level. Recovering or learning processes would take longer to recover from disturbances. It would also rely on how well formal institutions can co-operate with traditional mechanisms on heritage managements. The speed also can be seen as a measure for the way the solution would move up to the settlement policy level.

In the degraded state, the spatial functions no longer satisfy the original local neighborhood and community needs. The diversity and accessibility are apparently lower for old residents. The expansion of bureaucracy also happens in this stage because of the loss of local mechanisms. As a result, the government often introduces institutional policies with shortsighted solutions and without accountability. In a social system, this type of efforts would only increase institutional rigidity, and would increase the gap between government and residents by triggering more institutionalization.

Finally, in a decoupled state, the space now satisfies stable functions for new users, and no longer serves the original users. Heritage management in this case relies on institutional ability without inputs from traditional knowledge and cultural practices. In this state, the

original social networks are no longer connected to the built environment. Specifically, some cultural practices may have disappeared because of the disappearance of spatial functions. The price for cultural revival is costly compared to heritage in a transitional or degraded state. The learning process may involve efforts at the city and regional levels.

#### **6.4 Preferred model of resilience building: managing panarchy in different heritage sites**

How could cultural resilience be managed? Panarchy is a good tool to explore how a healthy system can be managed. Panarchy has the characteristics of being both creative and conserving, with different strategies in different stages of the system. It is a term used to explain the evolving nature of complex adaptive systems (Holling, 2001). When a system goes through each adaptive phase (during the reorganization phase, a system becomes most vulnerable to changing stability domains), it changes its stability domain, or the system is moved from one state to another. An adaptive cycle implies that we need to accept that some systems would perish (which is referred as creative destruction) and the resources released would become a different system. Things will not be permanent. Holling (2001) describes how space and time hierarchies and adaptive cycles comprise the basis of ecosystems and social-ecological systems across scales. Together they form a ‘panarchy.’

There exists a similar panarchy in historical preservation. The collapse of the built environment could lead to the collapse of cultural practices. One example is when the original social networks in Lijiang have been reorganized and new life style is forming in new town area, the society would create a new type of cultural practice. For instance, the tradition of the “crossing bridge”<sup>154</sup> event for women in the Lijiang Old Town would happen on stone bridges. Some funerals have been simplified for this ceremony in new city area since there now is no real bridge for them to cross. But some funerals would hold this ceremony to “cross big road” in the new town area as a symbolic gesture. This is an example of physical environment influencing cultural practices.

In this sense, the most important task in managing living heritage is to construct a capacity for dealing with change in the adaptation cycle of cultural practice and built form. The revolutionary efforts between the two are key factors to manage. Basically, the adaptation

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<sup>154</sup> Traditionally women were not allowed to go to the gravesite during a funeral. They were only allowed to send the deceased on a bridge.

speed at the local level is faster than in a large social system. A society with traditional knowledge has a negative loop to stabilize the local built environment. In most developing countries, formal institutions possess strong power but also have trouble learning from adaptive change as process to build redundancy of partnership by support functions (Berkes, 2009: 1699). To build resilience in different systems, communities and institutions should develop different strategies. To define a local stage, the force for revolution could be observed from local cultural practices or by tracking change in the built environment over time. In the healthy phase, local culture changes slowly and strategy of traditional knowledge transmission could count on a strong institutional learning ability to stabilize people's life. In the transition state, cultural practices are for external purpose more than internal transmission. Strategy in this stage would count on the institutional learning ability in balancing spatial functions and diversity of cultural practices. Finally, in the decoupled state, the highly commercialized cultural state needs a strategy for building resilience by reconstructing spatial identity and memory from the original heritage site in the new environment for original residents. This idea also fits my model of managing accessibility and diversity of spatial functions in chapter 3 and 4.

## 6.5 Cultural Resilience in Historical Preservation: Managing Adaptations

Ostrom (2007) suggests that no one set of variables could produce the right answer in the management of a commons. How this process could work in terms of shared experiences and transmission of traditions to different actors is still questionable even in a small city. Berkes, et al. (2009) suggest that it is easier to apply adaptive co-management as “diagnostics.” The process can become a workable framework for cooperation for the society not used to the culture of participatory policy making. It focuses on capacity and network-building between different entities instead of directly working out *the* answer. Learning to identify the structural problem with each entity finding its own solutions creates a positive loop in building resilience.

Preservation practices have long focused on the physical environment and ignored how local actors adapt to the physical environment. How local communities adapt to institutional interventions and sharp disturbances is important for all users. Traditionally, a renewal cycle of development policy would happen when there is a gap between local expectations for development and institutional crises such as the failure in dealing with challenges of tourism development, resource allocation, and international pressure for institutional reform. Historical preservation is a field that especially needs to apply resilience thinking because preservation policies can profoundly change local physical fabrics and put social networks at risk. Since the cultural resilience approach addresses both spatial and social dimensions at a heritage site, it is a better paradigm for the field of historical preservation. If a renewal cycle for local spatial use is unavoidable, the approach in historical preservation then has to address how we manage capacity of spatial functions for both original and new users. It requires the society to learn to adapt to new challenges together and localize resilience capacity at different levels in the new environment.

