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SUSTAINABLE CONSERVATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

EDITED BY YOUNG-JAE KIM AND JI EUN PARK

unesco Chair

한국전통문화대학교

Korea Heritage Service

Editorial Introduction

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Editorial for research papers under for the UNESCO Chair "Capacity Building for the Preservation and Restoration of Asia-Pacific Cultural Heritage"

In an era of rapid globalization, urbanization, and technological innovation, the preservation and management of cultural heritage face both new challenges and unprecedented opportunities. From the effects of mass tourism to the integration of digital technologies and the impact of climate change, cultural heritage professionals must navigate a complex and evolving landscape. Against this backdrop, the role of educational institutions in fostering interdisciplinary research, capacity-building, and international collaboration has never been more critical.

The UNESCO Chair at Korea National University of Heritage (KNUH, renamed from Korea National University of Cultural Heritage in May 2024) stands at the forefront of these efforts. Established in 2017, the UNESCO Chair "Capacity Building for the Preservation and Restoration of Asia-Pacific Cultural Heritage" aims to become a hub for global collaboration, bringing together scholars, practitioners, policymakers, and artisans and craftsmen from across the world in order to foster a comprehensive system of research, training, and documentation aimed at enhancing the preservation and restoration of cultural heritage in Asia-Pacific region. By promoting knowledge exchange and capacity-building, the Chair endeavors to spread the humanistic values of UNESCO through teaching activities and seeks to address the diverse challenges that confront cultural heritage professionals at present.

The early efforts of the UNESCO Chair "Capacity Building for the Preservation and Restoration of Asia-Pacific Cultural Heritage" were directed toward capacity-building programs in the Asia-Pacific region, beginning with training initiatives for Cambodian heritage professionals. These programs were designed to address gaps in expertise and provide hands-on training in the preservation of traditional materials and technologies. Between 2018 and 2019, the Chair conducted field surveys across the region, focusing on traditional materials such as gold leaf, glue, and textiles, as well as traditional manufacturing techniques from Uzbekistan, Vietnam, and Cambodia. These surveys provided invaluable insights into the conservation practices of different cultures, while also documenting techniques that might otherwise have been lost.

Researches in 2023: Advancing Global Research and Collaboration in Cultural Heritage

Cultural heritage serves as a fundamental aspect of national identity and collective memory, intertwining the past with the present, while laying the groundwork for future generations. In addition to

on-the-ground efforts of the UNESCO Chair “Capacity Building for the Preservation and Restoration of Asia-Pacific Cultural Heritage”, the Chair has taken an important role in fostering academic dialogue and sharing research findings through international forums and publications.

Each year, the Chair convenes experts from around the world to discuss the latest developments in cultural heritage preservation. These forums not only serve as platforms for knowledge exchange but also provide opportunities for emerging scholars and practitioners to contribute to the global discourse on heritage management. However, like many institutions, the UNESCO Chair at KNUH faced significant challenges in 2020 due to the global COVID-19 pandemic. With travel restrictions in place and in-person collaboration limited, the Chair adapted by shifting its focus toward online research, digital collaboration, and virtual training. This pivot highlighted the critical importance of interdisciplinary heritage studies of preservation and restoration of Asia-Pacific cultural heritage in international researchers’ perspective. It also underscored the need for new approaches to heritage education that incorporate online platforms, making the field more accessible to a global audience.
In this regard, UNESCO Chair “Capacity Building for the Preservation and Restoration of Asia-Pacific Cultural Heritage” tried to expand research areas inviting researchers from higher education institutions in various continents. Especially, in addition to research focused on the materials and techniques analyzed from the perspective of researchers or institutions located in the country or region to which the heritage belongs, we have also invited researchers from various backgrounds and areas of expertise.

Exploring the Multifaceted Dimensions of Cultural Heritage and Urban Development

Recognizing that cultural heritage preservation is a global concern, the Chair has built a strong network of partners in Korea, the Asia-Pacific region, and beyond. This collaborative approach enables the Chair to address pressing issues in cultural heritage management, such as the conservation of traditional materials, the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage, and the integration of modern technologies in heritage practices. From its inception, a key focus of the UNESCO Chair at KNUH in 2023 is its emphasis on interdisciplinary and cross-regional research. And it has aimed to elevate the standards of heritage preservation and provide practical solutions to real-world challenges, particularly in regions with vulnerable or under-researched heritage sites.

As we navigate an era of rapid globalization and technological advancement, the notion of cultural heritage is transforming, shaped by urbanization, digital innovations, and evolving societal values. This special collection of studies explores how cultural heritage is perceived, preserved, and engaged with across different contexts. From the historical uses of red sandalwood in East Asia to the integration of digital technologies in creative city development, these papers shed light on both the traditional and contemporary dimensions of heritage.

1. New Perspectives on Red Sandalwood (*jadan*) in East Asia

The first study investigates the cultural and historical significance of red sandalwood, commonly known as "*jadan*," in East Asia. Renowned for its unique color and scent, *jadan* has been used for incense, medicine, and crafts across China, Korea, and Japan.

Red sandalwood plays a prominent role in East Asian heritage studies. In India, it is considered one of the most important trees in forestry, with extensive research already conducted on its significance. According to Arunkumar et al. (2016), sandalwood has been an essential part of Indian culture and heritage for centuries. It is one of the most valued timbers in Asia and has been prized by numerous nations for over 2,000 years due to its distinctive natural properties. However, due to illegal logging and over-exploitation, red sandalwood is now classified as vulnerable on the IUCN Red List (Sandeep & Manohara, 2022). In addition to its material and theoretical importance in cultural heritage, some studies have linked red sandalwood to modern medical tourism in India (Vellore & Vudhayaraju, 2020). In Korea, red sandalwood was particularly significant during the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392). It was used in various contexts, including receiving foreign envoys, royal ceremonies, rituals, Buddhist practices, and even popular cultural expressions. The material was associated with both aristocratic and popular tastes, reflecting a blend of openness and refinement (Soonhyung Kwon, 2013).

This research in the UNESCO Chair 2023 explores how *jadan* was understood and applied in different regions, highlighting its use in Chinese crafts and its symbolic significance in Korea, where it was often confused with juniper due to similarities in scent and color. By calling for further research into craft relics and species analysis, this study lays the foundation for a deeper understanding of *jadan*'s cultural and material importance across East Asia.

2. Building a Framework for Cultural Heritage Education: A UNESCO Chair at KNUH

Article 2 of the agreement defines the purpose of the Chair on "Capacity Building for the Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Heritage in Asia and the Pacific" as "promoting an integrated system of research, training, information, and documentation for capacity building in the conservation and restoration of cultural heritage." Additionally, one of its specific objectives is "organizing domestic and international training workshops on traditional materials and techniques used for the conservation and restoration of cultural heritage in the Asia-Pacific region."

This paper presents a proposal for a non-degree certificate course in cultural heritage education program at KNUH, aimed at bridging the gap in executive-level heritage education. The proposed course is designed to meet the needs of professionals interested in Korean culture and heritage, offering a blended online/offline model that provides certificates and access to alumni networks. By addressing the growing global demand for heritage expertise, this study contributes to the development of a responsive and innovative educational framework.

3. The Intersection of Digital Technology and Cultural Heritage in Creative City Development

Digital heritage is one of the promising fields that Korea National University of Heritage values and specializes in for education and research. The UNESCO Chair 'Capacity Building for the Preservation and Restoration of Asia-Pacific Cultural Heritage' has already supported researches in the field of digital heritage. Last year, under the UNESCO Chair program, two research studies on this subject were conducted.

One study focused on the possibility of creating 3D virtual content for tangible and intangible heritage, exploring historical facts related to the cultural exchange of the Joseon Tongsinsa, which had previously been limited to academic research, under the theme of 'A Study on the Topic Discovery to produce Tangible and Intangible Virtual Content of the Joseon Tongsinsa' (Jeongmin Yu et al., 2022). The other study focused on the development of an educational program for heritage data management and utilization for heritage managers, under the theme of 'Development of a Training Program on Heritage Data Management and Use for Heritage Management,' based on the characteristics of heritage data, in response to the need for new methods of preserving, managing, utilizing, and improving access to heritage data, particularly in cultural heritage institutions such as museums (Jongwook Lee et al., 2022)." This year, the focus of the digital heritage field in the UNESCO Chair research has shifted to the World Heritage site of George Town, Malaysia. This study explores the role of digital technologies—such as AI, AR, VR, and blockchain—in heritage preservation and creative city development, with a focus on George Town, Malaysia. The research examines the readiness of local communities and stakeholders to embrace these technologies, emphasizing the need for their integration into conservation management. The findings contribute to shaping policies for heritage preservation in George Town and other historic cities across Asia.

4. Understanding the Dissonant Heritage of International Concessions in Tianjin

This year, the first phase of a special thematic study was conducted as part of the UNESCO Chair Program. Focusing on the former foreign concession areas of Tianjin, China, a heritage-focused tourism research team from University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne presented three intriguing research topics related to the processes of heritage dissonance, hybridity, and the creation of heritage in a modern context.

Tianjin began to grow as a political and military hinterland for Beijing in the 15th century, evolving into a port-centered economic city. However, after China's defeat in the Opium War of 1840, the city came into conflict with Western imperialist powers and, as China descended into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal state, Tianjin was divided into concessions occupied by nine foreign powers. Today, Tianjin boasts a historical landscape where ancient and modern, Eastern and Western cultures coexist. In Korea, research has been conducted on Tianjin's historical landscape as a cultural tourism resource, focusing on the preservation and restoration processes of the city's historical memory through patriotic education initiatives.

These exhibitions aim to contribute to the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation and the realization of the "Chinese Dream" (Il Whan Oh, 2020).

The first part of the thematic researches on Tianjin delves into the dissonant heritage of Tianjin's international concessions, a legacy of colonialism that remains contentious in Chinese memory. Through an analysis of museum narratives, the study uncovers three key perspectives: concessions as symbols of modernity, as foreign enclaves disconnected from contemporary Chinese life, and as a source of patriotic reflection. This nuanced exploration of nostalgia and patriotism contributes to the broader discourse on how contested histories are presented in modern museum contexts.

5. Concession Parks in Tianjin: A Hybrid Cultural Heritage

The second research subject regarding the former foreign concession areas of Tianjin is parks. Historical spaces serve as sites for conveying historical facts, though often through formalized traditional techniques and sometimes inaccurately planned spaces (Lee Kyung-Jin and Kim Joong-Jae, 2014). The application of heritage narratives in the spatial composition of these areas plays an important role. In Korea, following the revision of the Urban Parks Act in 2005, historical parks began to emerge, not only preserving historical heritage but also providing spaces for urban residents to relax and receive education (Gil et al., 2016). According to the regulations concerning historical parks, such spaces must simultaneously satisfy both the preservation and utilization of historical sites. These parks may incorporate history-related facilities, plazas, rest areas, recreational spaces, educational and cultural spaces, and convenience facilities. Parks thus function as complex spaces where spatial planning, the conveyance of historical facts, and modern lifestyles intersect. In the context of rapid economic growth and accelerated urban expansion, it is especially vital to gain a comprehensive understanding of the history and distinct attributes of the original concession parks. This insight will aid in more effectively safeguarding these sites, addressing the demands of contemporary urban living, and amplifying the city's unique characteristics. The Focusing on Tianjin's concession parks, the second thematic study investigates the historical evolution of these culturally hybrid spaces, shaped by both Western and Chinese influences. The paper examines the parks' creation, development, and modern-day significance, highlighting the importance of preserving these unique landscapes in the face of rapid urbanization. The study calls for a deeper appreciation of concession parks as vital elements of Tianjin's cultural heritage, essential for both historical preservation and urban renewal.

6. The Rise of Wanghong Urbanism and Its Impact on Heritage in China

From the Industrial Revolution onward, a period that triggered the swift urbanization of Western Europe, mass tourism has generated built environments that both engage with and, at times, challenge their relationship to the "real" world (Gravari-Barbas et al., 2019).

This compelling third thematic research on Tianjin examined the emergence of Chinese internet influencers, known as 'Wanghong,' and their influence on the formation and reinterpretation of heritage narratives, using the British concession area of Wudadao in Tianjin as a case study.

In recent years, Wanghong (Internet-popular) urbanism has transformed the way heritage sites are promoted and consumed, particularly in Tianjin's Wudadao district. This study explores how digital platforms and aestheticized online representations have turned heritage into a commodity, raising important questions about authenticity and the commercialization of culture. By examining the mechanisms behind this phenomenon, the study contributes to a broader understanding of the digital age's impact on cultural heritage.

Local entrepreneurs have adopted Wanghong imagery to market heritage sites and stimulate economic growth. This research examines how these images function as symbolic tools in shaping Wanghong spaces that revolve around heritage sites of cultural and historical importance. The study emphasizes the emergence of a new aesthetic community producing "simulacrum" images online, merging them with the actual heritage sites, particularly within post-colonial contexts. It also explores how the Wanghong phenomenon not only enhances heritage promotion but actively participates in its creation, reshaping the dynamics between local residents and tourism professionals. This research examines the practice of creating "simulacrum" images online and utilizes Wanghong not only as a tool to promote heritage sites but also as a new catalyst for heritage creation, reshaping the relationship between local residents and tourism professionals in the process.

7. Exploring Alternative Forms of Resistance in Heritage Protection

The final paper sketches the research on the relationship between resistance and heritage, focusing on non-violent forms of opposition to conventional heritage protection practices in Southeast Asian borderlands. It examines how communities use alternative strategies, such as temporary stewardship, to protect living and religious heritage values. The study raises critical questions about whether resisting formal heritage protection, as framed by international laws, can sometimes be necessary to safeguard cultural heritage.

Conclusion: Expanding the Horizons of Cultural Heritage Research

Together, these seven papers provide a comprehensive exploration of the evolving relationships between cultural heritage, urban development, and digital innovation. By examining diverse aspects of heritage—from traditional materials and educational frameworks to the role of digital technologies and alternative forms of resistance—this collection contributes to a richer understanding of how heritage can be preserved, adapted, and engaged within the contemporary world.

The UNESCO Chair at KNUH continues to play a pivotal role in fostering international collaboration, advancing research, and addressing the challenges of cultural heritage preservation in the 21st century. By fostering interdisciplinary research, building international partnerships, and adapting to the challenges of a rapidly changing world, the Chair continues to play a vital role in shaping the future of heritage management. Whether through its focus on traditional materials, its exploration of digital technologies, or its commitment to social inclusion, the Chair remains dedicated to advancing the field of cultural heritage preservation for future generations. Through ongoing academic exchanges, technical discussions, and practical initiatives, the Chair remains committed to shaping the future of heritage conservation on a global scale.

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The Significance and Uses of Red Sandalwood (Pterocarpus santalinus, *Jadan*, 紫檀) in the East Asian Tradition

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Abstract

In traditional society, red sandalwood (hereinafter referred to as "*jadan*"), with its unique color and scent, was used to make incense, medicine, and craft products. *Jadan* is an evergreen deciduous tree found in Southern India, Sri Lanka, and Indonesia that has been an important trade item since antiquity. Records of *jadan*'s use as incense, a medicinal herb, and craft material are found in a wide range of literature, and the name "*jadan*" is presumed to have served as an umbrella term for trees with similar characteristics rather than referring to a specific tree.

It is believed that *jadan* was understood in a broad sense in East Asia, as referring to various tree species that shared many characteristics. In this context, this study aims to examine different country-specific perceptions and uses of *jadan* through a review of royal records, history books, medical books, and craft relics. Moreover, it compiles and analyzes the cases of *jadan*'s use as a material. Going a step further, this study seeks to ascertain the cultural meaning of *jadan* in traditional East Asian societies.

There are two reasons why juniper was recognized as *jadan*. First, juniper might have been mistaken for *jadan* due to their similar scent and color. Another reason is related to the fact that *jadan*, as a high-quality material, served as a symbol of high status and wealth. Since *jadan* was not native to the Korean Peninsula, it was perceived as a highly precious material; the name "*jadan*" was then further applied to junipers.

In China, *jadan* was mainly used in crafts, and there were few cases in which *jadan* was used as ceremonial incense. By contrast, agarwood, which was preferred as ceremonial incense, was hardly used as a craft material. Thus, China chose *jadan* as a craft material, leveraging its color, hardness, scent, and high weight. A variety of craft relics can be found, ranging from everyday items such as furniture, musical instruments, chests, and pencil cases to religious items such as ruyis. *jadan* was also used as a decorative material, and there were many cases in which *jadan* was decorated with Mokhwagibeop. Mokhwa crafts using *jadan* were rare items used by the imperial family.

Korea, China, and Japan perceived *jadan* (i.e., plum-colored sandalwood-juniper) differently. Although these countries referred to different species of *jadan*, they shared some characteristics, such as being redder than common trees and pleasantly scented. In addition to their different perceptions, these countries used *jadan* in different ways, tailoring the uses to their specific circumstances, such as the procurement of *jadan* (domestic supply vs. import). Unlike China and Japan, there are few instances in Korea that confirm the popularity of *jadan* crafts in ancient societies. However, it is important to note that different perceptions and definitions of *jadan* were applied to reflect the requirements of the specific era and region. Further research endeavors and expanded applications of species analysis to craft relics will help identify avenues of research leading to keener insights into the past uses of *jadan*. This research is significant in exploring the various tree species that different countries called "*jadan*" and its country-specific uses, laying a solid foundation for future studies.

1. Introduction

In traditional society, red sandalwood (hereinafter referred to as "*jadan*"), with its unique color and scent, was used to make incense, medicine, and craft products. *Jadan* is an evergreen deciduous tree found in Southern India, Sri Lanka, and Indonesia that has been an important trade item since antiquity. There are records of *jadan*'s use as incense, medicinal herb, and craft material in a wide range of literature [1], and the name "*jadan*" is presumed to have served as an umbrella term for trees with similar characteristics, rather than referring to a specific tree. In the sandalwood (檀香) section of his *Imwonkyungjeji* (林園經濟志), Yugu Seo described *jadan* as a kind of cedar or fir with a plum-colored wood grain. At the time, *jadan* referred to various types of reddish-colored trees, and therefore, its definition was elusive. For this reason, early scholarly and research attention was devoted to its name and to the range of tree species to which it referred.

Previous studies of *jadan* include "Lexical History of Some 'Tree' Names — About '노간주나무' (Juniper tree), '노린재나무' (Stinkbug tree), '담쟁이' (Ivy), and '엄나무' (Kalopanax) —" by Cho Hangbum[2], "A Study of the Korean Meanings of Chinese Characters Related to the Names of Trees" by Yeo Chanyeong [3], and "An Investigation of Problems in the Local Names of Myrtus communis," "An Investigation of Local Naming Issue of Phoenix dactylifera," and "An Investigation of Local Naming Issue of Tamarix aphylla" by Kim Yeongsook [4]. To cultivate a deeper understanding of *jadan*, w-

1 As *jadan* was used as incense and a medicinal herb, it appears in various medical books, such as A Precious Mirror of Eastern Medicine, Secret Works of Universal Benefit, and Bonchogangmok. The oldest record of *jadan* being used to make craft products can be found in Samguksagi, and numerous examples illustrating its uses by the royal family are recorded in The Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty and *Seungjeongwon ilgi*.

2 Cho Hangbum, "Lexical history of Some 'Tree' Names — About '노간주나무' (Juniper tree), '노린재나무'(Stinkbug tree), '담쟁이'(Ivy), and '엄나무' (Kalopanax) —," Korean Historical Linguistics 31, The Society of Korean Historical Linguistics, 2020.

3 Yeo Chanyeong, "A Study of the Korean Meanings of Chinese Characters related to the Name of Tree," EOMUNHAK-The Korean Language and Literature 74, Korean literature meeting, 2001.

4 Kim Youngsook, "An Investigation of the Problem in the Local Names of Myrtus communis," Journal of Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture 35-2, Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture, 2017; "An Investigation of Local Naming Issue of Phoenix dactylifera," Journal of Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture 36-1, Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture, 2018; "An Investigation of Local Naming Issue of Tamarix aphylla," Journal of Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture 37-1, Korean Institute of Traditional Landscape Architecture, 2019.

hich appears in Korea's ancient literature, Kong Kwangsung delved into *jadan* and baekdan (white sandalwood)[5]. Additionally, some research focused on *jadan* as a material for mounting [6]. Nevertheless, scant research attention has been paid to how the understanding of *jadan* has evolved in terms of its general properties, potential as a craft material, and multiple applications.

It is believed that *jadan* was understood in a broad sense in East Asia, referring to various tree species that shared many characteristics. In this context, this study aims to examine different country-specific perceptions and uses of *jadan* through a review of royal records, history books, medical books, and craft relics. Moreover, it compiles and analyzes the cases in which *jadan* was used as a material. Going a step further, this study seeks to ascertain the cultural meaning of *jadan* in traditional East Asian societies.

2. Perceptions of Red Sandalwood and Wood Characteristics

Most *jadan*-related records can be traced back to the Joseon Dynasty. In Joseon, *jadan* was a juniper tree native to Korea. *Sejong Sillok Jiriji* (世宗實錄地理志), in the Annal of King Sejong recorded *jadan* as a medicinal herb and local product of the Gangwon, Gyeonggi, and Chungcheong regions. *jadan* also appears in *Seungjeongwon ilgi* (承政院日記), the Journal of the Royal secreatarial as incense and a medicinal herb, and that from Gangwon was considered the best. These types of records consistently appear in royal records throughout the Joseon Dynasty, implying that Joseon people made incense from *jadan* that was native to Korea.

Joseon scholars in the 18th century became aware of the differences between Joseon's *jadan* and Chinese *jadan*. Scholars such as Deokmoo Lee, Yugu Seo, and Kyukyung Lee studied Joseon's *jadan* based on the Qing's "Myeongmulhak" (名物學) and "Documental Archaeology." In his book *Chungjangkwanjeonseo* (靑莊館全書), Deokmoo Lee defined *jadan* by referring to *jadan*-related information contained in *Danyeonrok* (丹鉛錄) by the Chinese writer Yang Shen (楊愼). He defined *jadan* as follows: *jadan* is produced in Gyoji (交趾). It is hard, and the freshly cut tree is red in color, generating natural red dyes when dipped in water. Artists used *Danja* (壇子) as p-

5 Kong Kwangsung, "The Study of the Classic Plant, Red Sandal Wood (紫檀) and White Sandal Wood (白檀)," Korean studies 32, Korean Studies Institute, 2017.

6 Jang Yeonhui, "Study of Wooden Chukmok and Chukdu Used for East Asian Mounting," Conservation science in museum 19, National Museum of Korea, 2018.

aint, which was also called *Yeondan* (燕檀) or *jadan* in the secular world. [7] Based on this, Deokmoo Lee defined *jadan* as *Somok* (蘇木, Sappan Lignum). Another name for *Somok* was *Danmok*(檀木), but commoners called it *Danmok*(丹木) due to homophone-related confusion. Additionally, it was considered different from the *jadan* that belongs to the genus Juniperus. *Somok* refers to an evergreen tree belonging to the legume family, and *Danmok* often refers to a tree with red flesh. Deokmoo Lee, believing that people mistook *jadan* for *Danmok* (or *Somok*) due to the similarity between the tree color and the word *dan* (red, vermilion), defined *Somok* as a tree different from *jadan* belonging to the genus *Juniperus.*[8] *Somok* refers to an evergreen tree belonging to the legume family, and *Danmok* often refers to a tree with red flesh. Deokmoo Lee, believing that people mistook *jadan* for *Danmok* (or *Somok*) due to the similarity between the tree color and the word *dan* (red, vermilion), defined *Somok* as a tree different from *jadan* belonging to the genus *Juniperus.* Thus, Joseon's *jadan* and Chinese *jadan* are different trees. Related records can be found in *Imwonkyungjeji.*

In our nation, trees with plum grains, similar to cedar and fir, are called jadan, but they are not actually jadan. Medicinal herb books read, "the stems and leaves of sandalwood are similar to those of lychee (荔枝), and the bark is green and shiny, so this is not the same as what we call jadan in Joseon." [9]

Comparing the descriptions of sandalwood in medicinal herb books with what was called *jadan* in Joseon, Yugu Seo stated that they were different. Lychee, cedar, and fir, which are mentioned as being similar to *jadan*, are all evergreen trees, but lychee is a broad-leaved tree, while cedar and fir are coniferous trees with narrow leaves. Therefore, these trees grow in different climates. *Jadan*'s place of origin mentioned in *Danyeonrok* is Gyoji, which is present-day Vietnam. Trees that grow in tropical regions are unlikely to survive on the Korean Peninsula with its four distinct seasons and many cold, dry days. The tree called *jadan* in China is a tropical tree, while Joseon's *jadan* is native to Korea.

7 李德懋, 靑莊館全書, 蒟緣子. 浸以蠭蜜. 點以燕檀. 所謂燕檀. 盖以燕脂合檀木也. 紫檀木. 出交趾. 性堅. 新者色紅. 以水濕浸之. 色能染物. 又画家合色. 有檀子用銀朱淺. 入老黑燕脂合之. 故曰燕檀. 俗曰紫檀色. 訛爲紫棠也.

8 李德懋, 靑莊館全書, 案紫檀似是藕木. 俗名丹木. 不必單指色赤. 而名曰丹木. 亦應檀與丹同音. 而非香木之紫檀也.

9 徐有榘, 林園經濟志, "怡雲志," 案, 東人指杉,檜中一種, 木理色紫者爲紫檀,其實非也, 本草云:"檀香樹, 葉, 皆似荔枝, 皮靑色而滑澤," 與吾東所謂紫檀不類. [Pungseok Cultural Foundation, Imwon Gyeongjeji, "Yi Woon Ji"1, 2019, p.359.]

The jadan in Danyeonrok, as examined by Deokmoo Lee, is different from Joseon's jadan, which is juniper. "The dialectical theory of jadan incense" in Ojuyeonmunjangjeonsango, an encyclopedia compiled by Kyukyung Lee, specifically defined how jadan was used in Joseon.

In our nation, only wooden incense, as commoners call it, is used in official and private ancestral rites. It is sometimes called jadan incense, but there is no telling when people started to use that name. I delved into wooden incense and discovered that people commonly called them baekguk (柏槶) or juniper. Baekguk has a scent, but it is not sandalwood. People had to invent a name, and they happened to call it jadan incense. This is because wooden incense was incorrectly annotated as "jadan" in the <wood section> of the "Decoction" chapter of Donguibogam compiled by Yangpyeong-gun Jun Heo (許浚). The annotation under the juniper section of Bonchogangmok (本草綱目) by Sijin Lee is self-evident. There is another example where baekguk is mistaken for Dan (檀). Hwahansamjaedohoe (和漢三才圖會) reads, baek (柏, Platycladus orientalis L.) is both guk (槶, Platycladus orientalis L.) and cheukback (側柏, Cupressaceae), and commoners call it baekdan (白檀, white sandalwood). However, this is also an incorrect statement.[10]

According to Kyukyung Lee, it is not known when juniper began to be called *jadan*, but the naming confusion is attributable to an incorrect annotation in Jun Heo's *Donguibogam.* Meaning-related confusion is also found in Japan's *Hwahansamjaedohoe* (和漢三才圖會), which defined a type of *Cupressaceae* as white sandalwood.

Moreover, Joseon's *jadan* appears in Japanese records. Japan had a keen interest in systematizing the names of animals and plants used as medicinal materials as well as controlling their quality. Through its *Waegwan*(倭館, Joseon office), Japan researched Joseon's medicinal materials, recorded Joseon's animals and plants, and drew up *Yakjejiljeonggisa* (藥材質定記事). The inspector examined *jadan* items sent from Joseon and their names, recording them as follows.

10 李圭景, 五洲衍文長箋散稿, "紫檀香辨證說" 我東公私祭享. 但用俗所稱木香. 或稱紫檀香. 未知昉自何時. 詳攷木香則卽柏槶. 俗所謂香木. 柏槶雖有香. 非檀香. 而强名紫檀香者. 陽平君許浚《醫鑑》中. 湯液木部. 悞注紫檀之致也. 按李時珍《本草綱目》檀香下注. 則自可明矣. 以柏槶爲檀之悞. 又有一證. 《和漢三才圖會》柏. 槶, 側柏. 俗云白檀. 亦一誤也.

I inquired into the products and learned that this tree grows for 100 or 200 years, and it is called jadan because the plum-colored area in the middle of the tree trunk gradually increases. Although it is available in Joseon, jadan is rare because it is from faraway places. I asked doctors and other relevant experts, and they all made the same comment. Since its leaves looked similar to those of the Japanese fir, I showed the fir to them and asked if it was jadan, but their answer was negative. They said that the leaves of fir trees were tough, while those of jadan were soft. Subsequently, I checked and confirmed what they said. [11]

<Figure 1> **Daemadojonggamunseojaryojip** (對馬島宗家文書資料集) 5, *Yakjejiljeonggisa*(藥材質正紀事) 5, "A book of animals and plants," *jadan*, Source: Korean history database

The name "*jadan*" was derived from the gradually expanding plum heartwood of the trunk. The statement, "*jadan* is available in Joseon, but it is from faraway places" indicates that Japan perceived Joseon's *jadan* and foreign countries' *jadan* to be identical. Inspection continued, and the records of Japanese fir and juniper reappeared in the following year.[12] In Joseon, two trees were perceived as types of *jadan*, and they were called "true pine tree" (眞松) and "old pine tree" (老松), respectively.[13] The enclosed picture of the trees shows a curved branch with a collection of sharp and thin leaves, with the name *jadan* written on it (Figure 1).[14] Since they share many characteristics of the cedar and fir, it can be confirmed that evergreen trees with thin leaves were called *jadan*, as supported by *Imwonkyungjeji*. At the end of the inspection report, the following sentence was added: "I recorded all plants, trees, and animals regardless of their value or status and wrote down everything I heard and learned." This indicates Japan's attempt to investigate Joseon-

11 藥材質定記事 卷1, 享保 6年(1721) 10月 20日. 右之文字書付遣 其品取寄申委細相尋候處, 此樹百年も二百年も罷成候得樹之心之紫色段 大成 是を紫檀と申, 朝鮮も在之候得共, 甚遠方之土産 稀成物 御座候由付, 醫師其外ヶ様之筋存候者も相尋候處, 申分相違無之候, 尤日本之びやくしん 相似候葉故, びやくしんをも相見せ, 是紫檀無之哉と相尋候處, 紫檀 無之別物候, びやくしん 葉こわく紫檀 葉やわらか 御座候と之儀 付, 其通吟味仕候所,彼方ゟ取寄候紫檀 葉やわらか 有之びやくしん 葉こわく御座候, 則生 見申候時之形色繪圖仕枝葉相添差上之候.

12 The Japanese word "ビヤクシン" refers to a juniper tree. Although it is translated as a podocarp in Korean, this study considered it a fir as per the interpretation suggested by the relevant literature.
藥材質定記事 卷1, 享保 6年(1721) 5月 14日, びやしんく 檜 젓나모 ゾツナモ.

13 藥材質定記事 卷2, 享保 7年(1722) 4月. ビヤクシン, 紫檀之類俗云眞松. イブキ, 紫檀之類俗云老松.

14 Source: National Institute of Korean History Digitalization of Korean History (http://db.history.go.kr/id/ts005_$1ill).

's general perception of *jadan*.[15] To sum up, Joseon's *jadan* was a coniferous tree with thin leaves, and the middle part of its stem was red or plum. Although it was a tree species available in Joseon, the tree was rare and hard to obtain. Additionally, *jadan* was used as incense in royal court and people recognized it as a tree with a unique scent and plum flesh.

Unlike Joseon's *jadan*, Chinese *jadan* was imported from tropical regions. Sogong (蘇恭), a pharmacologist, called *jadan-jajindan* (紫眞檀). In Xinxiu bencao (新修本草), Sogong said, "*jajindan* is slightly cold, has a salty taste, and treats poisoning and rubella. To treat rubella, it can be ground and then applied, but it is not as effective as *cheongmokhyang* (青木香, Aristolochia). Additionally, it can be used to treat cuts caused by metal objects (金創), hemostasis, and gonorrhea. It thrives in Konlun (昆崙) and Banban (盤盤國). It is not available in China, but everyone has it." [16] *Jebeonji* (諸蕃誌), a geography book written by Jo Yeogwal (趙如适) of the Song Dynasty, elaborates on the origin and categories of sandalwood and defines a plum-colored sandalwood as *jadan*. The *jadan*s mentioned in the above two documents grew in tropical regions. In *Xinxiu bencao*, there is no explanation of the external characteristics of *jadan*, but in *Jebeonji,* plum-colored sandalwood is described as *jadan*.[17] In the Song Dynasty incense compilation *Hyangbo* (香譜), the differences between yellow sandalwood, white sandalwood, and *jadan* are described, with a focus on the characteristics of their bark. The tree with rotten plum-colored bark was defined as *jadan*.[18] It is assumed that after the Song Dynasty, plum-colored sandalwood was called *jadan*.

Confusion about the name and definition of *jadan* is also attested in China. In medieval China, *jadan* was called *danmok* (檀木, birch) or the windmill palm (欅木). The windmill palm is loved by furniture craftsmen for its dark color and beautiful wood grain. The English name "rosewood" comes from the scent, not the color. It is also believed that furniture craftsmen of the Tang Dynasty used *hwarimok* (花欅木, D. *hainanensis*) belonging to the windmill palm. Records of the similarity between the wi-

15 藥材質定記事 卷2, 享保 7年(1722). 右貴州齎來草木禽獸之類, 與醫員朴僉知李主簿李參奉朴書房京人金僉知僧玄悟僧緇白眼同相確之, 外無論尊卑再三講說之說明白歸一, 而後詳知者未詳者, 一一開錄書呈以備後證之地矣.

16 蘇恭, 新修本草, 紫真檀木, 味咸, 微寒. 主惡毒, 風毒. 俗人磨以塗風毒, 諸腫, 亦效, 然不及青木香. 又主金創, 止血, 亦療淋用之. 〔謹案〕此物出昆崙盤盤國, 惟不生中華, 人間遍有之.

17 趙如适, 諸蕃誌, 檀香出闍婆之打綱, 底勿二國, 三佛齊【今印度尼西亞】亦有之. 其樹 如中國之荔支, 其葉亦然, 土人斫而陰乾, 氣清勁而易泄, 藝之能奪衆 香, 色黃者謂之黃檀, 紫者謂之紫檀, 輕而脆者謂之沙檀. 氣味大率相 類, 樹之老者, 其皮薄, 其香滿, 此上品也. 次則有七八分香者, 其下 者謂之點星香, 為雨滴漏者謂之破漏香, 其根謂之香頭.

18 葉廷珪, 香譜, 皮實而色黃者爲黃檀, 皮潔而色白者爲白檀, 皮腐而色紫者爲紫檀.

ndmill palm and *jadan* appear in *Boncho Seupyu* (本草拾遺) written by Janggi Jin (陈藏器), a pharmacologist of the Tang period. The windmill palm grows in the Annam (安南) and Namhae (南海) regions, and it is used to make tables and chairs. A red and hard tree similar to *jadan* was considered desirable.[19] In this regard, there is a view that Sogong called the windmill palm *jadan* because of the old Chinese character *dan*(檀, sandalwood) for the windmill palm.[20] In China, people mistook colorful evergreen broad-leaved trees imported from foreign countries for *jadan* or the windmill palm.

Japan recognized *jadan* as a native tree and offered it as a tribute to Joseon. In the second year of King Seongjong's reign (1471), 30kg of *jadan* was donated by the governor of three provinces of Wolmiwon (越尾遠三州摠太守) and an individual from Bijeon (肥前州).[21] Yugu (琉球) also offered 60kg of *jadan* as a tribute to Joseon, which indicates that *jadan* was native to Japan.[22] According to *Yakjejiljeonggisa*, the Japanese were curious about the availability of *jadan* in Joseon and its counterpart in Japan. On June 15, 1721, as part of research on medicinal herb nomenclature, a sample of the Japanese medicinal herb (*jadan*), not the Chinese one, was secured.[23] However, the *jadan* scheduled to be sent to Joseon the next day was recorded as Chinese *jadan*, so it can be assumed that Japanese *jadan* referred to both native Japanese *jadan* and *jadan* imported from China.[24] Nevertheless, no record was found regarding what Japanese *jadan* was called in Joseon and China, and therefore the nature of the tree recognized as *jadan* in Japan is elusive. What we know is that Joseon's *jadan* refers to a species of the Japanese genus of *Juniperus*. Additionally, Japanese *jadan* was considered native, unlike that of China.

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19 陈藏器, 本草拾遺, 出安南及南海. 用作床几, 似紫檀而色赤, 性堅好.

20 Edward H. Schafer, Translated by Hoyoung Lee, The Golden Peaches of Samarkand, Geulhangari, 2021, pp.269-270.

21 成宗實錄 卷13, 12th, December, 2nd year of King Seongjong (1471), 日本國 越 · 尾 · 遠三州摠太守左武衛將軍源義廉,肥前州 上松浦鴨打源永遣人, 來獻土宜. … 紫檀五十斤.

22 成宗實錄 卷81, 6th, June, 8th year of King Seongjong (1477), 琉球國王尙德遣內原里主等來騁. 其書曰: … 萬福萬福. 菲瑣土宜, 具如別幅, 采甄別幅: 丹木一萬斤, 臘子五千斤, 胡椒千斤, 丁香三百斤, 香二百斤, 紫檀百斤, 檀香百斤, 木香百斤, ….

23 藥材質定記事 卷1, 享保 6年(1721) 6月 15日, 一紫檀, 一野茨菰. 右 和藥 御座候, 則今度差上候, 尤此分 唐藥 無御座候.

24 藥材質定記事 卷4, 享保 6年(1721) 6月 16日, 一紫檀, 唐.

A literature review reveals that East Asian *jadan* encompassed various tree species, such as cedar, fir, sappanwood, *danmok*, windmill palm, and juniper. The name *jadan* was used to represent a wide range of wood types and their properties, leading to confusion. It is reported that the trees that were considered *jadan* were *Pterocarpus* indicus and *Juniperus chinensis*.[25] Judging from the areas of distribution of the tree species and literature records, the *jadan*s in Korea and Japan, which were considered native, mainly referred to the junipers of the *Cupressaceae* family. Like *jadan*, juniper is a fragrant tree with a reddish color. Even though the tree (juniper) had its own name, juniper was commonly called jadan. *Jadan*s that thrived in tropical areas could only be obtained through imports. The fact that the name "*jadan*" was used for other species of trees shows that *jadan* was perceived to be a high-quality product. China imported Southeast Asian *jadan*s that belonged to the legume family. As *jadan* was rare in Joseon and China, the two countries had few opportunities to compare each other's *jadan*. Based on the literature and oral history, it can be inferred that Joseon and China used the same name, but referring to different things. Common characteristics of the trees recognized as *jadan* include color and scent. People enjoyed the scent of *jadan* and appreciated its beautiful plum color.

The delicate natural scent emitted by the tree is beneficial for both physical and mental wellbeing. Trees with a unique scent were chopped into small pieces or processed into powder to make incense. Moreover, trees with medicinal properties were used to make medicine. Trees recognized as *jadan* had a unique scent and belonged to *Juniperus chinensis*. Joseon's *jadan* belonged to *Juniperus*, while the Chinese *jadan* was a type of sandalwood that had plum flesh. Incense was used as a deodorant, and its rising smoke and scent could create a mysterious atmosphere while simultaneously allowing users to enjoy its fragrance. Burning incense allowed the fragrance to permeate the body and clothes. People also possessed incense or craft items made of aromatic trees to produce a similar effect.

As the name suggests, *jadan* is a tree with a plum/red color that has decorative and esthetic value and is unique, unlike the yellow to brown of many common woods. The wood gives an inherently vivid color with no additional paint for coloring that serves as a key feature distinguishing it from other trees. Therefore, people took full advantage of

25 Herbal Medicine Resources Research Center, Korean Medicinal Materials The inside of a Pterocarpus indicus Wild. Tree trunk, https://oasis.kiom.re.kr/herblib/hminfo/kmdmt/kmdmtDetail.do (2023.11.01)

the wood's unique color, combining it with various materials to create a mosaic-like screen or applying varnish, such as lacquer, to create the effect of mixed colors. Depending on a user's taste, *jadan*'s color was used as it was or mixed with materials of different colors to create fascinating items.

Extant craft items were mainly made of the Southeast Asian species of *jadan*, which is dense and hard. Despite its heaviness, the wood is resistant to moisture, meaning less warping and greater durability. Compared to other woods, *jadan* wood is less subject to shrinkage and swelling, preventing frames from warping and firmly fixing material inlaid into grooves. The density of the wood prevents the raising of the wood grain and makes it easy to carve delicate designs into the wood. People often leveraged *jadan*'s hardness to inlay materials and carve realistic designs. With its straight and soft grain, *jadan* is useful for making objects that come into contact with the body, including handheld objects. Thus, although it is heavier than other types of wood, *jadan* was widely known for its ability to endure fine and delicate processing and give users a sense of stability when held.

3. Origins and Uses of East Asian Red Sandalwood

3.1. Origins and Trade of Red Sandalwood

All domestic records related to the origins and trade of *jadan* were kept during the Joseon Dynasty, and the domestic supply of *jadan* is believed to have been sufficient to meet the domestic demand. It is recorded that Chinese *jadan* originated from tropical countries. It is known that the tree, which was used for making crafts, belonged to the species that grew in tropical regions. The place of origin of the varieties of *jadan* used in East Asia varied, so it is necessary to analyze their place of origin and trade to delve into the origin of materials as well as their supply and demand.

Royal records indicate that *jadan* was considered native to Joseon. According to *The Geography Section of The Veritable Records of King Sejong*, ten regions offered *jadan* as a tribute, including Gyeonggi-do, Chungcheong-do, Gyeongsang-do, and Gangwon-do. The tribute of aromatic trees from Gyeonggi-do was further broken down into *baekdan* incense (白檀香), *jadan* incense (紫檀香), and *yeokmok* (櫟木, Quercus dentata), which indicates that *jadan* was treated as an aromatic tree.[26]

26 世宗實錄地理志, 京畿. … 厥貢, … 香木, 【白紫檀櫟木.】

The tributes came from Gwangju in Gyeonggi-do, Chungju in Chungcheong-do, Andong and Younghae in Gyeongsang-do, and Gangneung, Samcheok, and Wonju in Gangwon-do. Most of these places were in the present-day central region, so *jadan* must have grown in a mild climate. It seems that *jadan* from Gangwon-do was mainly used in the late Joseon Dynasty. Ulleungdo also offered *jadan* as a tribute. It is said that *jadan* trees in Ulleungdo were cut down every other year, so they had become sparsely wooded by the 18th year of King Jeongjo's reign (1794).[27] Offering *jadan* incense to the king was the responsibility of the Gangwon governor, and the record that Ulleungdo was ordered to carefully screen their *jadan* implies that *jadan* from Ulleungdo was considered the best.[28]

Jadan was also brought into Joseon as diplomatic gifts. According to the records, *jadan* trees were sent from the Chinese Ming and Japan's Chukjeon (筑前国), Mijak (美作国), Wolmiwon (越前国·尾張国·遠江国), and Yugu, and the Ming's *jadan* incense was presented by an envoy.[29] In the year of King Sejong's accession to the throne, each region of Japan sent gifts, including 100 *jadan* trees from Chukjeon.[30] It is recorded that in the 5th year of King Sejong's reign, Mijak offered one *jadan* tree.[31] *Jadan* trees brought into Joseon through diplomatic channels were offered to the King of Joseon. In the 20th year of King Jungjong's reign(1525), Joseon did not allow the importation of *jadan* from Japan due to the fact that it was available in Joseon.[32] Since *jadan* was produced in Joseon, it was not imported through trade.

27 正祖實錄 卷40, 3rd June 18th year of King Jeongjo (1794), 其上又有香木亭, 故斫取香木, 而以間年斫取之故, 漸就稀少.

28 承政院日記, 18th July, 21st year of King Jeongjo (1797), 以江原監司徐有防狀啓, 鬱陵島紫檀香, 各別擇取上送事, 傳于李晩秀曰, 雖因藥用, 年前有本司知委, 而年年多數輸致, 必有民邑之弊, 此後十立內外, 具狀啓上送事, 令廟堂行會.

29 世祖實錄 卷47, 8th July, 14th year of King Sejo (1468), … 分贈于姜玉, 金輔. 玉曰, 旣賜京外家舍, 及奴婢土田, 又餽遺稠疊, 殿下厚恩, 報答無由. 乃以大紅織金蟒龍膝襴一匹, 鸚哥綠界地纏枝寶相花一匹, 白倭綃一匹, 白細三稜綿布二匹, 黑研香一罐, 金珀一串, 紫檀香一串進上, 命以黑細麻布七十匹回贈.

30 世宗實錄 卷1, 29th October, 1st year of King Sejong (1418), 日本國 … 關西道 筑前州 石城官府平滿景遣人獻香三十斤, 藤五百本, 胡椒, 丁香, 檳榔各二斤, 紫檀百本, 賜緜布百五十匹.

31 世宗實錄 卷22, 25th May, 5th year of King Sejong (1423), 作州前刺史平常嘉使人來獻硫黃二千觔, 丹木五百觔,藿香二十觔, 甘草, 川芎香, 白芷各十觔, 蘇香油二觔, 光明朱一觔, 犀角, 紫檀各一本, 回賜正布一百四十匹, 緜紬六十匹.

32 中宗實錄 卷55, 19th October, 20th year of King Jungjong (1525), 日本使持來 … 紫檀香一百五十斤則以本國所産, 故全不貿.

Unlike Joseon, China imported *jadan* from faraway countries. It appears that the *jadan* used in China was *soyeopjadan* (小叶紫檀, *Pterocarpus santalinus*). However, it was extremely expensive because it had only few parts that could be used as wood material. Thus, trees that shared many of *jadan*'s characteristics, such as Indian *Pterocarpus*, *Pterocarpus macrocarpus* (大叶紫檀), and *Dalbergia louvelii* (卢氏黑黄檀), were used as substitutes.[33] These tropical trees, which could not withstand the East Asian climate, were imported from Southeast Asia.

According to Chinese literature, *jadan* originated from Banban, Sapa (闍婆, Java), Jeomul (底勿, Timor), and Sambulje (三佛齊, Srivijaya). It is said that the *jadan* in *Xinxiu bencao* was native to Konlun and Banban and was not available in China. *Jebeonji* explains that sandalwood is native to Tagang (打綱) of Sapa and Jeomul, but can be found in Sambulje.[34] According to *Danyeonrok*, *jadan* is native to Gyoji. Banban was located on the Malay Peninsula, Sapa was a transliteration of Java (Indonesia), and Sambulje was Srivijaya, present-day Sumatra, Indonesia, while Gyoji was present-day Vietnam. All these regions were in Southeast Asia.

Bonchogangmok contains some ambiguous parts. Quoting Sosong, Sijin Lee stated, "There are several types of sandalwood (檀香) colored in yellow, white, and plum in colors, and they are widely used. However, the sandalwood native to Gangheo (江淮) and Hasak (河朔) has no scent." Citing *Daemyeongiltongji* (大明一統志), Lee added that sandalwood grows in Guangdong (廣東) and Yunnan (雲南) in China as well as in the Jeomseong (占城), Jinrap (眞臘), Jowa (爪哇), Balni (渤泥), Seomla (暹羅), Sambulje, and Hoehoe (回回) regions and is currently found in various regions of Yeongnam (嶺南).[35] The Gangheo and Hasak regions mentioned by Sosong are located in China. Foreign *jadan* trees cannot grow naturally in these regions' climates. Furthermore, given his statement that the regions' sandalwood had no scent, Sosong might have mistaken a reddish tree for *jadan*. *Daemyeongiltongji* mentions place names in both China and foreign countries. Jinrap, Jowa, Balni, Seomra, and Sambulje used to be countries in Southeast Asia, and they might have actually imported *jadan*s from China. Guangdong and Yunnam are located in southern China and are not as hot and humid as

33 逸人, 紫檀, 中國木材, 2005, pp.10-11.

34 趙如适, 諸蕃志 檀香出闍婆之打綱, 底勿二國, 三佛齊【今印度尼西亞】亦有之.

35 李時珍, 本草綱目, 1596, 木之一 香木類三十五種. 檀香. 頌曰, 檀香有數種, 黃 · 白 · 紫之異, 今人盛用之. 江淮 · 河朔所生檀木, 卽其類, 但不香爾. 時珍曰, 按《大明一統志》云, 檀香出廣東 · 雲南, 及占城 · 眞臘 · 爪哇 · 渤泥 · 暹羅 · 三佛齊 · 回回等國, 今嶺南諸地亦皆有之.

Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, considering that evergreen trees with reddish stems, scents, and broad leaves were treated as *jadan*s, it can be inferred that trees similar to the exotic *jadan*s grew in Guangdong and Yunnan and were regarded as *jadan*s.

Japanese *jadan*s were native to Japan, so both native and imported *jadan*s were available there. According to *Songsa* (宋史, *History of the Song*), in the 5th year of Huining (1072), a Japanese monk named Seongsim requested to stay at Gukcheongsa (國淸寺), and he was sent to the palace. Items offered by Seongsim included *jadan* as well as a censer and *Illicium verum*.[36] Although the source of the *jadan* was not recorded, it can be inferred that the Japanese *jadan* offered as a tribute to the Song Dynasty was native to Japan based on the subsequent records that Japan repeatedly offered native *jadan*s to the Song Dynasty. In the 5th year of King Sejong's reign (1423), Kyushu sent *jadan* along with other local products as condolence gifts.[37] *Jadan*s sent from Wolmiwon and Mijak in Japan and Yugu during the reign of King Seongjong were also recorded as tributes. These records confirm that *jadan* was native to Japan. Yugu had native *jadan* and imported *jadan* from Namman. Yugu, which donated its native *jadan* to Joseon, asked for Joseon's help in the 24th year of King Seongjong's reign (1493). Yugu promised that it would send an envoy to Namman to obtain *jadan* and Chinese quince in return for Joseon's help.[38] Given the statement that Yugu lacked high-quality wood, it can be assumed that there was a temporary shortage of wood in Yugu due to the war with Japan at the time. Alternatively, Yugu might have tried to obtain foreign *jadan*s as its native *jadan* was not good enough to be used as lumber.

According to *Yakjejiljeonggisa*, Japan and Joseon had different *jadan*s, and Japan attempted to show its *jadan* to the Joseon people. Although there are few clues as to the origin of Japanese jadan and its tree species, it is believed that Japanese jadan was native to Japan based on the records that Wolmiwon and Yugu offered *jadan* as a tribute.

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36 宋史 卷491, "列傳" 第250 外國. 熙寧5年, 有僧誠尋至台州, 止天台國淸寺, 願留. 州以聞, 詔使赴闕. 誠尋獻銀香爐, 木槵子·白琉璃·五香·水精·紫檀·琥珀所飾念珠,青色織物綾. 神宗以其遠人而有戒業, 處之開寶寺, 盡賜同來僧紫方袍. 是後連貢方物, 而來者皆僧也.

37 世宗實錄 卷22, 15th October, 5th year of King Sejong (1423), 承聞, 去歲太上皇厭世, 是貴國之大故也 … 雖不足爲賻贈, 聊表追悼之萬一爾 … 紫檀五十斤 ….

38 成宗實錄 卷279, 6th June, 24th year of King Seongjong (1493), 琉球國王尙圓遣梵慶來聘. 其書契曰. 琉球國王尙圓拜覆朝鮮國王殿下. … 然則重欲安藏殿之福基, 蓋陋邦, 乏良材之用, 宻願賜貴國尤物, 以造創焉, 故遣使船者也. 緜布若干匹, 白苧布一千匹, 虎皮豹皮二百張, 蒙此恩賜, 遣使船於南蠻, 以紫擅花梨爲棟梁, 以鉛瓦爲苔蓋者也.

In addition to native *jadan*, Japan sought to secure additional *jadan* from foreign countries. The currently known Japanese *jadan* is actually *hwangdan* (黃檀, *Dalbergia hupeana*), an evergreen broad-leaved tree.[39] *Hwangdan* is different from the species known as *jadan*, but it was mistaken for *jadan* due to its broad leaves and dark stems.

The *jadan*s of Korea, China, and Japan have different origins, as the trees recognized as *jadan* by each country were different. <Table 1> illustrates the origins of *jadan* appearing in the literature.

<Table 1> Origins of *jadan* documented in East Asian literature

Country	Literature	Period	Origin of *jadan*	Use
Korea	*Sejong Sillok Jiriji*	Early Joseon	Danyan-gun, Chungjumok, Chungcheong	Medicinal herb
			Cheongpung-gun, Chungjumok, Chungcheong	
			Jaechun-hyun, Chungjumok, Chungcheong	
			Youngchun-hyun, Chungjumok, Chungcheong	
			Jipyeong-hyun, Gwangjumok, Gyeonggi	Tribute
			Younghae, Daedohobu, Andong, Gyeongsang	Tribute
			Jeongsun-gun, Daedohobu, Gangneung, Gangwon	
			Pyeongchang-gun, Daedohobu, Gangneung, Gangwon	
			Hoengseong-hyeon, Wonjumok, Gangwon	
			Dohobu, Samcheok, Gangwon-do	
	Sejong Sillok	October 29, the first year of King Sejong's reign (1418)	Chukjeon, Japan	Tribute
		May 25, the fifth year of King Sejong's reign (1423)	Mijak, Japan	
		October 15, the fifth year of King Sejong's reign (1423)	Kyushu in Japan	

39 経済産業省製造産業局日用品室, 仏壇産業の現状と今後のあり方に関する研究会報告書, 平成２３年５月, しかし、,"グラナディロ" "パープル""ブビンガ" "パーロッサ"は, "Dalbergia（マメ科ツルサイカチ属)"ではく, 中国国家基準で"黄檀"（日本でいう紫檀)に定義されていない, p.23.

Korea	*Sejo Sillok*	July 8, the 14th year of King Sejo's reign (1468)	*Ming*	Offering
	Seongjong Sillok	December 12, the second year of King Seongjong's reign (1471)	Wolmiwon, Japan	Tribute
		June 6, the eighth year of King Seongjong's reign (1477)	Yugu	
		June 6, the 24th year of King Seongjong's reign (1493)	Namman	Trade
	Jungjong Sillok	August 19, the 20th year of King Jungjong's reign (1525)	Japan	Trade
	Jeongjo Sillok	June 3, the 18th year of King Jeongjo's reign (1794)	Ulleungdo, Gangwon	Offering
	Bibyeonsa deungnok	July 18, the 22nd year of King Jeongjo's reign (1797)	Ulleungdo, Gangwon	Tributary payment
		November 3, the 22nd year of King Sunjo's reign (1822)	Samcheok, Gangwon	
		July 14, the third year of King Cheoljoing's reign (1852)	Five towns including Gangneung	
		September 10, the fifth year of King Cheoljoing's reign (1854)	Ulleungdo, Gangwon	
	Seungjeong won ilgi	October 23, the fourth year of King Sunjo's reign (1804)	Gangwon-do	Tributary payment
		October 5, the eighth year of King Sunjo's reign (1808)	Gangwon-do	
	Chungjangkwan Jeonseo	1795 (Quotation from Danyeonrok)	Gyoji	Production

China	*Xinxiu bencao*	659	Konlun, Banban	Production
	Jebeonji	1224-1225	Sapa, Jeomul, Sambulje	Production
	Danyeonrok	1548	Gyoji	Production
	Bonchogangmok	1578.	Guangdong, Yunnam Jeomseong, Jinrap, Jowa, Balni, Seomla, Sambulje, Hoehoe, Yeongnam in China	Production
Japan	*Yakjejiljeon ggisa*	1721–1722	Joseon	Tree species

3.2. Uses of Red Sandalwood

3.2.1. Incense and medicinal herb

People in antiquity dried, stored, and processed fragrant plants to obtain high-quality incense that they burned to derive enjoyment from the smell and visual effects of the rising smoke, which was believed to be a medium connecting heaven and earth. Incense was thus used in rituals such as ancestral rites and prayers. In ancient times, incense and medicinal herbs were not used separately. People generally used incense for personal and religious reasons, but they also used it as medicine due to its properties. In the field of Oriental medicine, *jadan* is called *Jajindan* (紫眞檀) or *jadan* incense (紫檀香), referring to the dried xylem of *jadan*. It tastes spicy, has warming properties, and acts on the meridianal system. It has properties that reduce swelling, stop bleeding, and allay pain. People made herbal decoctions from it or powdered and sprinkled it on affected body parts. [40]

The record of the first incense burning in Korea is detailed in *Samguksagi* (三國史記).[41] According to this record, in the 29th year of Geonbok (612, the 34th year of King Jinpyeong's reign), when enemies attacked Silla, Yusin Kim went into a deep valley of Yeolbak Mountain alone with his sword, burnt incense, and prayed that the mountain spirit would possess the sword.[42] Therefore, it can be confirmed that incense at the time was used not only in Buddhist rituals but also as a way to communicate with heaven. According to *Maesillamulhae* (買新羅物解), a list of trade items with Japan, inc-

40 Korean Medicine University Dictionary Compilation Committee, Oriental Medicine Dictionary, Jeongdam, 2010.

41 金富佾, 三國史記 卷第4, “新羅本紀” 第四於時, 梁遣使賜衣着·香物, 君臣不知其香名與其所用, 遣人賫香徧問. 墨胡子見之, 稱其名目曰, 此焚之則香氣芬馥, 所以達誠於神聖.

42 金富軾, 三國史記 卷第41, 列傳 第一, 建福二十九年, 鄰賊轉迫, 公愈激壯心, 獨携寶劒, 入咽薄山深壑之中. 燒香告天祈祝, 若在中嶽誓辞校勘, 仍禱, “天官垂光, 降靈於寶劒.” 三日夜, 虛·角二星,光芒赫然下垂, 劒若動搖然.

ense and medicinal herbs included agarwood, cassia, birthwort, musk, *hoonyukhyang* (薰陸香), cloves, sweet pine incense (甘松香), and *Dryobalanops*. These were produced in the West, Southeast Asia, and China.[43]

Joseon categorized *jadan* as an aromatic wood. Records of *jadan* incense mainly appear in *Joseonwangjosillok* and *Seungjeongwon ilgi*. There is a record of *jadan* being sent from Kyushu as condolence gifts in the 5th year of King Sejong's reign (1423), and another record confirms the use of *jadan* incense as an offering. The record of the 17th year of King Seongjong's reign (1486) contains the following statement: "Offerings to Jeong-in Temple (正因寺) should be 180kg of white rice and 12kg of *jadan* incense per month."[44] Thus, *jadan* incense was highly valued and was sent from the royal family as offerings as well as condolence gifts.

The first record of the use of *jadan* incense for royal ceremonies was written in the second year of King Gwanghae's reign (1610). The agency in charge of ceremonies requested that rituals be strictly conducted and incense be offered. "The name of the king was written on the ceremonial book, *jadan* incense was placed in the incense case, the incense case was wrapped with a fine cloth to combine the incense and the ceremonial book, and the king's seal was placed on the cloth. Everything was prepared in a respectful and careful manner." This explains the process of preparing *jadan* incense.[45] Another way to show respect in addition to burning incense was to decoct aromatics. Ancestral tablets were cleaned with aromatic water made from *Yeongneunghyang* (*Lysimachia foenumgraecum Hance*) and *jadan*.[46] It was then used in the process of preparing for an ancestral rite, expressing courtesy and respect and deifying an ancestral tablet.

In the 7th year of King Yeongjo's reign (1731), ceremonial incense was divided into different types. According to *Seungjeongwon ilgi*, those who worked in the ceremonial room prepared incense for the king. However, since it was a special event for the king to

43 Lee Sunmi, Kim Juduck, "A Consideration a Natural-fragrance(天然香)Kind and Aroma(香) Life in the Unified Silla Period," Korean Society of Cosmetics and Cosmetology 7-1, Korean Society of Cosmetics and Cosmetology, 2017, p.3.

44 成宗實錄 卷198, 14th December, 17th year of King Seongjong (1486), 傳曰: 正因寺供佛白米, 一朔加九斗, 紫檀香二十斤.

45 光海君日記 卷36, 御諱, 已塡於祝冊, 紫檀, 旣盛於香榼, 裹以紬巾香祝爲一, 而封頭之上, 又有御押, 則敬謹之大, 宜無過於此矣.

46 國朝喪禮補編 卷2, "立主奠," 香湯 用零陵香·紫檀香.所以浴主者.{內醫院} 煎器.{工曹}

personally preside over a ceremony, it was ordered that agarwood incense be offered.[47] In *Joseonwangjosillok* for the 40th year of King Yeongjo's reign (1764), there is a record implying the hierarchy of incense. Haechungun (海春君) stated that using *jadan* rather than agarwood for the altar of incense would be a derogatory act. Thus, only agarwood incense was used for all ceremonies regardless of who presided over them (either the king or his proxy).[48] In royal rites, *jadan* incense was granted the second highest rank after agarwood incense. This hierarchy of incense was officially established during the reign of King Jeongjo. In a record related to the 10th year of King Jeongjo's reign (1786), it was ordered, "When ancestral rites are not performed by the king, do not use agarwood incense. Instead, use *jadan* incense."[49] In other words, agarwood incense was reserved for rituals led by the king, and for other rituals *jadan* incense was used. This indicates that the person who presided over rituals determined the type of incense used. The use of *jadan* incense for rituals conducted by proxies, not by kings, is recorded in *Takjiji* (度支志) and *Gukjosangryebopyeon* (國朝喪禮補編).[50] In *Takjijunjeol* (度支準折), agarwood incense was classified as a Chinese medicinal herb, commanding a high price, 1.6 times that of *jadan* incense.[51] During the reign of King Sejong, agarwood incense was high in value, and it was scarce even in China and Japan.[52] Agarwood was preferred due to its rarity and scent and was used as incense rather than craft material. Accordingly, for ancestral rites where the king was present, agarwood incense was used, and for others, *jadan* incense was used. Thus, to sum up, in rituals, agarwood incense enjoyed the highest status, followed by *jadan* incense.

Incense played an integral role in rituals. It was used as a symbol of respect and for personal enjoyment. An entry in *Seungjeongwon ilgi* dated on August 14, the 14th year of

47 承政院日記 7th year of King Yeongjo (1731), 辰初一刻, 上御時敏堂, 親傳香入侍時 … 命臣奉香盒以進, 上曰, 紫檀乎? 命臣曰, 然矣. 上曰, 親傳香, 事體自別, 以沈香封進事, 分付 ….

48 英祖實錄 卷103, 17th March, 40th year of King Yeongjo (1764), 海春君 栻, 以皇壇香之不用沈香, 用紫檀爲未安仰奏, 上令此後則雖攝行, 皆用沈香.

49 正祖實錄 卷21, 15th May, 10th year of King Jeongjo (1786), 敎曰: 禮葬時, 冊印所用, 依年前下敎, 勿用金銀綾緞, 戊申壬申儀軌中, 以綾緞錄者, 代以綿紬. 祭奠, 非親祭, 勿用沈香, 代以紫檀

50 支志 外篇卷24, "凶禮" 殯殿諸具, 奠, 香 用紫檀. 後倣此. 香室. 立主奠 香湯 用零陵香·紫檀香,所以浴主者, 內醫院. 煎器, 工曹.; 度支志 外篇卷一十六, "賓禮 下" 通信使行, 渡海別幅 舊島主弔慰, 芙蓉香五十柄, 紫檀香二塊, 畫龍大燭一雙, 畫燭一百柄, 花絲紬十疋. 出戶禮曹謄錄, 而舊編闕焉.; 國朝喪禮補編 卷1, "奠," 香 用紫檀. 後倣此. {香室}).

51 度支準折 十六, "鄕藥材."

52 世宗實錄 卷58, 20th October, 14th year of King Sejong (1432), 朱砂龍腦, 雖曰貴藥, 求之中國, 則猶可得也, 沈香則雖中國, 未易得之. 往者倭人齎沈香來者比比有之, 我國折價甚輕, 故不更齎來. 沈香不産倭邦, 乃旁求他國而來, 雖倍其價可也, 禮曹其議以啓.

King Injo's reign (1636), reads that incense was prepared to decorate rooms for ceremonies. To decorate the interior, the Naeuiwon(內醫院, Royal Medical Administration) was notified to prepare combined incense, red plum incense, jadan incense, and agarwood incense according to regulations.[53]

Jadan incense, which was used for royal ceremonies, was domestically produced. *Bibyeonsa deungnok* (備邊司謄錄) mentions discussions by the *Hyangsil* (香室) of the potential use of *jadan* incense from Ulleungdo.[54] The *Hyangsil* was an institution that managed the incense used for ancestral rites. Records reveal that the *Hyangsil* controlled *jadan* incense for rituals and used native *jadan* for incense. King Jeongjo compared domestically produced *jadan* incense with Chinese betony and said that Joseon's *jadan* incense was superior.[55] Originally, *jadan* incense was sent from Gyeonggi-do and Chungcheong-do as offerings. However, from the reign of King Sukjong, *jadan*s from Gangwon-do and Ulleungdo were mainly used. Ulleungdo's *jadan* was also used for medicinal purposes and became an essential item for the royal family. With its high rank in the incense hierarchy, *jadan* incense was highly valued, and commoners had limited access to it.

Records of the uses of *jadan* as a medicinal herb can be found in medical books. The following record appears in *Bonchogangmok* from the Ming Dynasty. *Jadan* is salty, slightly cold in nature, and nontoxic. It can be applied to areas affected by poisoning and rubella. Applying its scraped powder to cuts caused by metal objects will stop bleeding and pain. It can also be used to treat urinary problems (淋病). It can be mixed with *Rhodiola* vinegar and applied to all types of furuncles. Sijin Lee said, “With its salty taste and cold properties, *jadan* is used to dilute the blood. Therefore, harmonizing nutrient qi can detoxify furuncles and treat cuts caused by metal objects.”[56] *Bonchogangmok* introduces the use of *jadan* powder to treat furuncle poisoning and cuts caused by metal objects.

53 承政院日記 14th August, 14th year of King Injo (1636). 崔惠吉, 以接待都監言啓曰, 監軍時房排所用衣香·紅梅香·中缺紫檀香·沈束香,依例措備事, 知委于內醫院, 則諉以缺啓下公事, 不爲擧行. 今此監軍之行, 與詔使無異, 一依前例, 措備待令事, 分付, 何如? 傳曰, 依啓.

54 備邊司謄錄 July, 3rd year of King Cheoljong (1852), 而旣以民弊爲言, 限三年更許權減, 其一, 香室納紫檀香, 分定於江陵等五邑, 而上納之際, 稱量補縮, 人情冗費.; 備邊司謄錄 September, 5th year of King Cheoljong (1854), 同日入侍時, 禮曹判書洪在喆所啓, 香室所用香木, 每年三百斤, 例自江原道進上矣.

55 承政院日記 25th April, 15th year of King Jeongjo (1791). 上曰, 唐材中藿香卽緊種, 而近來所謂藿香, 有名無實, 反不如我國之紫檀香矣.

56 李時珍, 本草綱目 卷34, “紫檀,” 鹹, 微寒, 無毒. 摩塗惡毒風毒.別錄 刮末敷金瘡, 止血止痛. 療淋.弘景 醋磨, 敷一切猝腫. 時珍曰：白檀辛溫, 氣分之藥也. 故能理衛氣而調脾肺, 利胸膈. 紫檀鹹寒, 血分之藥也. 故能和營氣而消腫毒, 治金瘡.

The same can be found in medical booksfrom the Joseon Dynasty. *Donguibogam* (東醫寶鑑), quoting *Bonchogangmok*, states that *jadan* incense is effective in treating cuts caused by metal objects. It is also recorded that *jadan* incense is mainly used for treating poisoning, rubella, and abdominal pain as well as ghost sickness (also called *jajindan*).[57]

Bonchojeonghwa (本草精華), quoting *Bonchogangmok*, documents the use of *jadan* for treating cuts caused by metal objects.[58] *Uibanghappyeon* (醫方合編) also documents the use of *jadan* incense for cuts caused by such objects. It says that grinding *jadan* incense and applying it to the wound can stop pain and bleeding while promoting granulation. Another way is to apply *jadan* incense and mulberry leaf powder to cuts caused by metal objects.[59] This treatment method for cuts caused by such objects was actually employed and proved effective. In *Saeuigyeonjhumbang* (四醫經驗方), Seokgan Lee proposed the method of scraping *jadan* incense and applying its powder to treat tetanus.[60] Although the application of *jadan* powder was widely recommended, some records present cases in which *jadan* was taken orally. According to *Jeungbodanbangsinpyeon* (增補單方新編), 1) decocting *jadan* and taking it with honey or 2) decocting white sandalwood and yellow wax and taking them together can be a mysteriously effective therapy for cuts caused by metal objects. Moreover, there is a method to prevent toothache by inserting *jadan* into a *sangtu* (topknot hairstyle).[61] Rather than leveraging the medicinal properties of *jadan*, this type of prevention method is believed to have focused on using the sacred nature of incense to dispel evil spirits that caused disease.

There are also some records indicating that the Joseon royal family used *jadan* as a medicinal herb. An entry in *Seungjeongwon ilgi*, written on May 4, the 10th year of King Hyojong's reign (1659), states the following: “Immediately dispense medicines (lime powder, Sanguis draconis powder, jadan powder, Flos Sophora japonica L. powder, Fumi Carbonisatus Pulvis powder, and roof tile powder) for hemostasis under the supe-

57 許浚, 東醫寶鑑, “雜病編” 卷9, 單方, 治金瘡. 急刮紫檀末付之, 止血止痛至妙. 《本草》. 東醫寶鑑, “湯液編” 卷3 木部, 性溫, 味辛, 無毒. 主惡毒, 風毒, 霍亂, 心腹痛, 中惡, 鬼氣. 一名紫眞檀. 《本草》 我國江原道多有之. 《俗方》

58 本草精華 卷之下, “木部” 香木類 紫檀香, 味醎, 微寒, 無毒. 別:主摩塗惡毒風毒. 弘景:刮末傅金瘡, 止血止痛. 時珍曰:白檀辛溫, 能理衛氣而調肺脾, 利胸膈. 紫檀醎寒, 血分之藥也, 故能和營氣而消腫毒, 治金瘡. 新者色紅, 舊者色紫, 有蟹爪文. 揩壁上色紫者眞.

59 醫方合編(意方合部) 卷3, “金瘡,” 紫檀香 末付瘡上, 止痛止血生肌, 甚效. … 楮葉末 紫檀香糝之其上.

60 四醫經驗方, “破傷風,” 紫檀香, 以刀刮而屑之, 塗.

61 增補單方新編, 齒疼 削紫丹香揷髻, 預防不疼. 破傷風 煎紫檀香, 和蜜服. 或白丹香 黃蠟, 同煎服, 極妙.

rvision of three pharmacists and bring them."[62] Thus, it can be confirmed that the Joseon royal family used *jadan* powder to stop bleeding. In the 4th year of King Yeongjo's reign (1728), there was a case in which *jadan* was used to treat tetanus. Showing his concern about the crown prince's abscess, Gwangjwa Lee mentioned his case as a child in which his abscess developed into tetanus and he managed to successfully treat it with *okjingo* (玉津膏) and *jadan*.[63]

Jadan was used in both China and Korea to treat cuts caused by metal objects and tetanus. In most cases, *jadan* powder was applied to lesions, though in some cases it was decocted and taken orally. There are many records indicating that tetanus was treated by applying *jadan*, which proved effective. According to some medical books, in addition to treating injuries and wounds, *jadan* was inserted into Sangtu to prevent toothache. Rather than resorting to the medicinal properties of *jadan*, this type of therapy is believed to have focused on using the sacred nature of wood.

〈Table 2〉 Uses of *jadan* incense documented in literature

Use	Literature	Period	Subcategory
Incense	*Joseonwangjosillok*	The fifth year of King Sejong's reign (1423)	Condolence gifts
	Sejong Sillok Jiriji	The second year of King Danjong's reign (1454)	*Jadan* incense: Offerings and local products
	Seungjeongwon ilgi	The 17th year of King Seongjong's reign (1486)	Buddhist offerings
	Joseonwangjosillok	The second year of King Gwanghae's reign (1610)	Incense for royal ceremonies
	Seungjeongwon ilgi	The seventh year of King Yeongjo's reign (1731)	Use of agarwood incense for rituals led by the king
	Gukjosangrye bopyeon	The 34th year of King Yeongjo's reign (1758)	Specified the uses of *jadan* incense

62 承政院日記, 4th May, 10th year of King Hyojong (1659), 又傳曰, 此外止血之藥, 急急劑入, 石灰末·血竭末·紫檀香末·槐花末·百草霜末·瓦粉末,三提調監劑, 連屬入之.

63 承政院日記, 12th January, 4th year of King Yeongjo (1728), 小臣兒時, 手指有小癤, 不能謹愼, 至於破傷風. 一日之內, 大段浮高, 外傅玉津膏, 內治以紫檀香, 僅得差愈.

Incense	*Joseonwang josillok*	The 40th year of King Yeongjo's reign (1764)	Use of agarwood incense for rituals led by both the king or his proxy
	Joseonwang josillok	The tenth year of King Jeongjo's reign (1786)	Rituals led by the king: agarwood incense, others: *jadan* incense
	Takjiji	The 12th year of King Jeongjo's reign (1788)	Specified the uses of *jadan* incense
	Bibyeonsa deungnok	The third year of King Cheoljong's reign (1852)	Offered to the Hyangsil
	Takjijunjeo	The Korean Empire	Agarwood: Chinese medicinal herb
	Seungjeong wonilgi	The 14th year of King Injo's reign (1636)	Room decoration for envoys
	Gukjooreui	The fifth year of King Seongjong's reign (1474)	Infusing scent into aromatic water
	Yeonryeosilgisul	1911	*Jadan* incense drink
	Seungjeongwon ilgi	The first year of King Sukjong's reign (1675)	*Jadan* incense
Medicinal herb	*Bonchogangmok*	Ming (1596)	Powder: poisoning, rubella, cuts caused by metal objects, urinary problem, furuncle
	Donguibogam	The fifth year of King Gwanghae's reign (1613)	Powder: cuts caused by metal objects, poisoning, rubella, abdominal pain, ghost sickness
	Bonchojeonghwa	Joseon	Powder: cuts caused by metal objects
	Uibanghabpyeon	Joseon	Powder: cuts caused by metal objects
	Jeungbodanbang sinpyeon	1913	Decoction: cuts caused by metal objects, Inserted into a sangtu to prevent toothache
	Saeuigyeonjhum bang	17th century	Powder: cuts caused by metal objects (tetanus)
	Seungjeongwon ilgi	The tenth year of King Hyojong's reign (1659)	Powder: hemostasis
	Seungjeongwon ilgi	The fourth year of King Yeongjo's reign (1728)	Tetanus

3.2.2. Craft material

Jadan was used to make craft products, as its color and grain allowed the creation of beautiful products with an enjoyable scent. *Jadan* products ranged from small items such as fans to building components like railings and floors. The uses of *jadan* in ancient societies were explored through a literature review.

Jadan was recorded in *Samguksagi*, as the king's bounty given to his subjects; thus, King Heondeok bestowed a spindle chair and a gold-decorated *jadan* cane on an old subject.[64] Silla had restrictive regulations that limited the use of materials depending on the rank, and *jadan* was one such item subject to the rank-specific restrictive regulations, a high-quality material reserved for the royal family and the nobility. In particular, tables, carts, and saddle frames were subject to the restrictive regulation of *jadan*. Nobles above the fifth head rank could decorate their tables with *jadan*, but only Sacred Bones were allowed to use *jadan* for their saddle frames and carts. From the fact that *jadan* was mentioned not only as a material for carts and saddle frames but also as a decoration item for tables, it can be inferred that raw *jadan* was processed and used as both base and decorative materials.[65]

Records of *jadan* reappear in the Joseon Dynasty. In the 12th year of King Injo's reign (1634), a gold fan called "*jadan-yanggamhwageumseon*" (紫檀鑲嵌花金扇) was given to a Chinese envoy as a gift.[66] Although some words are missing, making it difficult to understand the record entirely, some of the text is about the receipt of the Chinese envoy's gift and the envoy's initial refusal and later acceptance of Joseon's gift. From this, it can be inferred that a fan was prepared as one of the gifts for the Chinese envoy. A gold fan is a folding fan made of gold-colored paper, decorated primarily by attaching jade or beautifully patterned wood to the rim. Judging from its recorded name, *jadan* was used for the rim.

According to *Osanseolrimchogo* (五山說林草藁), *jadan* was used as a building material. During the reign of King Seongjong, a person who used *jadan* as a floor material was punished.[67] Even though that person was the king's father-in-law who worked for the Royal Secretariat, he could not escape the punishment for having used *jadan*. Joseon did not impose a ban on *jadan*. However, commoners had limited access to it si-

64 金富軾, 三國史記 卷10, "新羅本紀," 11th year of King Heondeok(憲德王, 819), 春正月, 以伊湌眞元年七十, 賜几杖. 以伊湌憲貞病不能行, 年未七十, 賜金餙紫檀杖.

65 金富軾, 三國史記 卷33, "雜志," 屋舍. 六頭品. … 簾緣禁罽繡綾, 屛風禁繡, 床不得餙玳瑁·紫檀·沉香·黃楊又禁錦薦. … 車騎, 眞骨. 車林校不用紫檀·沉校勘香.… 眞骨. 鞍橋禁紫檀·沉香.

66 承政院日記 24th June, 12th year of King Injo (1634), 天使 … 紫檀鑲嵌花金扇八柄, ….

67 金斗鍾, 五山說林草藁, 成廟時. 外舅有職居銀臺者. 以紫檀木搆小軒. 上聞之. 面問曰. 聞爾檀香作室. 有諸. 對曰未也. 上卽命侍臣及中人往觀之. 奏曰. 果以紫檀爲之. 上卽移御景福宮. 命誅其外舅. 已而還宮曰. 余疾瘳矣. 時大妃尙在. 上恐請寬之. 故托疾而移御. 仍命誅之. 旣刑之便復還也. 說者以爲上之此擧. 斷則斷矣. 何如漢文之待薄昭也. 後世必有議者.

nce it was regarded as a luxury item: incense for royal ceremonies or a bounty bestowed on subjects. *Joleunyugo* (拙隱遺稿) documented "*jadandaes ihwanbeop*" (紫檀代蓍丸法), which elaborated on how to tell fortunes by making dice out of *jadan*.[68] It is unknown why the dice were made of *jadan*, but it is assumed that it was favored due to its mysterious scent and appropriate weight.

In the third year of King Injo's reign (1625), Munryong Mo from the Ming brought a book chest called "*Eunyangjadanseosang*"(銀鑲紫檀書箱) as a gift.[69] The name indicates that it was a book chest made of *jadan* decorated with silver. There are no artifacts that appear in the literature, but similar chests decorated with silver on a *jadan* background have been handed down in China (Figure 2).[70] Citing the Chinese works *Junsaengpaljeon* (遵生八牋) and *Dongcheonhyangrok* (洞天清錄), Yugu Seo of Joseon recorded that *jadan* was used as a craft material for various items, such as fan handles, incense trays, incense cases, ink stone cases, and bookcases.[71] Bookcases and book chests served similar purposes. The unique and mysterious scent of a *jadan* bookcase might have permeated the books inside the case. Since China produced many sets of furniture and accessories from *jadan*, its *jadan*-related records and relics are currently largely extant. This is attributable not only to the general preference for *jadan*'s color and scent but also to the taste of the upper class for exotic materials.

Figure 2. <紫檀木雕龙戏珠纹箱>, Ming dynasty, Beijing National Palace Museum, Source: (https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/gear/229334)

68 拙隱遺稿, 拙隱先生遺稿卷之二, 紫檀代蓍丸法.

69 承政院日記 3rd February, 3rd year of King Injo (1625), 謹具朱漆篾絲茶盒一對, 銀鑲紫檀書箱一架, 鳳椀二十箇, 氷盤二箇, 鑲是茶鍾二十箇, 靑花酒鍾四十箇, 奉申敬, 侍生毛文龍頓首.

70 Source: Beijing National Palace Museum(https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/gear/229334).

71 徐有榘, 林園經濟志, "怡雲志," 團扇, 紙糊如此式樣亦佳, 但得竹根, 紫檀妙柄為美.《遵生八牋》; 香盤. 紫檀,烏木爲盤, 以玉爲心, 用以插香,《洞天香錄》; 香几. 今吳中製有朱色小几, 去倭差小, 式如香案. 更有紫檀花嵌, 有假模倭製, 有以石鑲, 或大如倭, 或小盈尺.《遵生八牋》; 硯匣. 以豆瓣楠,紫檀爲匣, 或用花梨亦可.《遵生八牋》; 圖書匣. 有塡漆者, 有紫檀彫鏤鑲嵌玉石者, 有古人玉帶板、燈板鑲匣面者.《遵生八牋》

The earliest record of *jadan* crafts in China traces back to the "*Mokhwajadancheok*" (木畫紫檀尺) recorded in the "Sobugungigam" (少府軍器監) of *Dangyookjeon* (唐六典).[72] This item was prepared by the national institution "Joongsangseo" to be used for observances. Mokhwa is a craft technique in which exotic materials (e.g., *jadan*) and gems are used to carve various patterns in wood. Therefore, it was an extremely precious item. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, *jadan* was frequently used to make furniture. According to *Gwangjiyeok* (廣志繹), *jadan* was used to make tables and beds.[73] Emperor Seungjeong of Ming was wary of luxury and imposed a ban on the use of *jadan* for various types of furniture and products.[74] Since *jadan* was an expensive imported product, it was classified as a luxury item, and its use had been restricted even before Emperor Soongjeong. However, this policy had hardly been observed, and the emperor himself prohibited the use of *jadan*. Nevertheless, the preference for *jadan* did not wane, and it continued to be used to make craft items until the Qing Dynasty.

Joseon's envoys to China recorded that *jadan* was used to make precious items during the Qing Dynasty.[75] According to the record, *jadan* and Chinese quince were used to carve the character "卍" on the railings of the temporary palace that was being built in Nansu (灤水).[76] As a building material, *jadan* was used for small-scale structures (e.g., railings, windows, and doors) that were easy to decorate with carvings rather than for pillars and crossbeams. Another record shows that in the Song Dynasty, railings, doors, and windows were beautifully carved using *jadan*.[77] During the Yuan Dy-

72 大唐六典 卷22, "少府軍器監," 每年二月二日, 進鏤牙尺及木畫紫檀尺.

73 王士性, 廣志繹, 姑蘇人聰慧好古, 亦善倣古法為之 … 蘇人以為雅者, 則四方隨而雅之, 俗者, 則隨而俗之, 其賞識品第本精, 故物莫能違. 又如齋頭清玩, 几案, 牀榻, 近皆以紫檀, 花梨為尚, 尚古樸不尚雕鏤, 即物有雕鏤, 亦皆商, 周, 秦, 漢之式, 海內僻遠皆效尤之, 此亦嘉, 隆, 萬三朝為 盛.

74 明實錄, "崇禎長編," 諭禮部. 邇來兵革頻仍. 災祲疊見. 內外大小臣工士庶等. 全無省惕. 奢侈相高. 僭越王章. 暴殄天物. 朕甚惡之. 向屢經嚴飭. 未見遵行. 崇儉去奢. 宜自朕始. 朕於冬至正旦壽節端陽中秋. 及遇諸大典. 陞殿行禮. 方許作樂. 其餘皆免. 至浣衣減膳. 已有諭旨. 今用銅錫木器. 以仿古風. 其金銀各器. 關係典禮者. 留用. 餘盡貯庫. 以備賞賚. 內外文武諸臣. 俱宜省約. 專力辦賊. 如有仍前奢靡宴樂. 淫比行私. 又拜謁餽遺. 官箴罔顧者. 許緝事衙門參來逮治. 其官紳擅用黃藍紬蓋. 士子擅用紅紫衣履. 併青絹蓋者. 庶民男女僭用錦繡紵綺. 及金玉珠翠衣飾者. 俱以違制論. 衣袖不許過一尺五寸. 器具不許用螺紫檀花梨等物. 及鑄造金銀盃盤. 在外撫按提學官大張榜示. 嚴加禁約. 違者參處. 娼優胥隸. 加等究治.

75 洪大容, 湛軒書 外集10卷, "燕記," 其花梨, 紫檀 … 只供貴家甃器而已.; 薊山紀程 第5卷, "附錄," 器用 … 花梨, 紫檀, 降眞, 沈香, 烏木等器. 多是貴家物.; 燕行錄選集, "燕行日記" 第6卷, 一家前列各搽奇玩 … 又有紫檀筆筒, 鐵如意, 靑花磁尊.

76 李德懋, 靑莊館全書 第66卷, "入燕記" 上, 以楠木紫檀花梨. 刻牧丹卍字.

77 江贄, 通鑑節要 卷33, "南北朝" 陳紀, 其牕牖, 壁帶懸楣, 欄檻皆以沈, 檀爲之 飾以金玉 間以珠翠 外施珠簾 內有寶牀寶帳 其服玩瑰麗 近古所未有.

nasty, Mapalaguk (馬八兒國) dedicated a *jadan* hall.[78] According to *Namchoncheolgyeongrok* (南村輟耕錄), the *jadan* hall dedicated by Mapalaguk, as recorded in Yuan History, was similar in scale to the Munsajeon (文思殿), [79] one of the main halls of a palace, and it can be inferred that the *jadan* hall dedicated by a foreign country was magnificent and large. *Jadan* was thus both a craft material and a building material for the upper class. From the fact that the imperial court classified *jadan* as a luxury item and restricted its use, it is believed to have served as a precious material in China.

In Buddhism, *jadan* was thought to be a desirable material for making a vajra. It was recorded that *jadan* was carved into lotus and Buddha statues.[80,81] According to *Bulseoldharanijipkyung* (佛說陁羅尼集經), a vajra could be made from red copper, white sandalwood, or date palm for prayer, but *jadan* was highly recommended.[82] The vajra is a weapon that Chakra employed when fighting Asura, and it is both a Buddhist instrument and a training tool. Despite occasional differences, Eojehwasan *yongjusabongbulgibokge* (御製花山龍珠寺奉佛祈福偈) introduces a vajra as follows: "A vajra is the hardest and sharpest plum-colored thing, as it is made by melting gold and tempering it countless times. It can even cut jade."[83] *Jadan* was used for the vajra due to its plum color and hardness. Additionally, it is believed to have been suitable for making a vajra, a sacred handheld object, due to its soft surface and mysterious scent.

78 In Datangxiyuj (大唐西域記), it is written as "珠利耶" (a transliteration of Chola), and during the Song Dynasty it was written as "注輦國" in the History of the Song, "諸蕃志," and "嶺外代答." It was also called "馬八二." It became powerful in the southern Indian region around the early 9th century, and in the History of the Song and Zhu Lian Zhen, it is said to be 580 km away from present-day India to the west. From the early Song Dynasty, it dispatched tribute corps to China, and it had grown into a major power in South India by the 13th century.

79 元史, 至元 24年(公元1287年), 使馬八兒國 … 又以私錢購紫檀木殿才並獻之; 南村輟耕錄, 紫檀殿大小和文思殿差不多 三間, 前後軒, 東西三十五尺, 深七十二尺.

80 大陁羅尼末法中一字心呪經 卷1, 若欲成就金剛杵法者, 以紫檀爲金剛杵一枚 … 若欲成就金剛杵者, 取好鋌鐵, 長十六指, 打作三稜上下各作三頭, 磨以紫檀, 用塗其上 … 若以紫檀刻爲蓮花, 滿十萬箇, 於大江河入至腰際, 一一呪之, 放其水中, 依檀花數, 卽得金藏 … 若欲得蓮花法成就者, 以紫檀木爲一蓮花, 三日勿食, 左手執花於像前坐 ….

81 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳, 昔如來在忉利天經夏爲母說法, 王思慕, 乃請目連將巧工升天觀佛尊顔容止, 還以紫檀雕刻以像眞容, 世尊下來時, 像迎佛, 卽此也.

82 佛說陁羅尼集經卷第八, 其金剛杵橫九指長, 若用赤銅, 若白檀作, 若棗木心, 隨一皆得, 其中紫檀最爲第一.

83 御製花山龍珠寺奉佛祈福偈, 七曰金剛, 梵語跋折羅, 謂出於金中, 色如紫英, 百鍊不消, 至堅至利 可以切玉, 世所稀有故爲寶.

Japan wanted to use *jadan* as a building material. Yugu sent an envoy to Joseon and asked for help from Joseon to secure the necessary materials to build a temple to remember the war dead. The envoy said to Joseon, “If you help us, we will send a ship to Namman and obtain *jadan* and Chinese quince. We will then use the wood as crossbeams to build a temple.” Records thus show that Japan recognized *jadan*’s potential as a building material. Japan also used it to make craft items, but no relevant documents or records are available; only relics exist.

〈Table 3〉 Types of *jadan* craft items documented in East Asian literature

Country	Literature	Estimated place of production	Types of craft products	Product name
Korea	*Samguksagi*	Shilla	Cane, table, cart, and saddle frame	
	Seungjeongwon ilgi	Ming	Book chest	Eunyang *jadan* seosang
	Seungjeongwon ilgi	Joseon	Fan	*jadan* Yanghwa keumsun
	Joleunyugo	Joseon	Dice	
	Imwonkyungjeji	Song/Ming	Fan, incense board, incense cases, ink stick case, and book case	
	Osanseolrimchogo	Joseon	Building material (floor)	
	Damheonseo, Gaesangijeong	Ming/Qing	Palace room, chair, table, and coffin	
	Yeonhangilgi	Ming/Qing	Pencil case	
	Chungjangkwan - Jeonseo	Ming/Qing	Railing sculpture	Temporary palace in Nansu
China	*Dangyukjeon*	Tang	Ruler	Mokhwa *jadan*cheok
	Tonggamjeolyo	Song	Building material (door, window, and railing)	
	Daedharanimalbeup-jungiljasimkyung	Song	Vajra, lotus sculpture	
	Daedangdaejaeunsa-samjangbeupsajeon	Song	Buddha statue	
	Bulseoldharani-jipkyung	Song	Vajra	
	Yuansa, Namchoncheol - gyeongrok	Yuan	Palace	*jadan* hall
	Gwangjiyeok	Ming	Table, bed	
	Mingsillok	Ming	Instrument	
Japan	*Joseonwanjosillok*	Yugu	Building material (crossbeam)	*Yugu jangjeon*

4. Applications of East Asian Red Sandalwood and Craft Production

4.1. Ceremonies and Medical Treatment

Jadan, with its pleasant scent, was used as incense and a medicinal herb. Citing *Hyangbo* written by Jeongkyu Seop, *Imwonkyungjeji* provides the following characteristics of *jadan* while specifying the method of storing it: “Yellow sandalwood has a strong and yellow bark; white sandalwood has a clean, white bark; and *jadan* has a rotten, plum-colored bark. These trees are all hard and have a heavy, clear scent, with that of white sandalwood being the best. Sandalwood must be stored sealed in paper to stop its scent from escaping.” [84]

Imported agarwood, classified as a Chinese medicinal herb, was used for ceremonies led by the king. Moreover, in the reign of King Jeongjo, it was customary to use *jadan* incense for ceremonies where the king was not present. The use of different types of incense for the same ceremonies depending on the presiding party shows the hierarchy of incense. *Jadan* incense was of a lower rank than agarwood incense. One record indicates that *jadan* flourished in Gangwon-do, and geography books classify *jadan* as an incense/medicinal herb that was native to the Korean Peninsula. This species of *jadan* was different from that of Chinese *jadan* that was used to make craft items. Although *jadan* incense did not enjoy the same status as agarwood incense, it was adopted as ceremonial incense due to its relatively stable supply.

In ceremonies, incense can be burned or decocted. It is believed that when incense was burned, chopped incense was used. The incense case used by the Joseon royal family was short and round, making it suitable for round-shaped and chopped incense (Figure 3).[85] As making *jadan* into round-shaped incense required multiple processes, chopped incense was used for convenience given the single ingredient (not combined incense).

84 徐有榘, 林園經濟志, “怡雲志,” 檀香. 葉氏《香譜》云:“皮實而色黃者爲黃檀, 皮潔而色白者爲白檀, 皮腐而色紫者爲紫檀. 其木竝堅重清香, 而白檀尤良. 宜以紙封收則不泄氣.” [See the book written by Pungseok Cultural Foundation, p. 358.]

85 Source: National Palace Museum of Korea (https://www.gogung.go.kr/gogung/pgm/psgudMng/view.do?psgudSn=397895&menuNo=800065&gubunCd=&pageIndex=1&searchClCd=&searchCondition=&searchKeyword=%ED%96%A5%ED%95%A9).

Figure 3. Incense case(香盒香盒), Joseon dynasty, National Palace Museum of Korea

According to *Jeungjeonggyorinji*, in which Geonseo Kim (金健瑞) analyzed Joseon–Japan relations during the reign of King Jeongjo, a list of gifts in the 10th year of King Hyojong's reign (1659) included 50 sticks of buyong incense, 100 candles (畫燭), 10 rolls of silk, 2 lumps (塊) of *jadan* incense, and 1 pair of candles with dragon pictures.[86] The quantity of *Buyong* incense was recorded in sticks, while *jadan* incense was recorded in lumps. It is assumed that *jadan* incense was stored as lumps of wood that had not been properly shaped or chopped, meaning that *jadan* incense was cut into pieces whenever needed.

Another unit of measure of *jadan* incense was the *nip* (立). An entry in *Ilseongnok* for the 21st year of King Jeongjo's reign (1797) states that Gwandong ordered Ulleungdo to send about 10 *nip* of *jadan* incense along with a relevant document.[87] A *nip* was a unit representing the volume of wood, whose shape thus varied depending on thickness or width, and it might have referred to a quantity of wood that was not specially processed. Therefore, ceremonial *jadan* incense was probably prepared in the form of wood pieces.

86 正交隣志 卷6, The 10th year of King Hyojong (1659), 芙蓉香五十柄. 畫燭一百柄. 花絲紬十疋. 紫檀香二塊. 畫龍大燭一雙.

87 日省錄 18th July, 21st year of King Jeongjo (1797), 此後十立內外具狀啓上送事令廟堂行會

To wash ancestral tablets, *yeongneunghyang* (*Lysimachia foenumgraecum Hance*) and *jadan* incense were used. These types of incense were offered from Naeuiwon. It was recorded that as *yeongneunghyang* was a Chinese medicinal herb and was in short supply, *jadan* had replaced it.[88] *Jadan*, classified as an incense/medicinal herb, was native to the Korean Peninsula and was readily available. This was the primary reason that it was adopted as ceremonial incense in Joseon's Confucian society, which prioritized ceremonies and rituals.

In addition to its use as ceremonial incense, *jadan* was used to treat wounds and prevent diseases. For example, *jadan* was used as a medicinal herb in the treatment of cuts caused by metal objects. There were two ways of treating cuts caused by such objects with *jadan*. The first method was to grind *jadan* and apply its powder to the affected lesions. The second method was to take *jadan* powder with water. Despite their differences, both methods used *jadan* powder. Another medical use of *jadan* can be found in the treatment of abdominal pain and the prevention of toothache. *Gugeopganibangeunhae* (救急簡易方諺解) suggests taking a *jadan* decoction for abdominal pain. Inserting a piece of *jadan* wood into a sangtu was also suggested to prevent toothache.

4.2. Craft Production and Techniques

Jadan was used as a craft material thanks to its plum color, straight grain, and unique scent. Craft items made of *jadan* range from objects that showcase *jadan*'s color and grain to those inlaid with rare materials or those with delicate carvings. In particular, *jadan* was the main material for crafts such as *Mokhwagibeop*(木畫技法) and *Mokjinajeon* (木地螺鈿), which leveraged the color and hardness of the wood. Examples of *jadan* craft production and decoration techniques are found in relics and relevant literature.

Mokhwagibeop was a representative *jadan*-based decoration achieved by carving grooves into a wood base and inlaying differently colored wood or rare materials such as mother-of-pearl and ivory. The types of wood used for this decoration were limited to

88 宗廟修理都監儀軌, 14th April, 14th year of King Injo (1636), 宗廟修理都監 啓曰, 今此 列聖神位奉安時, 當用零陵紫檀, 香湯浴洗, 而以謄 錄考之, 則 練主一位, 沐浴所用兩香各伍兩, 自內醫院進排, 乃 是規例, 而今則內局藥物所存不多, 勢難, 依謄 錄所用, 零陵香貳斤·紫檀香貳斤,當初已爲進 排, 而 廟社主肅寧殿四十五 位, 浴湯所入, 太半不足, 零陵香則唐材乏絶, 尤似難 得, 紫檀香亦爲從略磨鍊, 令內醫院, 加伍斤, 進 排, 何如? 傳曰, 依啓.

those with beautiful patterns and distinct colors, such as black sandalwood, *jadan*, and *hwanghwamok* (黃樺木). Unlike common wood, which takes on colors ranging from yellow to brown, *jadan* wood is plum, making it an ideal decoration material. With its physical property of hardness, *jadan* was used as a base that could be decorated with inlays of other materials. As the materials used for *Mokhwagibeop* included rare species of wood, including *jadan*, and gems, craft items with *Mokhwagibeop* commanded high prices.

Figure 4. <木画経箱>, Nara period, 8th century, Tokyo National Museum, Source: ColBase (https://colbase.nich.go.jp/collection_items/tnm/N-71?locale=ja).

"*Mokhwajadancheok*," recorded in *Daedangyukljeon*, was a gift for the emperor. A ruler, it served as a symbolic ritual item. Although *Mokhwajadancheok* no longer exist, an ivory ruler is housed in Jeongchangwon (正倉院) in Japan. Jeongchangwon also houses an example of *Mokhwagibeop* applied to a narrow and thin object. The "*Jadan Geumjeonbyeong Censer*" (紫檀金鈿柄香炉 第５号) has an exterior and handle made of *jadan* and is decorated with metal and gem inlays. Black sandalwood, *jadan*, and boxwood were used as decoration materials for the hand of "Seogakyeoui" (犀角如意 第５号). These crafts confirm that *Mokhwa* decorations were applied to precious items regardless of the size of the area to be decorated, and *jadan* was used for these decorations. Similar techniques can be found in small items, such as checkerboards, game boards, and chests (Figure 4).[89]

89 Source: ColBase (https://colbase.nich.go.jp/collection_items/tnm/N-71?locale=ja).

To carve patterns on the *jadan* base, gold thread, ivory, deer antler, boxwood, and black sandalwood were used as materials. These patterns ranged from consistent ones created through wood color arrangement to picture-like ones using gold thread, mother-of-pearl, and ivory. A *jadan* base could be decorated with mother-of-pearl and turtle shell inlays through *Mokjinajeon*, a decoration technique that involves inlaying mother-of-pearl on a solid wooden base. This technique is believed to have derived from *Mokhwagibeop* and is considered an earlier form of *Chiljinajeon* (漆地螺鈿). The musical instruments—*bipa* (琵琶) and *geum* (琴)—housed in Jeongchanwon have backs made of *jadan* and decorated with turtle shell and mother-of-pearl. Representative works include *Najeonjadanbipa* (螺鈿紫檀琵琶) and *Najeonjadanwanham* (螺鈿紫檀阮咸).

Figure 5. <清紫檀雕云龙纹大方角柜>, Qing dynasty, Shanghai Museum, Photographed by the researcher.

Jadan was used as a material for the bipa and geum because the wood is solid and thus suitable for making the best musical instruments in terms of durability, sound, and appearance. The *Akhak gwebeom* (樂學軌範) mentioned types of wood similar to *jadan* as bipa materials. Explaining how to make a Tang-bipa, the *Akhak gwebeom* cited Chinese quince as the best material for the backboard but added that any solid and bright wood would do.[90] Chinese quince was also mentioned as a material for *Haeg-*

90 Translated by Haegu Lee, New translation Akhak gwebeom(新譯 樂學軌範), National Gugak Center, 2000, p.429.

uem.[91] Chinese quince and *jadan* are sometimes considered different trees, but Chinese quince is a type of *jadan* and is a beautiful, brilliantly colored wood. *Bonchogangmok* explains that Chinese quince, with its hardness and magenta color, is similar to *jadan*.[92] As Joseon defined *jadan* as a solid reddish wood that was domestically available, it appears that *jadan*, used to make the Tang-bipa, was recognized as Chinese quince during the Joseon Dynasty, or the other way around. Furthermore, *jadan* was used to decorate the end of the geum or to make string brackets, and some of these products are housed in Jeongchangwon and Tokyo National Museum.