The first step is to define what the local cultural state is and plan for an alternate state, for example, planning for a healthy alternate state from a decoupled one. As we discuss above, self-organization and democratic mechanisms should correspond to traditional knowledge in the local community. Identification plays an essential role in constructing local cultural memory. Spatial diversity and accessibility are related to a variety of memories and identifications. A healthy local state can be approached if

planners could satisfy multiple place attachments including economic, social, and cultural functions of the space. These types of identification include different types of spatial use in a heritage site. For example, economic identity means cultural tourism in a heritage site; the social identity means a variety of local social networks related to the place; and as cultural identity applies to the system of traditional knowledge or local customs.

On the other hand, the decoupled cultural state often happens when policy only facilitates construction of a strong economic identity without regard to building resilience in other place attachment systems. Normally, a tourism development regime often plans for a stable adaptation environment of new and outside economic systems in a traditional society. In Asia, the government is often the first actor that leads the adaptation cycle to transform a space for cultural tourism, a type of strong (positive) effort that will suppress local mechanisms. If there is not an oppositional (negative) feedback from a strong local mechanism, then the top-down manner of international intervention will destroy local practices to the worst alternate state – a decoupled regime. In this stage, a democratic system or a self-organization mechanism can begin to introduce negative feedback from the locals to lead the adaptation cycle to a balance in the continuity of cultural-material system. Hence, in cultural resilience thinking adaptations are designed for local communities as a preferred paradigm for heritage management. When local actors take the leading roles, then it becomes the government's responsibility to provide tools for locals in problem solving. This empowerment process for the local society is important in developing autonomous mechanisms. In a developing heritage society, leaders or actors could be classified into old and new space users.

Cultural resilience emphasizes the need to provide a survival environment for all actors in terms of access to knowledge and local traditions and diverse functions. The benefit is localizing their spatial cognition through learning loops within levels of government. Once a new group of people learns about the local traditions in restoring a local site, they then transmit the knowledge when they transform the site. For example, they would avoid the misuse of religious symbols in the decoration of residential buildings in Lijiang. This kind of phenomenon would not happen in Bagan because the local builders were from the local community whose members were also believers in the temples. In this sense, the more the users understand local cultures,

the better the cultural state of its built environment is. From heritage management experiences I have observed, new people could learn more about local culture if the old and new users lived close together. New users learn how to practice local culture (or at least respect it) when they become a member of local culture. Old residents also revise and adapt their traditions to the culture of the newcomers because newcomers have skills that old users do not have. Therefore cultural changes are in a transitional state when the two populations learn and adapt together. It is likely that the system can still flip into a degraded state. But once the cooperation network between old and new residents develops, then it still can produce a healthy alternate state.

A site is no longer in a state of living heritage when newcomers become the majority and the local networks change from friendships and collaboration to competition. With original residents scattered in distance, new people could only learn about the blurred image of locals. Traditions are difficult to continue in a new environment. A new generation of long-time residents might also stop learning about their heritage as well. Phenomena like the original Naxi cultural space for newlywed couples had disappeared in the apartment environment in the new town. Traditionally, the couple's room is located on the first floor facing the yard (with earthen floor), which symbolizes being "born and bred locally". If we ignore how new people adapt to local heritage, then a further phenomenon would happen as follows. Traditionally, there are only two rooms in the main building (the highest building with ancestral tablets on the second floor): one is for the elder women, and another one is for the young couple. Now, buildings around the courtyard have the same height, and space has been developed to create as many rooms as possible to maximize the profits in the Lijiang Old Towns. The phenomenon wasn't like this in 2000 when I was staying in the Dayan Old Town because many Naxi people were still staying there. Many Naxi people now don't know where to put their own ancestral tablets, or how family spaces were distributed traditionally. On the other hand, if the society is aware of the importance of social learning and adaptation, there is always a way for resilience building.

## **6.6 Conclusion: Managing Pattern of Adaptation in a Traditional Way**

UNESCO and other international institutions have made efforts in interpreting the universal value of cultural heritage through the approaches of authenticity and integrity. They ignore the fact that adaptations also carry authenticity and integrity because they adapt with their own memory (traditional knowledge or social norms) in the new environment. The social norms themselves are often the best expression of universal value in terms of how people learn to adapt to events in history and how knowledge and identities are sustained. Different societies could have their own unique patterns of adaptation. For example, the results of relocation policy are different in Bagan and Lijiang in recent decades. There were unique stories including that of the monks in Old Bagan traveling everyday to New Bagan to reach their own donors/ believers; or Damayung as a type of space that provides an environment for people to practice Buddhism in New Bagan. In Bagan, the monks traveling between Old Bagan and New Bagan could be described as transitional since the network had adapted to new regime. However, the chance for a healthy transition is no longer available in Lijiang, which means its built environment and cultural practices had been decoupled. The Naxi people could not continue their spatial use in the new town as well as some cultural practices in the old town since these spaces had been transformed for tourist use. When UNESCO and other international organizations promoted the protection of the original built form, the Lijiang Government demolished most modern buildings in the old town to rebuild its historical environment. However, the Bagan government didn't demolish modern buildings inside the historical area. Instead, the government tried to control building height and allowed restoration methods to follow traditional methods. This was because there existed a strong and vigorous social norm in temple worshipping and belonging in the Burmese society. Therefore, this study suggests that UNESCO should apply the concept of resilience to strengthen and rebuild the relationship between built environments and local cultural practices for the management of living heritage sites. Specifically, heritage preservation should consider management of local spatial-cultural activities to adapt to ongoing changes in the contemporary society.

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