Jadan was used to make crafts mainly in China, and it came from Southeast Asia. *Jadan* has a high wood density, so it is hard and its grain is straight. This type of wood is suitable for detailed carvings, as it hardly suffers fiber breakage. Red sandalwood is ideal for making furniture, as it prevents warping and ensures durability. During the Ming and Qing periods, *jadan* was used for wood carving and made into sculptures, pencil cases, and furniture. Although it is difficult to find finished products in Korea, Yuan's *jadan* and auxiliary materials excavated off the coast of Shinan, Korea, indicate that *jadan* was carved and used for furniture making in Korea during the Yuan Dynasty. For large-sized sculptures or furniture, multiple *jadan* plates were connected to make a single craft item (Figure 5).

According to *Damheonseo* and *Gaesangijeong*, *jadan* was used to make chairs, tables, and coffins for the nobility, including the royal family, in the Qing Dynasty.[93] These two documents only mention the types of wood used for furniture with no information on the shapes or decorations of craft products. However, significant sets of *jadan* furniture have survived, along with magnificent carvings. *Jadan* pencil cases are cylindrical with ornate carvings or mother-of-pearl and jade inlays. As these craft items were not easily accessible due to their magnificent sculptures and jewelry decorations, they are hardly m-

91 See the book translated by Haegu Lee, p. 432.

92 李時珍, 本草綱目 卷35, "櫚木" 藏器曰：出安南及南海. 用作床几, 似紫檀而色赤, 性堅好. 時珍曰：木性堅, 紫紅色. 亦有花紋者, 謂之花櫚木, 可作器皿 · 扇骨諸物. 俗作花梨, 誤矣.

93 洪大容, 湛軒書, "燕記." 石門以西. 松杉絶罕. 惟廟堂. 時有一二株而已. 以此凡宮室, 椅卓, 棺槨諸具. 別有良材. 非椵非楸. 細理堅韌. 非松杉可比也. 其花梨, 紫檀, 降眞, 烏木, 沉香之屬, 出自南徼外. 只供貴家翫器而已.; 薊山紀程 宮室椅卓棺槨之材. 非椵非楸. 細理堅韌. 非松杉之比. 花梨, 紫檀, 降眞, 沈香, 烏木等器. 多是貴家物.

entioned in the literature (Figure 6).[94] In addition to pencil cases, water bowls, cups, vases, and dishes with external carvings are extant, and delicate and realistic carvings can be found even on small-sized objects (Figure 7).[95]

Figure 6.
<紫檀木镂雕会昌九老图笔筒>, Ming dynasty, Beijing National Palace Museum, Source:https://intl.dpm.org.cn/Carvings:/id$/51439.html)

Figure 7.
<浮雕螭纹嵌银丝回纹紫檀扁瓶>, Ming dynasty, Shanghai Museum, Source: (https://www.shanghaimuseum.net/mu/frontend/pg/article/id/CI00019855)

Jadan, which grows in tropical regions, is known to be so dense that it sinks in water. Leveraging *jadan*'s weight and decorative potential, people used it to make *chukdus* (軸頭, scroll rod heads), which is visible even when the scroll is rolled up. Highly decorative and valuable materials, such as metal and jade, were used to make *chukdus*, and *jadan* was chosen as the wooden material.[96] It was also used to separate documents based on the color of the *chuk* (scroll rod). According to *Daedangyukjeon*, each warehouse had different *chuks*. For example, a warehouse called Jago (子庫) differentiated documents using the different materials employed for the *chuk*, such as carved *jadan chuk* (雕紫檀軸), plum-colored belt (紫帶), and dyed ivory (碧牙籤).[97] Japan used *jadan* for the *chukdus* of scriptures. *Jadan* can be seen in the *Jachigeumja Avatamsaka Sutra* (紫紙金字華厳経) and *Adosewang Sutra* (阿闍世王経) housed in Nara National Museum.

94 Source: Beijing National Palace Museum (https://intl.dpm.org.cn/Carvings:/id$/51439.html).
95 Source: Shanghai Museum (https://www.shanghaimuseum.net/mu/frontend/pg/article/id/CI00019855).
96 See the paper written by Yeonhee Jang, pp. 53-68.
97 唐六典 卷9, "中書省," 集賢殿書院 … 其經庫書鈿白牙, 黃帶, 紅牙簽, 史庫書鈿青牙軸, 縹帶, 綠牙簽, 子庫書雕紫檀軸, 紫帶, 碧牙簽, 集庫書綠牙軸, 朱帶, 白牙簽, 以為分別.

Jadan has a straight grain and its surface feels soft. With its smooth surface and hardness, *jadan* is suitable for making handheld objects. A ruyi (如意) is a religious item that conveys the dignity of a monk. A monk preaching a sermon used it to record his writings for future reference or to scratch his back. As a ruyi is held for a long time, it is ideally made of materials that are insensitive to touch and temperature. As it is an item that expresses the user's dignity, rare materials were probably used. *Jadan* is insensitive to changes in temperature, and it has a smooth and soft surface. Additionally, it is highly valued due to its rarity. As mentioned above, *jadan* was used as a material for *Mokhwa*. Additionally, the fact that there were some ruyis with gems, such as jade inlaid on a *jadan* base, implies that *jadan* was perceived as a rare material(Figure 8).[98]

Figure 8. <紫檀嵌玉如意>, Qing dynasty, 19th century, Asian Art Museum, Source: (https://searchcollection.asianart.org/objects/3649/wishgranting-wand)

Jadan was also used to make fan handles. *Imwonkyungjeji* quoted *Junsaengpaljeon*, stating that an excellent handle made of *jadan* completes the beauty of a round fan. It also explains that fans with handles made of *jadan* or windmill palm, highly decorative materials with unique colors and patterns, are preferred.[99] Additionally, its scent makes *jadan* an ideal material for craft products that generate wind, such as fans. Unfortunately, it is difficult to find round fans with *jadan* handles. However, a fan named

98 Source: Asian Art Museum (https://searchcollection.asianart.org/objects/3649/wishgranting-wand).

99 徐有榘, 林園經濟志, "怡雲志," 團扇, 紙糊如此式樣亦佳, 但得竹根, 紫檀妙柄為美. 舊有鵝毛扇,卽羽扇也, 製度精緻.《遵生八牋》 近來華造棕葉扇, 竹蔑飾邊, 紫檀或棕櫚為柄者佳. 東造竹骨紙糊, 作梧葉樣髹漆者, 亦足充用.《金華耕讀記》

"李文田题识沉香木雕镶嵌芝兰图团扇," which is decorated with aromatic wood, is housed in Shanghai Museum (Figure 9).[100] Along with *jadan*, agarwood was used for *Mokhwagibeop* due to its hardness and color. Agarwood is also an aromatic wood and is known to have an excellent deodorization effect. Nobles thus used it to eliminate bad odors and allowed the fragrance to permeate their body to create a mysterious atmosphere. Users of scented objects also wanted to savor the fragrance of these objects. Considering this, agarwood and *jadan* were probably used as fan materials to provide the beneficial effects of their subtle scent.

Figure 9.<李文田题识沉香木雕镶嵌芝兰图团扇>, Qing dynasty, Shanghai Museum, Source: Shanghai Museum(https://www.shanghaimuseum.net/mu/frontend/pg/article/id/CI00019783)

Most of the crafts discussed above are from China and Japan. In Korea, specific records of craft items made of *jadan* are scarce, except for the restrictions on the use of *jadan* documented in *Samguksagi*. This is possibly due to country-specific interpretations of *jadan*'s characteristics and value.

5. Preferences for East Asian Red Sandalwood

Although Korea, China, and Japan all used the same name, "*jadan,*" their words referred to different tree species. The tree recognized as *jadan* in Joseon and Japan was a present-day reddish juniper belonging to the *Cupressaceae* family. By contrast, China preferred the *jadan* of the legume family that grows in subtropical climates, and they imported it to make craft products, many of which survive today. In Joseon, *jadan* was mainly used as ceremonial incense, while it was perceived as a craft material in China. Let us thus examine the overall significance of *jadan* in East Asia as well as its country-specific uses.

100 Source: Shanghai Museum (https://www.shanghaimuseum.net/mu/frontend/pg/article/id/CI00019783).

An entry in *Joseonwangjosillok* dated the 3rd year of King Danjong's reign (1455) provides a rough estimate of the amount of *jadan* used by the royal family annually.[101] "Jeyonggam (濟用監, the institution responsible for the food and clothing at the palace) has a stockpile of 1,370 kg of *jadan* incense. Given that the court's annual use of *jadan* is 307 kg, the amount of *jadan* stored at Jeyonggam can cover four years. Therefore, it is requested that offerings from Gangwon-do be suspended for the next three years to relieve the burden on the commoners." The Joseon royal family thus used a large amount of *jadan*, approximately 300 kg per year. Additionally, the fact that Jeyonggam had 1,370 kg of *jadan* in stock, 4 years' worth, indicates a large supply of *jadan*. The Joseon royal family needed a large amount of incense due to its many ceremonies and rituals. Thus, it was natural for the royal family to select *jadan* as its ceremonial incense due to its stable supply. It is possible that this led to the hierarchy of agarwood incense and *jadan* incense depending on who presided over rituals.

As noted previously, in China, *jadan* was the name of a tree in the legume family that grew in subtropical climates and was used as a craft material; there were few cases where *jadan* was used as ceremonial incense in China. This might reflect the perception that *jadan* was too valuable to be burned or a preference for agarwood incense over *jadan* incense. Agarwood was favored as ceremonial incense and was rarely used as a craft material, unlike *jadan*.

Jadan not only has the aesthetic characteristics of a pleasant scent and plum color but also has the practical aspects of durability, hardness, and high density. Nevertheless, preferences for *jadan* varied depending on the era and country. It is believed that preferences were dictated by trends in terms of *jadan*'s rarity and value. In Korea, there are no craft pieces made of *jadan* available today. However, as noted previously, a record implying the use of *jadan* as a craft material can be found in *Samguksagi*. Shilla strictly restricted the use of *jadan*. For example, certain ranks in the bone rank system were not allowed to use *jadan* for their carts, tables, and saddle frames. In particular, even True Bones were not allowed to use *jadan* for their carts. However, women belonging to the True Bone rank were allowed to use *jadan* for their saddle frames. While it is difficult to pinpoint the species of *jadan* used in the Silla per-

101 端宗實錄 卷13, 8th March, 3rd year of King Danjong (1455), 議政府據戶曹呈啓: 今考濟用監所儲紫丹香, 二千二百八十六斤, 國家一年所用不過五百十二斤, 則今其所儲, 足以供四年之用. 請限三年, 令江原道勿上納, 以除民弊. 從之.

iod, given that *jadan* was used as a craft material and the use of *jadan* by nobles in the True Bone rank was restricted, it is believed that the *jadan* used in Shilla was an imported tree whose species was similar to that of China at the time. The fact that *jadan*-related restrictions governed rank-specific uses and types of crafts implies the active trade of *jadan* in the form of imports from the Tang Empire. Additionally, Shilla might have possessed the technology through which various craft items were created out of *jadan*.

It is presumed that *Mokhwajadangiguk* (木畫紫檀棋局) housed in Jeongchangwon was from Baekje based on the type of wood used and the records of *Gukgajinbojang* (國家珍寶帳). *Mokhwajadangiguk* showcases an exceptional level of *Mokhwagibeop*, indicating that *jadan* was used in the Korean Peninsula to create high-quality *Mokhwa* crafts. As restricted materials like *jadan* recorded in *Samguksagi* were connected to *Mokhwagibeop*, *jadan* was likely used to make*Mokhwa* crafts during the Shilla Dynasty.

Citing Chinese works, *Imwonkyungjeji*, written in the Joseon Dynasty, refers to *jadan* crafts. The frequent appearance of *jadan* crafts suggests that there was a widespread positive perception of craft production using *jadan* in Joseon. Moreover, the authors of *Yeonhangilgi* stated that they had seen strange objects in China, such as *jadan* pencil cases and iron whips, confirming that *jadan*-based crafts were highly valued. Joseon perceived *jadan* as a quality material, but there were few cases where *jadan* was used to make crafts. Let us recall the record in *Osanseollimchogo* (五山說林草藁) that individuals who used *jadan* as a building material were punished during the reign of King Seongjong, even the king's father-in-law, who was severely criticized for flooring his house with *jadan*, as it was considered extravagant to build a house with expensive materials. As shown in the above examples, Joseon tried to avoid using imported high-quality materials for crafts and construction. During the Joseon Dynasty, *jadan* was essential to the royal family as ceremonial incense. However, it was not readily available, and therefore, it was not widely used in crafts.

By contrast, China's strong preference for the material is attested by the active pursuit of *jadan*-related crafts. As the *jadan* used in China was not native to East Asia, China had to rely on imports, and its rarity led to high demand and high prices. Accordingly, pieces made of *jadan* established themselves as symbols of high culture.

The earliest Chinese *jadan* crafts trace back to the 8th century. With its decorative properties, *jadan* was chosen as a material for *Mokhwagibeop*, which highlights colors vividly. In recognition of its durability, *jadan* was also used as a base material for *Mokjinajeon*. Moreover, *jadan* served as a key material for musical instruments and gameboards that were subject to constant impact. During the Ming and Qing periods, *jadan* was used to make large sets of furniture and various small items. Although *jadan*'s uses as a craft material gradually changed over time, preferences for *jadan* persisted and craft production continued. As an expensive material, *jadan* functioned as a means to showcase one's wealth. Reflecting this, extravagance prevailed in the Ming Dynasty. To address this problem, Emperor Soongjeong banned the use of *jadan*. Nevertheless, it continued to be favored due to its outstanding properties and high value as a material. *Jadan* was even used to make forks and watches, which were introduced to China from the West in the modern era.

Although not as widely as in China, many craft products using *jadan* were produced in Japan during the Nara and Edo periods. *Jadan*-based crafts were decorated with gold leaf, gold dust, and mother-of-pearl, thus being used in craft items that conveyed wealth and authority. Apparently, Japan used imported *jadans*, rather than that offered as tribute, in crafts. In the Nara period, Japan imported foreign goods and cultures through its trade with Silla and Tang. In this context, Japan's use of *jadan* was heavily affected by the Tang dynasty of China. During the Edo period, Japan imported products from China and Southeast Asia through Nagasaki Port. Yellow sandalwood, known as Japanese *jadan*, thrives in subtropical climates, and it is believed to have originated in Laos and Vietnam. Imported *jadan* was preferred over native sandalwood for craft items due to its rarity and high value.

Juniper was called *jadan* in Joseon for two reasons. First, although people were aware of the existence of *jadan*, they had never seen one and they mistook juniper trees for *jadan*, which was characterized by its reddish color and scent. Junipers are notable for their rare reddish-colored wood, and they have a scent like *jadan*. Given the similar characteristics of juniper and *jadan*, the lack of knowledge of foreign cultures and products led to the misnomer.

The second reason is related to the cultural meaning of the name "*jadan*." *Jadan* crafts were perceived as symbols of high culture. The very name "*jadan*" meaning "plum-colored (*ja*, 紫) sandalwood (*dan*, 檀)" indicates a plum-colored wood. However, while a cross-section of juniper wood is not as plum-colored as that of *jadan*, the name was still used for it. Since ancient times, plum or red had been recognized as a color representing noble status. The nobility and status accorded to the plum color continued to prevail during the Joseon Dynasty, where deep red was mainly used to symbolize the highest status. However, plum is a rare color that was not readily found in nature, which limited its use in conjunction with legal and social restrictions. The nobility attributed to the color plum was highlighted by its application to small areas, such as a jacket collar or coat string, which also played a role in enhancing aesthetic value.

The fact that the people of Joseon called juniper, which differed from the *jadan* that grew in tropical regions, "*jadan*" is due to the common characteristics of *jadan* and juniper, the strong demand for *jadan* as a high-quality wood, and the cultural meaning of the color plum. The demand for wood that was not native to the Korean Peninsula or readily available through trade might have led people to apply the cultural meaning of *jadan* to other similar types of wood.

Unlike China and Japan, which preferred *jadan* for crafts, Korea selectively used *jadan* depending on the situation and the rank system of the given period, resulting in few relevant relics. Rather than saying that *jadan* was not used as a craft material in Korea, it would be more reasonable to say that *jadan*-related confusion led to the lack of such relics. In the past, tree species were determined by observing the characteristics of the wood. However, it is now possible to identify the type of wood through species analysis. Scientific research is required to understand and ascertain the materials used in traditional societies. Identifying the exact species of the tree recognized as *jadan* in Joseon through scientific analysis will cast light on its details. Although no such results have as yet been reported, species analysis may uncover *jadan*-based crafts in Korea similar to those that were popular in China and Japan. Further research and expanded applications of species analysis are expected to successfully elucidate the uses of *jadan* in Korea.

6. Conclusions

Jadan is an evergreen deciduous tree found in Southern India, Sri Lanka, and Indonesia. Its wood has a plum color and a pleasant scent. In China, the wood of leguminous trees that grew in subtropical climates was called *jadan*, while juniper trees of the *Cupressaceae* family were recognized as *jadan* in Korea and Japan. It is unknown and perhaps unknowable when people began to confuse *jadan* with juniper. With the development of documental archaeological research in the late 18th century during the Joseon Dynasty, many scholars attempted to clearly define *jadan*. Definitions and explanations of *jadan* can be found in Deokmoo Lee's *Chungjangkwanjeonseon*, Yugu Seo's *Imwonkyungjeji*, and Kyukyung Lee's *Ojuyeonmunjangeonsango*. The tree called "*jadan*" in Joseon was mainly the juniper tree of the *Cupressaceae* family.

There are two reasons why juniper was recognized as *jadan*. First, people may have mistaken juniper for *jadan* due to their similar scent and color. Another reason is related to the fact that *jadan*, as a high-quality material, served as a symbol of high status and wealth. As *jadan* was not native to the Korean Peninsula, it was perceived as a highly precious material, from which the name "*jadan*" was further applied to junipers.

The juniper trees of the *Cupressaceae* family recognized as *jadan* in Korea were used for ceremonial incense and medicinal herbs. Agarwood incense was used for ceremonies and rituals led by the king, while *jadan* incense was used for those led by his proxies. Unlike imported agarwood incense, *jadan* incense, which could be obtained naturally on the Korean Peninsula, was readily available and was thus suitable to meet the incense demand of the Joseon royal family and was highly favored as ceremonial incense. Additionally, *jadan* was effective in treating cuts caused by metal objects and abdominal pain and in preventing toothache. For the treatment of cuts caused by such objects, *jadan* powder was applied to the affected lesions or taken with water. According to the records, a prescription for abdominal pain was to take a *jadan* decoction. To prevent toothache, inserting *jadan* into a *sangtu* was suggested. The records even contain personal accounts of using *jadan* to successfully treat cuts caused by metal objects, confirming its effectiveness in treating such cuts during the Joseon Dynasty.

In China, *jadan* was mainly used to make crafts, and there were few cases in which *jadan* was used as ceremonial incense. By contrast, agarwood, which was preferred as ceremonial incense, was hardly used as a craft material. Thus, China chose *jadan* as a craft material, leveraging its color, hardness, scent, and high weight. A variety of craft relics can be found, ranging from everyday items such as furniture, musical instruments, chests, and pencil cases to religious items such as ruyis. *Jadan* was also used as a decoration material. Furthermore, there were many cases in which *jadan* was decorated with *Mokhwagibeop. Mokhwa* crafts using *jadan* were rare items used by the imperial family.

Korea, China, and Japan perceived *jadan* (i.e., plum-colored sandalwood-juniper) differently. Although these countries referred to different species of *jadan*, they shared certain characteristics; they were redder than common trees and had a pleasant scent. In addition to their different perceptions, these countries used *jadan* in different ways, tailoring the uses to their specific circumstances, such as the procurement of *jadan* (domestic supply vs. import). Unlike China and Japan, there are few items extant in Korea that confirm the popularity of *jadan* crafts in antiquity. However, it is important to note that different perceptions and definitions of *jadan* were applied to reflect the requirements of the specific era and region. Further research and expanded applications of species analysis for craft relics will help us attain keener insights into the past uses of *jadan*. This survey is significant in that it explored the various tree species that different countries called "*jadan*" and its country-specific uses, laying a solid foundation for future studies.

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8『承政院日記』
9『五山說林草藁』
10『五洲衍文長箋散稿』
11『日省錄』
12『醫方合編(意方合部)』
13『朝鮮王朝實錄』
14『拙隱遺稿』
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16『增補單方新編』
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26『本草拾遺』
27『本草精華』
28『宋史』
29『元史』
30『新修本草』
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A Study on the International Heritage Curriculum for the Development of Sustainable Educational Contents of Traditional Materials and Technological Methods in Asia-Pacific

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Abstract

This study aims to develop a foundational framework for a UNESCO Chair non-degree certificate course in cultural heritage at the Korea National University of Heritage (KNUH). The research draws on an analysis of existing programs offered by UNESCO Chairs, international cultural heritage education initiatives, major educational institutions, and open educational resources. The study defines key concepts of cultural heritage education, training, and capacity building. Ultimately, the outcome aims to create a curriculum that addresses the evolving needs of cultural heritage professionals internationally. The proposed course targets foreign executives, international organization leaders, and others interested in Korean culture and heritage. The research indicates a lack of existing executive-level heritage educational programs. Findings suggest a blended online/offline model with benefits such as certificates and the potential for alumni association membership could enhance program appeal.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background and Objectives of the Study

1.1.1. Background

UNESCO and Korea National University of Heritage (KNUH) signed the UNESCO Chair Program Agreement in March 2017 with the theme of "Capacity Building for Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Heritage in Asia and the Pacific." The agreement aims to promote an integrated system of research, training, information, and documentation for capacity building in the conservation and restoration of cultural heritage. It also specifies the organization of international training workshops on traditional materials and techniques used in cultural heritage conservation and restoration in the Asia-Pacific region as one of its specific objectives.[1]

In 2021, KNUH UNESCO Chair submitted a report to UNESCO Headquarters summarizing the achievements of the past four years and proposed a plan to develop and offer UNESCO Chair-certified cultural heritage education courses as part of its activities during the renewal period.[2]

Accordingly, the International Cultural Heritage Education Center of KNUH has set internal goals and is working on developing UNESCO Chair-certified cultural heritage education courses between March 2021 and December 2024, the renewal period of the UNESCO Chair.

1.1.2. Purpose of the Study

As mentioned previously, the purpose of this research is to provide foundational data for developing a non-degree certificate course curriculum for the UNESCO Chair at Korea University of Traditional Culture. The non-degree certificate course is scheduled to open in March 2024. To this end, the following programs will be analyzed: Curriculum of the UNESCO Chairs Programme; International Cultural Heritage Education Programs; Programs of International Cultural Heritage Major Education Insti-

1 Agreement concerning the establishment of a UNESCO Chair on Capacity-Building for the Preservation and Restoration of the Aisa-Pacific Cultural Heritage, Republic of Korea(2017.03.)

2 KNUCH, The UNESCO Chair Work plan for the renewal period, 2021

tutions; Exchange and Cooperation between Cultural Heritage Educational Institutions; Existing Open Educational Programs.

Based on the definition and concept of cultural heritage education, training, and capacity building, the basic research will analyze the characteristics, roles, and necessity of each educational institution and program. The current status analysis will examine educational institutions, target groups, principles, and objectives of the programs. The case study will derive specific program examples and conduct an analysis of the educational system based on the basic model of the curriculum.

Ultimately, this research aims to draw out implications for cultural heritage education, training, and capacity building.

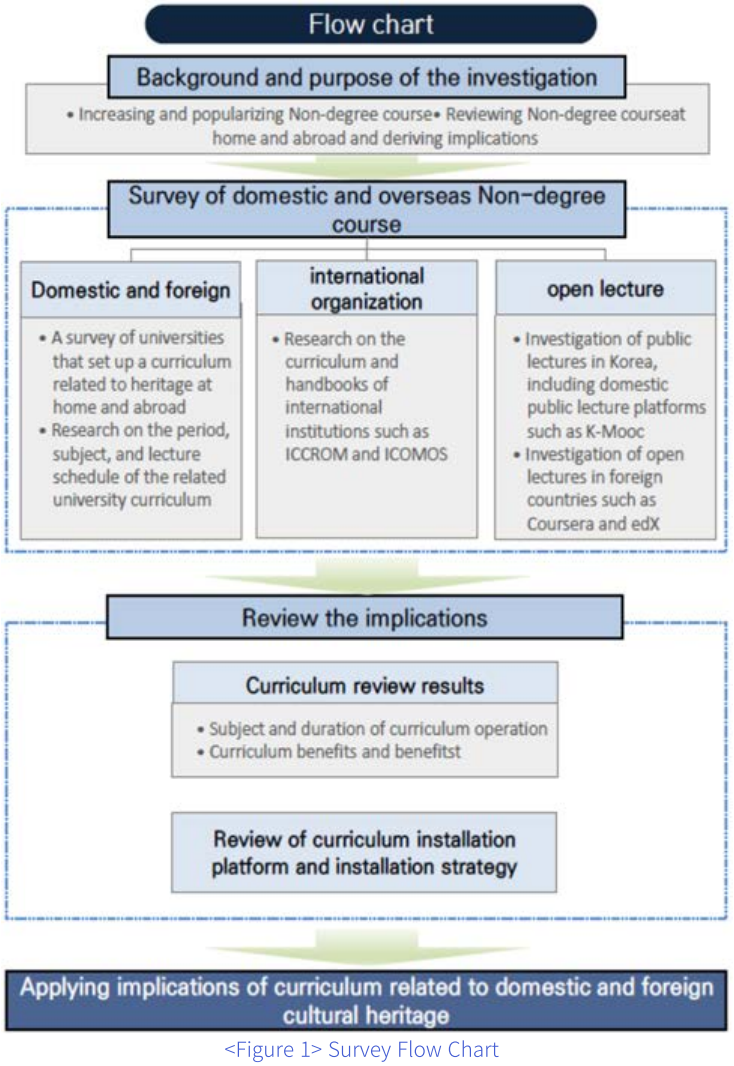
1.2. Scope and Methodology of the Study

1.2.1. Overview of the Study

Cultural heritage education at the university level refers to the provision of comprehensive theoretical and philosophical knowledge, as well as ethical responsibilities related to cultural heritage. Education consists of three components: the subject of education (educator), the object of education (learner), and the medium of education (educational content). The subject of education refers to professors, instructors, and educators, while the object of education refers to students, learners, and trainees. The medium of education refers to textbooks, educational content, and curriculum that serve as the subject of education. The goal of cultural heritage education programs is to foster critical analysis and discussion of heritage based on research, provide opportunities for extensive reading on heritage, and encourage participation in discussions to develop core competencies as professional cultural heritage practitioners through thesis writing.

Cultural heritage training refers to training conducted by specialized institutions, government agencies, and other relevant organizations. It usually focuses on specific topics, has a short program duration, and aims to meet the needs of specific stakeholders. Cultural heritage training programs adopt various educational methods as

they rely heavily on factors such as the availability of trainers and trainees, location, duration, cost, resources, manpower, and venues for field practice. The World Heritage Committee adopted its first global training strategy in 2001, and the training targets cultural heritage practitioners and covers various aspects of world heritage in combination with the traditional ICCROM training program.



<Figure 1> Survey Flow Chart

The certification program for the UNESCO Chair at KNUH is designed for foreign executives and employees of foreign companies interested in Korean culture and cultural heritage, as well as international organization leaders interested in Korean culture and cultural heritage. The program is expected to have a participation of around 30 people and will be planned and conducted within a total period of 22 weeks (approximately 7 months).

1.2.2. Scope and Target of the Study

This study focuses on non-degree executive courses related to cultural heritage. However, since the target has two attributes, namely "cultural heritage education program" and "non-degree executive program," both cases that satisfy both or one of these attributes will be investigated. Specifically, cases of non-degree programs established in universities or university-affiliated educational institutions will be investigated, and those with cultural heritage-related programs will be reviewed.

In addition, if there are educational programs conducted by international heritage organizations such as ICOMOS, ICCROM, or UNESCO Chairs, these will also be included in the scope of the study. In fact, ICOMOS and ICCROM provide educational programs and toolkits for cultural heritage professionals, and the relevant methods are publicly available, making them easy to investigate.

Another important area of investigation is the open lecture platform. Since COVID-19, universities have increasingly used online platforms to provide educational services, especially open lectures through platforms such as Coursera and K-MOOC. In other countries, open lectures from universities that have agreements with MOOC, such as Coursera, are offered to countries around the world, and in Korea, government-led platforms such as K-MOOC offer similar services. Since each open lecture platform provides its curriculum online, it can be said that it is a very accessible research target in this study, which excludes field research methods. In addition, the research results will be verified by taking courses on the actual open lecture platform.

2. Definition and Types of Non-Degree Programs

2.1. Overview of Non-Degree Programs

Non-degree programs refer to educational programs offered by universities or institutions that do not confer degrees. They are distinct from one-off educational events such as special lectures and are instead structured courses with a set duration, such as open lectures and training programs. Non-degree programs are established with the aim of providing educational opportunities to anyone regardless of their academic background. They are open to the public and do not award degrees, but instead provide certificates of completion or, in some cases, qualifications.

Non-degree programs generally grant participants access to educational resources such as the library of the institution where the program is offered, and often confer most of the rights enjoyed by full-time members of the institution. In addition, many programs offer participants benefits upon completion, such as certificates of completion or, in some cases, qualifications, upon completion of a set curriculum and passing an examination. Certificates of completion are usually issued in the name of the institution, while qualifications are typically awarded by private organizations rather than being nationally recognized professional qualifications.

A representative example of a non-degree program that offers a qualification is the IBEC program offered by the Graduate School of Education at Inha University. Upon completion of this program, participants are awarded the IBEC (International Baccalaureate Educator Certificate) from the IBO, a non-profit educational foundation in Switzerland. The Traditional Culture Education Center at KNUH, which is the target of this study, is an example of a program that does not directly award qualifications but operates specialized courses for qualifications.

2.2. Types of Non-Degree Programs

Non-degree programs can be broadly categorized into open lectures and training programs for qualifications and education. The KNUH certificate program, which this study aims to apply, falls under the category of open lectures. Open lectures are a type of non-degree program that are offered by educational institutions such as universities, lifelong education institutions, and in-house universities. They are not part of the regular curriculum and are designed for non-students who are interested in academic research, job training, skill acquisition, and educational advancement. Open lectures are typically short-term training programs lasting less than 12 months. The certificate program, which is established based on the Higher Education Act, is one of the representative types of open lectures offered at universities.

In contrast to open lectures, training programs for qualifications and education often focus on obtaining qualifications through job training and education. They can also be considered a type of open lecture. However, compared to open lectures that are equivalent to university courses, many training programs focus on vocational training, such as training courses for hobby activity leaders and cultural heritage restoration technicians. The UNESCO Chair training program at KNUH and the cultural heritage restoration technician training program at KNUH's Traditional Culture Education Center are examples of this type of program.

<Table 1> Basis for Establishment of Open Lectures

Acts	Articles	Contents
HIGHER EDUCATION ACT	Article 26 (Extension Courses)	Schools may build affiliated institutions such as research institutes, etc. for achieving the purposes of their establishment.
ENFORCEMENT DECREE OF THE LIFELONG EDUCATION ACT	Article 44 (Operation of Curricula of In-House Colleges) (4)	Any in-house college may provide open lectures to persons other than students, as prescribed by the school regulations.

3. Investigation of Non-Degree Programs in Heritage

3.1. Online Open Lectures

3.1.1. Overview of the Investigation of Online Open Lectures

As explained in the previous section, open lectures are educational programs that can be established within universities for the general public, not just students, based on the Higher Education Act. Traditionally, open lectures were conducted offline through face-to-face classes. However, since the outbreak of COVID-19 in 2019, the trend of online open lectures has been increasing. These online open lectures are more accessible than offline lectures and are suitable for this research, which is a basic survey, as they allow direct access to the lecture plans and evaluation tools.

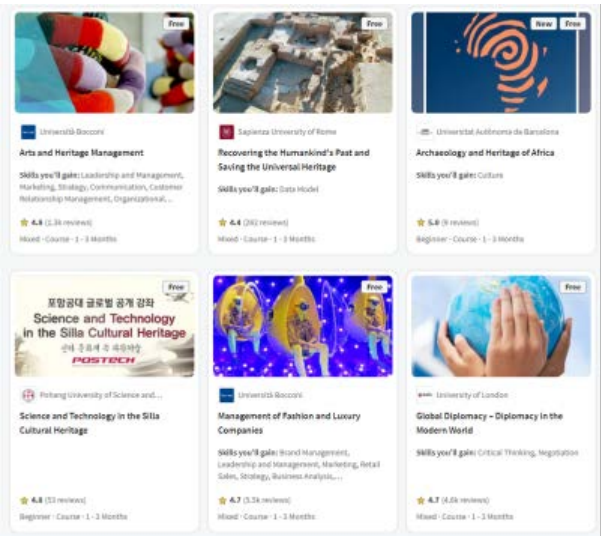
Online open lectures can be provided through university websites, but in most cases, they are offered through large-scale open lecture platforms. These online open lecture platforms are constructed in various ways, and this research was conducted by dividing them into domestic and international platforms. Domestic online open lecture platforms include K-MOOC, edwith, and Gov-MOOC, while Coursera and edX are popular overseas platforms.

3.1.2. Overseas Online Open Course Case Studies

1) Case Study of Coursera Courses

Coursera is a Massive Open Online Course (MOOC) platform founded in 2012 that provides online educational services in collaboration with numerous universities. It was established in April 2012 by Professor Andrew Ng and is considered one of the first-generation MOOC platforms that led the field in the early 2010s. Coursera offers courses and programs in v-

arious fields, from IT to humanities and engineering, in partnership with various universities. It provides certificates of completion for course completion. Courses that offer certificates usually require paid enrollment and completion of separate exams or assignments. The evaluation results of these assessments are used to issue the certificates. The courses are generally divided into short-term (4-6 weeks) and long-term (4-6 months) courses. Additionally, several universities offer online bachelor's and master's degree programs through Coursera. Coursera is currently operated by Coursera Inc., a publicly traded company, and is headquartered in Mountain View, California.



<Figure 2> Curriculum for Heritage in Coursera (Source: Coursera Webpage)

Coursera's heritage-related courses are mainly offered in the areas of heritage management, archaeology, and history. A representative example of a heritage management course is "Arts and Heritage Management" from Bocconi University. In the field of archaeology, courses offered by Sapienza University of Rome and Pohang University of Science and Technology (POSTECH) were identified. The majority of archaeology-related courses were found to focus on specific archaeological sites rather than general archaeology courses or archaeological principles.

In this study, we conducted a case study of the "Arts and Heritage Management" course offered by Bocconi University on Coursera through actual enrollment and participation. The course background states that the role of art and heritage managers has become increasingly important in recent decades in strengthening the capacity of museums and galleries to connect artists or heritage with audiences. It was designed to address the skills a-

nd needs of professionals or administrators who run arts and cultural institutions, and its learning objectives are summarized as follows: Establishing methods for the co-existence of managers and curators, which is the biggest challenge facing cultural institutions; Reviewing the definition of cultural institution management and the roles and challenges of managers; Establishing appropriate management processes and models for art and heritage managers to satisfy visitors and audiences and gain competitive advantage.

The course consists of six sections, each requiring one week of study, for a total of six weeks. Five sections cover specific aspects and themes of cultural institution management, and the sixth section features individual interviews with prominent cultural institution managers on specific topics. To complete the entire course and receive a certificate, participants must participate in quizzes and discussion forums in each module and obtain a certain score on the quizzes.

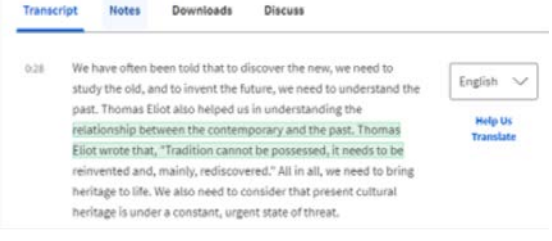
<Table 2> Art and Heritage Management Curriculum

Weeks	Topic	Subtitle	Contents
1	Emotions Vs. Ratios: Hedonic Consumption and The Role of Experience	1.1 Heritage Management: An Introduction 1.2 Heritage Definition: The Role of UNESCO in Defining Tangible Heritage 1.3 Heritage Definition: The Role of UNESCO in Defining Intangible Heritage 1.4 What is Art Management? 1.5 The Artist, Institution, and Consumer 1.6 The Benefit of Art Consumption 1.7 Service Management to Support Cultural Consumption (Part 1) 1.8 Service Management to Support Cultural Consumption (Part 2) 1.9 Wrap Up	Quiz, Practice Peer-graded Assignment
2	Heritage And the Marketplace: A Delicate Equilibrium	2.1 An Introduction to the Dualism 2.2 Product Orientation vs. Market Orientation 2.3 The Concept of Quality 2.4 Customer Value and Value Proposition 2.5 Building Visitors' Participation 2.6 Targeting and Segmenting 2.7 Wrap Up	Quiz
3	Emotions Vs. Ratios: Hedonic Consumption and The Role of Experience	3.1 Introduction to Experience Consumption 3.2 The Consumer Buying Decision Process 3.3 Consumer Immersion in Heritage Contexts 3.4 The Role of Ambience and Environment on Consumer Behavior 3.5 Co-Creating Experiences and Levers for Experience Innovation 3.6 Wrap Up	Quiz, Practice Peer-graded Assignment
4	Branding Heritage To Build Loyalty	4.1 Introduction to Brand 4.2 Capitalizing Brand Identity 4.3 The Dynamic Model of Customer Loyalty 4.4 Branding Places 4.5 Wrap Up	Quiz

5	The Numbers Heritage Needs to Grow	5.1 Introduction to Performance Measurement 5.2 #Satisfaction: The Evaluation of Cultural Experience and the Gap Model 5.3 #CRM: Expanding Heritage Audience through Visitors' Research 5.4 #funding. Fundraising for Culture: Attracting Donors and Raising Funds 5.5 #NPS: Net Promoter Score 5.6 #valuechain: Social and Economic Impact of Heritage Funding 5.7 #SocialEngagement: Exploiting Digital Transformation 5.8 Wrap Up	Quiz
6	Meet the Managers	Interview with experts	Discussion

Results of Actual Course Enrollment and Participation, The course provides various learning materials to enhance the learning experience. These include downloadable presentation materials used in the lectures, lecture scripts, and translations in some languages for foreign-language learners.

<Figure 3> Learning materials (Source: Coursera)



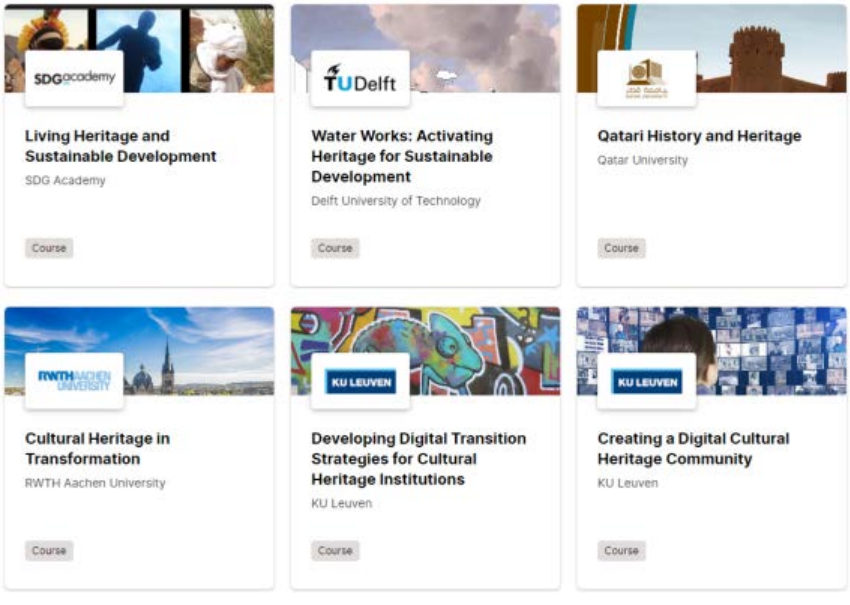
<Figure 4> Provide scripts (Source: Coursera)

As mentioned earlier, the course requires participants to pass quizzes and discussion forums in each module. The discussion forums are optional, but the quizzes are mandatory, with one quiz per module (i.e., one quiz per week). The quizzes have a high pass mark of 100%, but participants can retake the quizzes three times every 8 hours if they fail. The questions in the quizzes are randomly selected from a question bank.

Upon successful completion of the course, participants are awarded a certificate of completion in the name of the university. After completing the entire course, I received a Course Certificate from Bocconi University. During my enrollment in the actual course, I noticed that it did not take the full six weeks outlined in the curriculum. This is likely due to the nature of online courses, which offer various convenience features such as the ability to increase the lecture playback speed to two times faster.

2) Case Study of edX Courses

edX is an online learning platform owned by the digital education company 2U. It was founded by Harvard and MIT as a platform for open courses. An investigation of edX's heritage-related courses revealed a total of 33 courses, 2 programs, and 1 master's degree program. Heritage-related courses are broadly divided into two categories: those that deal with broader issues such as heritage management and sustainable development, and those that focus on the heritage of specific regions. In addition, there are a number of IT-specific courses, such as those on digital heritage, which distinguishes edX from Coursera's course offerings.

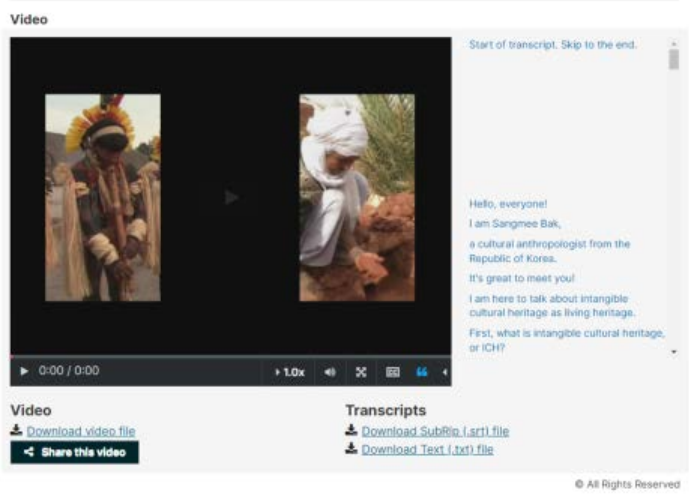


<Figure 5> Curriculum related to Heritage in EdX (Source: EdX Webpage)

Living Heritage and Sustainable Development, offered by SDG Academy on edX, is a course that examines the relationship between intangible heritage and development in different parts of the world through the clinical cases of various experts. The course focuses on the theme of living heritage and sustainable development, and aims to explain the relationship between intangible heritage and development and to explore living cases of heritage communities around the world. This study directly enrolled in the course and evaluated its usability, lecture tools, and other aspects.

The course consists of a total of six modules, starting with a pre-course survey. Each module is estimated to take one week, for a total course completion period of six weeks. Each module presents various assignments on intangible heritage and sustainable development.

edX also allows users to download video lectures, scripts, course materials, and other resources for all courses. Unlike Coursera, edX allows users to download the lecture videos themselves. This convenience allows users to take the course even in environments where internet connection is unavailable.



<Figure 6> Implementation of Living Heritage and Sustainable (Source: EdX)

The course curriculum begins with an introduction to intangible cultural heritage in the first week. In the second week, the relationship between community and intangible heritage is analyzed. The third week focuses on issues related to the protection of intangible heritage, while the fourth week explores the relationship between intangible heritage and gender. The fifth week examines the conflict between sustainable development and intangible heritage, and the sixth week presents perspectives on resilience and environmental sustainability. Each week includes quizzes as learning activities, and in the final week, a discussion activity is conducted for peer evaluation.

<Table 3> Curriculum of Living Heritage and Sustainable Development

Weeks	Topic	Subtitle	Contents
1	Module 1: What is intangible cultural heritage?	Chapter 1: Intangible cultural heritage as living heritage - SangmeeBak Chapter 2: Key concepts of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage - Cristina AmescuaChávez Chapter 3: The Convention's Lists and Register - SangmeeBak Chapter 4: The Convention for the Safeguarding of the ICH and other related UNESCO conventions - Ahmed Skounti	Quiz

2	Module 2: Communities and their intangible cultural heritage	Chapter 1: Who are the communities? - Lucas dos Santos Roque Chapter 2: Why are communities at the centreof intangible cultural heritage safeguarding? - Lucas dos Santos Roque Chapter 3: Community participation - Neel Kamal Chapagain Chapter 4: Community-based approaches - Neel Kamal Chapagain	Quiz
3	Module 3: Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage	Chapter 1: Transmission and safeguarding - Harriet Deacon Chapter 2: Safeguarding measures - Tiago de Oliveira Pinto Chapter 3: Inventories and safeguarding plans - Ahmed Skounti Chapter 4: Ethics in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage - Harriet Deacon	Quiz
4	Module 4: Intangible cultural heritage and gender	Chapter 1: Intangible cultural heritage shapes gender identities - Cristina AmescuaChávez Chapter 2: Dynamic gender roles - dynamic living heritage - Deirdre Prins Solani Chapter 3: Gender-responsive approaches to safeguarding intangible cultural heritage - Deirdre Prins Solani	Quiz
5	Module 5: Intangible cultural heritage for sustainable livelihoods and inclusive social development	Chapter 1: Intangible cultural heritage and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development - Marc Jacobs Chapter 2: Intangible cultural heritage and education - Nigel Encalada Chapter 3: Intangible cultural heritage and health - Marc Jacobs Chapter 4: Intangible cultural heritage and income generation - Harriet Deacon Chapter 5: Intangible cultural heritage, food security and agriculture - Anna Wai Yu Yau	Quiz
6	Module 6: Intangible cultural heritage for resilience, environmental sustainability and peacebuilding	Chapter 1: Intangible cultural heritage, natural disasters and climate change - Rahul Goswami Chapter 2: Intangible cultural heritage in conflict-related emergency situations - Martín Andrade-Pérez Chapter 3: Intangible cultural heritage and preventing and solving disputes - Martín Andrade-Pérez	Discussion
Conclusion: Intangible cultural heritage for building a sustainable future for humanity - Cristina Amescua Chávez			

3.1.3. Korean Online Open Course Case Studies

1) K-MOOC Course Case Study: Korean World Heritage

K-MOOC is a platform that localizes MOOCs, or Massive Open Online Courses. It is operated by the National Institute for Lifelong Education (NILE) under the Ministry of Education of South Korea. Currently, various Korean universities such as Seoul National University, Konkuk

University, and Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST) provide free video lectures on K-MOOC. Some courses offer credits or certificates of completion. Other MOOC platforms in Korea besides K-MOOC include edwith, Gov-MOOC, and KOOC. Since the non-degree cultural heritage capacity building program currently being promoted by the UNESCO Chair at KNUH is considering offering both online and offline courses, it was deemed necessary to investigate these MOOC platforms for this study.

Launched in 2015, K-MOOC claims to be a Korean-style MOOC. More than 110 universities participate in K-MOOC, offering over 700 courses. Since 2019, courses that can be credited through the credit bank system have also been introduced. K-MOOC offers courses and lectures in various fields such as humanities, social sciences, education, and engineering, including courses on Korean traditional houses and cultural heritage. Similar to foreign MOOC platforms like Coursera, K-MOOC provides certificates of completion upon meeting certain conditions, such as completing quizzes or assignments.

Unlike Coursera or edX, K-MOOC is operated by the NILE, a government agency under the Ministry of Education, rather than a private company. The universities that offer courses in partnership with K-MOOC include various Korean universities such as Kyung Hee University, Seoul National University, and Korea University. K-MOOC currently offers courses from KNUH, which operates the UNESCO Chair, suggesting the need for a strategy to establish a linked curriculum.

There are a total of 794 heritage-related courses offered on K-MOOC. In terms of topics, humanities are the most common, and in terms of categories, language and literature are the most common. The learning period is 1-6 weeks for 17 courses, 7-12 weeks for 89 courses, and 13 weeks or more for 206 courses, showing that long-term courses of 13 weeks or more are the most common.

Among the heritage-related courses offered on K-MOOC, the 'Korean World Heritage' course is categorized as a liberal arts course in the humanities. This course has been continuously offered and operated by Sangmyung University since 2016. It is introduced as a course that studies cultural heritage and documentary heritage registered as world heritage while looking at Korean history. The most recent 'Korean World Heritage' course offered in 2020 was designed as a liberal arts course with an intermediate difficulty level. The operating institution is SMUCk (Sangmyung University), and the course is planned for a total of 15 weeks. The weekly learning time is about 3 hours, and the total learning recognition time is 46 hours.

<Figure 7> Footage of the implementation of the World Heritage in Korea (Source: K-MOOC)

Another difference between K-MOOC and foreign MOOC platforms is the presence of a registration period. Only during the registration period can you officially enroll in a course. If you miss the registration period, you can only audit the course and will not receive a certificate of completion. If you complete the course during the registration period, you will receive a certificate of completion and can receive support from the professor or teaching assistant of the university offering the course. It was also confirmed that the evaluation is conducted by the professor and teaching assistant of the university.

The Korean World Heritage course is designed to study world documentary heritage, intangible cultural heritage, and world heritage located in Korea one by one over 14 weeks. It was confirmed that there is a final exam in the last 15th week. The following table summarizes the course.

<Table 4> Korea's World Heritage Curriculum (2020)

Weeks	Dates	Title	Subtitle
1	September 14th	World Documentary Heritage 1: Joseon Dynasty Annals	- What is the Joseon Dynasty Annals? - Compilation process and manuscript of the Joseon Dynasty - Annals Preservation of the Joseon Dynasty Annals
2	September 21st	World Documentary Heritage 2: *Hunminjeongeum*	- Creation of Hunminjeongeum and the Hall of Worthies - Why is Hunminjeongeum considered unique and scientific? - The trials and tribulations of *Hangul*
3	September 28th	World Documentary Heritage 3: Joseon Dynasty Rituals	- What is *Uigwe*? - Compilation process and types of *Uigwe* - The trials and tribulations of *Uigwe* and its return
4	October 5th	World Documentary Heritage 4: Haeinsa Temple *Palman Daejanggyeong* and Printing Woodblocks	- The value and significance of the *Palman Daejanggyeong* woodblocks - The Goryeo-Khitan War and the *Palman Daejanggyeong* - The value of the woodblocks and Goryeo's printing techniques

5	October 12th	Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity 1: *Ganggangsullae*	- Origin and meaning of *Ganggangsullae* - *Ganggangsullae* and *Dongje* (village festival) - Development and decline of Dongje
6	October 19th	World Heritage 1: *Hwaseong* Fortress	- Construction process and characteristics of *Hwaseong* Fortress - Reformist monarch, Jeongjo - *Hwaseong* Fortress and Jeong Yak-yong
7	October 26th	World Heritage 2: *Seokguram* Grotto and *Bulguksa* Temple	- Value of *Seokguram* Grotto and *Bulguksa* Temple as World Heritage - Development of Buddhism in the Three Kingdoms period and the foundation of *Bulguksa* Temple - National Protection *Buddhism* and *Muguk* Buddhist faith
8	November 2nd	Midterm Exam	
9	November 9th	World Heritage 3: *Changdeokgung* Palace	- History and composition of *Changdeokgung* Palace - *Imo Gunran* and *Changdeokgung* Palace - *Gapsinjeongbyeon* and *Changdeokgung* Palace
10	November 16th	World Heritage 4: *Jongmyo* Shrine	- History and composition of *Jongmyo* Shrine - *Jongmyo* Shrine and *Jongmyo* ritual as a World Heritage - Birth of princes and education of kings in the Joseon Dynasty
11	November 23rd	World Heritage 5: Royal Tombs of the Joseon Dynasty	- Value and significance of the Royal Tombs of the Joseon Dynasty - Structure and ideology of the Royal Tombs of the Joseon Dynasty - Visiting the Hwanghyeon Tomb and Hongneung Tomb
12	November 30th	Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity 2: *Pansori*	- Origin and types of *Pansori* - Popular thoughts embedded in *Pansori* - *Pansori* that broke down cultural barriers
13	December 7th	World Documentary Heritage 5: *Nanjung Ilgi* (War Diary)	- Outbreak of the Imjin War and *Nanjung Ilgi* - Yi Sun-sin and the *Imjin* War - The human Yi Sun-sin in *Nanjung Ilgi*
14	December 14th	World Heritage 6: *Namhansanseong* Fortress	- *Namhansanseong* Fortress as a World Heritage - Gwanghaegun's neutral foreign policy and - Injo Restoration - The trials and tribulations of *Namhansanseong* Fortress and the *Byeongja* War
15	December 21st	Final Exam	

2) K-MOOC Course Case Study: Korean Mountain Temples and Seowon

'Korean Mountain Temples and Seowon' is one of the heritage-related courses offered on K-MOOC. It is an introductory course in the humanities, opened in 2023 by Dongguk University's

K-Academic Dissemination Research Institute. The course aims to understand the role of Buddhism and Confucianism in Korean traditional culture and their cultural and historical significance by studying the formation and transformation process of Korean mountain temples and seowon (Confucian academies) listed as world heritage.

The entire course is planned for 10 weeks, with 1.5 hours per week, for a total of 15 hours of learning recognition. The professors in charge are Professor Jeong Byeong-sam, who served as a special member of the Korean Mountain Temples and Seowon Registration Promotion Committee, and Professor Jeong Jae-hoon of the Department of History at Kyungpook National University. A certificate of completion is issued if you score 60 points or higher out of a total of 100 points in the course evaluation, which is based on quizzes.

The entire course is structured to explain the process of accepting Buddhism and Confucianism on the Korean Peninsula from the 1st lecture to the 10th lecture and to learn about Korean mountain temples and seowon. The 10th week curriculum is summarized in the following table.

<Table 5> Korean Sansa and Seowon Curriculum

Weeks	Topic	Subtitle	Contents
1	Acceptance of Buddhism and Establishment of *Sansa* (Mountain Monasteries)	- Acceptance of Buddhism - Temples in the Three Kingdoms - Establishment of Silla Buddhism and Spread of Mountain Temples - *Bulguksa* Temple and *Seokguram* Grotto - Ten Great Temples of the *Hwaeom* Sect and Sectarian Temples - Acceptance of *Seon* Buddhism and *Seon* Schools	Quiz
2	*Sansa*, Embodying Korean Buddhism	- Temples as Centers of Exchange - From Urban Temples to Mountain Temples - Revival of Mountain Temples in the Late Joseon Dynasty - Promotion of Temple Culture	Quiz, Discussion
3	Introduction of Neo-Confucianism and Establishment of *Seowon* (Neo-Confucian Academy)	- Introduction of Neo-Confucianism in the Late Goryeo Dynasty - Reorganization of Confucian Studies in the Early Joseon Dynasty - Confucian Studies in the Early Joseon Dynasty - Limitations of the Early Joseon Dynasty System - Search for a New Neo-Confucianism	Quiz
4	Confucianization and the Spread of *Seowon*	- From Temples to *Seowon* - The First *Seowon* and Small *Seowon* - Yi Hwang's *Seowon* Construction Movement - *Seowon* as a Base for the Sarim and Aristocrats - Changes in *Seowon* after the 17th Century - Problems and Demolition of *Seowon*	Quiz

5	*Sansa*, the World Heritage: The Foundation of Buddhist Practice and Faith	- World Heritage - Korean Mountain Temples and *Tongdosa* Temple - *Buseoksa* Temple and *Bongjeongsa* Temple - *Beopjusa* Temple and *Magoksa* Temple - *Seonamsa* Temple and *Daeheungsa* Temple - Mountain Temples, Korean Mountain Buddhist Temples	Quiz, Discussion
6	*Seowon* as Space of Learning and Memorial Rites	- Structure and Operation of *Seowon* - Books and Finances of *Seowon* - Education Methods at *Seowon* - Educational Content at *Seowon* - *Seowon* as a Base for Schools of Thought - *Seowon* as a Place of Ancestral Worship	Quiz
7	*Sansa* and *Seowon*: The Preservation of Buddhist and Confucian Traditions	- Korean Mountain Temples and Traditional Culture - Sites of Traditional Rituals - Cultural Heritage and Mountain Temples - Korean *Seowon* and Traditional Society - Sites for Preserving Confucian Culture - Cultural Heritage and *Seowon*	Quiz
8	*Sansa* and *Seowon* as Cultural Hubs of Regional Societies	- Mountain Temples and Local Culture - Maintenance of Mountain Temples and Village Society - Temples as Faith Communities - *Seowon* and Local Culture - *Seowon* and Village Society - *Seowon* as a Village Community	Quiz
9	Neo-Confucian Academy in East Asia and *Sansa* in Korea	- Formation of Temples - Temples in China - Temples in Japan - Temples in Korea - Temples in Southeast Asia - East Asian Buddhism Reflected in Temples	Quiz, Discussion
10	Neo-Confucian Academy in China and Japan, and World Heritage *Seowon*	- World Heritage and *Seowon* - *Seowon* in China - *Seowon* in Japan - *Seowon* in Korea (1) - *Seowon* in Korea (2) - *Seowon* in Korea (3)	Quiz

3.2. University Curriculum

3.2.1. Overview of University Curriculum Investigation

As explained in Chapter 2, public lectures in Korea generally refer to those established by universities under the Higher Education Act. Accordingly, universities offer various courses for the general public in addition to their regular students, and many of these courses are related to heritage. Heritage-related courses offered at universities are broadly classified into certificate courses and training courses. Certificate courses are specialized courses offered by universities that are open to the public. Participants who complete the course are awarded a certificate of completion. Training courses aim to cultivate practical skills or expertise necessary for actual work. Participants who complete the course are often awarded a certificate of completion or a private qualification.

3.1.2. Foreign University Curriculum Cases

1) University of Pennsylvania Certificate Program

The University of Pennsylvania's College of Liberal and Professional Studies offers a variety of certificate programs. These programs consist of courses that allow students to earn certificates in various subjects. Each certificate program is designed to guide and recognize student learning and development in an interdisciplinary thematic area. Students can earn up to five certificates, which can be listed on their transcripts if desired.

Among the certificate programs offered by the University of Pennsylvania's College of Liberal and Professional Studies, the 'Cultural Heritage Management' program is related to heritage. This program presents interconnected goals: to understand cultural heritage management issues in an international context, to acquire skills related to work in cultural heritage management organizations, and to provide integrated cultural heritage management content to cultural heritage educators.

The program requires five cultural heritage-related courses as prerequisites, which must be taken first. Upon completion of the program, students are awarded a certificate of completion.

2) University of Southern California (USC) Certificate Program

The 'Fundamentals of Heritage Conservation' program at USC is designed for professionals who want to strengthen their academic work to facilitate heritage conservation project work. The program consists of a 14-credit certificate course that includes four core classes that teach the basic disciplines of heritage conservation. This certificate program is also considered ideal for complementing graduate programs in architecture, landscape architecture, architectural engineering, planning, public art administration, geography, anthropology, or other related fields.

3) Leiden University Training Course

The HIA training course at Leiden University is structured as a practical, spatial, and policy-based training course on heritage impact assessment. HIA is an emerging heritage-related impact assessment in the world heritage field that aims to assess and mitigate or eliminate the impact of development projects and policy introductions on the heritage of that region. This training course also aims to mitigate the negative aspects of development on heritage space and integrate the natural and cultural characteristics of heritage through HIA.

In the case of newly emerging areas such as HIA, a training course by a field expert can be more beneficial than theoretical education in a regular curriculum. Leiden University's training course shows that offering a curriculum that can be applied in the actual work field as a public lecture can help attract heritage professionals. Leiden University's HIA training course is confirmed to be a freely accessible course where lecture notes and tests can be accessed freely on the website.

The entire course consists of six sections and is structured with practical topics that can be applied to actual work, such as the definition of HIA, cases where HIA is applied, and evaluation methods.

3.2.3. Korean University Curriculum Cases

1) Korea National University of Heritage (KNUH) Traditional Culture Education Center Training Course Case

The Traditional Culture Education Center established at KNUH aims to cultivate professional cultural heritage conservators and develop its curriculum to contribute to improving the quality of cultural heritage conservation and the transmission and development of traditional skills. The training course for cultural heritage conservators at the Traditional Culture Education Center is a representative university-based training course that provides a curriculum specialized for the cultural heritage conservator exam. The curriculum is operated to enable trainees to become practical cultural heritage conservators based on Korean traditional technology. It is evaluated that if the trainees complete the curriculum, they will be able to acquire the ability to pass the practical exam for cultural heritage conservators. The courses offered include woodwork, painting, metalwork, conservation treatment, stonework, gilding, and carpentry. It was confirmed that each course is operated as a practical training course by experts in the field.

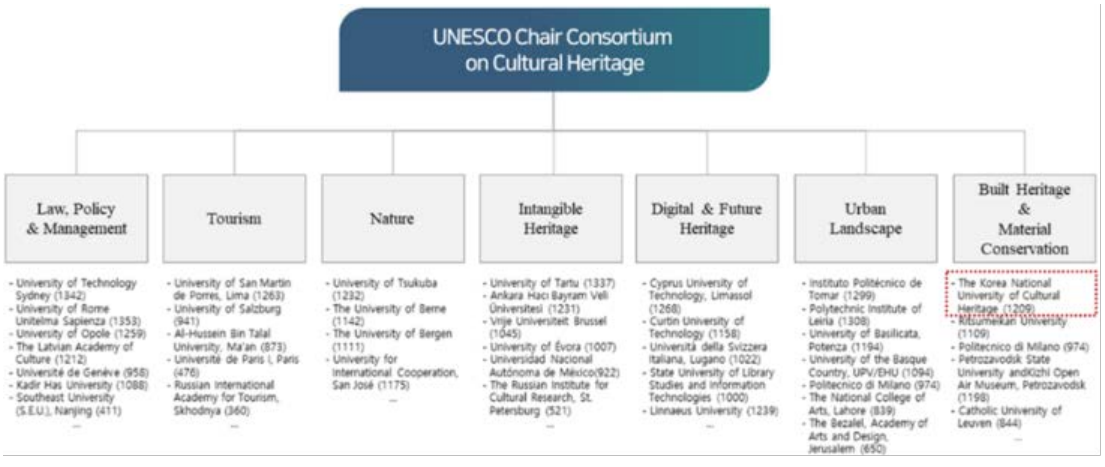
The Traditional Culture Education Center's curriculum is basically free of charge, but trainees are required to pay an annual tuition fee of 1.2 million won upon admission. However, if the trainees complete the entire curriculum normally, the annual tuition fee of 1.2 million won is fully refunded, so the curriculum is provided free of charge to actual users. Furthermore, even this tuition fee in the form of a security deposit is fully exempted for low-income families and national benefactors.

As educational support, a free double room dormitory is provided on the days of education, and the cost of materials and supplies for group practice is also borne by the center. It was also confirmed that it is operated as a field-oriented curriculum by operating a shuttle bus to improve educational convenience and supporting visits to cultural heritage sites and workshops.

2) Korea National University of Heritage (KNUH) UNESCO Chair Program Case

As an institution that offers heritage-related courses, we can first examine the various UNESCO Chairs and UNITWIN Networks around the world that have partnered with the KNUH Chair. The UNESCO Chairs Program, which began in 1992, is a program with over 700 participating institutions in 116 countries. It aims to realize UNESCO's philosophy through

inter-institutional exchange and collaboration. In Korea, it is operated by Seoul National University, Ewha Womans University, and Korea National University of Heritage, among others. Among these, the only program for the preservation and restoration of cultural heritage is the KNUH UNESCO Chair program.



<Figure 8> UNESCO Chair Consortium on Cultural Heritage (Source: KNUCH, 2021)

However, UNESCO Chairs programs related to cultural heritage abroad are located in Colombia, Spain, Russia, Uzbekistan, Italy, Israel, Mexico, Pakistan, Canada, and others. The institutions that established them are diverse, including universities and museums.[3] The UNESCO Chairs programs at the Politecnico di Milano in Italy and the University of Montreal offer design-oriented programs that are necessary for the preservation and effective intervention of historic cities. It is noteworthy that they provide a forum for collaboration among various stakeholders through international workshops.

Although the UNESCO Chair at KNUH does not offer public lectures that are completely open to the public, it has been continuously operating training courses for professionals and heritage officials from Asia-Pacific countries. From 2017 to 2018, high-ranking officials and professionals from the Apsara Authority of Cambodia were invited to the KNUH campus each semester to participate in a training course to strengthen their professional skills. The course was designed to be a practical one, including visits to Korean cultural heritage sites when necessary to provide practical training.

3 KNUCH, Research on Asia-Pacific Cultural Heritage, 2019, p.192.

3.3. International Organizations [4]

3.3.1. Cases of Manuals and Guidelines for Cultural Heritage Education

In 2011, following the adoption of a new heritage strategy for capacity building by the World Heritage Committee, the IUCN, ICCROM, and ICOMOS, advisory bodies to the World Heritage Committee, developed manuals for the management and conservation of world heritage. These manuals were used as learning meterials in capacity building programs. Examples of relevant manuals and guidelines are as follows.

1) World Heritage Resource Manual: Managing Natural World Heritage (2012)[5]

A manual was developed to provide focused guidance on the implementation of the Convention to World Heritage State Parties, heritage authorities, local governments, heritage site managers, local communities associated with World Heritage, and other stakeholders in the management and conservation process.

The manual is structured around the Management Effectiveness Framework developed by IUCN for the management effectiveness of protected areas. It consists of six management process steps. The manual provides direction for world heritage education and interpretation programs as part of the fourth step, the Management Process.

2) World Heritage Resource Manual: Managing Cultural World Heritage (2013)[6]

This resource manual for the management of cultural world heritage was developed by ICCROM in consultation with ICOMOS,IUCN, and the World Heritage Center. It introduces a conceptual framework for understanding cultural heritage management systems, which is the result of a research project conducted by ICCROM since 2009.

The manual was developed as a capacity building tool for the effective management of world heritage. It aims to strengthen the knowledge, skills, abilities, and behaviors of practitioners who are directly responsible for heritage conservation and management, and to empower decision-makers and policymakers to improve institutional structures and processes.

4 KNUCH, Basic Survey on Establishing Detailed Strategies for Each Sector and Building a Stakeholder DB for UNESCO World Heritage Interpretation and Presentation Center. WHIPIC, 2021

5 UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOMOS, IUCN, World Heritage Resource Manual: Managing Natural World Heritage, 2012

6 UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOMOS, IUCN, World Heritage Resource Manual: Managing Cultural World Heritage, 2013

3) Heritage for Peace and Reconciliation: Safeguarding the Underwater Cultural Heritage of the First World War Manual for Teachers(2015)[7]

This manual was developed as part of a package offered to support the UNESCO educational project "Heritage for Peace and Reconciliation." Agreed upon by all States Parties to the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage, this project aims to promote peace education through the protection and understanding of underwater heritage, coinciding with the 100th anniversary of World War I.

The Heritage for Peace and Reconciliation project aims to help teachers introduce the concepts of peace and reconciliation into the curriculum through an understanding of cultural heritage. It was developed to be used as a resource for preparing school projects, field trips, exhibitions, and enriching everyday lessons.

4) Enhancing our Heritage 2.0 toolkit(Draft, 2021)[8]

This is an updated version of the Enhancing our Heritage Toolkit (2008) developed by IUCN. It provides a self-assessment methodology for assessing the management of World Heritage or other heritage sites, with ICCROM as the lead agency. EoH 2.0 follows the same structure as the original toolkit but offers a flexible framework that can be adapted to the specific needs of each site.

Heritage practitioners can use the 12-tool kit to assess the extent to which the values of heritage are being sustained and management objectives are being met. While it focuses on World Heritage, it can be used for all heritage sites, whether natural, cultural, or a combination of both. The draft manual is currently in its final stages and is scheduled to be published after peer review by experts from ICCROM, IUCN, and ICOMOS.

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7 UNESCO, Heritage for Peace and Reconciliation: Safeguarding the Underwater Cultural Heritage of the First World War Manual for Teachers, 2015

8 UNESCO World Heritage Centre, Enhancing our Heritage Toolkit: Assessing management effectiveness of natural World Heritage sites, 2008

4. Conclusion

4.1. Analysis of Investigated Curriculum

Overall, the investigation found that there are currently no or very few executive heritage-related educational programs. Non-degree heritage-related programs can be broadly categorized into public lectures, university-based programs, and educational programs offered by international organizations. It was found that many universities offer public lectures on a variety of heritage-related topics, and most of these are operated as short courses within 6 to 12 weeks.

In terms of the benefits of the programs, it was analyzed that most public lectures offer certificates upon paid registration, which is a factor that attracts participants. It was also found that university-based institutes mainly offer liberal arts-level programs, but some institutions also offer professional programs to prepare for certification exams. Although there are cases where universities directly issue certificates through qualification certification, there are also cases where specialized programs have been established to assist in obtaining national technical qualifications, such as the Traditional Culture Education Center at KNUH. Additionally, since it is possible to design university-based public courses to be accredited for credits under the credit bank system in Korea, active utilization of this system is expected to be another incentive.

The platforms on which the programs areoffered can be broadly divided into online and offline. Online programs can be registered on platforms such as MOOCs as public lectures or can be made public through government-related media such as K-MOOC. Additionally, they can be provided unilaterally through university-operated OCWs (Open Course Ware). The investigation found that offline programs are generally established in affiliated institutions such as university education centers and institutes. In the case of institutions, since most institutions themselves have an educational character, it was found that the programs are offered according to the institution's own educational program.

4.2. Review implications

Currently, KNUCH operates non-degree educational programs mainly through the Traditional Culture Education Center and the International Cultural Heritage Education Center. However, the Traditional Culture Education Center mainly focuses on short-term co-

urses for training cultural heritage conservators and cultural heritage professionals, which are evaluated to have low openness as they target a small number of elites. The International Cultural Heritage Education Center also conducts training courses for experts through the UNESCO Chair Program, but it has low openness and does not provide separate certificates or diplomas.

Most of the currently investigated educational programs attract participants through incentives such as certificates, diplomas, or qualifications, which has the advantage of being directly applied to the workplace. If the highest-level cultural heritage course is established at KNUH in the future, it will be the first of its kind in Korea. It should be designed as a course that is operated jointly online and offline and provides special benefits for completion. If it is operated online, it will have the advantage of attracting overseas heritage professionals and experts easily. It should be an international top-level heritage course that can build a network of heritage professionals by providing various benefits such as granting associate membership of the university alumni association to graduates.

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02

International researchers

Digital Technology, Heritage Preservation, and Creative City Development in George Town World Heritage Site, Penang

Khoo Suet Leng

1) Narrating Dissonant Heritage: The Former International Concessions in Tianjin Museums between Patriotism and Nostalgia (Part I)

Maria Gravari-Barbas, Yue Lu, Chensi Shen, Sandra Guinand

2) Parks in the Concessions of Tianjin: History, Hybridization, and Consumption (Part I)

Yue Lu, Maria Gravari-Barbas, Chensi Shen

3) The Changing Heritage Landscape Influenced by Wanghong Urbanism: Former Concessions as Internet-Popular Destinations

Chensi Shen, Maria Gravari-Barbas, Yue Lu

(Resisting) heritage protection: exploring relations between resistance and protection of cultural heritage in Southeast Asian borderlands

Anna Karlström

Digital Technology, Heritage Preservation, and Creative City Development in George Town World Heritage Site, Penang

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Abstract

The nexus between cultural heritage preservation, digital technology, and creative city development has gained much attention as we enter the Fourth Industrial Revolution and Web 3.0. The COVID-19 pandemic further hastened digital technology infusion and adoption in a city's creative and cultural sector, where technology has reconfigured the entire creative value chain from point of creation, production, distribution, access, participation, and consumption. Advanced digital technologies (i.e., artificial intelligence (AI), augmented reality (AR), virtual reality (VR), Big Data, and blockchain technology) are widely used in the creative and cultural industries. Globally, this change in cultural landscape and production mode has triggered concerns among urban stakeholders about the extent to which their urban settings have been impacted, and about their readiness to embrace such changes as well as the upsides and downsides of doing so. Against this backdrop, this study will examine the situation of George Town World Heritage Site, Penang, Malaysia. Based on qualitative research methods (i.e., interviews, observation), this study found that readiness levels among those in the creative/cultural industries, local communities, and stakeholders vary according to their age, generation, profession, and mindset. The findings indicate that the notion of digital technology needs to be operationally conceptualized for the context of George Town World Heritage Site and systematically integrated into the site's conservation management plan. The findings, recommendations, and implications of this study will be significant in revisiting theories/concepts in Asian historic cities and further afield, and also contribute to shaping evidence-based policies for heritage preservation and creative city development in George Town.

1. Introduction

In recent times, the heritage preservation of tangible and intangible cultural assets in creative cities has been emphasized alongside the advent and integration of digital technology (Mendoza et al., 2023; Amali et al., 2022). The role of digital technology in heritage preservation, nonetheless, is not new. For decades, various forms and manifestations of digital technology have been applied and integrated to preserve cultural heritage. However, with the current shift from Web 2.0 to Web 3.0 technology, the transitioning and adoption of advanced digital technologies in all realms of societies are unfolding at an unprecedented manner. This shift is further accelerated by the recent COVID-19 pandemic that hastened digital technology infusion and adoption in a city's creative and cultural sectors (UNESCO, 2022). In the creative and cultural sector in particular, digital technology has reconfigured the whole creative value chain from the starting point of creation, production, distribution, dissemination, access, participation, and consumption (WEF, 2018). Alongside these changes and shift to digitalization, there is increasing popularity of advanced digital technologies like Artificial Intelligence (AI), Augmented Reality (AR), Virtual Reality (VR), and Mixed Reality (MR) in heritage preservation, and the use of Big Data and blockchain technology via Non-Fungible Tokens (NFTs) to reproduce art and culture. Individually and collectively, these have impacted the production processes of the creative cultural industries as well as preservation of cultural heritage, inevitably altering how cultural heritage is preserved, disseminated, consumed, and appreciated by the masses. Arguably, the collective memories, narratives, and values of cultural heritage are placed at a crossroads, as there are concerns among scholars and practitioners pertaining to the authority, authenticity, and integrity of cultural heritage assets with digital technology infusion and adoption (Cameron & Kenderdine, 2010).

In line with the emergence of the experiential economy where contemporary consumers value the notion of "experience" over ownership of products or tangibles, they find that immersing themselves in and experiencing a particular process for themselves, in this regard cultural immersion, is a novel and much sought-after alternative, hence the "EUA" triad comprising "Engaging," "Unique," and "Authentic" (Arcos-Pumarola et al., 2023). In heritage preservation, this alternative mode of cultural

immersion is deemed promising and has potential for enhancing the awareness and appreciation of cultural heritage for posterity. In turn, such shifts in consumers' experiences and demands have impacted the creative and cultural industries and the making of creative cities. Globally, these changes in cultural landscape, production methods, and consumption patterns/behaviors have stimulated interests and concerns among and across all urban stakeholders to understand the extent to which their urban settings are impacted, their readiness to embrace and embody such changes, and the benefits and drawbacks of doing so (UNESCO, 2022).

The aforementioned backdrop, changes, and concerns are now traversing the globe, and have motivated this research project. George Town, capital city of Penang state and also a UNESCO World Heritage Site, has been selected as a case study in this project. While writing this proposal, the City Council of Penang Island has expressed aspirations to nominate George Town as a Creative City designated under the UNESCO Creative Cities Network. Hence, it is an opportune time to investigate the nexus between digital technology, heritage preservation, and creative city development in the historic city of George Town, Penang, Malaysia. Thus far, previous studies of George Town's potential as a creative city have examined various dimensions and domains, such as urban geography/economics (Khoo et al., 2016), place branding (Khoo & Badarulzaman, 2014), social inclusion (Khoo, 2020), and business innovation aspects (Chan et al., 2020), but none have explored the relationship of digital technology in preserving the historic city's cultural and creative endowments en route toward creative city development. In particular, aspects related to the readiness of the city's ecosystem to embrace this change has been minimally explored despite Penang state's grandeur "Penang 2030 Plan" launched in August 2018 for the state to become a "family-focused, green, and smart state that inspires the nation."[1] Thus, this project aims to fill a major research gap, taking cognizance of the need to intersect and decipher the emerging and nascent relationship between digital technology, heritage preservation, and creative city development in the context of George Town World Heritage Site, Penang.

1 PENANG 2030. (Source: https://penang2030.com/)(Accessed on June 27, 2023).

Against the above backdrop, this research project has raised the following research enquiries to investigate the case of George Town World Heritage, Penang, Malaysia. The first enquiry will investigate the current readiness of George Town's creative and cultural small enterprises, local communities, and relevant stakeholders to adopt high-level digital technology in the process of preserving cultural heritage, while the second enquiry will unravel the issues and challenges, and subsequently propose some recommendations to steer George Town's creative and cultural sectors en route to planning and development of an inclusive and sustainable creative city. The research project is significant, as the recommendations and implications derived will be pertinent to and useful for revisiting theories/concepts in Asian historic cities and further afield, as well as contributing to shaping evidence-based policies for heritage preservation in an aspiring creative city like George Town.

2. Literature Review

2.1. The Creative City Discourse

During the late 1980s, the label "creative city" was conceptualized in Australia with an emphasis on integrating cultural policy into city planning as a strategy to enhance the material well-being of citizens, especially vulnerable groups. Subsequently, the idea developed and became popular in the United Kingdom and Europe, particularly in their post-industrial and deindustrialized cities where their hollowed out industrial inner cities now pivot to culture and creativity as their new economic base. Culture-led urban regeneration strategies like the "European Capital of Culture" initiative, for instance, then took off in European cities (Landry, 2008, 2017). Contrastively, the creative city notion also has a more economic-centric and pro-growth orientation, as articulated in Richard Florida's work (2004). As argued by Florida, a creative city is somewhat like a "magnet" and a utopian location that attracts the "Creative Class," a term he coined. He further stated that the Creative Class prefers city milieus as ideal localities to cluster, spark new ideas, and catalyze local economic development. More pertinently, Florida highlighted that a creative city requires the "3 Ts" of Talent, Technology, and Tolerance for the urban setting to flourish and stimulate more new ideations, creativity, and innovation.

Based on the above, generally, the creative city can be oriented as either culture-centric or economic-centric. In reality, however, most cities normally adopt both orientations, thus pursuing a hybridized creative city variant. For UNESCO/HABITAT in particular, their works incline toward the culture-centric approach with much acknowledgement and advocacy of the role of culture in development (UNESCO, 2016; UCLG, 2018), as well as the pivotal role of culture as the fourth pillar of sustainable urban development (UCLG, n.d.). More importantly, all these run parallel with the importance of culture in the Sustainable Development Goals, with specific reference to Goal No. 11 and Target 11.4—"Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage." Here, evidently, cultural heritage is important and imperative for sustainable development. In a pluralistic, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society like Malaysia in general and George Town in particular, the recognition and importance of cultural diversity for the advancement and betterment of society, community, and humanity further elucidates culture's intrinsic and unique role as a common good for all, aligning closely with the overarching philosophy of the Outstanding Universal Value of any cultural heritage property.

At this juncture, as we shift into the IR 4.0 and Web 3.0 era, concerns related to advance digital technology readiness of George Town World Heritage Site come to the fore. Additionally, matters pertaining to technological equality and equity—whether there is equal access to digital technology, incidences of digital divide, and who are deemed the winners and losers when a cultural and creative city embraces high-technology and pivots toward advanced digitalization, are enquiries that warrant immediate attention.

2.1. The Creative City Discourse

In a sustainable creative city, the urban resources are integral to underscoring the city's heritage and socio-economic and cultural functioning (UCCN website).[2] Generally, heritage is understood as everything inherited from previous generations, and it touches every aspect of our lives. As aptly defined by Heritage Hong Kong (2007, p. 3), heritage is defined as "…what makes a community what it is today and essentially is one generation's inheritance from the past and its bequest to the future—each generation should act as custodian for the next." Heritage is intrinsically connected to

2 UNESCO Creative Cities Network website. (Source: https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/home)(Accessed on 8 August 2023).

ancient times, our history, traditions, socio-cultural beliefs, and the built environment. The element of culture is especially important in the conservation of cultural heritage, where the concept of conservation refers to the cultural value embedded in our heritage endowments, which exist through place, space, and time. Cultural heritage can be divided into two categories, namely, tangible cultural heritage and intangible cultural heritage. Tangible cultural heritage refers to such items as buildings, monuments, sites, and paintings, while examples of intangible cultural heritage include rituals, local wisdom, beliefs, and customs of local communities. Referring to UNESCO's Historic Urban Landscape Approach (HUL), conservation of historic urban areas should integrate the symbiotic co-existence of the relationships between tangible and intangible cultural heritage (Rey-Perez & Pereira Roders, 2020). More crucially, the HUL approach advocates that the relationship should also take into consideration the multi-dimensional aspects combining historic urban areas, cultural diversity, social inclusion, and climate change. A key and critical gap to further explore here would be the way that (advanced) digital technologies (e.g., AR, VR, Metaverse) are now playing out, and how such novel technologies impact and implicate historic urban areas and stakeholders' readiness within the site—the key focus of this study with George Town World Heritage as case study.

In a cultural and creative historic city, its urban culture, local creativity, and creative/cultural industries are strategic factors that drive sustainable urban development—a philosophy embodied within and advocated by the UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN). Established in 2004, the UCCN is a collaborative platform and network of cities that earmarked urban creativity and culture as strategic factors for sustainable urban development. The common objective of UCCN is to integrate creativity and cultural industries in development plans, though this is an effort that has been implemented unevenly across cities globally. In the George Town context, the city is currently at an interesting juncture as it keenly strives to manage a 15-year-old UNESCO World Heritage Site while exploring the viability of leveraging the city's creative and cultural resources to make a bid and apply for the UNESCO Creative Cities Network designation. Against this backdrop, George Town historic city is also coming to terms with COVID-19 and its aftermaths. Since the start of COVID-19, the impacts have been un-

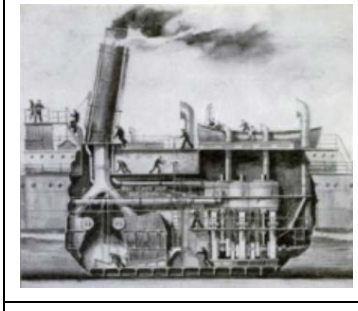
precedented and multi-faceted, touching on all domains of George Town's cultural heritage. Among the most pressing would be the dire need and urgency to adopt, adapt, and accelerate advanced digital technology usage in traditional and cultural production systems for creative and cultural goods/services in George Town World Heritage Site. A recent study has shown that not all traditional businesses and cultural/creative enterprises, particularly traditional and sole proprietorships, are ready to pivot to the digital economy (Lim & Khoo, 2021).

2.3. Digital Technology and Heritage Conservation

2.3.1. Digital Technology

Since time immemorial, technology has been a part of humanity and society. The way technology was adopted and adapted have restructured all aspects of human life ranging from the birth of new economic orders to the emergence of novel social-cultural relations. Such changes are well chronicled as we shift from the First Industrial Revolution, focusing on mechanization, water power, and steam power, to today's Fourth Industrial Revolution (IR 4.0; Schwab, 2017), where Big Data and cyber physical systems have radically changed all facets of human life (Table 1).

<Table 1> Chronology of industrial revolutions and the impact of technology on society and humanity

1ST INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION		
	(Source: This Photo by Unknown Author is licensed under CC BY-SA)	# Mechanization # Water power # Steam power
2ND INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION		
	(Source: This Photo by Unknown Author is licensed under CC BY-SA)	# Mass production # Fordist assembly line # Electricity

3RD INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION		
	(Source: This Photo by Unknown Author is licensed under CC BY)	# Automation # Computerization
4TH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION (IR 4.0)		
	(Source: This Photo by Unknown Author is licensed under CC BY)	# Cyber Physical Systems

While we sometimes view technology as something novel, innovative, disruptive, and unknown, and often take it as a futuristic-thinking notion, it is increasingly being perceived as a tool to preserve the past and as an enabler for humanity to once again relive collective or individual memories, processes and cultures of a bygone era (Mendoza et al., 2023). In today's digital era in particular, arguably, the buzzword "digital heritage" is no longer an alienated terminology, but a viable and strategic pathway for the heritage conservation sector to facilitate sustainable heritage preservation and conservation for posterity.

2.3.2. Digital Heritage

Given that heritage is "our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations," this UNESCO depiction succinctly elucidates the importance for heritage to be passed from generation to generation due to its cultural heritage values, both for tangible and intangible heritage assets. As we pivot to the digital world, the concept of digitalization has also permeated the heritage discourse, in this case, digital heritage. Based on UNESCO's definition, digital heritage consists of computer-based materials of lasting value that should be preserved for future generations, with related concepts shown in Figure 1 below.

Digital heritage originates from diverse regions, communities, industries, and sectors. However, not all digital materials are of lasting value, except those that need active preservation methods in cases where the continuity and sustainability of digital heritage is required.[3]

RESOURCES OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE / EXPRESSION

 # Cultural, educational, scientific, and administrative, or embracing technical, legal, medical, and other types of information, are increasingly developed digitally, or transformed into digital forms from existing analogue resources.

BORN DIGITAL

 # When resources have no other format apart from the digital original.

DIGITAL MATERIALS

 # texts # database # still & moving images # audio # graphics # software # web pages, etc.

 # Usually transient and need purposeful production, upkeep, and management to be retained.

<Figure 1> Concepts related to digital heritage

In October 2003, UNESCO introduced the Charter for the Preservation of Digital Heritage with the proposition that "digital heritage is common heritage."[4] The Charter has the following principles and stipulations shown in **Table 2:**

<Table 2> Charter for the Preservation of Digital Heritage

The Digital Heritage as a Common Heritage	
Article 1	Scope
Article 2	Access to the digital heritage
Guarding against Loss of Heritage	
Article 3	The threat of loss
Article 4	Need for action
Article 5	Digital continuity
Types of Measures Needed	
Article 6	Developing strategies and policies
Article 7	Selecting what should be kept
Article 8	Protecting the digital heritage
Article 9	Preserving cultural heritage

3 Concept of Digital Heritage (unesco.org)

4 Charter on the Preservation of Digital Heritage (Source: https://en.unesco.org/about-us/legal-affairs/charter-preservation-digital-heritage) (Accessed on August 2, 2023).

Responsibilities	
Article 10	Roles and responsibilities
Article 11	Partnerships and cooperation
Article 12	The role of UNESCO

Broadly, UNESCO has further defined digital preservation as the processes undertaken to ensure the sustained accessibility of digital materials. To this end, it requires searching for methods to "re-present what was originally presented to users by a combination of software and hardware tools acting on data."[5] Digital preservation, as a viable means of access, can be achieved by comprehending and managing digital objects at the four levels listed in **Table 3** below:

<Table 3> Understanding and managing digital objects for digital preservation

LEVEL 1	Physical phenomena
LEVEL 2	Logical encodings
LEVEL 3	Conceptual objects that have meaning to humans
LEVEL 4	Sets of essential elements that must be preserved to offer future users the essence of the project

Source: Concept of Digital Preservation (unesco.org)

Thus, digital preservation entails selecting and implementing a changing spectrum of strategies to address issues related to accessibility as well as the preservation needs of diverse layers of digital objects. The seven strategies highlighted by UNESCO are shown in **Table 4** below:

<Table 4> Strategies to address the issue of accessibility

STRATEGY 1	Work with producers (creators & distributors) to apply guidelines that will prolong the lifespan of the available means of access.
STRATEGY 2	Acknowledge that it is impractical to preserve everything. Select material to be preserved.
STRATEGY 3	Place the material in a safe place.
STRATEGY 4	Control materials, use structured metadata and other documentation to enable access and to support all preservation processes.
STRATEGY 5	Protect the identity & integrity of data.
STRATEGY 6	Select suitable means of enabling access in light of technological changes.
STRATEGY 7	Manage preservation programs to achieve objectives in timely, efficient, cost-effective, holistic, proactive, & accountable manner.

Source: Concept of Digital Preservation (unesco.org)

Aided by ICT, creation and sharing of digital resources (i.e., creative works, ideas, knowledge coded for computer processing) that have embedded heritage value can now be easily shared across geographic and temporal contexts. This is proof of digital

5 Concept of Digital Preservation (unesco.org)

heritage, which comprises many parts, sharing many similar characteristics and open to a myriad of universal threats. Over time, the role of digital heritage will grow in importance and have far-reaching impacts and implications as nations, societies, communities, and organizations utilize digital technologies to document and express what they consider valuable and what they want to hand down to future generations. Interestingly, new manifestations of expressions and communications have emerged that were not present before as we shift to the Web 3.0 era. The Internet (World Wide Web), as it progresses from Web 1.0 to Web 2.0 and now Web 3.0, has radically and irreversibly altered heritage and the way it is documented, conveyed, and transmitted. To understand more clearly the terminology used in the rest of the paper, the terms for digital technology in the Web 3.0 era will be operationally defined in the subsequent sections.

2.4. What is Web 3.0?

Web 3.0 deciphers the subsequent evolution of the World Wide Web (www), which is the user interface that enables access to documents, applications, and multimedia on the Internet. Despite the current hype, Web 3.0 is nascent and still developing, so there is no universally agreed upon definition. Even analyst firms (i.e., Forrester, Garner, IDC) have not decided on the proper spelling and are still wavering between "Web3" and "Web 3.0." Nonetheless, Web 3.0 strongly focuses on decentralized applications and the use of blockchain-based technologies. Web 3.0 will utilize machine learning and artificial intelligence (AI) to enable and empower a smarter and adaptive web.[6]

2.4.1. Artificial Intelligence (AI)

While there is no universally accepted definition of Artificial Intelligence (AI), the UK's National AI Strategy has described it as "technologies with the ability to perform tasks that would otherwise require human intelligences, such as visual perception, speech recognition, and language translation" (UK Parliament Post, POSTNOTE, 2020). AI is useful in predicting future scenarios by identifying patterns and trends in large datasets. AI is at its infant stage of adoption in arts and culture, where it has utility to

6 What is Web 3.0 (Web3)? Definition, guide and history https://www.techtarget.com/whatis/definition/Web-30) (Accessed on July 20, 2023).

categorize artworks, enhance access to digital archives, but its ability to "generate" music and artwork has triggered copyright issues. For example, ethical concerns revolve around AI's ability to produce images of people's faces and synthesis speech (deepfake), particularly in museums and film productions (UK Parliament Post, POSTNOTE, 2022).

2.4.2. What is a Metaverse?

Metaverse was a concept first conceived in 1992 by Neil Stephenson in Snow Crash, a sci-fi novel that was widely referred to by Silicon Valley entrepreneurs for inspirations.[7] It later became a term popularized in the world of technology and video games (Gaffar, 2021). Literally, the prefix "meta" means "beyond," and "verse" (deriving from "universe") is used to refer to the "future iteration of the Internet which comprises a continuous, shared, 3D virtual spaces that are interconnected in a perceived virtual universe" (Gaffar, 2021, p. 97). The metaverse is a huge-scale three-dimensional networked platform that exists perennially and independently, intertwining the physical and virtual worlds. It is a platform that includes a 4D space-time continuum and combines human-computer interactions to produce economic value (Zhang et al., 2022). The technologies that generally underpin the metaverse include Networking & Computing, Internet of Things, Blockchain, Human-Computer Interaction, Artificial Intelligence, Virtual Reality, and Augmented Reality. A key feature of the metaverse system is "user-centricity" components such as Avatar, Content Creation, Virtual Economy, Social Acceptance, Security and Privacy (Gaffar, 2021). Metaverse is also a social space for netizens to participate in activities in an immersive environment through Virtual Reality (VR) or other web-based mediums.

In arts, heritage, and culture, the metaverse is a viable space to preserve and allow dying traditional performing arts (i.e., Makyung) to thrive and survive, though this endeavor is still in its infancy (Rahim et al., 2023). In the cultural heritage metaverse, it particularly refers to tangible and intangible information pertaining to cultural heritage that is used not only for data collection, storing, presentation, sharing, and conservation, but also to restore, protect, monitor, research, and transmit cultural heritage (Zhang et al., 2022).

7 This 29-year-old book predicted the 'metaverse'—and some of Facebook's plans are eerily similar (Source: How the 1992 sci-fi novel 'Snow Crash' predicted Facebook's metaverse (cnbc.com) (Accessed on August 16, 2023).

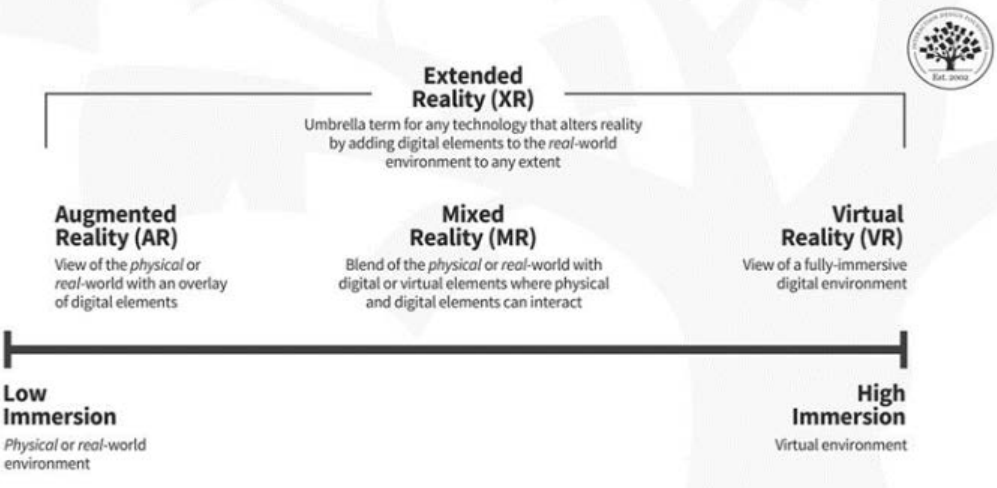
2.4.3. Augmented Reality, Virtual Reality, Mixed Reality, and Extended Reality

Augmented reality, popularly termed "AR," is a form of immersive technology. Its basic characteristic is its ability to combine physical and virtual worlds in real time in an interactive and 3D fashion, as well as to generate a feeling of "user immersion" (Panhale et al., 2022). Broadly, Virtual Reality (VR) is a simulated 3D virtual surrounding that allows users to explore, interact, and connect with a virtual environment that mirrors reality, as it is perceived through the senses of the users. Computer hardware and software are used to create the virtual environment, where users are still required to wear devices like goggles or helmets to interact with the environment. The immersion aspect is succinctly summed up by Robert Sheldon as follows: "*The more deeply users can immerse themselves in a VR environment—and block out their physical surroundings—the more they are able to suspend their belief and accept it as real, even if it is fantastical in nature.*" [8]

Mixed reality, oftentimes experienced through mixed reality HoloLens glasses, overlaps interactive programs with the real world as the backdrop. It overlaps holograms and interacts with physical reality. Essentially, mixed reality blends virtual reality and augmented reality to enhance interactivity by introducing virtual objects into physical reality and vice-versa; and concurrently is able to manipulate them like real physical objects.[9] The benefits of mixed reality transcend the physical and virtual surroundings, as it will facilitate productive and meaningful human-machine interactions and communication in the Fourth Industrial Revolution and Web 3.0 era that we now live in.

8 What is virtual reality? https://www.techtarget.com/whatis/definition/virtual-reality (Accessed on July 20, 2023).
9 Mixed Reality, a New Approach to building (Source: https://www.imnovation-hub.com/construction/mixed-reality-new-approach-building/?gclid=EAIaIQobChMI79jkgJ-cgAMVnYxoCR1QBAuVEAAYAyAAEgKcGPD_BwE) (Accessed on July 20, 2023).

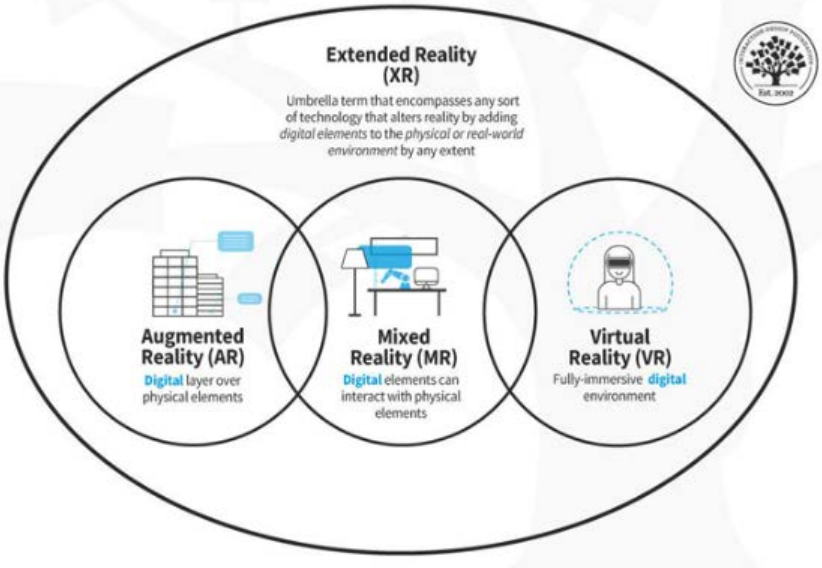
According to Tremosa (2023), Mixed Reality (MR) is a "technology that allows not only the superposition of digital elements into the real-world environment but also their interaction."[10] The MR experience allows users to see, connect, and interact with both digital and physical elements, where the experience receives input from the surroundings and changes accordingly. In sum, the shifts and differing levels of immersion of AR, MR, and VR can be depicted on a continuum, as by Tremosa's (2023)[11] scheme illustrated in **Figures 2-3**:



<Figure 2> Depiction of the present XR technologies based on the immersion spectrum.
Source: Copyright © Laia Tremosa and the Interaction Design Foundation, CC BY-SA 4.0

10 Mixed Reality (MR). (Source: https://www.interaction-design.org/literature/topics/mixed-reality-mr) (Accessed on August 2, 2023).

11 Beyond AR vs. VR: What is the Difference between AR vs. MR vs. VR vs. XR? (Source: https://www.interaction-design.org/literature/article/beyond-ar-vs-vr-what-is-the-difference-between-ar-vs-mr-vs-vr-vs-xr#:~:text=Augmented%20reality%20(AR)%3A%20a,a%20fully%2Dimmersive%20digital%20environment) (Accessed on July 20, 2023).



<Figure 3> The terminology XR comprises AR, MR, VR, and other technology that combines the physical and digital worlds.
Source: Copyright © Laia Tremosa and the Interaction Design Foundation, CC BY-SA 4.0

The need and importance of preserving our priceless cultural heritage for future generations is unquestionable; thus, new technologies should be incorporated and used but with care and caution. In recent decades, efforts have burgeoned to leverage digital technology to document, recover, reconstruct, and present cultural endowments so that future generations can continue to enjoy these cultural resources (Mendoza et al., 2023; Amali et al., 2022). While the use of technology is not uncommon in the preservation of tangible heritage (e.g., buildings, monuments, relics, artifacts), advanced digital technologies are increasingly used to preserve intangible cultural heritage (Skublewska-Paszkowska et al., 2022), such as facial expression analysis/modelling, vocal tract sensing/modelling, and the 3D visualization of intangible heritage (Alivizatou-Barakou et al., 2017). In the field of archaeological conservation, for example, there is the use of technology like 3D documentation of buildings, monuments, and sites through technological infusion with tools such as X-Ray Fluorescence Spectroscopy (XRF), X-Ray Diffraction (XRD), and Atomic Absorption Spectroscopy (AA), which have already been in use for decades and are common technological approaches (Taha, n.d.). During a recent workshop at Universiti Sains Ma-

laysia (USM), the 3D Micro CT technology was introduced to reconstruct heritage artifacts and relics and to create their replicas for archaeological excavation.[12] Additionally, other recent digital technologies have further altered heritage preservation with the advent of machine learning, artificial intelligence (AI), 3D imagery-fed blockchain technology, AR, VR, MR, big data analytics, and NFTs, among others (European Union, 2020). Taking these further, 3D enhanced digital technology is now popular and is being integrated into the co-creation of creative and cultural cities worldwide, as will be discussed in the next section.

2.5. Co-Creative City Making Through Digital Technology

In recent times, an extensive literature has emerged affirming the role and capabilities of digital technologies to revolutionize and preserve cultural heritage and subsequently ensure the general public's access to them (Mendoza et al., 2023; Amali et al., 2022; Cameron & Kenderdine, 2010). Novel urban development concepts like "playable city" have surfaced, and previous studies have reported that digital technologies are integral in the "co-creative remaking of a city" by revitalizing its material and socio-cultural fabric. The process will in turn democratize citizenship and promote a creative tourism that is appealing to both residents and tourists alike. This can be undertaken through increasing residents' and tourists' participation through digital installations that will foster interaction with the city. More appealingly, the interrelationship to technology makes the connection between tangible and intangible culture more fun, playful, and immersive (Marques & Borba, 2017).

There is no doubt that digital technologies have impacted all spheres of our daily lives in the way we connect to each other and experience our surroundings, with the cultural sector being no exception. Cultural institutions, professionals, and fans have utilized and leveraged digital technology as tools for cultural expressions, production, and dissemination as Web 3.0 witnesses a shift from known technologies of web platforms and social media to AI, AR, VR, and robotics. The global COVID-19 pandemic f-

12 The researcher attended the 3D Micro CT workshop in USM on August 4, 2023. The workshop was organized by the Center of Global Archaeology, Universiti Sains Malaysia.

urther accelerated the speed of change in the creative sector with emerging opportunities as well as challenges. Creative and cultural practitioners have altered the way they work where digitalization has opened new avenues for experimentation, exploration, opportunities, and audiences. Undeniably, digital technologies have opened a "gateway to culture" and impacted how we gain access and participate in arts, heritage, and culture.[13] In sum, digitalization can to a certain extent democratize the access, appreciation, and enjoyment of arts, culture, and heritage, yet on the flipside, digitalization also arouses concerns of digital exclusivity, digital penetration, and digital inequality in a society.

2.5.1. Nexus between Digital Technology, Heritage Preservation, and Creative Cities

In world heritage sites globally, the potential of leveraging digital technology for heritage preservation and further development of the creative and cultural sectors has captured much attention, particularly with the advent of 3D enhanced digital technology. For instance, digital technologies have been applied to enhance visitor experiences such as the Mogao Caves in China (UNESCO, 2022). In New Zealand's Tonga as well, ICT is being explored to preserve cultural heritage (Mesui, 2019). In Europe, digital technologies have played a pivotal role in preserving the region's cultural heritage by digitally promoting and preserving cultural artifacts. In Austria, for example, digital technologies assisted in overcoming access barriers to cultural spaces for disabled people, while digital resources encouraged and promoted the reinterpretation of European histories by the Luxembourg citizenry. A British project introducing the "Internet of connected historic things" has made cultural resources available 24/7 anytime, anywhere. In another British project, the adoption and adaptation of advanced immersive technology (i.e., AR) has created emotive and immersive digital experiences for museums and their visitors to nostalgically relive the past. In Denmark, the digital age has redefined the museum experience by using mobile applications and other state-of-the art digital technologies to develop more novel, interpersonal, and meaningful museum experiences. In Cyprus, AR and VR imm-

13 UNESCO news. Cutting Edge. Protecting and preserving cultural diversity in the digital era. (Source: https://www.unesco.org/en/articles/cutting-edge-protecting-and-preserving-cultural-diversity-digital-era) (Accessed on August 8, 2023).

ersive technologies have pushed the frontiers of preservation when these technologies brought Europe's underwater cultural heritage to life.

Additionally, wider access to nine European cities' history in the form of films, texts, and photos has been made possible with multimedia and digital technology. Another "big-bang" revolution has taken place in Switzerland, where emerging technologies such as the use of big data have shown the power to change history and cultural heritage into a living resource. By digitizing archives from libraries and museums using AI and big data mining, the entire process will provide more insightful interpretations of our past. In Greece, another digital breakthrough is occurring, where existing visual content and textual information can be converted into exploitable, semantically rich 3D models that will profoundly assist the works of architects and virtual reality game designers (European Union, 2020).

Undoubtedly, as highlighted in a recent World Economic Forum study (2018), Artificial Intelligence (AI) is altering the value chains for creative content in multiple ways from beginning to end with both upsides and downsides for societies, communities, and individuals. AI is able to assist creators in linking content to audiences by identifying and categorizing users' preferences as seen in creative industries like film, fashion, music, and art. The downsides, nonetheless, are disinformation and misinformation on social media, aggravated by algorithms that cause viral sharing. Similarly, while augmented and virtual reality (AR/VR) can change storytelling and shape how content is experienced, the business motivations do not align with individual well-being (WEF, 2018).

2.6. AI (Artificial Intelligence) and Implications on "A" (Authenticity) + "I" (Integrity) of Heritage Preservation

A note of concern would be the risk of modern technologies as a threat to the survival and sustainability of traditional cultural expressions (Alivizatou-Barakou et al., 2017), where technology might blur boundaries between "genuine art" and its "electronic reproduction." This grave concern, which is a "Catch-22 situation," deliberates the role of technology in preserving cultural heritage for posterity, but also questions the aspects of "authenticity" and "integrity" (Nikonova & Biryukova, 2017). Concerns have arisen that moving from the real sphere to the virtual domains might collapse interpers-

onal communication when linking back to tradition. This whole notion of “cultural digitization” is undoubtedly beneficial but also polemical where it questions the authenticity and integrity of heritage preservation. Thus, this would require collective and concerted efforts by all stakeholders to strike a balance in weighing the upsides and downsides for different stakeholders in a historic city when protecting and preserving cultural diversity in today’s digital era (UNESCO, 2022).

In addition to the above concerns, questions of digital technology availability, accessibility, and distribution come to the fore when comparing countries in the Global North and South, and even within the communities, societies, and cities of a nation itself. It is worrying when, instead of the scope of the diversity of cultural expressions on a global scale widening, production and distribution are clustered in the nations of the Global North, as in the app market, where 95% is concentrated in merely 10 countries (UNESCO, 2022). Amid the hype of Digital Revolution, only 53.6% of the world population has access to digital technologies (UNESCO, 2022). These global concerns provide the overarching backdrop issues for this study. Before discussing the findings, the next section will outline the study’s methodology.

3. Methodology

3.1. Research Design

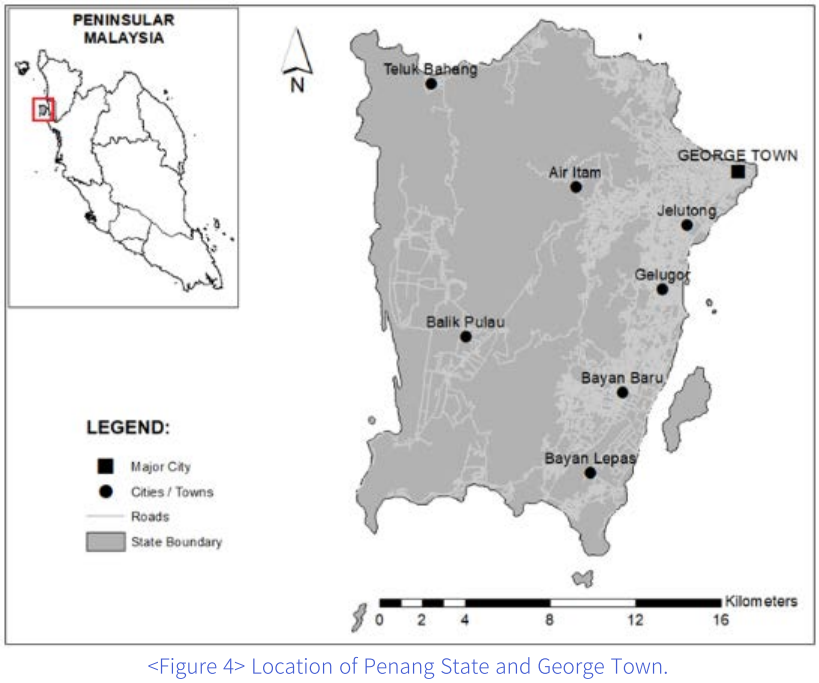
The successful implementation of any study relies on the research design, which is defined as “the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study’s initial research questions and, ultimately, to its conclusions” (Yin, 2003, p. 20). Given the nascency of the topic of combining digital technology with heritage preservation and creative city development in George Town World Heritage Site, this study adopted an inductive approach administered through comparative case study method to investigate and fathom the social phenomenon as framed in the research questions above. As supported and further elucidated by renowned case study expert Robert Yin (2003), case studies are the strategy for “how” and “why” questions, which in this study is particularly relevant, as the main question in this study is framed as a “how” question: "How is the current readiness of George Town's creative/cultural small enter-

prises, local communities, and related stakeholders to adopt high-level digital technology in the process of preserving cultural heritage?" Due to the dearth of existing projects/initiatives, the study opted for a comparative case study method to compare and contrast three case studies of contemporary creative, cultural, and digital projects in George Town World Heritage Site at macro, meso, and micro levels:

i) Creative Digital District@George Town [Macro level]
ii) Armenian Park Augmented Reality (AR) project [Meso level]
iii) geNFesT NFT Festival [Micro level]

These projects are chosen based on the following justifications and inclusion criteria:

i) All three projects are either related to arts, heritage, or culture & creativity, and they are linked to utilization of the latest digital technology in their respective modes of creative and cultural production/operations.
ii) All three projects are the latest and most contemporary projects located in the heart of George Town World Heritage Site (GTWHS), Penang (see Figures 4 & 5).



<Figure 4> Location of Penang State and George Town.
Source: Copyright © Khoo SL (2018)

<Figure 5> George Town World Heritage Site.
Source: Copyright © PLANMalaysia@PulauPinang

3.2. Primary Data Collection in George Town World Heritage Site, Penang, Malaysia

Qualitative research methods are well-justified in this study because it is a holistic, integrative, and informative approach that collates data from diverse sources to construct a meaningful representation of a “multifaceted” situation (Ritchie & Lewis, 2004, p. 4). Additionally, qualitative research is particularly useful and appropriate in this study because it elucidates the “nuance, setting, interdependencies, complexities, idiosyncrasies, and context” of the diverse respondents (Patton, 2002, p. 6). With the research objectives outlined to examine the current readiness and issues of George Town World Heritage Site’s creative/cultural enterprises and local communities to adopt high-level digital in the process of preserving cultural heritage, a qualitative approach using in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and fieldwork observations was deemed the most appropriate method.

In line with the principles of qualitative research, this study undertook purposive sampling to identify key informants or expert stakeholders who were knowledgeable and able to

provide accurate and reliable information and insights pertaining the readiness and issues faced by the creative/cultural enterprises and local communities in the heritage site with regard to integrating digital technology into heritage preservation and creative city development. At the same time, this study also used snowball sampling after purposive sampling when the first round of key informants proposed and recommended “names” of other contacts or informants that could be approached for subsequent interviews. Guided by the principle of triangulation and to ensure inclusivity, key informants were identified and chosen from the public, private, and civil society spheres to ensure holistic and balanced representation. This will allow the needs and voices of all related informants to be duly considered and understood based on a bottom-up approach. The key informants for this study are listed in Table 5 below. A total of 18 key informants were individually interviewed and two were collectively interviewed during a focus group discussion.

<Table 5> List of key informants who participated in the interviews and focus group discussion for this study.

DATE	POSITION	GENDER	PUBLIC	PRIVATE	CIVIL SOCIETY
May 10, 2023 Interview	Local Tour Guide (KI 1)			V	V
May 10, 2023 Interview	Manager-cum-Artist (KI 2)		V		
May 12, 2023 Interview	Artist & Cultural Practitioner (KI 3)			V	
May 15, 2023	Artist & Creator (KI 4)			V	
May 16, 2023 Interview	Manager (KI 5)		V		
May 16, 2023 Interview	# Tour Guide-cum-President # Treasurer (KI 6)			V	V
May 17, 2023 Interview	Creative Producer (KI 7)			V	
May 17, 2023 FGD	Architect-cum-Cultural Event Manager(KI 8)			V	V
May 17, 2023 FGD	Collective member & cultural practitioner (KI 9)				V
May 18, 2023 Interview	General Manager (KI 10)		V		
May 19 + August 9, 2023 Interview	Director (KI 11)			V	

June 9, 2023 Interview	Analyst (Cultural & Urban Studies; KI 12)		V		
June 9, 2023 Interview	Conservation Architect-cum-Cultural Anthropologist (KI 13)			V	V
June 12, 2023 Interview	Executive Secretary (KI 14)				V
June 12, 2023 Interview	Chairman-cum-Art Enthusiast (KI 15)		V	V	
June 13, 2023 Interview	Chief Executive Office (KI 16)		V		
June 13, 2023 Interview	Commissioner (KI 17)		V		
June 13, 2023 Interview	Town Planner (KI 18)		V		
June 16, 2023 Interview	Professor (Archaeology; KI 19)		V		
June 21, 2023 Interview	Assoc. Prof. (Arts & Culture; KI 20)		V		
TOTAL		20			

Pilot fieldwork observations were conducted as early as March 2023 and subsequent site visits were undertaken from April to early August 2023 where the Armenian AR Park was visited four times, and Creative Digital District@George Town was visited thrice, the third time during geNFesT (June 30–July 1). The following additional field visits to selected venues and events related to digital technology and creative city development further enhanced data collection for this project:

<Table 6> Additional field visits to related events and venues (June–August 2023)

DATE	EVENT ATTENDED/VENUE VISITED	PURPOSE
June 8, 2023	Penang GIS Day, Olive Tree Hotel, Penang	To understand Penang state's strategic directions and efforts in geo-spatial planning and integration of AI, as well as the implementation of the state's digital masterplan.
June 30–July 2, 2023	geNFesT Festival, George Town, Penang (i.e., Digital Penang, Think City, Hin Depot)	To understand the concept and implementation of products, processes and services in Web 3.0 / Web 2.5 (NFTs, etc.)
July 28, 2023	Borneo Cultures Museum, Kuching, Sarawak	To understand how advanced digital technology (AR, VR) are applied and integrated into Malaysian museums.
August 4, 2023	3D X-Ray Micro CT Seminar	To understand how 3D X-Ray Micro CT technology is applied and used, particularly for heritage conservation.

To supplement the primary data and for purposes of triangulation, secondary data were sourced from academic journals, latest digital periodicals, websites, and other related reliable Internet resources. A thematic analysis of both primary (i.e., interviews,

FGDs) and secondary data (i.e., literature review) was conducted using NVivo 12 to verify existing themes and discover new themes that emerged from this research. The findings will be discussed in subsequent sections.

4. Findings and Discussion

4.1. Current Readiness for Digital Technology Adoption—Current Policies and Initiatives

In Penang, the state government and its agencies are committed to digitalization and aspire to become a smart state as encapsulated in the state-level vision, mission, aspirations, and strategic plans. In the "Penang 2030" state blueprint, Penang's aspiration to become "a family-focused, green and smart state that inspires the nation" and for Penang to be an internationally recognized, smart state by 2030 is clearly stated. To this end, there are other state blueprints like the Digital Transformation Masterplan 1.0 (2021–2023) and the Strategic Digitalization Plan (2021–2025) which emphasize the importance of empowering the State Geospatial Data Infrastructure (SGDI). The SGDI is a product geospatial hub across Penang's state agencies and departments, and the hub serves as a state geospatial data sharing platform. During the state's recent one-day "Penang GIS Day" seminar held on June 8, 2023, efforts were progressing to introduce high-level, cutting-edge technology and innovation, with Amazon Web Services (AWS) having been invited to share their framework for cities to enhance efficiency and quality of life and harness the power of the cloud, advanced analytics, and Internet of Things integration. Ways to integrate Artificial Intelligence (AI) and the convergence of digital twin technology with Geographic Information System (GIS) in reshaping urban landscapes to become smart, innovative, creative, and sustainable hubs were also discussed at great length during the seminar.

However, in George Town World Heritage Site per se, the types of high-level digital technology adoption and current readiness are less explored and rarely discussed. This is also due to the fact that the gazetted version of the Special Area Plan (conservation management plan) in 2016 did not feature the element of digitalization in management and administration of the heritage site. This point was highlighted by one of the key informants:

<Figure 6> Penang Digital Plans, the Penang GIS Day, and other recent digital-related initiatives organized in Penang.

Penang has its policy blueprint, which is the 2030 Smart City Plan. Digital technology is generally inside this Penang 2030 blueprint. But for the heritage site, we need to refer to the Special Area Plan (SAP). The existing one does not have provisions for digital technology. There is no mention of it in the current SAP. (KI 18: Town Planner)

Thus, this study is timely and fills a key practical gap in terms of exploring the extent upon which high-level digital technology is adopted, adapted, and utilized by creative/cultural industries and local communities in George Town World Heritage Site for heritage preservation. During in-depth interviews with key informants, they were asked about the current readiness of high-level digital technology adoption. In this study, as mentioned in Section 2, the operational definition for digital technology refers to advanced and Web 3.0 types of technology such as Artificial Intelligence, AR, and VR.

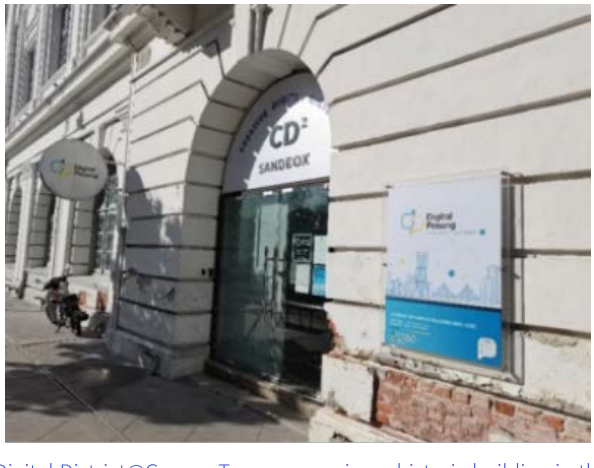
To understand how advanced digital technology visions are translated to ground realities, the following sections will illustrate the three case studies at the macro, meso, and micro levels of analysis. The first is the Creative Digital District@George Town (CD^2), which is view-

ed from a macro, district level in terms of Penang's planning to develop the creative, cultural, and digital sectors/ecosystem.

4.2. Creative Digital District@George Town (CD2; Macro District-Level Planning by the State)

The Creative Digital District@George Town (see Figures 7 & 8), popularly known as CD^2@George Town, is a place-making endeavor aimed at realizing the Penang 2030 vision of a "family-focused, green and Smart State." Additionally, the conception of CD^2 has historic origins and relations to George Town's port city status, having been established by the British East India Company in 1786. At that point, George Town flourished as an entrepot, and for a while assumed the role as the commercial center and capital of the Straits Settlements.

<Figure 7> The Creative Digital District (CD^2)@George Town Source: Copyright © 2023 CD^2 Website



<Figure 8> The Creative Digital District@George Town occupying a historic building in the UNESCO George Town World Heritage Site. Source: Copyright © Khoo Suet Leng (March 2022)

However, the city's fate and fortunes took a downward turn after the revocation of George Town's free port status in 1969. In response and to survive, Penang shifted to huge-scale industrialization and became home to Malaysia's first Free Trade Zone (FTZ), with the goal of attracting export-oriented manufacturing activities. Consequently, Penang flourished, becoming known as the "Silicon Valley of the East" over the last 50 years. The state has attracted many technology heavyweights like AMD, Dell, Osram, Agilent Technologies, Motorola, and Intel, where these companies established their regional and global operations in Bayan Lepas, the southern part of Penang Island.

While Penang state has a vibrant and thriving Silicon Valley located in the southern part of Penang island, the historic core of George Town is experiencing depopulation and a hollowing-out process, with dwindling residential population in the heritage site from 10,159 (2009) to 9,425 (2013) and later to 6,939 in 2019, with the bulk of loss since 2013. Households in the historic city also plummeted from 2,533 (2003) to 2,302 (2013) and 1,746 in 2019 (Think City, 2021). In response, the Penang state government has mooted CD^2@George Town to bring life and people back to the historic core, and at the same time for CD^2 to be a pilot project under the CD^2 initiative, where the area will eventually transform into an Innovation District with a focus on digital technologies such as software development, artificial intelligence, data analytics, automation, and process virtualization, as well as the creative arts.

4.2.1. Digital and Creative Hub in George Town, Penang

Digital technologies have been pivotal in transforming Penang's economy. There is now a requirement for manufacturers to adopt automation, computerization, and advanced digital technology capabilities like robotics, artificial intelligence, and machine learning. Presently, there is a fast convergence of software and hardware, and the widespread adoption of software-enabled services. Thus, CD^2 serves as a digital and creative hub in the heart of George Town World Heritage Site, and also facilitates the birth of a healthy ecosystem of digital tech companies, both large enterprises and emerging start-ups, to be assisted by a skilled talent base. A design and culture cluster

14 Creative Digital District @ George Town, Source: https://cd2penang.com/about/ (accessed on July 21, 2023).

has been planned for CD^2 to nurture creative talents and produce creative products and services. [15]

The "heart" or nucleus of CD^2@George Town is located at China Street Ghaut. In a two-block radius are the city campus and creative design hub of Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM) and Wawasan Open University's (WOU) School for Digital Technology as well as companies from the digital tech industries, arts, and cultural heritage institutions. In the vicinity are government-link institutions like Digital Penang, Penang Institute, and Think City. The planning and implementation of CD^2@George Town is headed by the George Town Conservation and Development Corporation, a tripartite partnership between the Penang State Government, Think City, and Aga Khan Trust in cooperation with other statutory agencies, industries, and academia.

The district also serves as a "city campus" for businesses, educational institutions, arts, and cultural organizations and also a meeting point for the community and their ideas. It is earmarked as the hub of Penang's digital economy, creative industries, and start-ups, and a place for lifestyle, culture, arts, heritage, and knowledge acquisition. As a nucleus to catalytically stimulate innovation, creativity, and investments in digital technology, software services, and creative arts, CD^2 is envisioned as a means to revitalize the urban core as a business district. The state government visualizes CD^2 morphing its heritage character into a city campus that will witness the union of the creative and the digital and conceive a vibrant, livable, and sustainable surrounding where people can Live, Learn, Create, and Play.[16]

Digital Penang was later formed to act as enabler and orchestrator of Penang's digital strategy to harness opportunities in the new economy and upgrade livability in line with the Penang Digital Transformation Masterplan of enhancing governance, economy, community, and infrastructure. Digital Penang's key vision is to develop a connected, creative, and competitive society by leveraging technologies and extending comparative advantages in a digital economy as well as to provide solutions and infrastructure adoption to advocate an engaged community and data-driven governance. [17]

15 Creative Digital District @ George Town, Source: https://cd2penang.com/about/ (accessed on July 21, 2023).
16 Creative Digital District @ George Town, Source: https://cd2penang.com/about/ (accessed on July 21, 2023).
17 About Digital Penang (Source: https://digitalpenang.my/about/) (Accessed on August 17, 2023).

ANALYSIS:

CD^2 is a visionary initiative by the state government of Penang. However, actual take-off and the kinds of (positive) socio-economic ripple effects deriving from CD^2 are not observable at the time of this study, perhaps due to the very early stage of this pilot project, which was launched on February 25, 2022. This opens up avenues for impact studies to gauge the relevance and success of this pilot project in due course. Additionally, stakeholders have highlighted that Digital Penang should be more proactive in reaching out to the community and related stakeholders, instead of merely playing the role of an event facilitator or venue provider.

Nevertheless, to have a macro district level planning like the CD^2 is commendable and a first step toward nurturing the broader creative, digital, and cultural industries and ecosystem in Penang state. Thoughts and care, however, will have to be directed toward holistic and inclusive planning and implementation of CD^2 vis-à-vis George Town's status as a UNESCO world heritage site to ensure that the philosophies and pragmaticism of CD^2 run parallel to the conservation tenets of a UNESCO world heritage site.

4.3. Armenian AR Park (Meso Park-Level Implementation by the State and a Private Entity)

The historic city of George Town recently made headlines when it debuted the first public park project by integrating AR technology into Armenian Park, a pocket park located right in the center of George Town World Heritage Site. The AR interactive outdoor installation is a project of Perk Reality presented to the public by Penang Art District (under the State Government of Penang). Perk Reality is an application platform for AR that permits users to view artworks through their mobile devices. It was developed by Aboud Fares, an artist and self-taught app developer.

The Armenian Park project is a collaboration between Perk Reality and the Penang Art District to revitalize and bring Armenian Park to life by turning public spaces into an art and cultural space. By using AR technology, the project showcases artistic works and storytelling to and for public engagement. Managed by Perk Reality, the contents of

the artistic works in Armenian Park will change and rotate monthly. The park also provides the avenue for more and varied artists to showcase and publicize their works. This project is indeed a novel attempt to bridge the gap between conventional artists and technologies via VR and showcase local artists from Malaysia and those abroad.

The park was recently launched in February 2023 where the inaugural outdoor exhibition showcased local artist Mandy Maung's artwork Orikata Tales collection, and the project aims to create a distinctive interactive experience for visitors in the park (NST, 2023). For the first time, artists faraway and those not based in Penang can showcase their artwork in the heart of George Town without having to transport their physical masterpieces to the site (Mok, 2023). By merely tapping the Perk Reality application, the Armenian Park is turned into an interactive art experience where everyone can gain access and appreciate artworks. As users/visitors move around and scan the QR codes on the 19 stands installed in the park, they learn more about the artwork as digital artworks bloom from its greenery into their mobile devices. This AR park experience is a novel approach to cultural and artistic democratization where everyone has equal access to enjoy and appreciate art in a public space for free. Additionally, the purpose of the project is also educational, as the creator and funder aspire to introduce and bring art outdoors to the general public for all to see and appreciate. This whole idea of transforming a public space into a cultural and creative space jives with the overarching philosophy of the coming of Web 3.0 technology in a creative city where elements of immersion, fun, interaction, and play are infused in the cultural and arts appreciation process.

Copyright © Khoo Suet Leng (August 3, 2023)
<Figure 9> Armenian Park, the first virtual reality (VR) park, located in the heart of George Town World Heritage Site.

Copyright © Khoo Suet Leng (March 5, 2023)
<Figure 10> Armenian Park—description of the virtual reality park.

Copyright © Khoo Suet Leng (August 3, 2023)
<Figures 11 & 12> Examples of QR code for visitors to scan and view the virtual artworks via their mobile devices.

Copyright © Khoo Suet Leng (June 21, 2023)
<Figures 13 & 14> Park users scanning the QR code to view the virtual artworks at Armenian Park.

Copyright © Aboud Fares (August 9, 2023)
<Figures 15 & 16> Examples of artwork on display seen through mobile phone after scanning barcodes in the park.

Copyright © Aboud Fares (August 9, 2023)
<Figure 17> Examples of outdoor artwork on display through a mobile device after scanning the barcode in the park.

ANALYSIS:

Though AR technology is widely used in indoor museums (e.g., Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle in Paris, Borneo Cultures Museum in Kuching) and art galleries globally, the Armenian Park is undeniably a novel idea that counts as a first in Malaysia for AR to be applied and used outdoors for the general public to access and appreciate art.

While the main purpose of the creator and funder is to expose, educate, and make art accessible to the public, feedback from interviewees suggested that while this is an interesting project, one must be mindful of the need to integrate heritage-related elements to be showcased in the AR park (instead of general artworks) since George Town is a UNESCO heritage site.

While advanced digital technology like AR and VR is undoubtedly fashionable these days, the interviews highlighted that not all visitors to George Town World Heritage Site are ready to use this technology. It will be fun and appealing to young visitors, but it was clear during the interviews that the older cohort might not be able to enjoy it or might find it a hassle to download the apps, which in turn will deter them from using the technology and appreciating art in the park. This will create exclusion of sorts and digital inaccessibility between users of varying ages and generations.

4.4. GeNFesT (Micro Event-Level Initiative by the Private Sector Supported by the State)

4.4.1. Shift to Web 3.0 and Beyond

We are entering the third generation of the World Wide Web, more popularly known as Web 3.0, an epoch distinguished by advanced technologies like blockchain, smart contracts, artificial intelligence, machine learning, the Internet of Things, and decentralized applications (DApps). The shift from Web 2.0 to Web 3.0 has inevitably brought about changes in the production, dissemination, consumption, and ownership of web contents, which in turn have triggered a myriad of societal reactions and disruptions. Comparatively, as illustrated in **Figure 18** below, Web 1.0 as the erstwhile version allows users to only read the contents online. Subsequently, Web 2.0 advanced slightly by permitting users to read and create contents on different platforms, but these contents are owned by the platform. In the current Web 3.0 or third generation of

the World Wide Web, users are given the liberty to read and own their contents, which are stored on blockchains.

This Photo by Unknown Author is licensed under CC BY-SA-NC
<Figure 18> Progression of functions and processes from Web 1.0 to Web 2.0 to Web 3.0.

4.4.2. NFTs (Non-Fungible Tokens): Concept, Fundamentals, and Attributes

Tech and geek terminologies (i.e., NFTs, metaverse, blockchain technology) have flooded, indeed inundated digital technology discourse. For instance, in 2014, the NFT (Non-Fungible Token) was introduced. It is a form of digital asset that is stored in blockchain where it creates new avenues for ownership and value in the digital world. Every NFT is non-replaceable and unique, and can represent anything from entertainment and art to virtual banking, healthcare, real estate, and collectibles. NFTs have inadvertently disrupted and will continue to implicate all realms of societal lives and humanity. However, the level of comprehension, acceptance, and adoption of NFTs differ considerably across geographies, contexts, demographics, and societies.

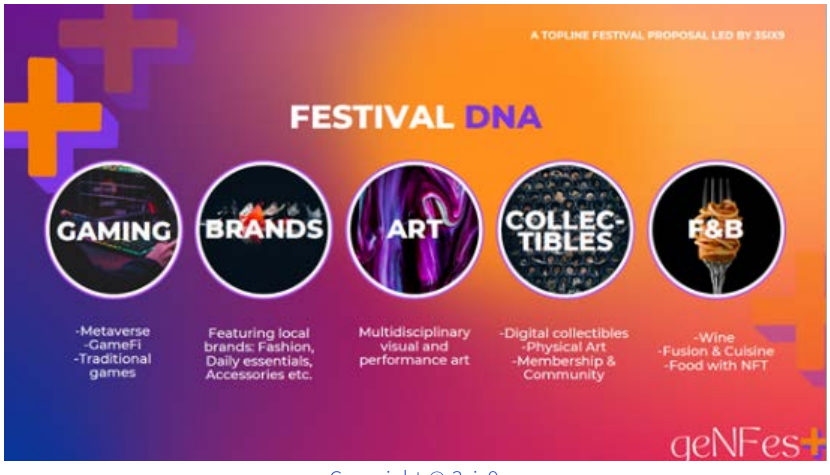
As the hype of NFTs reaches Malaysian shores, there is a group of three enthusiasts who formed their company, 3six9, with the intent to bring the awareness, acceptance, and adoption of NFTs to greater heights. To this end, geNFesT was recently launched in

the George Town World Heritage Site, Penang, Malaysia, from June 30–July 1, 2023. Organized by 3six9, it is the first ever "real-life NFT Festival from Malaysia to the world" to celebrate art, culture, and humanity in the heart of the heritage site. In a nutshell, it is a multi-dimensional, real-world experiential event centered on NFTs (non-fungible tokens). According to the organizers, the syllable "gen" was used to connote three meanings, namely, i) generations, ii) genres, and iii) generosity. The capital and hidden "NFT" embedded in the word "geNFesT" are to illustrate and showcase the celebration of NFTs. geNFesT has the four main objectives listed below, with the aim of inspiring the greater Web 2 communities:

a) EDUCATE—to accelerate awareness and education on the real-world value of NFTs.
b). ENTERTAIN—to generate public interest in NFT space via fun and exciting NFT-focused activities.
c) ENGAGE—to gather creative endeavors and to grow the NFT community.
d) EXCITE—to activate various exciting possibilities of Web 3 adoption in a vernacular physical space.

Broadly, the festival's DNA consists of five main categories: a) Gaming (i.e., Metaverse, GameFi, traditional games), b) Brands (Featuring local brands: fashion, daily essentials, accessories, etc.), c) Art (Multidisciplinary visual and performing arts), d) Collectibles (Digital collectibles, Physical art, Membership & community) and e) Food & Beverages (Wine, Fusion cuisine, Food with NFT).

Copyright © 3six9
<Figure 19> The geNFesT NFT Festival took place from June 30 to July 1, 2023, across different venues (i.e., Digital Penang, Think City, Hin Depot).



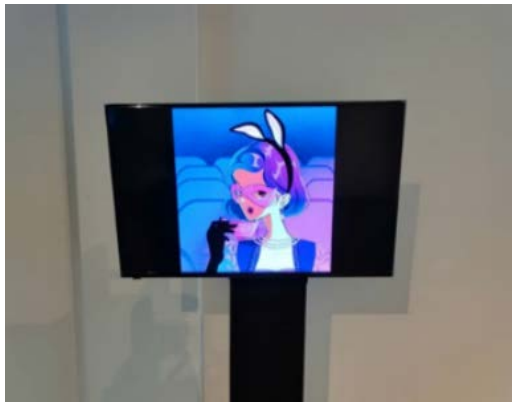
Copyright © 3six9
<Figure 20> The geNFesT NFT Festival was launched in June/July 2023—their DNA.

Copyright © Khoo Suet Leng (June 30, 2023)
<Figure 21> geNFesT in the Think City building.

Copyright © Khoo Suet Leng (June 30, 2023)
<Figure 22> Talk by industry player on the metaverse & NFTs.

Copyright © Khoo Suet Leng (June 30, 2023)

Copyright © Khoo Suet Leng (June 30, 2023)
<Figures 23 & 24> Topics on Web 3.0 by industry experts at Digital Penang during geNFesT.



Copyright © Khoo Suet Leng (June 30, 2023)

Copyright © Khoo Suet Leng (June 30, 2023)

<Figures 25 & 26> NFTs and digital art that were displayed in the Think City building during geNFesT.

Copyright © Khoo Suet Leng (July 2, 2023)

<Figure 27> Some geNFesT activities were held concurrently at Hin Bus Depot.

Copyright © Khoo Suet Leng (July 2, 2023)

<Figure 28> Web 3.0 information displayed at Hin Bus Depot.

ANALYSIS:

geNFesT is another maiden initiative in Malaysia. George Town's rich cultural heritage enticed the organizers to select the historic city to launch the inaugural geNFesT. Despite the hype of Web 3.0 among tech geeks, the attendance and deliberations during the recent geNFesT indicated that the readiness level to use NFTs is still quite low in Penang state, as laypeople in the community possess minimal knowledge of this concept. Nonetheless, the entire purpose and philosophy behind geNFesT is novel, refreshing, and contemporary, as the event aims to educate and act as an intermediary in introducing Web 3.0 and related technologies to industry, government, and society. With a turnout of 500-plus people at the event, it presents a scenario of nascency, pro-

mise, and potential where there are in fact audiences who take interest in such topics as Web 3.0 and NFTs.

Despite the fact that Web 3.0 advocates greater security, decentralization, and empowerment for businesses/industries, the too many "unknowns" about Web 3.0 caused skepticism among the Malaysian public. Sentiments and viewpoints during the talks revealed ambivalence in Web 3.0 readiness in terms of "awareness, acceptance, and adoption" when industry experts and retailers who have adopted the technology attested that market readiness is still lukewarm in Malaysia. A post-event interview further indicated that the Malaysian market is still small and the levels of Web 3.0 readiness and acceptance are better in Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia's capital city) than in Penang. With the nascency of Web 3.0 in Malaysia, it is hoped that targeted interventions such as more political will and government advocacy will be in place to gradually nurture the Web 3.0 ecosystem (i.e., human capital, infrastructure, infostructure) to fruition.

4.5. Current Readiness for High-Level Digital Technology Adoption—Findings of this Study

The above case studies were mentioned to key informants during fieldwork to probe them to identify the level of readiness of advanced digital technology adoption. A list featuring different levels of readiness was presented for them to select. Table 7 below illustrates the findings. According to the key informants, George Town World Heritage Site's readiness to adopt digital technology is at the "pre-planning stage" (8 out 20) where there is evident recognition that something must be done, although it was also highlighted that levels of readiness differ among the different stakeholders (i.e., creative industries, communities, leaders, private sector). There is also acknowledgement that there are various parties like the state, private sector, and civil society who are addressing the need to adopt and utilize digital technology in heritage preservation, though efforts might not be concerted, focused, or detailed. Subsequently, key informants (7 out of 20) also mentioned that there is "vague awareness," such that generally there are those who think that high-level digital technology adoption is a good idea, but there is no immediate motivation or push to do anything about it.

<Table 7> Indications of current readiness of high-level digital technology adoption in George Town World Heritage Site

DIMENSIONS OF READINESS (in ascending order)	KEY INFORMANTS	**FREQUENCY**
No awareness. The idea is not generally recognized by the community or leaders.	KI 6, KI 15	2
Denial/resistance. At least some community members are aware but there is little recognition of ICT use.	KI 1, KI 2, KI 8, KI 10, KI 15	5
Vague awareness. Most feel that it is a good idea, but there is no immediate motivation to do anything about it.	KI 1, KI 6, KI 7, KI 9, KI 10, KI 12, KI 15	7
Pre-planning. There is clear recognition that something must be done, and there may even be a group addressing it. However, efforts are not focused or detailed.	KI 1, KI 3, KI 6, KI 7, KI 8, KI 9, KI 10, KI 15	8
Preparation. Active leaders begin planning in earnest. The community offers modest support of their efforts.	KI 4, KI 10, KI 17	3
Initiation. Enough information is available to justify efforts. Activities are underway among certain groups.	KI 2, KI 5, KI 6, KI 10, KI 11	5
Stabilization. Activities are supported by administrators or community decision-makers. Staff are trained and experienced.	KI 4, KI 5	2
Confirmation/expansion. Efforts are in place. Community members feel comfortable using services, and they support expansion. Local data are regularly obtained.	0	0
High level of community ownership. There is detailed and sophisticated knowledge about prevalence, causes, and consequences. Effective evaluation guides new directions. The model is applied to other issues.	0	0

Additionally, from the NVivo analysis, underlying notions of readiness were unraveled and thematically organized as follows:

4.5.1. Digital Technology as Tool for Storage Purposes

The interviews revealed that different stakeholders from diverse professions/backgrounds and generations/age cohorts differ in their comprehension of the usage of digital technology in heritage preservation. Many in the professional and older cohort view digital technology as a tool for “digital storage” to provide a knowledge repository and to salvage whatever is “left” and attempt to reconstruct it for posterity. The following quotes illustrate the diversity in meanings attached to digital technology usage in heritage preservation:

I meant digital as in LiDAR, photogrammetry, video, and everything. Digital archives of living heritage of craft methodologies and those sorts of things. It's a way of preserving the heritage of the city. I was talking about the type of digital technology, about providing a knowledge bank and providing a source of material because it has been preserved in a digital form, not this type of AR technology.
(KI 13: Conservation Architect-cum-Cultural Anthropologist)

No matter how hard we are trying to preserve it, it also cannot be preserved. So, I think the technology is good for us to help to keep it and to pass it on to the next generation. So, at least they can see what it is through VR. Otherwise, if it is a written text, it is difficult for them to imagine. So, I see it's good.
(KI 14: Exec. Secretary of Clans Council)

Like in archaeology, when we dig, we do excavation, we use new technology to try to understand what is going on. We have new machines ⋯ very top-end equipment, sophisticated, cost millions, and these are used to extract data information from the skeletons. So, we use all these to help us in our research to collect data. The same thing where high digital technology can be used to the heritage in George Town to preserve the past using digital. Digital technology can also help preserve the authenticity of the site by not touching the original. You just use AR to reconstruct by using virtual only.
(KI 19: Professor of Archaeology)

4.5.2. Digital Technology Utilization as a Youthful Endeavor

The readiness of digital technology adoption is also influenced by the age and generational factors. The interviews have revealed highly pertinent findings regarding differences in terms of awareness, acceptance, and adoption by the old and young. As expected, there is some resistance and skepticism among the older cohort, where VR is perceived as being "scary," while others question the actions of politicians as "gimmicky" without real purpose for heritage preservation when advanced digital technology like AR is used.

Yeah, the idea of technology can be very scary for a lot of people, especially the older generation. So, it's just like finding the balance. There's a lot of potential of technology if done well for the right reasons, it can be very, very cool, very beneficial. Yeah! And exciting for the younger generation.
(KI 7: Creative Producer)

> *I think they (the politicians) understand it on a different level, but this stuff VR in a park is just gimmicky tourism crap. Sorry. But not necessarily with full understanding, but then if it's not been presented to them before, with a sort of balanced argument, they won't have a full understanding. Politicians need to have a real sense of purpose. But they're rushing from one gimmick to another to gain popularity.*
> *(KI 13: Conservation Architect-cum-Cultural Anthropologist)*

Nonetheless, it has to be acknowledged that advanced digital technology has arrived on Malaysian shores and it should be adopted responsibly and purposely applied to ensure the demographic shift in any city or society, cultivating more youths whose behavioral preferences incline toward technologies like AR and VR. The following quotes succinctly illustrate the promise and potential of pivoting to digital technology to excite the young in heritage preservation en route to cultural sustainability.

> *If you talk about history, you know, through books, it can be pretty boring. So digital is like a new media form to keep them interested.*
> *(KI 3: Artist & Cultural Practitioner)*

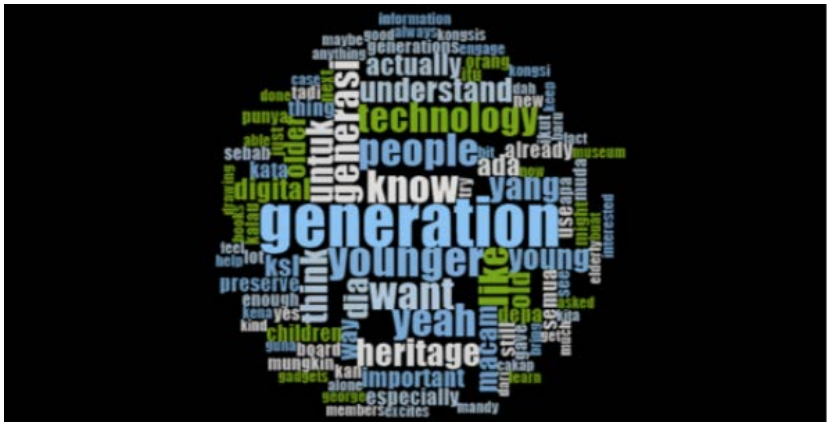
> *For heritage to be intact with the younger generation, we have to move to the way they are actually adopting technology. They're already into AR, VR, and it excites them more to use this for heritage. In fact, if you want them to go into the museum and if you just ask them to read the artifacts, they're not interested. So, the AR, VR gadgets attract them. If you look at the Borneo new museum, they're very successful. They can bring in three-year-olds and they play around because they are able to already adapt the technology. It excites the children. Heritage preservation is not about the oldies in George Town. It's about the younger generation appreciating their heritage and for them to continue preserving it.*
> *(KI 10: General Manager, State Government's office)*

> *Because we never know how the younger generation or the future generation would actually want to learn about heritage. Because the learning process and how they actually understand about it is not the conventional way as what we expected.*
> *(KI 20: Academic, Public University)*

Whether the next generation realizes that it's important for them, we have to play a role in educating and promoting. In that sense, lots more can be done. When technology comes in, the younger generation will be attracted. I think that it is not only a tool, it is also a bridge for our advocacy when it comes to heritage preservation. I find there is then an opportunity for us to bring the younger generation. After all, preservation is about preserving it for the next generation.
(KI 15: Chairman of Art Gallery-cum-Art Enthusiast)

Different generations and age cohorts use digital technology differently where their sensitivity toward technology differs.
(KI 18: Town Planner)

The importance to acknowledge the aspect of generational gap between the young and old in terms of digital technology awareness, acceptance, and adoption is further validated through the Word Cloud generated from NVivo, as seen in Figure 29 below.



<Figure 29> Word cloud illustrating the younger generation's higher preference for digital in heritage preservation.

4.6. Issues and Challenges of Digital Technology Adoption for Heritage Preservation

Key informants were next asked to identify and rank the issues from a list provided in the interview protocol as shown in Table 8. The findings showed that a majority (13 out of 20) highlighted the "lack of knowledge in suitable digital technology" as the main issue by creative/cultural practitioners and the local communities in George Town Heritage Site, followed by the issue of lack of financial resources to adopt and adapt the requisite advanced digital technology. Relatedly, high capital cost for ICT equipment

and setting-up was also mentioned. Other issues that warrant attention include: a) shortage of human capital, b) inadequate infrastructure, c) traditionalist views of refraining ICT usage, and d) addition of ICT maintenance costs to existing expenses.

<Table 8>: Issues and challenges identified by key informants

ISSUES/CHALLENGES	KEY INFORMANTS	FREQUENCY
Lack of knowledge of suitable digital technology	KI 2, KI 5, KI 6, KI 7, KI 8, KI 10, KI 11, KI 12, KI 14, KI 15, KI 17, KI 18, KI 19	13
Lack of financial resources	KI 2, KI 5, KI 6, KI 9, KI 10, KI 12, KI 13, KI 14, KI 15, KI 18, KI 20	11
High capital cost for ICT equipment and installation	KI 2, KI 5, KI 10, KI 11, KI 12, KI 14, KI 15, KI 17, KI 18	9
Shortage of human capital	KI 5, KI 6, KI 10, KI 11, KI 12, KI 15, KI 19, KI 20	8
Inadequate infrastructure	KI 7, KI 9, KI 10, KI 12, KI 13, KI 14, KI 15, KI 19	8
Traditionalist views of refraining ICT usage	KI 3, KI 5, KI 7, KI 9, KI 11, KI 12, KI 16, KI 20	8
Addition of ICT maintenance costs to existing expenses	KI 2, KI 5, KI 9, KI 10, KI 14, KI 17, KI 18, KI 19	8
Lack of political will	KI 1, KI 3, KI 7, KI 15, KI 19	8
Policies and regulatory restrictions and constraints	KI 1, KI 6	5
Cultural heritage must be experienced in person	KI 9, KI 18	2
Others, please state: Bureaucratic issues Lack exposure to latest technologies Low preparedness of right policies/guidelines/ regulations Issues related to curating the viewpoints/ perspectives of the story	 KI 4 KI 5 KI 13 KI 16	

Further analysis with NVivo triangulated the interview transcripts, highlighting the following themes and quotes.

4.6.1. The “Do Not Know What You Do Not Know” Syndrome

The way in which Industrial Revolution 4.0 and Web 3.0 are so quickly reinventing digital technology has caused many to lag behind in terms of keeping abreast with the latest knowledge. This quick and unprecedented shift has caused the “do not know what you do not know” syndrome to permeate society.

I will just say ⋯ not suitable digital technology. Technology evolves too fast, and people cannot even adopt one new one yet and it is changing again.
(KI 10: General Manager, State Government's office)

I think these two—the lack of knowledge and traditionalist views—are the same and linked. When people don't have the knowledge, then they become scared. Let's say for the A.I. thing, "Eh, what is this? This is not real. I want the real painting by this this artist. Personal touch."
(KI 11: Director, NFT Company)

I'm unsure about the suitable digital technology to use ⋯ which knowledge should I use to help my work and I also always have this anxiety. I think it is as if I have no more ideas.
(KI 8: Architect-cum-Cultural Event Manager)

Lack of knowledge in digital things. Yeah! A lot of things we still do not know.
(KI 6: Local tourist guide-cum-President)

Maybe, I do not know. I think it's just that people just wanted the way as it is. Maybe they're not familiar with this type of technology yet. Or they see it, but they do not understand it. They do not really like to get out of the comfort zone.
(KI 3: Artist & Cultural Practitioner)

I would say lack of knowledge, right? Lack of knowledge more so in processes. And currently, we are troubleshooting a lot like it does not have to be a product-orientated processes that we need to have development passing. In the art scene, right, everything is, "I give you money, you give me product, I give you money, you give me product." There's no room for experimentation. There's no room for research. There's no room for these sorts of things. So, I think that is needed to have more research like this in place.
(KI 7: Creative Producer)

4.6.2. Coming to Terms with Change—Physical versus Virtual?

As society embraces transformation, particularly a rather radical one that involves transcending physical settings into virtual realms, the responses from key informants indicate ambivalence in terms of coming to terms with the changes necessitated by AI and the emergence of VR, AR, and the metaverse in heritage conservation. The following quotes illustrate the scenario for George Town World Heritage Site:

I think the problem is sometimes when we have the purists, they really want to see the authentic version and they cannot negotiate something that's actually very modern, very new without understanding the way how people perceive or see that art actually will change. We cannot be so stubborn because we need to understand that as human beings, we are evolving. We need to also understand what they want to see, what they want to hear or whatsoever are going to change, or they are going to be very unsure on what they want. You need to know how to negotiate. You cannot be so stuck with whatever that you want to showcase and be very stubborn about it.
(KI 20: Academic, Public University)

I will be more interested in being able to touch a piece of wood and to feel the quality of the carving rather than just see it as an image through VR goggles. I think it's like one thing we missed from COVID was community—the sense of being. Cultural heritage must be experienced in person, exactly. I mean, this whole thing (i.e., VR) is a bit like instant gratification like a ready meal.
(KI 13: Conservation Architect-cum-Cultural Anthropologist)

I think it is the traditionalist view where some people say it is not adequate. Whatever captured here does not represent the full nine yards of experience of what the culture is.
(KI 16: CEO, State Digital Officer)

If we use VR, we wo not feel the actual ambience of the heritage site. Then there would not be demand and local spin-off of economic activities in the heritage site. I also feel that cultural heritage must be experienced in person.
(KI 18: Town Planner)

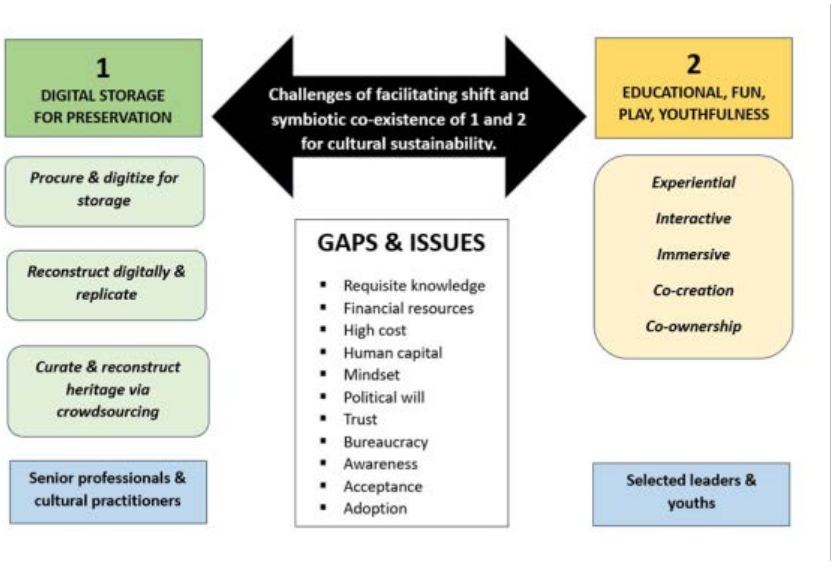
5. Conclusion and Implications

In creative and cultural cities globally, the integration of advanced digital technology in heritage preservation is gaining momentum, particularly after the COVID-19 pandemic. Adoption of AI, VR, and AR technologies has inevitably altered the production processes of creative and cultural industries and subsequently the way upon which cultural heritage is preserved. While digital technology is much welcomed as a tool or medium to digitize and reconstruct heritage artifacts and to populate the digital heritage repository for posterity, it can also be a double-edged sword when concerns related to low digital availability, disproportionate digital accessbility, and un-

even digital penetration in society/community/city come to the fore. Singularly or collectively, these are contributing factors that influence the readiness of the urban citizenry to adopt advanced digital technology. Thus, it is of paramount importance to leverage digital technology for purposeful heritage conservation to ensure that the cultural values, narratives, and shared and collective memories of both tangible and intangible heritage remain intact and authentic.

This study has illustrated that Penang state has clear strategic directions to become a green, family-focused Smart State by 2030 with clear policy initiatives and blueprints for advanced digital technology adoption. However, the way in which digital technology is adopted and integrated within the George Town World Heritage Site is less clear and sketchy given that the site's conservation management plan (i.e., Special Area Plan 2016) did not mention clearly adoption of digital technology for the heritage site. Nonetheless, the three case studies in this paper are existing examples of novel but piecemeal efforts by the state, private sector, and local communities to integrate and adopt digital technology in heritage conservation and creative city development, albeit with mixed reactions, readiness levels, and issues from the diverse stakeholders (i.e., creative/cultural industries, communities, private sector, leaders). There is a macro level urban planning initiative in place for the state's endeavor to earmark parts of the heritage site as the Creative Digital District@George Town (CD^2), although this project had yet to reach fruition at the time this paper was written. Similarly, to revitalize the Armenian Street pocket park, the ingenious idea by the creator of integrating Augmented Reality (AR) technology as a way to introduce, educate, and promote art to the public is novel. The fact that it is a successful private-public initiative is also heartening. Even though the AR Park is relatively new, under-utilized, and still largely unknown to the public, the efforts toward digitalization of arts and cultural democratization are commendable. At a micro festival level, the recently launched geNFesT, though less vibrant and dynamic than envisaged, is also a move in the right direction, where the prime motive of the organizers is to expose and introduce the general public to new concepts, products, services, and practices in the shift to IR 4.0 and Web 3.0. It is inevitable that elements like the metaverse and NFTs will implicate t-

he structure, agency, and processes in George Town World Heritage Site in a myriad of ways. In comprehending readiness levels and issues related to digital technology, heritage preservation, and creative city development, the findings from this study can be neatly summed up and illustrated in Figure 29 below, showing that all stakeholders now must come together to face the challenges of facilitating the shift from 1 to 2 and ensure a symbiotic co-existence of mindsets for cultural sustainability in George Town World Heritage Site. Figure 29 was constructed based on the diversity in the voices, needs, and aspirations of stakeholders regarding how they comprehend, implement, and address the gaps and issues of technology adoption in heritage preservation for George Town World Heritage Site.



<Figure 29> Diversity in comprehension, implementation, gaps, and issues of digital technology adoption in George Town World Heritage Site (analyzed and derived from narratives of stakeholders).

In light of the above occurrences, this study holds several implications. First, the conceptual implications require revisiting existing concepts of heritage conservation for George Town and integrating and adopting digital technology accordingly, based on stakeholders' understanding of digitalization and in alignment with the needs and requirements of a UNESCO World Heritage Site amid the changes necessitated by IR4.0 and Web 3.0. The spectrum of comprehension should be illustrated along a continuum comprehensively spanning from "mere digital heritage storage for preservation" (which is commonly upheld by the older and professional cohort) to understanding digital heritage as "being understood and appreciated by the younger generation." This includes the infusion and adoption of advanced digital technology like AR, VR, and the

metaverse wherever appropriate for heritage preservation to be educational, experiential, immersive, fun, playful, and youthful as a means to entice and excite the younger generation into heritage preservation. This in turn will ensure cultural sustainability for the next generation. The harmonization of "old and new mindsets" needs to be considered in reconceptualizing digital heritage preservation for George Town. Additionally, notions, rhetoric, and actions in the experiential economy and the virtual metaverse realm like "experiential, interactive, immersive, co-creation, and co-ownership" should gradually be assimilated by local stakeholders and become part of the equation—facilitating the move toward an inclusive and sustainable creative city that is digitally tech-ready as the city ushers in IR 4.0 and Web 3.0.

Second, while existing state policy blueprints like the Penang 2030 Plan, Digital Transformation Masterplan 1.0, and State Secretary Strategic Digitalization Plan are commendable and acknowledged, a clearer strategic direction/policy brief specifically for George Town World Heritage Site should be in place. While CD^2 is a useful pilot project in this direction, an "all-sector, all-government, all-society" approach should be adopted where state strategic visions should tie in and cascade down to the heritage site to avoid fragmentation and disconnectedness during actual implementation. In many instances, there are diverse masterplans that are furnished with broad motherhood statements but fail to converge or find a common ground to take off. Thick and rigid bureaucratic red tape further exacerbates the situation. For policy, this study implies that digital technology adoption and adaptation should be carefully integrated and crafted into George Town's conservation management plan so that future planning and development are mindful of this aspect. The current Special Area Plan, which is under revision, should seize the opportunity to integrate advanced digital technology into its contents wherever deemed necessary and appropriate. This is also a strategic pathway increasingly emulated by historic cities globally as they evolve to become "smart historic cities" with proper smart infrastructures (i.e., 5G connectivity), infostructures, funding, and political will in place amid preserving their cultural heritage with authenticity and integrity.

Third, among the practical implications, greater efforts should go toward educating and creating awareness among the diverse stakeholders (i.e., private, public, civil society) of IR 4.0, the coming of Web 3.0, and the ways in which the creative and cultural industries within the heritage site will be impacted and implicated. Drawing from success stories and best practices from other Western or Eastern historic cities would be a good strategy to educate and impart the requisite knowledge, education, and training on digital technology to all and sundry in George Town World Heritage Site. Human capital of sufficient quantity and quality needs to be nurtured or fostered in the area of heritage conservation and digital technology. Nonetheless, the findings and lessons gleaned from this study also have utility, relevance, and currency for other Malaysian historic cities and those within the ASEAN region or further afield. The study nevertheless acknowledges that this was a preliminary and exploratory qualitative study subject to time and manpower constraints. A further quantitative study in the later phases would be a useful supplement that could serve as as a reference for future research. With the advent of IR 4.0 and Web 3.0 currently at our doorsteps, the structure and agency of all related stakeholders (i.e., public, private, civil society) of a UNESCO historic city like George Town will need to be targeted by collective and concerted efforts to revisit existing policies by incorporating digital technology as a means to preserve, conserve, and safeguard the historic city's tangible and intangible cultural heritage for posterity.

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1) Narrating Dissonant Heritage: The Former International Concessions in Tianjin Museums between Patriotism and Nostalgia (Part I)

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Abstract

Although the concessions have recently been recognized as heritage by the Chinese national and local authorities, they represent in many respects a “dissonant” heritage, as they are the result of the “colonial” presence in Tianjin of nine foreign powers over several decades. The aim of this article is to understand how museums and interpretation centers in contemporary Tianjin present international concessions, in other words, the urban elements built by Western powers that “occupied” parts of Chinese territory. Drawing on the literature on international concessions, the representation of a dissonant heritage in museums, the mechanisms of nostalgia and forgetting, and the relationship between museographic narratives and patriotism, the article analyzes a corpus of eight museums (Commander Zhang’s Mansion; Ma Zhanshan’s Mansion; Museum of Modern History of Tianjin; Five Avenues History Museum; Quan Ye Chang Department Store Museum; Zhang House; Astor Hotel Museum; the Planning Museum of Tianjin) located in three different former international concessions, as well as the Tianjin Museum. The analysis is based on a common observation grid and a number of semi-direct interviews with staff from the museums. The article captures and analyzes the main narratives from three perspectives: The first tends to revisit the concession period as evidence of the beginning of modernity in China, in which the life story of celebrities and the emergence of modern urban elements are praised. The second is to see the concession as a dreamlike past of “others,” as a “foreign land” and as events that occurred in a context that is alien to contemporary life in China, where the past is an argument in favor of the thematization and leisure of Western architecture. The third offers selected and targeted narratives focusing on the heroes of the Republic of China and the post-1949 People’s Republic of China. It is this bipolarity between nostalgia and patriotism vis-à-vis the Western concessions that this paper seeks to bring out and further understand.

1. Introduction

Since the beginning of the 21st century, and especially since the last decade, museums and interpretation centers have been booming in Tianjin, particularly those engaging with the history of the former foreign concessions. While museums dealing with the colonial past is nothing new, evolving from re-interpretation of trauma, oblivion, and the nostalgia of a "romantic" past of others, the abundance and the diversity of museums in Tianjin is puzzling and raises questions about the way the dissonant past materialized through the heritage of the concessions and how it is being narrated and history re-appropriated. As Wei and Fang (2022) have underlined considering the case of colonial heritage in Kulangsu (China), visitors are interested in these former colonial sites and do not necessarily have negative impressions or discourses. Moreover, they actually expect authorities to present comprehensive and neutral information about these sites to reflect and develop their own conceptions of the colonial heritage. Taking this perspective into account, this paper examines the different discourses and museography (and the actors managing them) located in Tianjin and how they deal with the difficult colonial past.

The paper follows the perspective of dissonant heritage (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996) to critically engage with the discourses and scenography of these museums. The dissonance is conceptualized around the difficult historical dimension held within the materiality of the buildings, their architecture, as well as the planning of the Western concessions, reproducing urban models of the concessionary countries. These material elements and the intangible dimensions they entail are the backbone on which the museums' exhibits rest. How can the popularity of these museums be explained and how do they differentiate themselves from one another? We contend that the postcolonial perspectives presented within these museums, while still following a politically authorized discourse, also offer different historical interpretations to fit within the realm of capitalism, more specifically the tourism and leisure industries.

We attempt to delineate the ecologies of these museums by first assessing their geographies in the former concessions and their main topic of focus. We then look at how these sites are managed and what products besides the exhibits are offered. We fi-

nally move to the exhibitions per se and the analysis of the narration and exhibition design, identifying three main ideal-typical ideologies: 1) the concessions as a trigger of modernity; 2) the concessions as a nostalgic “elsewhere”; and 3) the concessions as a traumatic past serving as a vector for propaganda of the People’s Republic of China.

The paper is structured as follows: After contextualizing museums’ discourses and narration in the larger debate on post-colonial heritage and dissonant heritage, we provide a comprehensive presentation of the museums present in Tianjin and discuss the concessions. We then focus on three selected museums representative of our three ideal-typical cases, before moving to the discussion.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Former colonial sites, dissonance, and interpretation

International concessions in China contrast with colonies, as China still retained formal political independence at the time, while being dominated (economically, militarily, or politically) by one or more imperialist powers (Gotteland, 2015; Gravari-Barbas et al., 2023). Buildings that were constructed by foreign powers, and this is the case in Tianjin, demonstrated national architectural features (the Italian Renaissance style, etc.) symbolically representing the power and the “civilizing” authority of the respective Western metropoles (Coslett, 2019). These foreign architectural elements on Chinese soil assumed significant meaning beyond their function as they were objects of representation of colonial Western states (De Angeli, 2010, cited in Gravari-Barbas et al., 2023) embedding the national fictions of imperial nation-states.

Narration and interpretation around former colonial sites, more specifically in dedicated museums or interpretation centers, is not a neutral action, as it involves addressing the dimensions and symbols of domination. Indeed, these built elements can be associated with a “dissonant heritage” (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996), as despite their history, over the past decades they have been preserved, restored, protected, and re-appropriated. They can also be associated with the notion of "difficult heritage," as t-

ermed by Macdonald, meaning heritage that can disturb a positive self-identity (2015: 7). While in the case of Tianjin, the dissonance of this heritage has been neutralized through commodification, commercialization, and touristification (Gravari et al., 2023), narrating their history implies the re-appropriation and re-interpretation of this same history. As underlined by Dragićević Šešić and Rogač Mijatović in their analysis of post-socialist heritage in the Balkan region (2014, p. 10) "(...) inventing new traditions and interpretations of the past is a part of the general process of political, economic and cultural transition (...)." This is especially the case for nations that have been experiencing domination and want to move away from narrated events by former colonial powers. Svensson, for instance, explains how public initiatives in India have attempted to memorialize the establishment of India and Pakistan as postcolonial states in terms of violent partitioning rather than as a successful act of independence from British imperialism (Svensson, 2021). While doubts as to whether these initiatives are successful have been raised, the author nevertheless shows that difficult and dissonant heritage holds transformative potential (Svensson, 2021).

2.2 Museums and post-colonial history

Museums are "complex, multilayered and multifunctional sites that maintain vast networks of significance across history, place and politics, mobility, identity and economics" (Message, 2006, p. 198). According to Lord and Blankenberg (2015), in addition to becoming cultural landmarks, museums through their engagement with civil society become anchor institutions and the sites of placemaking that generate social capital and accelerate cultural change.As presented by Nakano in the case of East Asian World War II heritage and its interpretation and memories, the messages conveyed through the objects engage the senders into discursive processes and practices that have the potential to reshape social relations and policy directions (2018, p. 50). In some cases, a museum's "colonial capital" may even assist their nations' diplomatic agendas (Grincheva, 2020, p. 114; Hoogwaerts, 2016), as these institutions have the power through their artifacts to construct a "truth" with evidence from the past (Nakano, 2018). Museums as institutions are highly political and mediate

between objects and visitors. When associated with tourism, these museums can also contribute to economic development and social advancement. While museums are often found as flagships for urban regeneration projects (Hamnet & Shoval, 2003; Leng & Chen, 2021), this is less the case for the museums on concessions found in Tianjin, where the latter seem more to accompany and support the redevelopment projects of these areas. Displayed objects, discourses, or representations are thus important matters to be critically investigated to understand which history supports the rehabilitation of these concessions. For instance, Leng and Chen (2021, p. 265), showed in the case of Shanghai how the revival of "red culture" in museums has been mobilized and closely associated with local redevelopment schemes of the city.

Some scholars, such as Wei and Feng, contend that adopting a post-colonial perspective on colonial artifacts means that "colonial heritage is associated with a colonial history that is usually deemed to be negative, traumatic, and humiliating for nations that were colonized" (2022, p. 2). Other researchers have shown that this process can also negatively impact the local community's identity (Liu & Chen, 2018). Others (Kaur, 2017) think that the sharing of individual "success stories" and the construction of consensual collective memories may overshadow the trauma and suffering, as well as critically engage with history. This is the example given by Harrison (2010, p. 244) in his account of the state-run National Museum of Kenya (NMK), which had undergone major refurbishment in the year 2005, with the creation of a "history gallery" to produce an "inclusive" story of Kenya. As social and political struggles have remained silent, the focus being on non-controversial subjects, it was said that NMK had "failed to address issues of immediate relevance to the citizenry," including the colonial experience and struggle for independence (Munene, 2005, in Harrison, 2013, p. 245). This "overshadowing" of history can also be adopted through a "nostalgic" perspective. As Walder (2009, p. 939) comments: "Nostalgia clearly involves pain as well as pleasure, and taps into a reservoir of feelings that vary according to context." Quoting Boym, who distinguishes two basic kinds of nostalgia, restorative and reflective (939), he states that nostalgia is qualified and distanced by an awareness that the past cannot be restored but that it is approachable through "stories and secrets" (940). It becomes part of a healing process. These stories raise the question not only of whose voices are being heard, but also of how they are being considered and presented

as ‘dissonant heritage’, the consideration and management of which poses challenges not only to historians and heritage managers, but to us all (Murray, 1994)”

2.3 “Dissonant heritage” and the commodification of history

Dragićević Šešić and Rogač Mijatović (2014) point out that in the process of intermingling and struggling between globalization and local cultural practices, memory, culture, and society are renegotiated in their interactions. Especially for the “unwelcome past” and the heritage in tense contexts, the possibilities of re-creation are opened up by the reconstruction of tourism narratives. In interpreting and managing this dissonant heritage, tourism engages in memory conflicts and guides the viewer’s understanding of the history of the heritage through narrative (Naef & Ploner, 2016). The tourists can also take a proactive position, while the particular selection of exoticism as a marketing object for commercial activities has allowed tourists to participate in the “dissonant” heritage narrative, not just as passive observers but by joining the performance on stage, thus forming their own interpretation (Banaszkiewicz, 2016). The complex interactions between tour operators, guides, tourists, and other tourism actors reinterpret discordant memories and tend to “banalise” complex heritage discourses into more acceptable narratives, or even the “Hollywoodisation” of history (Causevic & Lynch, 2011).

Especially for the former colonial destinations, as Cheer and Reeves (2015) suggest, the redevelopment and revival of exclusive “comfort zones” for the “colonial class” and the consumption of colonial nostalgia through tourism can exacerbate social and political sensitivities. However, the scenario may be more complex for former concessions. It was not only foreigners who lived in the concession but also the Chinese upper class: educators, artists, politicians, and intellectual figures, who constituted the main demographic of the left-wing revolutionary activities of that era. The concessions, against the backdrop of unbalanced power relations, created a social

space where different cultures met, clashed, and struggled. These concessions provided the hidden space needed by the left-wing revolution in China at the time, making these sites a special part of China's "red memory" (Wang & Shen, 2021). For example, the Site of the First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party is located in the former French Concession in Shanghai. The "hybrid" heritage (Gravari-Barbas et al., 2021) of former concessions not only implies a "cultural contact zone" (Pratt, 2012) but also implies a mix of the heritage of the occupied past and nationalist sentiments.

The context of patriotism provides further legitimacy for concession tourism, especially when the history of invasion associated with the concession is viewed as contributing to and galvanizing the revolution. It has particularly benefited from the popularity of red tourism, a means of promoting the commemoration of the events of the communist revolution, monuments, the former homes of historical and patriotic personalities, and other attractions to strengthen the patriotic national identity of the country and to promote the development of the local economy (Tang et al., 2021). Becoming a red tourist attraction, often through museums, not only serves ideological legitimacy in line with the mainstream discourse (Vickers, 2007) but also generates a vibrant "red" economy through the commodification of space to attract investment and consumption (Lin, 2015). A mixed discourse then is formed: The former homes of famous people in the concessions in particular would be seen as the perfect place to build Red Museums. Their own glamorous lives as upper-class people, including the intersection of Chinese and Western civilizations, provide a nostalgic reminder of the concession time.

3. Methodology

An impressive number of museums have sprung up in Tianjin's international concessions since the beginning of the 21st century (Table 1). The creation of these museums—which are generally very uneven in terms of collections and museographic projects—has coincided with the recognition of the heritage of the former concessions and its enhancement, including for tourism purposes. The term "museum" is not the most appr-

ost appropriate for some of these spaces, which can be linked to interpretation areas.

The research method is based on the analysis of a selected number of museums related to international concessions. Museums may be concerned with the concessions in general, sometimes through a specific theme (as in the case of the Tianjin Museum of Modern History, which focuses on famous international personalities in Tianjin as part of the city's modern history), or more often with a more specific concession (as in the case of the Five Avenues Museum in Tianjin, devoted to the history of the British Concession). They can also be more specific museums dedicated to an important place located in the concessions, thereby encompassing the history of the concessions as a whole (as is the case of the museum located in the Astor Hotel, also located in the British Concession). They can also be museums dedicated to an illustrious figure who lived in the concessions in the past.

However, Tianjin's concessionary history, which is a determinant for the city, is also presented in city museums located outside the concessions, the most important such, museum being the Tianjin Museum, located at Tianjin's Cultural Center and founded in 2012.

<Table 1> List of museums presenting the concessionary history of Tianjin (located in the concessions)

DATE OF OPENING (and closing)	NAME OF THE MUSEUM	FORMER CONCESSION	TYPE OF THE MUSEUM
2002	MUSEUM OF MODERN HISTORY OF TIANJIN	BRITISH	The concessions in general, with focus on foreign personalities
2003	MEMORIAL OF LIANG QICHAO	ITALIAN	Illustrious personality
2005	MÉMORIAL OF THE OFFICE OF THE NORTH OF THE CPC COMMITTEE	FRENCH	Memorial
2007	MUSEUM OF PORCELAIN	FRENCH	Museum dedicated to an activity/art
2008	MUSEUM OF WESTERN FINE ARTS	FRENCH	Museum dedicated to an activity/art
2008	MUSEUM OF THE ELECTRIC TECHNOLOGY OF TIANJIN	ITALIAN	Museum dedicated to an activity/art
2009	MUSEUM OF URBANISM OF TIANJIN	ITALIAN	Comprehensive museum with a sectio n dedicated to the concessions

2009	FIVE AVENUES HISTORY MUSEUM	BRITISH	Site museum (British Concession)
2010	MUSEUM OF THE POST OF TIANJIN	FRENCH	Museum dedicated to an activity/art
2010	ASTOR HOTEL MUSEUM	BRITISH	Site museum (Hotel Aster)
2010	MUSEUM OF THE CALAMBAC ART OF TIANJIN	BRITISH	Museum dedicated to an activity/art
2010	MUSEUM OF FINANCE OF TIANJIN	FRENCH	Museum dedicated to an activity/art
2010	MEMORIAL OF THE FORMER HOUSE OF CAO YU	ITALIAN	Illustrious personality
2012 (currently closed)	INTERPRETATION SPACE OF THE QINGWANGFU PALACE	BRITISH	Site museum (Qingwangfu)
2012	COMMANDER ZHANG'S MANSION	FRENCH	Illustrious personality
2014	MUSEUM OF FILM CAMERAS OF TIANJIN	BRITISH	Museum dedicated to an activity/art
2015	MAISON OF MA ZHANSHAN, XIANNONG	BRITISH	Illustrious personality & Site museum for the British Concession and Xiannong
Around 2014	WANG GUANGYING MUSEUM (CELEBRITY IMPRESSION MUSEUM)	BRITISH	Illustrious personality
2012	TIANJIN MUSEUM	OUTSIDE THE CONCESSIONS	Comprehensive museum with a section dedicated to the concessions
2016	TIANJIN MEMORY EXHIBITION HALL	ITALIAN	Museum dedicated to an activity/art
2017	MUSEUM OF THE ART OF STONE OF TIANJIN	BRITISH	Museum dedicated to an activity/art
2017	MUSEUM OF INTANGIBLE HERITAGE OF THE HEPING DISTRICT OF TIANJIN	BRITISH	Museum dedicated to an activity/art
2018	ZHANG HOUSE	BRITISH	Illustrious personality
2021	MUSEUM OF THE DEPARTMENT STORE QUAN YE CHANG	FRENCH	Site museum

We have selected nine of these museums as representing the different types of concession or concession-related museums. They were all created between 2002 and 2021.

<Table 2> Characteristics of the selected museums

DATE OF OPENING (and closing)	NAME OF THE MUSEUM	Management (Public/ private)	Area (m^2)	Type of visits (free/ guided/ immersive)	Short description of the museum
2002	MUSEUM OF MODERN HISTORY OF TIANJIN	Private	700	Free visit (currently closed to the public)	This museum undertakes the responsibility of collection, research, and presentation of modern history materials and cultural relics of Tianjin and even China
2009	MUSEUM OF URBANISM OF TIANJIN	Public	15000	Free & Guided visit	Presentation of urban master plans, special plans, urban designs, and detailed plans of various key projects of Tianjin
2009	FIVE AVENUES HISTORY MUSEUM	Private	2000	Free visit & Guided visit	Comprehensive presentation of the history and culture of Wudadao area, including the interior of famous houses, the exterior of famous streets, the lives of famous people, and the anecdotes of famous families.

2010	ASTOR HOTEL MUSEUM	Public	700	Free visit	Presentation of the history of Astor Hotel, founded in 1863 as the first hotel in the British Concession
2012	COMMANDER ZHANG'S MANSION	Private	about 1400	Free visit of the mansion; immersive visit of the thematic area	The museum is dedicated to ZHANG Xueliang, born in Haicheng, a vice- commander in general of the land, navy and , and air forces of the Nanjing Government in 1930, who launched the Xian event in 1936. The museum consists of is is composed by Zhang's Villa and by a reproduction of a series of spaces of Tianjin in the 1920s-30s. Next to it is, in the former residence of FAN Zhuzhai next to the Mansion, which serves used as the ssettingsetting for an immersive activity.
2015	MA ZHANSHAN'S MANSION, XIANNONG	Public		Free visit	Focusing on the life of Ma Zhanshan, commemorating his anti-Japanese deeds and spirit
2012	TIANJIN MUSEUM	Public	64003	Free visit	The collection of Tianjin Museum is a combination of Chinese artworks of the past dynasties, modern historical documents, and local historical materials, showing the history and status of Tianjin
2018	ZHANG'S MANSION	Public	2375	Guided immersive visit	"Red Seals" witnessed the overthrow of the imperial system and the creation of the republic, the Japanese invasion of China, and the fight of the people against the invasion, as well as the liberation of Tianjin and the changes in China's modern history.
2021	MUSEUM OF THE DEPARTMENT STORE QUAN YE CHANG	Private		Free visit	The history of Quan Ye Chang, as well as a hundred years of Tianjin commercial development

On-site observation

Each museum was observed according to the following protocol: i) a visit to the museum; participation, where available, in a guided tour or an immersive visit; ii) photographic coverage of the exhibits; iii) recording of the texts of the labels in Chinese and English; iv) note-taking or recording of the visits given by a guide; and v) note-taking of the activities proposed as part of the immersive visits.

All the data were subjected to a lexical analysis aimed at identifying the way in which the concessions and their artifacts were presented.In particular, we sought to capture the tone in which the concessions were presented: Did the museum emphasize the fact that these sites were the fruit of China's past resistance, or the relics of the "century of humiliation" (Adcock Kaufman, 2010), an expression used in China to describe the peri-

od of intervention and subjugation of the Qing dynasty and the Republic of China by the Western powers and Japan, from 1839 to the 1940s? In this second case, how did the museum deal with the painful past within the framework of the national expression of contemporary China, and how was the history of the concessions mobilized to reconstruct the city's identity for Tianjin's future development?

Interviews

The interviews were conducted between 2016 and 2023. While soliciting interviews with public players has proved complicated, we mainly tried to obtain interviews with private museum managers. The interviews were conducted in Chinese and translated into English.

<Table 3> Interviews

Museum / organization	Function	Place	Date
ASTOR	Director	Astor Museum	2019
FIVE AVENUES HISTORY MUSEUM	Director	5 Avenues History Museum	2023
COMMANDER ZHANG'S MANSION	Planner for the ZHANG Xueliang museum program and the immersive theatre program	Zang's Mansion	2023
ASSOCIATION MEMORY OF TIANJIN	Members	Bureau of Association Memory of Tianjin	2018,2023

4. Tianjin's Museums in the Concessions

The sample of the analyzed museums is large and diverse, offering a large spectrum of situations in terms of operations (public or private), of size (important museums having a more general scope, such as the Tianjin Museum, or micro-local museums dedicated to one site, such as the Astor Hotel Museum), and of date (20 years separate the oldest from the newest museum).

Museum Operations

In terms of operation, some museums are run by the public sector entirely. For example, the operator of the Tianjin Municipal Planning Exhibition Hall is the Tianjin Municipal Planning and Natural Resources Bureau. Others are operated by state-owned companies, such as the Tianjin Jingyuan, operated by the Tianjin Historical Architecture Restoration and Development Company (THARD), the most important state-owned company to restore heritage architecture in Tianjin, and the Qing Wangfu, managed by the Tianjin Wudadao Asset Management Company Limited, which is a branch of THARD. There are also museums run by other state-owned companies, such as the Astor Museum, run by the Tianjin Astor Hotel Company along with the hotel, and the Zhang House, operated by the Tianjin Performance Company.

Some museums are provided with venues by the public sector for free and operated by private managers, like the Wudadao Historical Museum.

There are also venues where the entire site is managed and operated by a private company, like Commander Zhang's Mansion and Fan Zhuzai's Former Residence (including the area where immersive games are held), which are run by the Chuyuntian Cultural Performing Arts Company. In these cases, the private sector is responsible for content exhibition, venue operation, and revenue through leasing contracts for historical areas, while the public sector oversees their restoration.

For example, according to an interview with the person in charge of Commander Zhang's Mansion, a guided tour program is being planned for different former concession areas. Using immersive performances as a tool, the venues, including the Qing Wang Palace, Zhang House, and Mianli Café, are willing to participate and aim to engage visitors by offering a guided tour/game experience around the different concessions, mainly former British and French Concessions. The program will take guests on a journey to convey a more comprehensive understanding of the former concessions, trying to provide links with the exhibitions and content provided by each of these venues.

Innovations in operation

With the application of innovative tourism concepts, museums in the former Concession area have shifted their focus to attracting more visitors. Innovative strategies

including VR/AR experiences, immersive theatre/games/guided tours, and recreation of scenes in new curatorial ways are becoming the center of the museums' efforts, which aim to convey historical information in a different way.

Technological advances are bringing more experiences to visitors. Audio tours and online VR presentations have become popular, as illustrated by the Astor Museum and the "See Tianjin for 100 years in China" exhibition at the Tianjin Museum. Also fascinating is the light show at the former residence of Liang Qichao (Drinking Ice Room) in the former Italian Concession, which is inspired by Liang Qichao's famous poem, "The Sayings of Young China," intended to motivate young Chinese to contribute to saving the country.

In spite of the traditional way of exhibition, the museums are trying to diversify their offers of activities to engage more with the public. For instance, the program of "concerts in museums" is introduced by the Astor Museum, and the Urban Planning Exhibition Hall organizes activities, city walks, and educational programs for children to better understand Tianjin's history. The museums are also seeking to follow the new fashion in leisure tourism to generate income. An immersive experience, including guided tours, performances, and games, which were highlighted at the China National Tourism Convention in 2023 in Tianjin, is well-accepted by the museum operators and visitors in the former concession. Some venues, like Jingyuan and Zhang House, even offer exclusive expensive dinners with their special architectural and historical environment.

In the Qingwangfu Palace Museum, the former private residence of the fourth Prince Qing in the Qing Dynasty, has diversified its services using the space within the protection area. There is a restaurant that occupies the garden of the residence, a café providing an international choice of coffee beans, and a craft beer shop that attracts young people at night. The former interpretation area presenting the rich history of the place and of the personalities who lived there was closed and replaced by a shop renting a special outfit, cheongsams, popular at the time, for visitors to take pictures around the museum. The palace's garden, which is operated by the restaurant, is available for events such as weddings and other exclusive events with high rent (20,000 RMB per day, around 2500 euros). For example, the palace hosted a yoga class with LE-

XUS and SoulFlow Yoga Studio, two middle-class brands, in its garden to maintain their customer relationships. While these businesses attract more visitors, few of them end up visiting the museum itself.

By contrast, the Ma Zhanshan Museum was initially dedicated to explaining Ma Zhanshan's life and the renovation process of Wudadao (the Five Avenues) by THARD. However, with the return of tourism after the pandemic, some minor commercial activities were allowed within the museum, including the sale of Tianjin Souvenirs and unrelated articles. Consequently, the primary interpretive space has shrunk.

5. Different Narratives of the Same Story? Narrating the International Concessions in the Museum

<Table 4> How the former international concessions are presented in the museums

MUSEUM	PRESENTATION OF THE CONCESSIONS in theIN THE MUSEUMS
MUSEUM OF MODERN HISTORY OF TIANJIN	*Through a large number of historical photographs and ancient objects collected from all over the world, the museum exhibits the history of the nine concessions in Tianjin and the lifestyle of the expatriates in the late Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China. It focuses on the research and display of historical materials of "See Modern China in Tianjin," aims to publicize the international image of Tianjin as a "Modern Historical and Cultural City," and seeks to integrate and develop the remains of the "International Architecture Exposition" and their humanistic historical materials into tourism resources.* *The exhibition rooms include: See Modern China in Tianjin—100 Chinese first achievements; the history of several national armies in Tianjin; Wudadao historic architecture district; historical and cultural heritage of the United States of America in Tianjin; Germany historical and cultural heritage in Tianjin; the Austrian architect Geyling and the Western buildings in Tianjin; French scientist Paul Émile Licent and the Musée Hoangho Paiho; Japanese born in Tianjin. One of the featured exhibits is a handmade artwork—foreign buildings in Tianjin—using old Western stained glass methods.*
MUSEUM OF URBANISM OF TIANJIN	*Tianjin, a national famous historical and cultural city, is known as "world architecture exposition" for its rich and diverse culture and cityscape combining Chinese and Western elements. Fourteen historical and cultural blocks including Wudadao have been protected and renovated, and Tianjin has established six night cultural areas, including Italian-Style Street, Jinwan Plaza, and Wudadao, to enhance its carrying capacity.* *The core brand of cultural tourism, "See Modern China in Tianjin," formed by 12 cultural tourism thematic sites such as Austrian and Italian styles towns, can make tourists realize the position of Tianjin in the modern history of China and explore the historical lineage of Tianjin.*

	The development and utilization of historical architectural groups represented by the "Wudadao" will not only further enhance the brand effect of "See Modern China in Tianjin," but also become a unique neighborhood for tourists to feel the exotic architectural culture and experience the exotic atmosphere.
FIVE AVENUES HISTORY MUSEUM	*The Wudadao area was part of the British Concession in Tianjin, also known as the Off-Wall extension. The history of this area can be traced back to 1900, when the British Concession, through the Genzi National Rebellion, submitted a request for the third time to the Qing Government to expand the concession to include this marshland within the scope of the British Concession.* *In the early 20th century, this area was originally planned to be a modern urban garden-style residential area. The houses are known for their variety of architectural styles and have been called the "Universal Architecture Exposition" because each house has a unique design that creates diversity. Although Wudadao is located in the British Concession, the architectural style is mainly Western, but 95% of the people living here are Chinese.*
MUSEUM OF THE HOTEL ASTOR	*The land area of the British Concession was expanded twice and eventually covered an area of 6018 mu, the largest of the foreign concessions. Of this area, Detring owned 5698 mu. Development of the British Concession was the construction of fine examples of British classical style architecture, including the Astor Hotel.* *The original concessions of Tianjin have had a direct influence upon the development of modern Tianjin society. Reconstruction of the hotel became a major milestone in the architectural history of Tianjin and, as previously stated, was the most impressive building in Tianjin up until the early 20th century. The hotel architecture was taken as an example to follow by many companies, banks, businessmen, and comrades with interests in Tianjin. Buildings constructed during this period reflected both western and combinations of western and Chinese styles; this gave Tianjin a worldwide reputation for collective architectural styles and made a significant contribution to influencing world architectural fashion of the period.*
COMMANDER ZHANG'S MANSION	*There were concessions from nine countries in Tianjin, including Britain, France, Germany, and Japan, which gave the city the most concessions in China. Consequently, Tianjin's landscape was transformed with the diversity of the architectural styles. Military and political leaders from all over the word gathered in Tianjin as well. Young Marshal Zhang Xueliang served as a deputy commander-in-chief of the army, navy, and air force of the National Revolutionary army. Military and political officials from various countries were royally received in this special room, the Western-Style Reception Hall, by General Zhang.*
MANSION OF MA ZHANSHAN, XIANNONG	*Concession part: "In 1860, Tianjin was forced to open up as a treaty port and Britain was the first country to claim its concession. In 1903, Britain expanded its concession southward and the large area sSouth of Qiangzi Rriver was defined as part of it. The Five Avenues area, which is now encircled by Chengdu, Nanjing, Machang and , and Xikang Roads, was inside the extension and , and there were 23 roads and streets thatwhich crossed it. Since the end of the Qing Dynasty, the area had attracted many patriotic generals, high-ranking officers in the military and politics, former Qing Dynasty officials, Chinese and foreign entrepreneurs as well as, and other celebrities' celebrities''* *Ma Zhanshan part of the museum: Ma Zhanshan was a gallant national hero whom Chairman Mao called "an unyielding soldier who fought against the Japanese army to the last moment " (⋯) he fired the first shot against the Japanese army at the start of the anti-Japanese war".." The whole room is dedicated to this personality. Pictures, interviews, and a series of designs (like a "bande dessinée") narrate the heroic achievements of Ma Zhanshan agains*

	Pictures, interviews, and a series of designs (like a "bande dessinée") narrate the heroic achievements of Ma Zhanshan against the Japanese.
TIANJIN MUSEUM	*After the opening of the port of Tianjin, Britain, the United States, and France took the lead in establishing a concession in Tianjin. Subsequently, Germany, Japan, Russia, Italy, Belgium, and Austria-Hungary also established concessions in Tianjin. By 1902, a total of nine countries had formed the Concession. The area was equivalent to about eight times the size of the city of Tianjin at that time.* *Under the shield of unequal treaties, the western powers stationed troops, set up administrative offices and police forces, bought and sold land, and levied taxes in the city, making these concessions "countries within a country," where the imperialists interfered in the internal affairs of China and plundered the treasures of the country.*
ZHANG HOUSE	*There are no direct descriptions of the concessions.* *Through the history of Zhang House, the exhibition highlights the "red memories" that span the centuries. "Located at 59 Anshan Road, Heping District, Zhang House is now a national key cultural heritage, a national AAA-level tourist site, one of the first revolutionary cultural relics of Tianjin, and a base for patriotic education in Tianjin. See a hundred years of China in Tianjin, and see a hundred years of Tianjin in Zhang House. From a private residence to a place where revolutionary pioneer Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the last emperor Puyi stayed, to the residence of the Commander of the Japanese Garrison in China, to the office of the CPC Tianjin Municipal Committee, Zhang House has been the bearer of many important events affecting China's modern history, which is uncommon among the 'small foreign buildings' in Tianjin.* *Zhang House has become one of the important visiting cards to understand the history and culture of Tianjin."*
MUSEUM OF THE DEPARTMENT STORE QUAN YE CHANG	*There are no direct descriptions of the concessions.* *Tianjin Quan Ye Chang is located in the center of Tianjin, in the intersection of Heping Road and Binjiang Road, and is an eclectic European-style building. It was built in 1928 by the buyer Gao Xingqiao and Qing Prince Zai Zhen, designed by the French engineers Muller, with reinforced concrete frame structure, a total of seven floors, and a building area of 16,500 square meters. The building was expanded with a total floor area of 54,000 square meters.* *Quan Ye Chang is the birthplace of Tianjin's high-class commercial complex, which has historically played an important role in supporting Tianjin's commercial prosperity and public consumption. With its favorable geographical location, a wide variety of high-quality commodities,and considerate and meticulous commercial services, it has become a leading commercial center in Tianjin and is famous both in China and abroad.*

Typology of concession narratives in Tianjin museums

The analysis of the sample of the nine museums reveals contrasted positions. Three main approaches can be observed:

1. A positive approach to the concessions: This approach treats them as unique urban and architectural elements that have produced a unique heritage in Tianjin, conceiving of the concessions as the product of hybridization between the inhabitants and elites of Tianjin, and Westerners—architects, politicians, intellectuals.

The former concessions are regarded, interpreted, and celebrated as testimonies of China's international opening and relation with the World (Wei & Feng, 2022). The Tianjin Museum of Modern History and the Astor Hotel Museum fall into this category.

2. The revisiting of the concessionary period as a past of "others" (Lowenthal, 1985), as something that happened in another context in which the details of history are blurred, reorganized, and romanticized, turning into a kind of imaginative narrative. The past is an argument for the thematization and the leisure of Western architecture. The international modern architecture, the frivolity of the years 1920–1930, modern life and technological progress, and Western music, dance, and, more generally, lifestyles, are presented as fascinating memories approached with nostalgia. Commander Zhang's Mansion, and in particular the immersive part, corresponds to this category.

3. The concessions as a painful moment in China's history, but one that today offers the people the opportunity to learn from this difficult past. The developed museum narratives show how China People's Republic was also built on the basis of these traumas and humiliations of the past. Some museums have been transformed into platforms for public education on the ideology, unfolding the post-concessions history —from the establishment of the Communist Party in the 1920s to the founding of New China in 1949. Zhang House is representative of this category.

We present below three museums representative of the three types of narratives.

5.1. The positive history of the concessions (Museum of Modern History of Tianjin or Astor Museum). The concessions as trigger of modernity

Tianjin Museum of Modern History and the role played by illustrious Western personalities

The Tianjin Museum of Modern History is the work of Hang Ying, a famous writer and journalist in China, to counter the trend of replacing the buildings of the former concessions with high-rise speculative buildings. The museum was founded in 2002 by t-

he Association for the Historical and Cultural Promotion of Tianjin. In 2015, it was reorganized and opened to the public. The museum's collections consist of books, photos, old documents, and other memorabilia. The exhibition space introduces the personalities who lived in the city, the representation of Tianjin in Western paintings, the "1900 Incident," as the Boxer Rebellion and the takeover of the city by the eight Western powers are modestly called, and the concessions (British, American, German, and French) present a heritage approach.

The museum bears witness to the city's turbulent history, to the violence it suffered, but also to the ability of its heritage to synthesize the relationships between China and the West: "As the gateway to the country's capital, Tianjin was a microcosm of the vicissitudes of China's modern history. [...] Synthesizing the essence of Western and Eastern cultures, Tianjin had become the embodiment of multiculturalism. [...] Today, with the growth of China, the historical cross-cultural phenomenon of Tianjin provides a valuable historical basis and emotional connection for building new East-West relations."

The section on the "1900 Incident" situates Tianjin as the scene of a world war. The city, which "defended itself against the entire Western camp, was honored despite its defeat." "Tianjin, the only city occupied by nine countries," was "the center of international attention and conflict and East-West cultural mixing." Then, Tianjin "turned from being a military acropolis to trade...and developed into an international, multifaceted, and open city." The Museum explains that the Boxer Rebellion was "doomed to failure" because in "resisting the Western invasion (the Boxers) refused to learn advanced knowledge from the West [...]." The Museum of Modern History's narrative thus emphasizes "Tianjin's pioneering role in the course of China's modern development."

The Astor Museum and the positive history of concessions

The museum was created in the basement of the hotel. It is the only hotel museum in China. Eight thematic units make up the tour: The Mud-House, The Founders, The Flowing Time, The Secrets, The Changes, The Celebrities, The Inheritance, and The Historical Memory. The collection is composed of 3,000 pieces, mostly from the first ha-

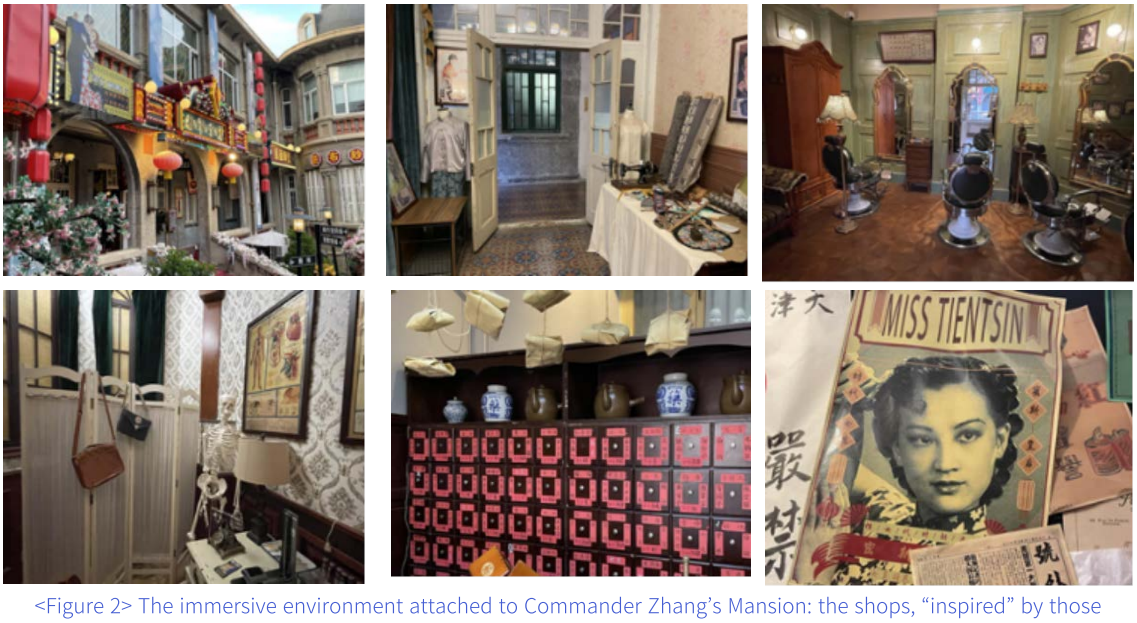
lf of the 20th century—furniture, earthenware, and everyday objects—displayed in a space of 700 m^2.

It originated in 1980–89 when the former manager of the Astor Hotel, interested in the history of the hotel, created the first historical base on this site with materials in his personal collection. At the same time, the former mayor had the idea of opening a museum, because the hotel could become a place to visit and a tourist landmark of Tianjin. In 1990, the Astor Hotel History and Culture Bureau was established, inviting experts to research the hotel's genealogy. A working group composed of executives from the tourism office and the hotel's employees worked on the realization of the museum. The collection of objects scattered in the hotel and the collection of the former director constitute 95% of the collection. On the occasion of the celebration of the 130th anniversary of the hotel in 1993, experts were convinced that it "contains a history and historical depth" (interview with the hotel director, 2018), proposed to make an exhibition. The museum director believes that as a part of the latest renovation of the Astor Hotel in 2008–2010, in the Victorian style, the museum represents a testimony that can show the value of the concessions and a positive attitude toward their history. He says that he is in opposition to the presentation of modern history in concession museums (in Wudadao) that show the concession period as a time of occupation and humiliation. According to him, to understand the history of Tianjin's concessions, one should start with the history of the Astor Hotel: "It is a gateway to understanding the modern history of Tianjin" by "showing history without judgments."

<Figure 1> The Astor Museum, 2023. Source: YL, 2023.

5.2. The concessions as a nostalgic “elsewhere”

Commander Zhang’s Mansion uses Tianjin’s past as a play game field. The past of the city offers a nostalgic substrate on which a heritage immersive experience is freely built. The concessions are presented as an exotic environment in time and space that can only be accessed through “immersive” mediation. Their political charge, linked to Western domination, is thus neutralized by the game, which offers an opportunity to reappropriate the past.



<Figure 2> The immersive environment attached to Commander Zhang’s Mansion: the shops, “inspired” by those that could be found in Tianjin in the 1920s–1930s, serve as a backdrop for the game on offer, which consists of solving crimes that may have taken place in the city. Source: MGB, 2023.

Experience the immersive visit

I first learned about it through the WeChat platform. I’m going with a friend. We were first taken to a changing room. The men wore traditional Chinese clothes and the girls wore cheongsams. The cheongsam is a special type of dress that blends the clothing of the Qing dynasty with influences from foreign cultures and was especially popular during the time of the rendezvous. Our mobile phones are sealed. We were each given a guidebook describing the house and its layout, as well as a short backstory. The story takes place in Tianjin during the Republican period, in 1936. Before the Japanese occupation of North China, many shocking social cases took place in Tianjin. There is a hidden conspiracy behind these cases. Players are invited to take part in uncovering this conspiracy.

First, you complete some very small tasks to help you familiarize yourself with the site, then the player is given more missions that include a variety of murders. The player needs to find the actors in the venue and get clues by talking to them. Some of these will also trigger small interactions such as games and small episodes.
There are three major overarching storylines. It takes place at the beginning, in the middle and at the end. The actors gather in the courtyard for a ten-minute performance that explains the background and progression of the story. At the end of the story, a character with ties to the Japanese army is executed—he is said to have been involved in the death of Zhang Zuolin. (Zhang Xueliang's father).

Actors provide an immersive experience, e.g., they only talk about what is relevant to that era. The characters and behavior of the actors in the game are shaped according to the era. If you ask about content related to modern life, they will pretend to know nothing about it. The intention is to create a realistic society: You may be lied to, you may be helped, and you may even develop feelings for one of the characters. The game has a financial system where you can get rewards for doing quests, or you can keep your money in the bank. There are a number of Tianjin-specific food shops in the scene, and you can buy food and drinks with the rewards you earn in the game.
The game encourages communication between players. In each game, a "Miss Tianjin" is chosen, and a vote is taken at the ball. The game lasts between four and five hours. However, it is impossible to solve all the cases in one game. There is a way to record your progress and you are invited to come back the next time. There are points in the game, and the points of frequent players are displayed in a lobby. (Field notes, CS)

5.3. The concessions as a traumatic past from which emerged and on which was built modern China

Zhang House, which opened in 2018, can be likened to a red museum. The guided tour, which is also immersive, is an ode to the People's Republic of China. In the main hall, visitors are greeted in front of a huge red panel by a representative of the Red Army who presents episodes from the war. A banner is thrown down from the balcony and unfurled in front of visitors. It reads: "On June 28, 1919, the Chinese delegates refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles. It was the first time that China had directly opposed the Great Powers. We refuse to sign!" Visitors are invited to say "No," and proclaim slogans.

The "immersive" tour continues with a guide dressed as a spy. The content is propagandist. The tour ends with a red wedding: Two of the visitors are "married" in front of a portrait of Mao. They take an oath on the Red Book in a room where the most necessary objects for newlyweds are displayed: a sewing machine, a bicycle, a television set, etc.

<Figure 3> The immersive experience of Zhang House, 2023. Source: MGB, 2023.

Discussion

The entertainment turn is visible in some of the museums, where the historical component (i.e., the famous people who lived there) is a pretext to develop a tourist project. This is for example the case of Commander Commander Zhang's Mansion. It seems indeed that Colonel Zhang never lived in the villa which bears his name today. The main museum dedicated to Zhang is in Shenyang, the capital of China's Liaoning Province. Owned by former army marshal Zhang Zuolin and his son Zhang Xueliang, a famous patriot, the museum was founded in 1914 and is a national 4A tourist attraction. Zhang's biography presented at the Tianjin Zhang's Mansion museum entrance does not even state that the commander lived in Tianjin. According to the association Memory of Tianjin, if Zhang's family indeed owned this house, there is no evidence that he lived there. The relationship with the commander was built thanks to a grand-nephew who told them about how Zhang Xueliang lived here from his childhood memory. The museum has expanded to include larger areas: concerts, theatrical experiences, and urban experiences accompanied by a romanticization of Tianjin's history. This romanticization is one of pride in the exposure to modern life through the concession: Many museums exhibit the advanced refrigerators, water purification, and heating equipment of the time, praising the architectural quality of the concession houses and the luxurious lives of the celebrities. These lives were associated with civilization and progress, thus creating Tianjin's urban tourist appeal. This material is reassembled in the museum's selection of exhibits, interior restoration, and dramatization of the experience to create an experience of the "romantic past."

The dominant historical language, however, remains the core of these museums. Sometimes the themes are evident: the "Stronger Youth, Stronger China" theme chosen by the Liang Qichao Museum and the Red Immersion Guided Tour at Zhang's Mansion, for example. Sometimes this theme is woven into the language of the museum: For example, at the Five Avenues History Museum, the guide introduces the fireplace by discussing its introduction to China as a Western way of life on the one hand, and how it was possible to hide people in the perilous moments of the Revolution on the other. In the immersive theater next to Commander Zhang's Mansion, one has the experience of travelling back in concession time, with the main l-

ine of the story still having the core of resistance against Japanese aggression.

The three narratives are also juxtaposed in some museums: In the Tianjin Museum, which is seen as the most comprehensive exhibition on the modern history of Tianjin, the traumatic history of the concessions is mentioned first, followed by the modernization it brought in various aspects such as education, industry, and healthcare, and finally the picture of life in Tianjin as a cosmopolitan city at that time.

6. Conclusion

In March 2023, China reopened its doors to international tourism after three years of restrictions on the entry of foreign travelers to contain the COVID-19 pandemic. The lowest growth target of around 5% in decades shows that the country is facing economic difficulties and is in urgent need of reloading its development engine. Opening up the borders was one of the solutions to revive the economy. In 2019, before closing itself off to the rest of the world, China welcomed some 65.7 million international visitors, according to data from the United Nations World Tourism Organization.

However, the closure of the country during the pandemic years has had a significant impact on cultural sites and museums in particular. In Tianjin, it was marked by a "local turn" and a greater adaptation of museums to a local or national population. Museums that had English-language interpretation facilities have either limited them or removed them entirely (e.g., Five Avenues History Museum).

The local turn was accompanied by a commercial and entertainment turn. Entrepreneurship is clearly manifested in the operators of private museums. On a historical level, they actively search for historical information, find exhibits, and tell them according to their own understanding of history. On a commercial level, they are constantly making efforts to adapt to the market in an attempt to attract more consumers and visitors. Although this attitude is seen as "inauthentic," it reflects the great demand for interpretation of the history of the concessions, especially when the only complete history museum is not located within the concessions.

For a “hybrid” story, the re-writing is also “hybrid.” Whether they see the concessions as a trauma, as the beginning of modernization, or as an imagining of a good romantic life, there seems to be a great diversity of historical interpretations of the concessions. Beneath the diversity also lurks a certain consistency, namely that Tianjin should receive more contemporary attention because of the special site it has become due to the history of the concessions.

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2) Parks in the Concessions of Tianjin: History, Hybridization, and Consumption (Part I)

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Abstract

Parks are a new public space emerging in modern Chinese cities. As a place for ordinary people's recreation and entertainment, its concept originated from the West. Unlike Chinese private gardens that emphasize privacy and introversion, parks are open to the public and equipped with various entertainment and sports facilities to guide the public to accept a modern urban lifestyle (Zhang et al., 2012). From the Second Opium War to the beginning of the 20th century, nine countries established concessions in Tianjin—the city with the most concessions in China. In the concessions, to meet their needs, the colonists built 10 characteristics parks reflecting different cultural backgrounds at that time. The concession parks are a mirror of modern history and precious cultural heritage of Tianjin. However, during the urban renewal in recent decades, some gardens have been damaged or demolished, placing this heritage in danger (Meng & Chen, 2014). Therefore, in today's circumstances of rapid economic development and accelerated urbanization, it is particularly important to fully understand the history and characteristics of the original concession parks to better protect these sites, meet the needs of new urban lifestyle, and enhance unique features of this city. This study conducts research on the former concession parks in Tianjin from three aspects: their historical evolution, including their creation, development, and renovation; the hybridization characteristics of space with Chinese and Western influences; and the consumption of the parks in the past and nowadays. The results show that although each of the concessions attempted to establish its own identity vis-à-vis China and the other foreign powers through the careful arrangement of space, the concession parks of Tianjin were not simply transplanted or synthesized, but rather localized and translated under the Chinese background, characterizing a rich variety of special landscapes and functions.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background and purpose

In the West, the park is a civic amenity intended to mitigate the harmful effects of industrialization on cities. The role of open spaces in improving air quality and reducing social tensions was first mentioned in a British parliamentary committee's report in 1833. In the second half of the 19th century, the parks movement grew in influence. Napoleon III and Prefect Haussmann planned the entire system of parks in the city of Paris in 1853, and Olmsted completed the design of Central Park in New York in 1858, marking the starting point of urban planning innovation in the United States. The concept of parks has gradually spread to Asia. Around the middle of the Meiji era, the Japanese government planned to transform Tokyo into a modern city, and parks were explicitly mentioned in the 1885 Tokyo City Improvement Ordinance.

In the late 19th century, with the establishment of foreign concessions, parks were introduced to treaty ports in China as state-of-the-art amenities, including the city of Tianjin. The parks in foreign concessions constituted a new type of public space in the cities of modern China. Unlike Chinese private gardens that emphasize privacy and introversion, modern parks are open to the public, equipped with various facilities such as education, entertainment, and sports to guide the public to accept a civilized and healthy modern urban lifestyle. Moreover, it is closely related to the daily life of the people, subtly affects people's ideas, and contains hidden social control (Wang et al., 2014). At that time, outdoor visits to the parks had become an indispensable leisure activity for Westerners. To cater to the needs of expatriates, the construction of parks in the concessions became an almost necessary part of their urban planning. Therefore, in modern times, with the opening of Tianjin City and the exchange of Chinese and Western architectural cultures, parks appeared in the concession of Tianjin. Between the 1880s and 1930s, 10 parks were built in the concessions of Tianjin. The styles of these concession parks display evident regional characteristics of their respective countries, condensing the garden aesthetic characteristics and space creation traditions of the colonial countries, and there is no lack of landscape that combines Chinese and Western cultures.

With the passage of time, the condition of these parks has seriously deteriorated because of such incidents as the socialist transformation, Cultural Revolution, and Tangshan Earthquake. After a series of renovation projects, some of these parks have been restored, some have been used for other functions, and some have been destroyed. Although the concessions were and are a sign of darkness, invasion, and humiliation for many Chinese, since the middle of 2000, the Tianjin municipal government has vigorously implemented measures for the protection and renovation of the former concessions, including the former concession parks, to build the city's unique image, improve the living environment for citizens, and provide more attractive sightseeing places for visitors. Therefore, the issue of how to better understand, protect, and reuse these concession parks has gained importance and even urgency, requiring a comprehensive and in-depth study of their historical evolution, spatial characteristics, and consumption patterns.

These concession parks could be seen not only as a turning point from Chinese classical gardens to modern parks, but also as an important case study for the modernization of Chinese parks, open space, and even cities. In modern times, these parks were not only a municipal facility serving the residents in the concession but also a means of visualizing the national image. Thus, by analyzing how these parks developed in the past and how they are serving society nowadays, we will gain a more comprehensive and in-depth understanding of the social and cultural changes of modern and contemporary Chinese society.

Taking the parks in the former concessions of Tianjin as cases, this study aims to analyze their historical evolution, the hybrid characteristics of their spaces, and the activities and experiences of visitors to promote the better protection and renovation of these sites, adapted to the needs of the new urban lifestyle in China. In this report, as the first phase of this research project, we focus on the history, hybridization, and part of the consumption patterns of the parks. In the next (final) phase of this research project, the consumption of the parks will be analyzed in a deeper and more critical manner. Additionally, we would like to emphasize that among these 10 parks, 6 still exist and are better preserved; therefore, they are the focus of the research, and not all the parks are analyzed with the same depth, based on the availability of materials for each park.

1.2. Literature review

1.2.1. Research in foreign languages

Overall, foreign studies on the Tianjin concession parks are scant, and no analysis has examined the Tianjin concession parks as a system. Only some articles have explored specific concession parks. For example, studying Victoria Park, Dana Arnold (2012) analyzed the impact of the "foreign culture" of colonial countries on the development of Tianjin's urban public space (including city parks) since the beginning of the modern era, and further interpreted the process of this cross-cultural exchange. Zhang Yichi (2021, 2023) explored how residents of the British Concession and local Chinese in Tianjin interacted to frame the urbanism and landscape of Victoria Park, contributing to our understanding of the urban formation of the British Concession in China and beyond. Sun Yuan and Aoki Nobuo (2023) explored the context of the creation of the hybrid and innovative landscape in Yamato Park of Tianjin to contribute to a better assessment of the heritage value of modern architecture and space.

Instead of viewing these parks as simple aesthetic green areas, current scholarship treats them as an integral part of urban development in relation to the evolving society of the modern period.

1.2.2. Research in Chinese

Research on the concession parks of Tianjin has predominantly focused on their historical development, landscape characteristics, and protection status. Li Zaihui (2006) sorted out the development of Tianjin concession parks in his master's thesis "Protection and Research on Concession Gardens of Tianjin," and focused on the types, elements, layout characteristics, and activities in the parks in the modern period. Ma Na (2012) sorted out the development process and the gardening characteristics of concession parks in "Looking for Ancient Memory, Landscape Regeneration—Regaining Tianjin Concession Parks," and adduced methods for the protection of historical gardens. Chen Xuewen (2016) summarized the cultural connotation and influence of modern parks in Tianjin in "History and Enlightenment of Public Gardens in the Concessions of Tianjin." In "Tianjin Modern Garden Landscape Bl-

ending Chinese and Western Cultures" (2014), Wang Miao selects representative examples of modern parks, analyzes the site selection, elements, and styles, and summarizes the characteristics of the collision and blending of Chinese and Western cultures in the construction of modern parks in the concessions of Tianjin.

Overall, the research on concession parks in Chinese literature primarily comprises descriptive papers and several dissertations, but lacks a certain authority (Liu, 2016). Additionally, current domestic research on concession parks has a relatively narrow perspective and even ignores the social aspect of the heritage value. That is, renovation and protection measures directed toward government-led developers are usually the starting point, while the most important subjects or users—citizens and tourists—are ignored (Zhang, 2017), indicating a neglect of public perceptions and participation. Considering this, more systematic and in-depth research on the Tianjin concession parks is needed to elucidate the problems of the modern parks and devise new directions for renovation.

1.3 Research methods

This research couples classic research methodologies in geography and social sciences. Three types of classic methods have been mobilized throughout this work: analysis of the primary (archives and old chronicles) and particularly the secondary sources (articles, dissertations, urban planning documents, tourist guides), in-depth observation on site, and semi-structured interviews with stakeholders.

1) Written sources

For the fieldwork, the method began with an exploratory phase based on the analysis of the bibliography on the local contexts and presentation of the sites, making it possible to identify the main issues and actors in the field. Next, the work focused on collecting documents about the development and renovation of the sites from local departments in Tianjin, such as the Town Planning Bureau, Land and Real Estate Management Bureau, Tourism Bureau, Archives, Local Monograph Editorial Board, and Local Directories Editorial Board. The follow-up cross analysis is based on the global narratives and elements identified as present in all/most of the parks.

2) Observation

Observation is considered a privileged tool for understanding the richness of space and activities at the sites. The first observation, encompassing the sites as a whole, has the advantage of giving a general idea of the atmosphere of the districts, appearance of the streets, and architectural identity of the locale. The observation of tourist practices is conducted along three main axes based on the construction of a preliminary observation grid: the circumstances of the visit (single person, couple, family, with friends); spatial practices (walking, resting, taking photos, contemplating landscapes); and the general attitude of the visitors (pace, visual focal points, facial expressions). To maintain a visible trace of these observations, photographs were taken to aid in recalling these sessions. Thus, many pictures and videos representing the visitors in situation were taken.

3) Interviews

Finally, once a sufficient amount of data had been collected, several interviews with key actors as well as feedback from the field helped update the data. The interview technique occupies an important place in this work. The initial objective is to collect and compare the points of view of all the actors having an interest in the land, i.e., producers but especially consumers, to understand their actions in the production of these spaces and their consumption activities and experiences.

2. Development of the Parks in the Concessions of Tianjin

2.1. A field of “hybridization”: Concessions in China

International concessions emerged in some of East Asia’s most important commercial cities during the mid-nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries, with China a prime example. In the 19th and 20th centuries, there were 27 foreign concessions (Figure 2-1) distributed throughout China (Liu & Deng, 2000). The three main places where foreign powers established concessions are Shanghai, Tianjin, and Hankou. Following the signing of a succession of unequal treaties, portions of these cities were set aside for the

these cities were set aside for the settlement of foreigners from various colonial empires, with independent and well-established administration, judiciary, and urban planning systems. In contrast to the imperialist paradigm of oppression-resistance, these urban enclaves, which Osterhammel (1986) refers to as “semi-colonial” places, highlight the complex political, social, and spatial tensions between locals and foreigners as well as between different empires through their negotiation, compromise, and confrontation, providing “an alternative history of globalization” (Singaravélou, 2017). Partaking of the character of a “laboratory of modernity” (Marinelli, 2009), the many experiments with urban planning and architectural design ideas, as well as the related infrastructures, supplies, and techniques provided by Western planners (Falser, 2021) were also considered initial steps toward the modernization of Chinese urban development. The concession was not a copy of any “Western model” but a concrete expression of the eclectic nature of the aspirations, needs, and struggles of the different sectors of society (Li, 2013).

<Figure 2-1> Concessions in China in 1902

The concessions do not merely provide a particular perspective on urban and architectural history in a globalized context; notably, the key forces shaping the transformation of colonial cultural heritage are also extracted from the imaginary value of historical spatial character. While the history of the concessions may be a painful and traumatic memory, they served to drive the narrative of China's opening, globalization, and modernization in the post-1990 urban development agenda with their distinctive economic and symbolic capital (Gravari-Barbas et al., 2021). Concession areas were restored, transformed, and rearranged into cultural heritage sites by municipal governments to promote urban development. The concession area's historic architecture and urban character have been extracted and reconstructed as an exotic cultural theme park, attracting tourism and fostering an economic momentum with a distinctive urban identity as an international metropolitan and creative consumption destination (Figure 2-2).

<Figure 2-2> Xintiandi historic, commercial, and tourist area in the former French Concession of Shanghai
Source: https://www.sohu.com/a/398306034_469999

This specific postcolonial relationship involves the ongoing cultural, economic, and power interactions between the former colonial powers and former colonies, as well as modifications to these dynamics brought about by the continuing process of social change. Considering the growing scholarly interest in concession studies, this study aims to examine how it can serve as both a critical approach to reflection on tourism development and critical heritage studies in the globalized circulation and especially in a digital urban spectacle context.

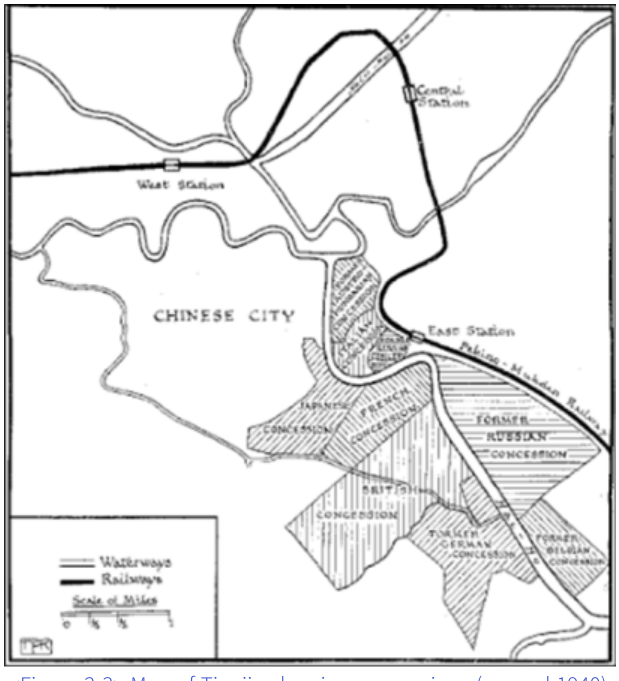
2.2. Foreign concessions in Tianjin

Tianjin, a river city located 120 km to the southeast of Beijing, is characterized both by its importance in the history of modern China and by its economic dynamism. It is also a Chinese city active in the protection of heritage, which offers the particularity of a politically delicate heritage resulting from the old concessions. Protection and enhancement stem from contrasting logics, from the desire to erase the "century of humiliation" to the preparation of a candidacy for world heritage, through the creation of trendy leisure districts, using as architectural decor buildings constructed at the beginning of the 20th century.

At the end of the Second Opium War, Tianjin was one of the port cities of China that had to accommodate Western concessions (Figure 2-3) and the one where they were the most numerous, since nine powers (Great Britain, France, United States, Germany, Japan, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Belgium) built residential quarters, hotels, factories, banks, schools, hospitals, and businesses there on the granted lands, making Tianjin—from 1860 (Second World War) to the end the war against Japan in 1945—a "global microcosm" (Singaravélou, 2017). Over nearly a century, Tianjin has become a metropolis but also a laboratory of modernity, for Western powers and companies, but also for Chinese politicians and city officials.

<Table 1> Development of the concessions in Tianjin

Concession	Date	Area (hectare)	Area (hectare)	Area (hectare)	Area (hectare)
British	*1860–1945*	32.6	108.7	270.7	412.1
French	*1861–1945*	29.3		133.4	162.7
American	*1862–1902*	8.7			
German	*1895–1919*	24	69	211.2	280.1
Japanese	*1896–1945*		111.2	32.7	143.9
Russian	*1900–1924*			365.1	365.1
Italian	*1902–1945*			54.7	54.7
Belgian	*1902–1931*			49.9	49.9
Austrian	*1903–1919*			68.7	68.7



<Figure 2-3> Map of Tianjin showing concessions (around 1940)
Source: (Jones, 1940, in Marinelli, 2009)

Tianjin offers a contrasting cityscape. Although from 1986, the local government began to have first thoughts about the protection of the former concessions, it was only in the beginning of the 21st century that the real heritagization and renovation process began in earnest. Since then, the enhancement of urban heritage has had features in common with the general situation in China—specifically, accelerated tourist development as well as the search for distinctive historical and cultural characteristics—in a context wherein national identity and domestic consumption have become major economic issues.

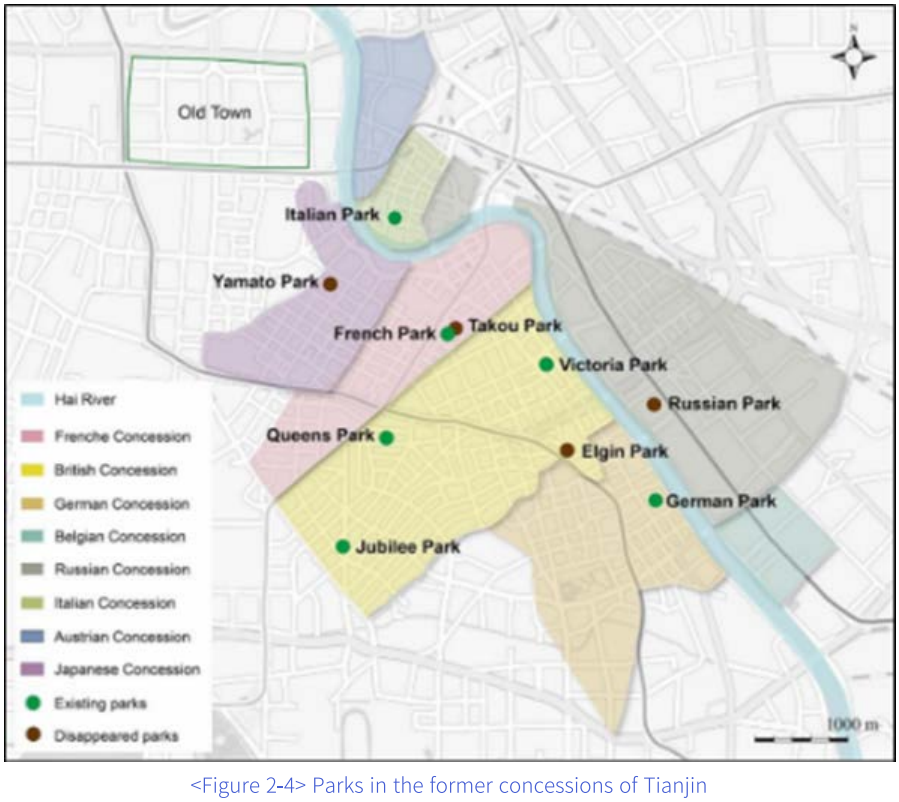
2.3. Evolution of the concession parks in Tianjin

After Tianjin was opened as a treaty port in 1860, Western powers established concessions in Tianjin one after another. Tianjin became the forefront of northern China's opening up and base of modern China's "Westernization" movement. The modernization of the military, as well as the construction of railways, telegraphs, telephones, postal services, mining, modern education, and justice were all pioneering in the country. Tianjin became China's second largest industrial and commercial city and the largest financial and trade center in the north China at that time. The arrival of foreigners in Tianjin completely changed the Chinese lifestyle in the old town as it deve-

loped into a westernized city. At the same time, with the introduction of Western food, suits, dancing, movies, horse racing, Western-style villas, and lifestyles, parks, where there had only been private gardens in the past for Chinese people, also broke into Tianjin.

2.3.1. Creation of the concession parks in Tianjin

After the concessions were established, various countries built 10 public gardens in their respective site (Tianjin Municipal Editorial Board of Local Chronicles, 1996). Among them, there were four parks in the British Concession, namely Victoria Park, Queen's Park, Jubilee Park, and Elgin Park; in the French Concession, there were Takou Road Park and French Garden; additionally, there are Yamato Park in the Japanese Concession, Italian Park in the Italian Concession, Russian Park in the Russian Concession, and German Park in the German Concession (Figure 2-4).



<Figure 2-4> Parks in the former concessions of Tianjin
Illustration by LU Yue (2023)

In 1880, the first concession park in Tianjin was built in the French Concession Takou Road Park, which was also the first public park in Tianjin. However, owing to the expansion of the French Concession, Takou Road Park disappeared. Victoria Park was the first public park in the British Concession. It was built in 1887 to celebrate the birthday of Queen Victoria of England, and is also known as “English Park.” German Park is the current “Jiefang South Park,” which was first built in 1895. Since 1949, it has been transformed into a Jiangnan garden style with a semi regular layout. It is now used to promote population policies. Elgin Park was built in 1897. It was a street park with a natural layout and a children’s play area. Russian Park, built in 1901, has also changed greatly, formerly being a warehouse for a commercial bureau and a storage and transportation company. Yamato Park, built in the Japanese Concession in 1906, has strong freehand features of Japanese gardens. French Park, also called “Joffre Square” at that time, was constructed in 1917. The overall layout of the park is divided by concentric circles and radial roads. Italian Park was built in 1924 and is located in the southeast of current Marco Polo Square. It was later renamed “First Palace and Garden.” Additionally, there are two other public parks in the British Concession, namely, Jubilee Park and Queen’s Park. Jubilee Park imitated the Chinese natural garden landscape; this park was also known as “Tushan Park.” Queen’s Park was built in 1937 and used a large number of plant elements such as lawns, bushes, and tree groups for landscaping. Queen’s Park was later renamed “Fuxing Park” (Meng & Chen, 2014).

<Table 2> Parks in the concessions of Tianjin [1]

Concession	Name	Construction Date	Current Address	Area (hm^2)	Current Name	Present State
French	*Takou Road Park*	1880	Intersection of Dagu Road and Chifeng Road, Heping District	1.57	-	The park was destroyed with the expansion of the concession, and there are no traces left.
British	*Victoria Park*	1887	Intersection of Jiefang North Road and Tai’an Road, Heping District	1.23	Jifang North Park	The overall layout of the park basically maintains the original style, and the large and small hexagonal pavilions still exist.
German	*German Park*	1895	Intersection of Jiefang South Road and Hangzhou Road, Hexi District	0.76	Jifang South Park	It has been repaired, reconstructed, and re-used. Stone pavilion, landscape stones, wooden paving, etc., have been added. Old trees still exist.

1 The six better preserved parks (highlighted in red type) are the focus of this study.

British	Elgin Park	1897	Nanjing Road, Heping District	0.4	-	Park was abandoned owing to the expansion of Nanjing Road. Now, it is a square in front of the concert hall.
Russian	Russian Park	1901	-	7	-	It was requisitioned by the Japanese army in 1939 and has been abolished. There is no trace left.
Japanese	*Yamato Park*	1906	28 An Shan Road, Heping District	0.47	-	In 1961, it was destroyed and Bayi Auditorium was built on the original site.
French	*French Park*	1917	Garden Road, Heping District	1.33	Central Park	After reconstruction, new sculptures were installed. The layout and ancient trees still exist, but the original stone pavilion does not exist anymore.
Italian	*Italian Park*	1924	No. 47 Minzu Road, Hebei District	0.54	Yigong Park	The Italian Concession was renovated and become Italian-Style Street; the square in the northwest of the park has become Marco Polo square.
British	*Jubilee Park*	1927	Intersection of Guizhou Road and Chengdu Road, Heping District	0.74	Tushan Park	After being repaired serval times, the original style is still maintained. The earth hills and ancient trees still exist.
Takou Road Park	*Queen's Park*	1937	Xi'an Road, Heping District	0.95	Fuxing Park	After being repaired serval times, the original style is still maintained. The ancient trees still exist.

2.3.2. Development of the concession parks in Tianjin

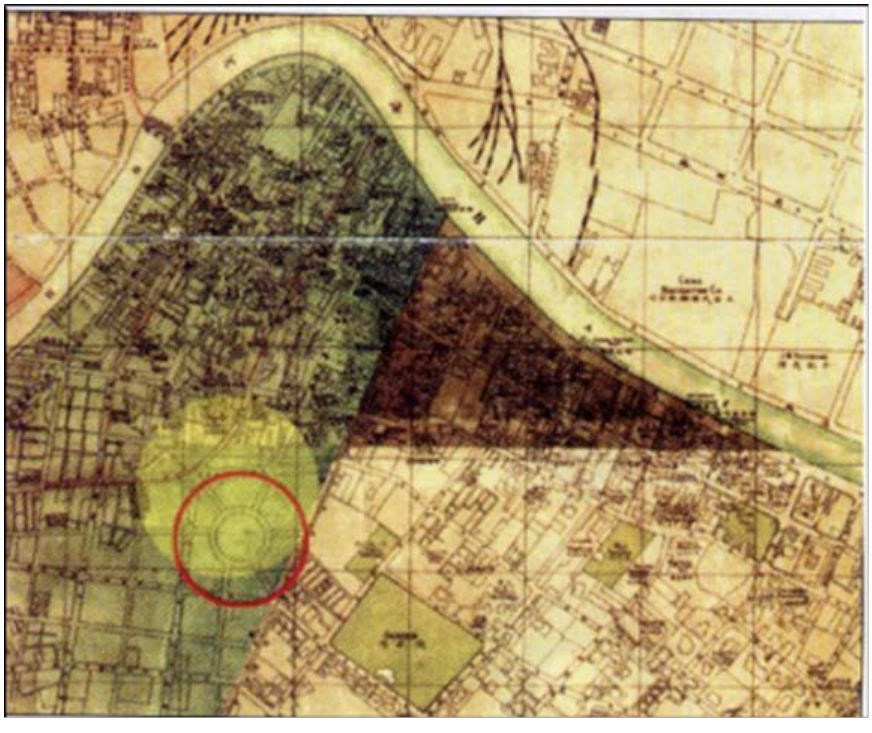
1) Takou Road Park

In 1880, the first concession park was built in Tianjin Takou Road Park in the French Concession, also the first public park in Tianjin. It is located at the intersection of Takou Road (current Dagu North Road) and Pasteur Road (current Chifeng Road) in the original French Concession (Figure 2 5). There are few historical records about this park. According to "Miscellaneous Notes of Tianjin" (Jinmen zaji): "*The park covers an area of more than 100 mu*[2] *and is located on the west side of Takou Road. The paths in the park are winding and secluded, and various trees and flowers are planted. Canals, ditches, and bridges were also built, and their main purpose was to provide leisure and entertainment for foreigners*" (Yang, 2019).

According to "Tianjin General Chronicles: Urban and Rural Construction" (Tianjin tongzhi: Chengxiang jianshe zhi) compiled in 1989, Takou Road Park and the later "French Park" to the west were originally the same park (Sun, 2009). Later, owing to the expansion of built area, most of the land of the park was occupied by buildings. The

2 The mu is a unit of area measurement used in the Far East, particularly in China, where it is officially standardized. It corresponds to 1/15 of a hectare, or about 666.67 m2.

retained part (23.6 mu) was later converted into “French Park.” Therefore, Takou Road Park just survived for less than 20 years.



<Figure 2-5> Position of Takou Road Park and French Park
in the French Concession of Tianjin Source: (Sun, 2009)
The later French Park (red circle) was originally a part of the Takou Road Park (yellow circle).

2) Victoria Park

As the largest and most developed concession in Tianjin, the British Concession’s development is directly related to Tianjin’s modernization process. From 1880 to 1890, the concession entered a period of rapid development, and during this period a large number of achievements related to the public’s commercial, social, and spiritual welfare emerged. During this decade, Tianjin gained its first chamber of commerce, first newspaper, first railway, first gravel road, and first city hall, and the British Concession had its first park—Victoria Park.

Victoria Park is the heart of the British Concession in Tianjin. The chosen rectangular site, with an area of 1.23 km2, was located between Victoria Road (current Jiefang North Road), Pao Shun Road (current Taiyuan Road), Meadows Road (current Tai’an Road), and Taku Road (current Dagu Road; Figure 2-6). In the early days, the so-called park was nothing more than a piece of flattened soil with few facilities. Owing to poor maintenance, there were piles of garbage, which would only be cleaned when people pl-

ayed baseball. Later, to celebrate the birthday of Queen Victoria, the municipality of the British Concession financed the construction of a formal park. It was officially opened on June 21, 1887, the 50th birthday of the Queen, as a memorial park, and went on to become the most famous and beautiful place among the nine concessions in Tianjin at that time (Figure 2-7).

<Figure 2-6> Position of Victoria Park in the British Concession of Tianjin
Source: (Sun, 2009)

<Figure 2-7> Victoria Park in the British Concession of Tianjin, around 1900
Source: (Megin, 2023)\

The Pacific War broke out in 1941, and Victoria Park was taken over by the Japanese forces in 1942. After the surrender of Japan in 1945, the park was recovered by the Nationalist government and renamed “Zhongshan Park” (also known as Meiling Park). After the liberation of Tianjin in 1949, it was named Jiefang North Park. The park has undergone several renovations since then. Trees, lawns, and rockeries have been added since the 1950s. In 1976, the Tangshan Earthquake severely damaged the park and Gordon Hall. In 1981, children’s play facilities were added and hollowed-out flower stands were built. In the early 1990s, there were large mural sculptures and circular fountains in the park. In 2005, the hexagonal pavilion was repaired, and the circular fountain was replaced with a bronze sculpture. In 2011, the park was restored and transformed again. Today, Jiefang North Park basically retains the layout of the Victoria Park.

3) German Park

German Park was built in the German Concession of Tianjin in 1895. The park is located on the east side of the intersection of William Street (current Jiefang South Road) and Emden Street (current Hangzhou Road; Figure 2-8). It combines various forms of Western parks, and also has some elements of Chinese gardens, reflecting the blending of Chinese and Western cultures in landscape (Wang et al., 2014). There were pavilions, children’s play area, and animal pens. All the roads in the garden were paved with fine chips of stone. The park is adjacent to the Hebei Girls’ Middle School (current Haihe Middle School), and many students often visited the park at that time.

<Figure 2-8> Position of German Park in Tianjin
Source: (Sun, 2009)

<Figure 2-9> German Park transformed into barracks during the First World War
Source: (Sun, 2009)

The First World War broke out in August 1914, after which Germany had no more time to take care of the park. It was once used as a barracks before the end of the First World War and was almost abandoned owing to the lack of management and maintenance (Figure 2-9). After the liberation of Tianjin, the park was renamed Jiefang South Park. Thereafter, the park has undergone reparations and renovations several times, the largest of which was in the 1970s. At that time, the park area was reduced to 12 mu and was changed to a semi-regular layout. A rockery with stacked rocks was built at the rear of the central axis of the park (Sun, 2009).

4) Elgin Park

In 1879, the British Concession municipality built Elgin Park at the intersection of current Nanjing Road, Kaifeng Road, and Xuzhou Road (Figure 2-10). It was the second park in the British Concession after Victoria Park and the smallest among the 10 concession parks in Tianjin. The park plan adopted a natural style, with an open and concise design. There were children's play areas in the park with swings, crossbars, slides, and similar facilities; hence, some people called it "Children's Park" at that time (Hou, 2010).

In the 1920s, with the development of the British Concession, a prosperous commercial district gradually formed in the Xiaobailou area.

Elgin Park was right in front of Ping'an Theater (built in 1919) and Kiessling Restaurant, becoming a street park where people could rest. Among the 10 concession parks in Tianjin, only Elgin Park and Russian Park did not restrict the entry of Chinese people (Sun, 2009).

After the victory of the Anti-Japanese War in 1945, Elgin Park was renamed Ping'an Park. When Nanjing Road was widened in 1974, most of the park was occupied, leaving less than 3 mu. It became an enclosed green space in the middle of the street, also known as the Xiaobailou Triangle Green Space. In 2003, the only small oasis in this area disappeared due to construction and renovation of this area. A modern "Concert Hall Cultural Square" was built on the site of Elgin Park.

<Figure 2-10> Position of Elgin Park in the British Concession of Tianjin (red circle with the arrow)
Source: (Sun, 2009)

5) Russian Park

In 1901, Russian Park in the Russian Concession was the only concession park in Tianjin that was adjacent to Hai River. Russian Park was built on the site of cemeteries for salt merchants. It was located on the east bank of Hai River next to current Daguangming Bridge (Figure 2-11). Covering an area of 105 mu, it was the largest of the 10 concession parks in Tianjin, almost equal in area of the other 9 parks combined.

According to relevant records, there were hundreds of large trees in the park, providing shade all over the ground, making it a great place to enjoy the cool air in summer. There were a Russian church and monument in the park. The park also had sports fields, tennis courts, swimming pools, and swings. After the water froze in the winter, many Chinese and Western people would go skating in the pond in the park. There was a port for the ferry between the park and Zhujia Hutong in the British Concession across the Hai River, called the Park Ferry at that time, which made it extremely convenient to travel back and forth by boat (Sun, 2019).

This park has undergone changes several times over history. After the Russian Concession was recovered in 1924, it was renamed Hai River Park. After the Japanese army occupied Tianjin in 1939, they cut down many large trees, demolished the church in the park, and converted the park into a military supplies warehouse and dock (Figures 3-2-44, 3-2-45). After the Anti-Japanese War, the original function of the park was restored, and it was called “Jianguo Park” or “Hedong Park.” In the 1950s, the park was converted into a warehouse for several companies (Figure 3-2-46). In the 1980s, the site of the park and its surroundings were transformed into part of Hai River Lineal Park. After 2000, commercial facilities such as Tianxing Riverside Plaza were built there. Nowadays, there is no more trace of Russian Park.

<Figure 2-11> Position of Russian Park in Tianjin
Source: (Sun, 2009)

6) Japanese Park

Several years after the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, the Japanese Concession was established in Tianjin. Japanese park was built in 1906 and originally named “Yamato Park.” It was located at the intersection of the current Anshan Road and Shandong Road (Figure 2-12), covering an area of more than 36 mu.

<Figure 2-12> Position of Japanese Park in Tianjin
Source: (Sun, 2009)

A Shinto shrine was built on the left side of the park in 1919, behind which was located the Japanese Public Hall. There were pavilions, earth mountains, stacked stones, bamboo gates, and fountains in the park. The garden was small but exquisite, with luxuriant flowers and trees, showing Japanese garden landscape characteristics (Sun, 2009).

In August 1945, the Japanese Concession was recovered, and the park was renamed “Victory Park.” After the liberation of Tianjin in 1949, the original Shinto shrine and monument were demolished, and the park was changed into the Tianjin Children’s Palace. In 1953, it was renamed “Bayi Park.” In 1959, the park was entirely demolished, and the “August 1st Auditorium” was rebuilt instead (2-13).

<Figure 2-13> August 1st Auditorium on the former Yamato Park site
Source: (Yue LU, 2023)

7) French Park

The site of French Park was originally a pond, and the land was quite cheap. The construction of the park served to increase the value of the surrounding land, yielding benefits for the French Concession. The only public square in the French Concession of Tianjin at that time—Clemenceau Place—was too small to accommodate large-scale ceremonies; hence, the French Concession needed a symbolic public space (Li, 2005). Thus, French Park was born in 1913. The park is circular and surrounded by Joffre Road (current Huayuan Road; Figure 2-14). It was also called “Joffre Square” at the beginning.

<Figure 2-14> Aerial View of French Park in Tianjin
Source: (Sun, 2009)

After the “July 7th Incident” in 1937, the Japanese army successively blockaded and stationed troops in the British and French Concessions until the end of World War II. In the meantime, the park was renamed Central Park and used as a storage place for military supplies. The bronze statue of Jeanne d’Arc in the park was dismantled and melted to make bombs. After 1945, during the rule of the Kuomintang, the park was renamed Roosevelt Park and was used for stabling and parking.

After Tianjin was liberated in 1949, the municipal government allocated funds to restore the park, filling up trenches, rebuilding roads, planting trees and flowers, adding chairs, and restoring the name Central Park. After the Tangshan Earthquake in 1976, many temporary buildings were erected in the park, and it was refurbished in 1982. Streetlights were installed, roads were re-paved, and children’s facilities were installed. In 1998, the stone pavilion in the center of the park was demolished and converted into a fountain. At the same time, the fence of the park was removed, and it was renamed the Central Cultural Square, but people still call it Central Park (Sun, 2016). In 2011, the fountain and roads were restored, and wooden boardwalks, seats, and other facilities were added.

8) Italian Park

Italian Park was built in 1924 and is located in the southeast of Marco Polo Square in the Italian Concession, which is now the east side of the middle section of Minzu Road (Figure 2-15). The overall layout of Italian Park was circular, with a Roman-style pavilion in the middle, a play area and a small flower pavilion on the east and west sides, a ball field and a sports ground on the south side, and a fountain and flower beds in front of the main entrance on the north side. There was a Corinthian classical stone column in the center of Marco Polo Square topped by the statue of a goddess. The buildings around the square have towers; Italian Park, the square, and the surrounding towers varied in height, and the flowers and trees in the park were luxuriant, forming an extremely beautiful environment (Figure 2-16). It can be seen that Italian architects at that time paid great attention to the beauty of the overall environment in their construction work (Wang et al., 2014). In August 1933, the tennis court for Italian expatriates in the park was transformed into a Basque pelota stadium, which was designed by Italian engineer Bonetti, that occupied 6 mu in the park, leaving only a small corner of the original park free.

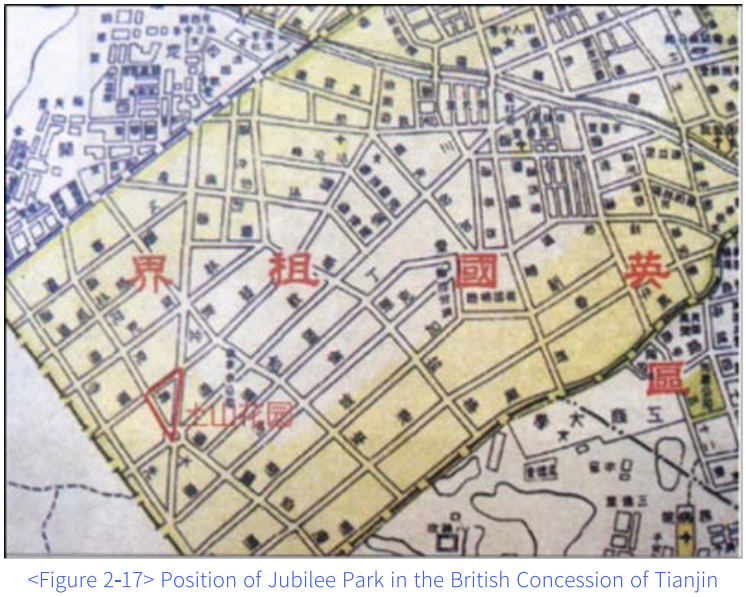
<Figure 2-15> Position of Italian Park in Tianjin
Source: (Sun, 2009)

<Figure 2-16> View of Italian Park in Tianjin, 1920s
Source: (Sun, 2009)

After the “July 7th Incident” in 1937, Italian Park was renamed Hedong Park. After Tianjin was liberated in 1949, the remainder of the park was renamed Workers’ Park or Yigong Park. In the 1950s, the column with statue in the center of the square was removed. In 1958, the park merged with the adjacent Basque pelota stadium to become the “First Workers’ Cultural Palace.” In early 2000, during the renovation of the former Italian Concession, the original appearance of Marco Polo Square was restored and the column with the goddess statue was rebuilt. However, it was used as part of the square at that time, and the park that used to be the rest of the square has not been completely restored (Sun, 2009). A small square was built on the north side of the original Italian Park.

9) Jubilee Park

Jubilee Park is located in the British Concession, at the intersection of Guizhou Road, Kunming Road and Yueyang Road (Figure 2-17). At first, the site was a hollow wasteland that was later purchased by Sun Yu, a large landowner. In 1901, this area was integrated into the British Concession. Jubilee Park was built in 1927 when the British Concession Municipality was constructing a large diameter sewer. The excavated soil was piled into a hill about 5 to 6 meters high. Later, Jubilee Park was built using this hill, covering an area of 0.8 hectares.



<Figure 2-17> Position of Jubilee Park in the British Concession of Tianjin
Source: (Sun, 2009)

The plan of Jubilee Park is triangular. Imitating the Chinese natural garden, the terrain is hilly, and European-style flower beds, flower ponds, and water spray flowerpots were also constructed as the main landscape of the park (Yang, 2019). One can climb the hill to the west of the park. There is a pavilion at the top of the hill. Trees, flowers, and plants are planted everywhere on the mountainside, which makes this place calm and unique. The park is equipped with iron walls, which shows the characteristics of Western gardening.

After the Pacific War, the garden was renamed “Nanshan Park.” After the victory in the Anti-Japanese War, it was renamed “Meiling Park,” and again renamed “Tushan Park” after Tianjin was liberated. Around 1982, the hill was renovated and ornamental flowers

and trees were planted. In 1986, the original pavilion on the hill was demolished and a concrete pavilion was built instead. In 1989, a rockery and stacked pool were built in the southern part of the park. After several renovations, the park has basically maintained its former layout (Sun, 2009).

10) Queen's Park

Queen's Park, the fourth park built in the British Concession in Tianjin and the last among the 10 concession parks in Tianjin, was built in 1937. Queen's Park is located on current Xi'an Road (Figure 2-18). The site was originally the asphalt concrete mixing ground of the British Concession Municipality. In 1937, this ground was moved to Xikang Road. A swimming pool was built to the east of the original site and a park was built to the west, covering an area of 14.28 mu. The park has a British park style, with flower beds and lawns of different shapes in the center and trees demarcating the surrounding areas. There is a rectangular children's playground in the eastern part of the park.

After the Pacific War, Queen's Park was renamed "Huang Family Garden." During this period, the park gradually became deserted. After victory in the Anti-Japanese War, it was renamed "Fuxing Park" and is still in use today. After Tianjin was liberated in 1949, the original water tank and pumping station in the northeast corner were dismantled and the park area was expanded. After the 1970s, the park underwent several renovations. In 1987, a stele corridor was built in the west of the park, and more than 40 works by calligraphers of Tianjin were engraved and inlaid on the marble of the corridor wall. The park was renovated once again in 2010, parts of the winding corridor were reconstructed, and rockeries and overlapping waterfall were introduced into the park (Meng & Chen, 2014).

<Figure 2-18> Position of Queen's Park in the British Concession of Tianjin
Source: (Sun, 2009)

3. Hybridization of space in the concession parks of Tianjin

Hybridity has been widely discussed in urban studies in recent years. Derived from the language of biology, the term "hybridization" designates the natural or artificial crossing of two different species, races, or varieties of plants or animals (see, e.g., Schwenk et al., 2008). In the social sciences, hybridization is usually associated with a reflection on modern or postmodern conditions and expressions (Hernandez i Marti, 2006; Boutinet, 2016) and is used to illuminate new forms of culture and identity (Appadurai, 2014; Canclini, 1990; Pieterse, 1994; Rubdy & Alsagoff, 2013). In the field of geography, hybridization is part of the characteristics of a territory, contributing to its special identity.

Furthermore, hybridity has been considered by several schools of thought as one of the main weapons against colonialism (Andrade, 2013). The hybridization of built forms (AlSayyad, 2001) has often been associated with a postcolonial perspective and with the work of such postcolonial theorists as Edward Saïd (2004) and Homi Bhabha (1997). Based on the historical background of urban colonization and semi-colonization

in modern East Asia, hybridity has also been introduced into the discussion of urban space, mainly through the use of this concept to think about issues such as identity, difference, and power. Earlier studies have shown that urban public space, as a social and symbolic object, needs to be analyzed within the framework of colonial and post-colonial discourses in combination with specific geographical, historical, and economic conditions, and cannot be simply abstracted as “third space” or “in-between position” (Zhang et al., 2012).

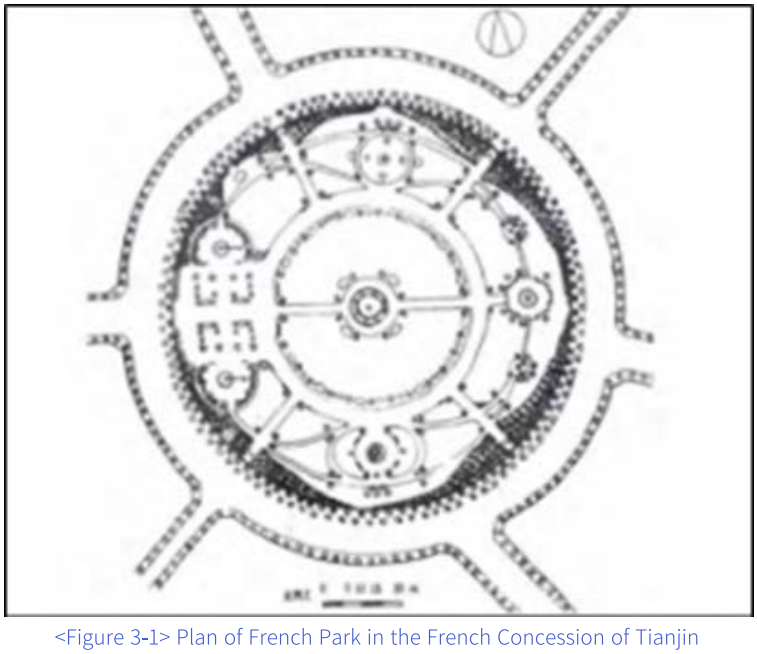
Contemporary or former colonial international spatial policies have been adapted to local contexts (Bendix et al., 2017) and integrated into local architectural and landscape vocabularies (Bondaz et al., 2014), traditionally referred to as “indigenized” (Sahlins, 1999). The circulation should be seen as a two-way process, for if international standards are “exported” to other contexts (e.g., former colonies), local conditions may, in turn, influence the spatial policies carried out by national agencies and international organizations.

The parks in the concessions were built by the respective colonial power at their own expense and emphasized the park styles of their own countries. Academic works often presuppose that the planning of the concession has been shaped by imperialist hegemony, of which they are considered emblematic spaces. However, these studies overlook the fact that more than an imperial project, it was the interests of foreign expatriates that actually influenced the urban development of the concessions (Zhang, 2023). Their constant interactions with the Chinese sustained a mutual influence. Thus, the settlers did not cease to adapt their strategy to the transformations of modern China to optimize their own interests (Bickers, 1999). In addition to the use of classical European styles in the concession parks, what enriches the landscape is the Chinese style and the exotism related to it. In the context of the coexistence of several concessions and in the general environment of Tianjin, the concession parks were also influenced by certain Western and Chinese elements, showing hybrid characteristics. We present the hybrid styles and landscapes of these concession parks in three of their aspects.

3.1. Layout of the concession parks

3.1.1. European classical regular layout

In Western culture, people have pursued scientific rigor and proportionate form and beauty since antiquity. Architecture, parks, and other fields of art have developed under the influence of this scientific and rational culture (Liu, 2016). A regular layout has always been one of the main characteristics of Western parks, especially French classical parks. French Park in the French Concession of Tianjin is a 130-meter-diameter circle with an extremely neat and symmetrical layout, which is strictly inherited from French regular parks (Figure 3-1).



<Figure 3-1> Plan of French Park in the French Concession of Tianjin
Source: (Wang, Cao & Wang, 2014)

In 1914, the municipality of the French Concession in Tianjin issued the last version of the planning of the concession, which was also the most evident expression of French cultural characteristics, considered “a highly political activity” (Levy, 2013). The municipality proposed a road plan combining circular space and radial roads for the French park, and increased the density of the road network. French Park is a typical French regular park with two road types: concentric circles that spread outward from the center and straight roads that radiate from the center of the circle. At the center is an octagonal pavilion with double columns as the supports at each corner (Yang, 2019).

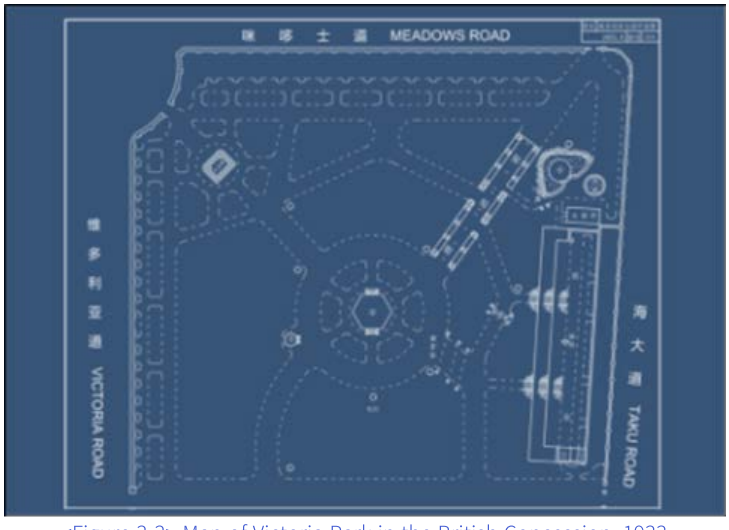
The planning of the French park and its surrounding with a series of chic European-style villas shows the characteristic of the Garden City (Li, 2015). In a report of the prefect of the Seine region to the municipality in 1909, it is stated: “We must avoid falling into too rigid geometrical rules, we cannot imitate the uninteresting grid of American cities … nor can we abuse geometric forms to once again sacrifice the beautiful works of history that have bequeathed us, treated as worthless in the planning of renovation and expropriation” (Kostof, 2005). The expression of French garden city ideas has its own style: The main innovation of Garden City is not to restrict the orientation of buildings by the direction of streets (Figure 3-2). The street block system of land division was outlawed, and houses could face any way the builders wanted on the base to gain access to sunlight and views (Li, 2015).

<Figure 3-2> Aerial view of French Park, 1970s
Source: (Yang, 2019)

3.1.2. Eclectic layout

During the 19th century, the eclectic style was extremely popular in Europe. It originated in the United Kingdom, and with the strong culture of the British Empire at that time it had an impact on the styles of architecture and gardens in other Western countries and even in China (Liu, 2016). The layout of some parks in the concessions showed a mixture of regular and natural styles.

Victoria Park was entirely created by the British and is basically based on the style of an English park. The overall shape is square, with a circle at the center, from which four radial roads lead to the corner gates, which shows clearly the characteristic of a French park. Victoria Park also absorbed some elements of traditional Chinese gardens, forming a hybrid layout (Figure 3-3). For example, although it shows some regular composition character as in French Park, it also adopts an asymmetrical and relatively free-style layout under the influence of a Chinese garden (Zhang, 2023).



<Figure 3-3> Map of Victoria Park in the British Concession, 1933
Source: (Sun & Aoki, 2023)

In Yamato Park in the Japanese Concession, the gardening style was not only influenced by the concession's home country, but also inevitably by the other concessions in Tianjin, especially the British Concession, which was the earliest and most rapidly developed in Tianjin (Sun, 2019b).

The construction of Yamato Park began in 1908, with Kirisaburo Tanaka as the designer. The plan is different from the natural layout of traditional Japanese gardens and has many similarities with Victoria Park (Figure 3-4): Circular flower beds are arranged radially around the music pavilion at the center; the outline gradually transits from concentric circles to free curves through lawns and pools; a circular peony flower pond is arranged in the southern corner of the park to echo the pavilion in the center; and supplemental functional spaces are designed such as sports fields (Sun, 2019a).

<Figure 3-4> Project for Yamato Park in the Japanese Concession, 1907
Source: (Sun & Aoki, 2023)

With respect to Queen's Park, the central axis is not very clear. It adopts an obscure central axis to unify the whole park, with winding ring roads, abundant plants, and an evident semi-regular layout.

3.1.3. Natural-style layout

Owing to the influence of traditional Chinese gardens, the layout of some parks in the concessions showed a natural style. The most typical natural layout in the concession parks of Tianjin is that of Jubilee Park, whose overall layout was triangular in shape (Figure 3-5), modeled on the layout of traditional Chinese gardens, with winding paths, scenery that changes as one moves, flowers and grass everywhere, and a quiet and rustic pavilion (Chen & Li, 2016).

<Figure 3-5> Plan of Jubilee Park in the British Concession of Tianjin
Source: (Liu, 2016)

Russian Park and Elgin Park, on the contrary, also belong to this natural layout. Russian Park, with an area of about 7 hectares, is the largest of the parks in the concessions. In Russia itself, forests are an important feature of the culture. Under the influence of this background, when the Russians in Tianjin created the concession, they chose to build the park in a densely wooded area. At the same time, naturalistic landscape parks were prevalent in 19th-century Russia; hence, Russian Park was more freely laid out by combining dense forest, water pools, and other natural conditions (Liu, 2016). Regarding Elgin Park, the design of the park adopted a natural and simple layout with many trees and plants. There were three sets of arbors in the park covered with wisteria, which have become the main scenery. The whole park was predominantly green space, and many chairs and seats were hidden under the trees and arbors.

3.2. Park ornaments and architecture

The concession parks are located in an area with the coexistence of varied architectural styles, and the park ornaments and buildings also have different styles. The park ornaments and constructions predominantly include monumental sculptures, fountains, columns and flower beds, galleries, and pavilions and pergolas.

3.2.1. Monumental sculptures

The monumental sculptures in the concession parks of Tianjin were greatly influenced by European sculptural styles. Most of the statues in the concession parks have a strong colonial flavor with political implications to glorify their courage in the war, demonstrate their power, or commemorate the soldiers lost in the war. In 1919, William Heavilin, the board chairman of Astor Hotel, demolished the fire alarm bell in the southeast corner of Victoria Park and built a memorial imitating the Cenotaph in the Whitehall of London, to commemorate the British dead in the First World War. In Russian Park, Chinese army cannons captured in the war were placed together with the memorial tower. In the German Concession, another cannon was placed beside the bronze statue of the German Count Ludlum in the center of William Street, surrounded

by four stone pillars. The statue “Goddess of Peace” in France Park was based on French heroine Jeanne d’Arc as the prototype, with a sword in her right hand and a sheath in the left. The “Victory Tower” in the Italian Concession was a 10-meters-high Corinthian column with a bronze statue of Victory at the top.

However, in Japanese Park, some sculptures had a monument very different from those in other Western parks. At the main entrance of the park stood a monument that embodied some characteristics of oriental gardens to commemorating the deaths of Japanese soldiers and officers during the invasion of Tianjin by the Allied Forces of the Eight Powers, and showing off the great achievements of the Japanese army during the war.

The emergence of monumental statues is the beginning of the sculptures in the parks in China. From then on, sculptures of a variety of materials and types began to become an important part of the parks’ landscape (Li, 2006). We will explore the commemorative elements and events in the concession parks in greater detail in the next part.

3.2.2. Pavilions and other park ornaments

There are two main types of pavilions in the concession parks of Tianjin: Western-style pavilions and Chinese-style pavilions. There were two examples of the Western-style pavilions (Figure 3-6). The center of French Park was a Western-style octagonal double-pillar stone pavilion, with a small-tile sloped roof and double columns supporting each corner; in Italian Park, a Roman-style dome pavilion was built. The main entrance of these two parks were equipped with Western-style fountains.

A representative Chinese pavilion is in Victoria Park. In the center of the park there is a hexagonal Chinese pavilion—a structure popular in English parks in the 18th century (Diestelkamp, 2000)—with a pyramidal roof. Its ridge was decorated with gargoyles representing immortals and animals. To the north of the pavilion a smaller pavilion was constructed in 1907, also in Chinese style. It was a bold attempt to incorporate localized Chinese elements in the overall Western-style layout (Chen & Li, 2016). A similar pavilion could also be found in Yamato Park at that time.

<Figure 3-6> Pavilions in the concession parks of Tianjin
Source: (Liu, 2016)
Left: pavilion in French Park; Middle: pavilion in Italian Park; Right: pavilion in Victoria Park

Additionally, British settlers borrowed elements from Italian parks (Figure 3-7). In the west of Victoria Park, a single-slope vertical semi-underground greenhouse is set up, on which soil is piled up to form a terrace where flowers and plants are planted and people could rest and walk. This terrasse method is close to the tradition of Italian parks (Sun, 2016). A canal was dug in the west of the garden, with a Western-style gallery arch bridge spanning the canal. Boats resembling “gondolas” could be sailed in the canal. Except for these, the stones, railings, and benches were all shipped from the UK. The concession authorities sent horticulturists back to the UK many times to purchase seedlings and plants so that British people in a foreign country could feel “at home” when they came to the park (Xu, 2016).

It can be seen that Victoria Park at that time incorporated the characteristics of Chinese and other Western countries. These developments have earned Victoria Park admiration as a “perfect example of the embellishment of the marshy and desert territory of Tianjin” (Drake, 1990, cited in Zhang, 2023).

<Figure 3-7> Canal, gondola, and arcade bridge in the western part of Victoria Park
Source: (Liu, 2016)

3.2.3. Interiors of the buildings

Some hybrid elements are also evident within the architecture, such as Gordon Hall in the British Concession in Tianjin. Gordon Hall was China's first town hall, built in 1890 by the British City Council on the north side of Victoria Park (Figure 3-8). The building adopts the Victorian gothic style to highlight the British national characteristics. In fact, with the rise of romanticism in the mid-18th century, some artists began to rediscover medieval art. The early Gothic revival in Britain, in addition to the purely aesthetic perspective, also infiltrated the color of nationalism. In the eyes of many British, classical architecture originated from southern Europe, while medieval gothic architecture is one carrier of cultural traditions of the northern nations and a symbol of the freedom of the British (Zhang et al., 2012). Therefore, natural-style parks and gothic architecture are considered to have British national characters, and are endowed with the meaning of cultural confrontation and competition with another European power—France.

<Figure 3-8> Gordon Hall on the north side of Victoria Park in an old postcard
Source: https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/yh2cNGgNXIPPSyIF6Uygag

Gordon Hall was aptly named in honor of Charles George Gordon (1833–1885), the founder of the British Concession. Gordon was deserving of this honor as he got on well with the Qing government and became the symbol of Sino-British ties. Thus, at the inauguration of Gordon Hall in 1890, Li Hongzhang, viceroy of Zhili[3] and an import-

3 Zhili was an administrative division of the Ming and Qing dynasties in China. It originally meant a place directly under the central government.

ant official in the Beiyang government,[4] declared: “Let the building with its openness become the eternal monument of relations between Gordon and China!” (Rasmussen, 1925). To highlight this relationship, a Chinese scene was created inside the building, and at the end of the 19th century a stage intended for Chinese theater stood in the center of Gordon Hall. In the background hung a tapestry, decorated with the god of longevity and deer (Figure 3-9). Despite the evident discrepancy between this Chinese decor and European architecture, the British had placed it in a central location so that anyone entering the building could see it. This staging was a gift for Li Hongzhang, whom the British municipality had invited to celebrate his 70th birthday at Gordon Hall, one year after the building was completed. Li accepted the invitation with pleasure, and expressed his desire to organize a theater performance to add to the festive atmosphere. Given Li Hongzhang’s singular identity and status, the tapestry adorned with the god of longevity and deer did not just express wishes for health and longevity; it also symbolized its special relationship with the British Concession. The fact that the gift had been kept in this prominent location for a long time showed the public these privileged relations. In this context, this architecture displays hybrid elements in material and social terms.

<Figure 3-9> Tapestry hanging inside Gordon Hall, depicting the god of longevity and deer, around 1893
Source: (Zhang, 2023)

4 The Beiyang government was the government of the Republic of China between 1912 and 1928, whose capital was Beijing.

3.3. Vegetation in the parks

3.3.1. Natural vegetation landscaping

In many Western classical parks, regular landscaping methods are used throughout the parks, and even the plants are pruned into regular and strict geometric shapes. By the 19th century, British natural style landscaping began to dominate the development of Western parks, and natural gardening techniques were integrated into regular layouts. As a direct reflection of the Western culture at that time, Tianjin's concessions would also spread this Western aesthetic trend. Even French Park, which has the most regular layout among the 10 concession parks of Tianjin, had some natural landscaping characteristics. From another perspective, the careful pruning and maintenance of plants requires extensive labor and money; hence, this exquisite artificial plant landscaping method was hard to achieve in the concessions (Liu, 2016). Therefore, the natural landscaping style is evidently more in line with the real condition of the concessions and was widely used in most concession parks. In the parks of the Japanese and Russian Concessions, natural vegetation landscaping methods were dominant. Especially in Russian parks, a large area of dense woods and a pond in the forest are typical characteristic of Russian landscape (Liu, 2016).

A key element that reflects this trend is the use of large lawns in the concession parks. Some scholars think that this is a typical feature of modern parks: The lawn has become an iconic element and an important landscaping technique, forming a broad field of vision, in contrast to traditional Chinese gardens, which emphasize twisting and intimate characteristics (Li, 2006). In the parks of the British, French, Italian, and German Concessions, large open spaces are often covered with lawns and trees, with flower borders and pergolas arranged around key spatial nodes (Figure 3-10). Victoria Park had 1,210 square meters of lawn as its main component; the octagonal pavilion in French Park was also surrounded by a lawn; and Queen's Park also used a large number of vegetation elements such as lawns and groves.

<Figure 3-10> Victoria Park in an old postcard
Source: (Liu, 2016)

In the concession parks, although natural plant landscaping occupied larger areas, the design of some flower beds and hedges showed some regular characteristics. For example, some spaces focal structures were surrounded by flower beds arranged in a circular pattern, like space radiating from the Chinese-style pavilion and the Memorial in Victoria Park, the Western-style pavilion in French Park, and the fountain in white marble in Jubilee Park. Generally speaking, these concession parks in Tianjin used the natural plant landscaping as the main method, with regular hedges and flower beds in some parts (Liu, 2016).

3.3.2. Choice of plants

Most of the plants in the concession parks of Tianjin are plants of Chinese origin, including pine, cypress, poplar, willow, Chinese locust, acacia, ash, elm, paulownia, jujube tree, mulberry, saponin, and Chinese wisteria. At the end of the 19th century, a small nursery was set up in the north of Victoria Park to cultivate and domesticate Chinese vegetable species. These Chinese-origin plants were embedded in the shapes and concepts of Western culture, giving the landscaping unique Western style (Yang, 2019). Plants were arranged in various forms, such as flower beds, flower borders, sparse forests, and dense forests, forming diverse spaces with rich landscapes (Figure 3-11).

For example, Ta Kung Pao published an article on July 8, 1931, describing the scene of Italian Park (Figure 3-12): “This garden is a relatively small one among the parks in Tianjin. When you pass the fountain at the entrance, a pavilion pops up in front of you, and you can see trees and flowers in bloom all around. All plants of the same kind are planted in the same place to highlight their characteristics, such as jasmine, Indian canna, etc. The most numerous trees are the ‘Ronghua tree’ (also known as Albizia julibrissin). There is a row of ivied trellis against the wall in the east provide shade for the readers under the shelf.”

<Figure 3-11> Yamato Park in an old postcard
Source: https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/wECoZrTbr6nzHEq6-xrMHw

<Figure 3-12> Italian Park in Tianjin
Source: (Wang, 2019)

3.4. Reasons for the hybridization of space in the concession parks

The construction of concession parks is inseparable from the opinions and contributions of expatriates. They served as solace for their homesickness in a foreign place; hence, inevitably, the landscape in their home country occupied the parks (Zhang et al., 2012). For example, as the earliest public green space in the British Concession of Tianjin, Victoria Park aimed to reflect the image of the Queen of England as kind and caring for the people, and at the same time to praise the leader's wise rule, to shape the image of the country. Similarly, a Shinto shrine was set up in Yamato Park in the Japanese Concession, and the main building of the Russian Park—an Orthodox Church—adopted a Byzantine style (Figure 3-13).

Moreover, to demonstrate the achievements of concession governance over Chinese territory, it was necessary to show the essence of the home nation and of the West to Chinese audiences in the concession parks (Zhang et al., 2012). They used this public space to create a new modern order, so that a large number of facilities that were not found in traditional Chinese gardens such as music pavilions, clocks, and sports fields were introduced, which not only highlighted exotic features, but were also endowed with functions such as moral improvement and ideological education.

<Figure 3-13> Church in Russian Park of Tianjin
Source: https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/ljZCJhI0GynwdHV4A9Vtpg

Although the expatriates wanted to maintain their western way of life and construction, they could not avoid contact with the Chinese inhabitants and, thus, had to adapt themselves to local circumstances. The concession parks thus display a mixture of various elements. This hybridity of space is probably owing to multiple needs and considerations.

First, eclecticism is a creative artistic trend that arose in the first half of the 19th century and flourished in Europe and the United States at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. For example, the Palais Garnier in Paris and the Victor Emmanuel II Monument in Rome are masterpieces showing the influence of eclecticism. Therefore, the design of some concession parks in Tianjin might have been influenced by this contemporary trend to boast an eclectic style or elements (Zhang, 2010). However, some researchers think that the hybrid elements in Victoria Park represented a “return” of Chinese culture, rather than the eclectic design approach, because oriental architecture such as Chinese towers, pavilions, and bridges were popular in a large number of European gardens from the mid-18th century to the early 19th century, suggesting that the Chinese-style elements in Victoria Park reflected a common design technique in British parks (Sun, 2016).

Moreover, the employment of local craftsmen for the construction of parks also provided an opportunity for the hybrid characteristics to have arisen. In fact, the owners and designers of the concession gardens were Westerners, but the craftsmen were often Chinese. For example, because of the absence of European engineers, the British had to rely on Chinese craftsmen to build houses. The Chinese did not master the technique of covering houses in the English style, so much so that a violent wind could cause a roof to fly away (Rasmussen, 1925). Consequently, the first buildings erected in the British Concession had a Western look but were of poor quality. Dana Arnold (2023) confirmed that from the 1860s building materials were imported directly from Great Britain for the construction of buildings in the British Concession, including glass, steel, and finishings for interior design, but it did not take long for cement, glass products, machine-made bricks, and other materials to be made in China.

Some problems were owing to the local geographic conditions. The city experiences a hot and extremely humid climate in summer and temperatures below freezing during the winter months, preventing construction work during this period. Some materials cannot be used in the same way as in the West; for example, it is impossible to cover the façades with plaster, and the use of wood is quite complicated (Renard, 2023).

Finally, some researchers believe that foreign businessmen had a moderate attitude toward the local inhabitants in the early days of their arrival in China, and they also tried pleasing the Chinese people in some respects, so the eclectic style was chosen for some buildings in the concessions. Furthermore, with the rise of Chinese nationalism in the early 20th century, to reduce the resistance and alienation of the Chinese, public buildings in the concession, including parks, gradually adopted adaptations of traditional Chinese buildings and gardens (Zhang et al., 2012).

4. Consumption of the concession parks of Tianjin in the past and today

Put simply, we can think of the consumption process as the acquisition and use of goods and services that meet real or perceived needs. In its narrowest definition, the act of consuming uses a good or service in a manner such that the item is no longer available to other consumers, such as the consumption of a meal, or of a resource non-renewable mineral (Williams & Lew, 2015). Critically, the term has been adopted to capture a much broader concept wherein a whole range of social, cultural, and environmental situations are “consumed” as experiences. Jayne points out that “as such, consumption is not just about goods that are manufactured and sold, but increasingly it is about ideas, services and knowledges—places, shopping, eating, fashions, leisure and recreation, sights and sounds can all be consumed” (Jayne, 2006). Thus, consumption is not purely confined to an act of purchase but is an ongoing process that prefigures the purchase itself and influences the future actions we take as consumers. Therefore, consumption is part of everyday life, rather than an autonomous activity bounded by place and time.

Several authors have, thus, tended to consider space as an object of consumption (Mermet, 2012). Urry (1995) demonstrates this idea in the current postmodern context, which explains that places are not only the support of consumption activities but also an object of consumption. Similarly, Jayne invokes identical arguments: “It is also possible to extend this understanding to the idea that cities and the places within them are also consumed, particularly visually, but places can also literally be consumed (industry, history, buildings, literature and the environment can be depleted, devoured and exhausted by use)” (Urry, 1999). Hence, it is possible and legitimate to speak of “consumption of space.”

In the heritage industry, history becomes a commodity—a tourist spectacle. The presence of a requalified built heritage plays a major role in the experiential characteristics of consumption when sites considered to have heritage value are transformed into premises for consumption (Bryman, 2004). Indeed, in a context wherein experiential consumption is strongly linked to the idea of “beauty” (Charters, 2006), the aesthetic dimension of heritage is highly valued in contemporary representations. A second explanation of heritage attraction emphasizes the role of nostalgia and what Urry calls a “sense of loss” (Urry, 1990). This reasoning has been strongly influenced by Hewison’s critique of heritage in the UK and which suggests that processes of deindustrialization have created a dislocation between people and the ways of life to which they were accustomed (Hewison, 1987). As some old ways of life disappeared, people became more interested in their past. Beyond the nostalgic aspect of heritage sites, several articles have shown that heritage can constitute a real support for an authentic experience by offering the consumer a “connection with the past” (Chronis & Hampton, 2008), thus enriching the experience consumption by anchoring it in the long term. Thus, the compression of the past into the present is linked to the question of tourist experiences and the search for authenticity (Sharpley, 1994).

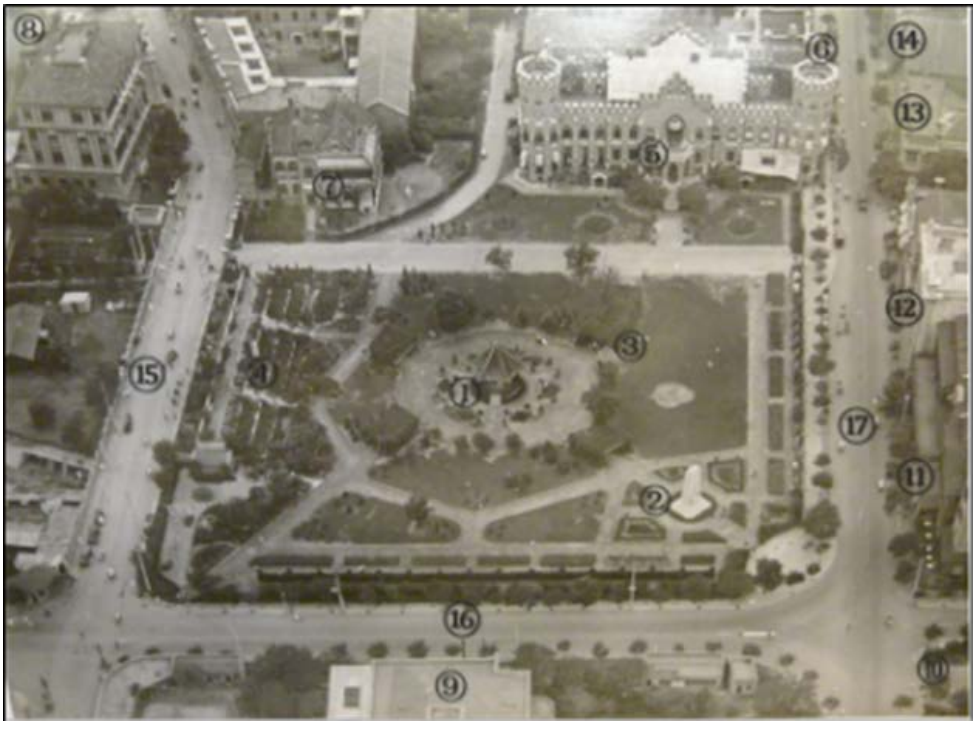
4.1 Functions of the concession parks in modern times

4.1.1 Geographic center

The locations of the parks in the concessions were the result of careful studies by the municipality of each concession. Some of the parks were the geographic center of the concession from their creation.

Victoria Park

As the first park in the British Concession of Tianjin, Victoria Park was surrounded by a series of important public buildings (Figure 4-1), and the area gradually became the center of the political and cultural activities of the British Concession.



<Figure 4-1> Aerial view of Victoria Park and its surroundings
Source: (Zhang, 2023)
1. Music pavilion; 2. First World War memorial; 3. Small pavilion; 4. Tiered planting; 5. Gordon Hall; 6. Fire station; 7. Public library; 8. American barracks; 9. Japanese Consulate; 10. British Club; 11. Astor Hotel; 12. Astor Hotel; 13. British Consulate; 14. Tientsin Press; 15. Taku Road; 16. Meadows Road; 17. Victoria Road

In the political realm, on the north side of Victoria Park was Gordon Hall, completed in 1890, which served as the Town Hall of the British Concession in Tianjin (Zhang et al., 2012). The American barracks on the west side of the park and the Kailuan Mining Administration in the southwest corner were also manifestations of the power of the concession; there were also the Japanese Consulate and the British Consulate on the south and east sides of the park. On the east side, along Victoria Road, is the Astor Hotel, founded in 1863 by John Innocent, pastor of the Church of the Holy Spirit, and enlarged in 1886 to become the tallest building in Tianjin at the time. This hotel was th-

e prime venue for modern diplomatic activities in Tianjin, as the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, and Japan had their respective consulates located in this hotel. The Victoria Park neighborhood was thus an important venue for Chinese political and diplomatic activities and became the political center and the city meeting hall of modern Tianjin.[5]

In the cultural sphere, to the southwest of the park was the Anglican Church in Tianjin, which was open for worship only to the British expatriates in China at that time and was the most important religious place for the British expatriates in the concession; and to the north, east, and southeast of the park were the First British Club, First German Club, and Second British Club, respectively, making this area the artistic center of the British Concession. The Tianjin Printing House, which was set up on the south side of the First German Club, was also the media center of the concession. On the north side of the park, Gordon Hall housed not only political functions as the City Hall, Arresting Office, and Court, but also the conference room where concerts and public meetings were held. Victoria Park and Gordon Hall together became the main venue for meetings and recreational activities for the British. Additionally, near the north entrance of Victoria Park was built the British Municipal Library. The emergence of modern public buildings further reflected the public attributes of the park.

Consequently, the series of important political and cultural buildings surrounding Victoria Park reinforced the neighborhood's status as the political and cultural center of the British Concession. Behind the sophisticated spatial planning and prosperous urban construction, this status is closely related to the scale and the leading strength of the British Concession in various fields, including politics and finance (Xiong, 2021)

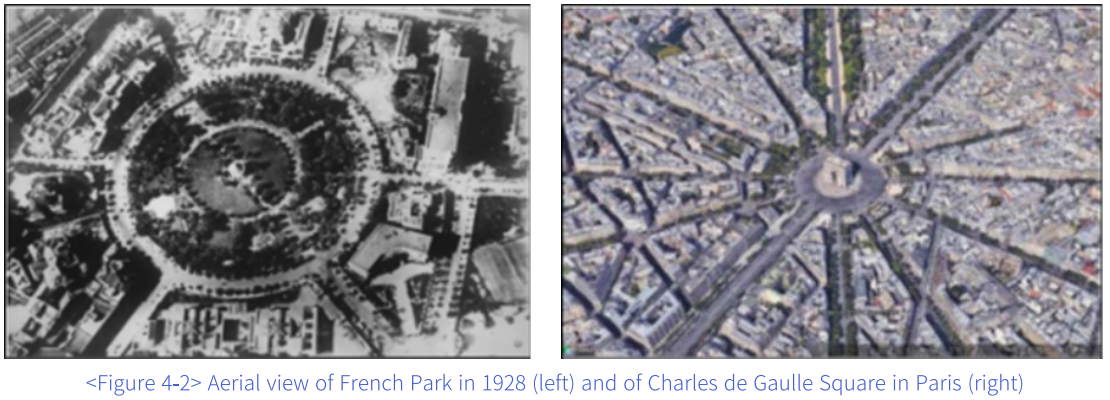
French Park

As mentioned earlier, for the spatial design of French Park, the French Concession municipality proposed a road plan that combined circular public spaces with radial roads, connected with the rectangular Clemenceau Square by a straight road. The circ-

5 In 1892, Li Hongzhang was invited to Gordon Hall to celebrate his 70th birthday; in 1898, Prince Heinrich of Germany was invited by Emperor Guangxu to visit Beijing and stayed at the First German Club in the neighborhood; and the Astor Hotel was the site of the signing of the Danish Treaty of China, the Sino-Luso-Portuguese Treaty of Tientsin, and the Sino-French Concise Treaty in 1912, Sun Yat-sen and Huang Xing traveled north to meet with Yuan Shikai and stayed here after landing at the River Hai concession pier.

ular square is a space with control, very suitable for display and crowds with strong monumentality. The Place Charles de Gaulle in Paris is among the most important representatives of the circular square, while the circular square is also an important feature of the French city; Haussmann's transformation of Paris fully expressed the characteristics of the circular square, which makes the intersection of scenic boulevards and city axes the node of the city, playing a controlling role in the urban structure. Since then, the circular square and radial road have become a symbol of French cities and a prevalent urban structure in modern Europe that was widely used in colonial urban planning (Li, 2015).

The urban planning of the French Concession in Tianjin is a direct reflection of this idea: French Park epitomized the Place Charles de Gaulle (Figure 4-2), Place de la Nation, and Place de la Bastille in Paris. The axis connecting French Park and Clemenceau Square is also the administrative and public axis and the center of political and military activities of the French Concession in Tianjin. This axis is dotted with public buildings such as the French Municipality of the concession, the French Consulate, and the Zizhulin Church. Although this road is not wide, it is still a witness to many important historical events. For example, the surrender ceremony of the Japanese army in Tianjin was held here on October 6, 1945, and a large number of citizens gathered in the street to witness this moment.



<Figure 4-2> Aerial view of French Park in 1928 (left) and of Charles de Gaulle Square in Paris (right)
Source: (Wang, 2019)

The neighborhood of French Park is the most beautiful area in the French Concession of Tianjin. Owing to its importance, this area is one of the spaces in the French Concession where the concession municipality paid the most attention to the harmonization of private architecture with the public environment. This is a European-

style area limited by the “1912 Tianjin French Concession Municipality Public Works Regulations,” which prohibited the construction of Chinese-style buildings. In 1921, the French Municipality issued a regulation restricting the construction of buildings around the park: “No houses shall be built on the land along the Rue Cours Joffre (circular road) within 5 meters, which shall be reserved as open space as gardens, roads, or courtyards. A one-meter-high iron railing should be installed at the base of the fence wall along Joffre Road, and the entrance and gate should also be cast iron.” This regulation continued in force until the French Concession reverted to China. To this day, the buildings around French Park (current Central Park) still maintain essentially the same pattern (Figure 4-3).

<Figure 4-3> Central Park and surrounding historical and cultural buildings
Source: (Yang, 2019)

Modern imperialist countries have also formed cultural empires, and in this context, like the British Concession, the French Concession relied on the modern city of Tianjin as a “window” to provide the French colonizers with a platform to display their own culture. The French Concession authorities first controlled the quality of construction and the general appearance of the city through the city administration and building codes. The urban planning used a combination of a grid and elements of French grand-

eur to create an overall grand city system. They also used part of the then-popular garden city concept to create a pleasant, upscale residential area around French Park. Public buildings and public spaces are important nodes of the city and the main stage for the French Concession authorities to display French culture.

Other Parks

The area around Yamato Park can be also considered the political and cultural center of the former Japanese Concession (Song, 2010). At that time, there were management agencies such as the City Hall, the Consulate, and the Police Station, as well as a cultural facility—the Public Hall (Figure 4-4)—integrating various functions including a library, club, and conference hall that could be used for exhibitions, banquets, and speeches. It is regarded in Japan as a symbol of the democratic spirit of Taisho era.[6] It was not only used by expatriates for daily use, but was also an important social site for celebrities and dignitaries in the Japanese Concession (Sun, 2019a).

Italian Park is located in a corner of Marco Polo Square in the Italian Concession (Figure 4-5). Its location was influenced by Italy's city square culture. In Italy, the open square is known as the "living room of the city" and has been a part of Italian culture since the "Renaissance." The establishment of a "city living room" for "communication and exchange" in the concession, coupled with the naming of "Marco Polo"—the historical envoy between China and Italy—reflects the profound intention of the rulers of the Italian Concession (Liu, 2016).

6 The Taishō era was a period in the history of Japan dating from July 30, 1912, to December 25, 1926, coinciding with the reign of Emperor Taishō. This era is considered the time of the liberal movement known as Taishō Democracy.

<Figure 4-4> Public Hall in Yamato Park in an old postcard
Source: (Sun, 2019a)

<Figure 4-5> Marco Polo Square in the Italian Concession of Tianjin in an old postcard
Source: https://www.sohu.com/a/232792022_482071

4.1.2 Commemorative and celebratory events

The colonial nature of the concession culture could be reflected in the place and space created in the parks (Liu, 2016). The commemorative designs and celebrations can be understood as a bridge between reality and “memory,” as a consolation for their nostalgia for the country, and as symbolizing the colonial power of the concession (Xiong, 2021).

Victoria Park

The various celebrations of a country display the unity of national symbols, which can be seen as secular religion, an act of forming the spirit of the nation into a ritual. In this case, the parks are such symbolic facilities. In the 18th and 19th centuries, when modern civil society was formed in Britain through the social revolutions and when the "nation" was formed, the British government built public buildings and public facilities to reflect the Queen's image of goodwill and love for the people and to glorify the wisdom of her administration to shape the image of the nation. With the establishment of the concession, this ideology was also brought to China (Sun, 2016).

An Art-Deco-style monument was erected in the south-east corner of the park in 1921 to commemorate the British soldiers lost in the First World War (Figure 4-6). Its shape was modeled after the Peace Memorial of Whitehall in England, and this kind of design style was adopted for similar memorials in other British colonies such as Hong Kong, Bermuda, and Auckland. Unlike other monuments, the front of the monument in Victoria Park is carved with a cross in relief and a sword-wielding figure whose arms and wings are similar to those of an Egyptian mummy and the totem of the Sacred Beetle, which carry the connotation of immortality and express mourning and remembrance for the dead through the Egyptian symbols of immortality. The inscription "THE GLORIOUS DEAD" and the Roman numerals "MCMXIV" and "MCMXIX" are inscribed on the lower part of the monument, representing respectively 1914, the beginning of the First World War, and 1919, the year the Treaty of Versailles was signed. This monument was dismantled after the founding of the People's Republic of China.

<Figure 4-6> Memorial monument in Victoria Park
Source: https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/yh2cNGgNXIPPSyIF6Uygag\

In terms of celebrations, Victoria Park was officially opened to the public on June 21, 1887, the date of the fiftieth anniversary of the Queen's accession to the throne. On the same day, sports matches and evening fireworks were held in the park, which even attracted Chinese people to flock there to watch. Larger celebrations were held on the sixtieth anniversary of the Queen's accession to the throne on June 21, 1897, and the coronation of King George V on June 22, 1911. In 1937, in celebration of the coronation of King George VI, the façade of Gordon Hall was decorated with lighting, which was rare at that time, resulting in a fascinating night scene (Figure 4-7). Another example is the most memorable military parade held on the morning of Armistice Day of a certain year, as recorded in the book Life in the Concession—An Englishman's Childhood in Tientsin: "The place of the parade was beside the monument in Victoria Park, and was conducted in imitation of the ceremony in Whitehall Street in London." The entire ceremony of the parade was modeled after the British manner, and the crowds present were introduced into the memory of the British scene (Xiong, 2021).

Thus, a series of commemorations of national political significance continued to strengthen the national consciousness of the expatriates in the concession. The British expatriates took advantage of the events to emphasize their close ties with the Empire to differentiate their British identity from that of the Chinese and the expatriates of other nationalities. In the process, Victoria Park was transformed into a social space symbolizing the singular identity of British settlers, and became part of their daily lives (Zhang, 2023).

<Figure 4-7> Decorations of Victoria Park and Gordon Hall during the ceremonies
Source: https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/yh2cNGgNXIPPSyIF6Uygag
Left: Decoration in Victoria Park for the coronation of George V on June 22, 1911.
Right: Gordon Hall decorated with colored lights in 1937 for the coronation of King George VI.

May 1937, Japan has not yet occupied Tianjin, has not yet invaded. It seems to have a celebration day in the United Kingdom for George's coronation. The expatriates gathered to discuss a celebration, a gala, which was held in the park. Even if I was small, I went there, and I have a very deep impression... On that day, it was mainly a celebration in the evening, a party. How did they decorate the park? In the park, first, they installed a number of colorful lights, red, blue, green, yellow, white bulbs, who were pull up by a rope and were electrified. Outside the park, it has two big intersections at the southeast corner and the southwest corner of the park. Over there, they made two big arched shelves, with crosses on them, like two big crowns. On top of this, it is wrapped with colorful red, green, yellow cloth, with red, green, blue, yellow, white lamps. During the night all the lights are lit, too spectacular. Because I have never seen such a big scene, I went to see this specially, not by myself, but with adults. It was brilliant! This (gala) needs a ticket. There were dancers, singers, performers, and stalls selling sodas, candies, bread. It's a potpourri of carnivals" (idem).

French Park

The building regulations of the French Concession of Tianjin stipulated unified requirements for building red lines, wall heights, and materials to create a complete and continuous circular space with a strong sense of centripetal force and enclosure. This space became a symbol of the French Concession and a ceremonial space with French national characteristics (Li, 2015). Except during the First World War, the municipality of the French Concession spent part of its funds every year to hold public events and festivals, such as the French National Day celebrations on July 14. The annual expense of the French Concession in Tianjin for celebrations accounted for about 5% to 10% of the fiscal revenue, which was a relatively large expense. Since festivals and ceremonies were an important part of the concession culture, the French Concession authorities always spared no effort in manpower and material resources for that.

In 1918, to commemorate France's victory in the First World War, the French Concession built a statue of Jeanne d'Arc in French Park (Figure 4-8) designed by French sculptor François André Clémencin. It is located at the southern end of the Fren-

ch Park, opposite the main entrance of the park, which is an important position at the end of the main axis of the park. The statue of Jeanne d'Arc is made of bronze and depicts a female warrior wearing a steel helmet. She holds a sword in her right hand and a scabbard in her left, showing the intention of returning the sword to its sheath to end the war. The costume and shield of the Goddess of Victory follow the imagery of the ancient Roman era, the sword is a popular form after the Renaissance, and the steel helmet appeared during the First World War. Elements from multiple historical periods are integrated into the statue, giving Jeanne d'Arc both a classical and modern spirit. The statue stands on a marble-veneered base, and the nameplate on the front of the base reads "In memory of the victory of the 1918 War." A semicircle of marble seats surrounds the base of the statue, echoing the overall circular plan of French Park. The design of French Park and its surrounding roads is highly commemorative. The commemorative statue and the roads around the park are all named after the First World War. When the monument was first designed, the need for holding commemorative ceremonies or large-scale public gatherings was taken into consideration, and a relatively square-shaped hard pavement in front of it.

<Figure 4-8> Statue of Jeanne d'Arc in French Park of Tianjin
Source: (Wang, 2019)

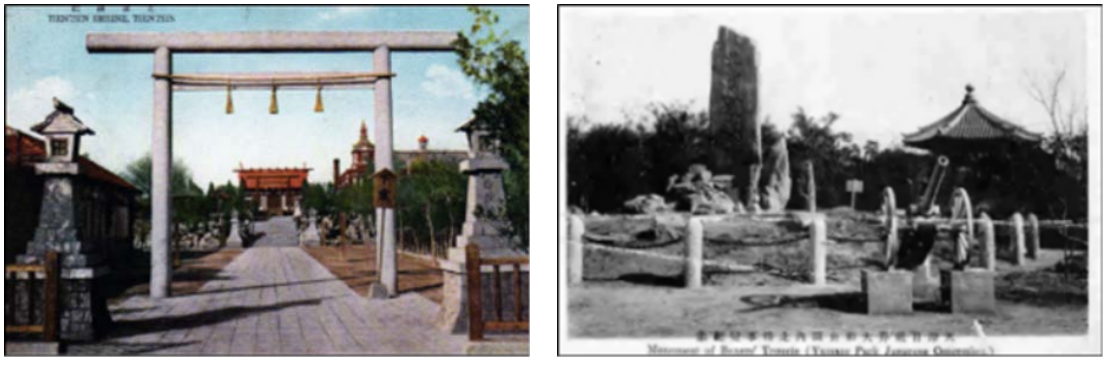
On January 7, 1931, French Park held a memorial ceremony for Marshal Joffre, which was a representative ceremonial event in the French Concession of Tianjin (Figure 4-9). This day is a national Memorial Day established by the French government for Joseph Joffre. The French Concession authorities and the French garrison jointly held a series of commemorative ceremonies. A requiem mass was first held at Zizhulin Church at 11:30 in the morning, and a military memorial ceremony was held at 12:30 in French Park. All the staff of the French Consulate and French military officers in Tianjin were in attendance, and Japan, the United Kingdom, the United States, Italy, and China sent military representatives to attend the ceremony.

<Figure 4-9> Arc de Triomphe to welcome Marshal Joffre (left) and Memorial ceremony for Marshal Joffre (right) Source: (Li, 2015)

The park of the French Concession in Tianjin was a carrier for ceremonies. Ceremonies activated the nature of the space, and ceremonial activities with the military as the protagonist were also an important way to display French military power. Through these activities, the French Concession authorities shaped the character of urban space and used the French Concession as a stage to express French national culture. Symbols of France were not only manifested in the physical space but also in the abstract naming of roads and festivals, attaching the abstract French national culture to daily life. The abstract concept of nationhood was also the main way to unite the French expatriates and strengthen the sense of belonging in the French Concession. As France was an imperial and cultural empire, the administrators of the French Concession wanted to create an urban space with a French national identity that would give the expatriates a sense of identity and demonstrate the power of the state to compete with the other concessions in Tianjin (Li, 2015).

Yamato Park

With Japan's expansion, "National Shinto" and its material vehicle, the Shinto shrine, were systematically introduced into China. The Japanese government attempted to use Shinto shrines as visual models of nationalism and colonialism (Sun, 2019a). The Shinto shrine in Yamato Park, dedicated to Amaterasu Omikami and the Emperor Meiji, was built in 1915 in the style of the traditional Japanese "Shinmei-zukuri" (Figure 4-10). After the construction of the shrine, Yamato Park became an important venue for ceremonial events in the Japanese Concession. On the occasion of the Crown Prince's Day, which pertained to the Japanese imperial family, and on the anniversaries of the Japanese-German Truce and the Battle of Kitakyushu, which were of military and political significance, grand ceremonies were held in Yamato Park. The Japanese government hoped to organize ceremonial events through a common time and a similar landscape environment to create an "imagined community" of the country with the Japanese expatriates and to regulate the local Chinese with shrines serving as a visual model of nationalism and colonialism (Sun, 2019b).



<Figure 4-10> Shinto shrine and Monument of Boxers' Trouble in Yamato Park
Source: (Sun, 2019a) & (Liu, 2016)

Additionally, at the main entrance, the Monument of Boxers' Trouble (Figure 4-10) was set up to commemorate the Japanese soldiers and officers who died when the Eight-Power Allied Forces attacked Tianjin and to boast of the achievements of the Japanese army during the war. These spaces in Yamato Park became places for the Japanese to proclaim the supremacy of the emperor and to show off their achievements in the concession (Liu, 2016).

Italian Park

In the Italian Concession, the Marco Polo Memorial in the middle of the square is a key element. Initially designed in memory of Italian soldiers who sacrificed their lives in the Far East, it ultimately commemorates the martyrs of the War (Mengin, 2017). The monument in Carrara marble combines a base with a monumental fountain dedicated to Marco Polo, from which rises a column surmounted by a bronze winged Victory, imitating the model of the Villa Borghese and Vittoriano in Rome. Designed by the famous Italian sculptor Giuseppe Boni, it was built in Italy and transported to Tianjin via Shanghai. The square is surrounded by a group of six villas built between 1908 and 1916 in the late Liberty style with distinctively shaped pavilion towers.

In 1919, a large-scale international party was organized in Italian Park to raise funds for the Red Cross of the Allies. To commemorate the martyrs who died during the First World War, the Italian Concession brought a corner of Venice to Tianjin, digging real canals between paths in the park, building bridges, and supplying ancient gondolas with boatmen wearing traditional clothes (Wang, 2019). This event had great success.

<Figure 4-10> : Ceremony in the Piazza Regina Elena of the Italian Concession
Source: ASDMAE, Serie Politica P Cina 1891–1916, b.426, in (Cardano & Porzio, 2004)
This picture shows the ceremony to celebrate the victory and to salute the soldiers lost in the war that was held in the Piazza Regina Elena (current Marco Polo Square), with the presence of Chinese authorities and foreign military representatives, November 6, 1927.

Moreover, in the Russian Park, to commemorate the Russian officers and soldiers killed during the invasion of Tianjin, there was a monument in the park (Figure 4-11), and several captured cannons were placed in front of the monument. As the Russian Empire had long been in a state of military expansion, the cannons in the park not only commemorated the war, but also expressed the spirit of “resistance” through the display of trophies (Liu, 2016).

<Figure 4-11>: Monument in the Russian Park
Source: (Liu, 2016)

4.1.3 Daily Activities

In essence, a park is characterized by its public and civilian nature. It is a public space in the city for people “to play, rest, and carry out cultural and sports activities.” The parks in the concessions of Tianjin were created from 1880 to 1937, which could be divided in two stages (Li, 2006). The first stage, before the 20th century, mainly emphasized natural scenery, using straight lines and right angles for pastoral decoration to form a beautiful natural landscape, like Takou Road Park and Elgin Park. In the second stage, from the beginning of the 20th century, park development began to focus on leisure, entertainment, and sports. Therefore, recreational and sports equipment began to be added to the park facilities. From then on, the parks in the concessions of Tianjin could host rich sports and recreational activities, most of which were Western activities targeted at expatriates to meet their diverse needs. Although the proportion of Chinese residents in the French Concession was much higher than that of the French expatriates, the activities in French Park were mostly imported ones rather than traditional Chinese activities, as they were organized by foreigners.

The spatial planning and activities within Victoria Park are highly representative of the

public life introduced in the concession (Xiong, 2021). Victoria Park had been the most important outdoor space in the British Concession of Tianjin since the day it was opened to the expatriates, and the public activities in the park were characterized by rich content.

In 1887, when the park was opened to the public, there were already a number of public recreational facilities. The Chinese-style pavilion located in the center of the park could offer a pleasant place for visitors to take a rest amid a rich variety of ornamental plants. In addition to the function of a sitting area, the pavilion in the center was mainly used as a music pavilion (Figure 4-12). In summer, concerts were held once a week in the garden. At that time, Robert Hart, the Director General of British Customs and Excise, founded the “Hart Concert Band” under the direction of the German M. Bigel. It was one of the earliest Western bands in modern China and often played and practiced in Victoria Park (Zhang, 2017).

<Figure 4-12> Musicians practicing music in Victoria Park’s pavilion
Source: (Liu, 2016)

<Figure 4-13> Early Victorian Park with the water system
Source: https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/yh2cNGgNXIPPSyIF6Uygag

There were also sport facilities in the park. In 1889, a tennis club was set up on the lawn. Despite its short existence, this club had popularized this sport in Tianjin within five years. This was followed by ornamental and touring spaces such as rockeries and various flower racks, as well as a water channel for visitors to row their boats (Figure 4-13), and a small animal enclosure in the southeast corner for displaying animals.

Victoria Park quickly became one of the landmarks of Tianjin, pictured in the largest number of old postcards (Figure 4-14). After the foundation of the Republic of China, because the park was very close to the Bund, merchants and crew members often went here after arriving in Tianjin. According to statistics, more than 90% of the foreigners who lived in the British Concession had taken pictures in front of Victoria Park and Gordon Hall, so there are many pictures with Victoria Park and Gordon Hall in the background among the preserved old photos and postcards of Tianjin (Xu, 2016).

<Figure 4-14> Two crew members photographed in front of Victoria Park and Gordon Hall
Source: (Xu, 2016)

The French Park at that time also offered a rich variety of activities. An article in the July 23, 1932, issue of *Ta Kung Pao*[7] (Figure 4 15) described the French Park in detail: "*The French love circles, and French Park is an example of this affection. As soon as you enter the gate of the park, you can see the round pavilion in the center. Through the pavilion you can see a bronze sculpture of Jeanne d'Arc with her sword drawn, in honor of the French heroine Jeanne d'Arc... To the left and right of the gate is a children's playground where innocent children play (Figure 4 16). Standing in the pavilion and facing the statue, one can see a designated French tour area on the left, and two semicircular wisteria arbors on the right. The wisteria is now half ripe. The green leaves cover the sunlight, which is a good place for couples to talk. In the middle of the green space, there is a clump of plantain that blooms like azalea, just like a lover's heart. The nearest circle around the pavilion is planted with hydrangeas, which are red and green and very lively (Figure 4 17). On the outside, the grass is green and was cut as neatly as if it had been pushed through a bald head. Farther away, at the edge of the park, there are dense trees that cut off the colorful cityscape. When the sun sets and the breeze is refreshing, the park is always crowded with visitors, which make it difficult to find a seat after circling around for several times. People slowly disperse after nightfall*" (Sun, 2009).

天津的公園

一・法租界花園

<Figure 4-15> An article in Ta Kung Pao about the French Concession, July 23, 1932
Source: (Wang, 2019)

7 Ta Kung Pao is the oldest active Chinese language newspaper in China. Founded in Tianjin in 1902, the paper is state-owned and is widely regarded as a veteran pro-Beijing newspaper.

<Figure 4-16> Eileen Chang in French Park with her brother
Source: https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/EwFCajTnSz9tRl7C4prVcg

Eileen Chang[8] lived in the French Concession in Tianjin for a few years during her childhood. She and her younger brother Zhang Zijing used to go to French Park under the guidance of their nanny to sunbathe and swing on the swings.

<Figure 4-17> An old postcard with a picture of French Park
Source: https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/EwFCajTnSz9tRl7C4prVcg

8 Eileen Chang (1920–1995) was a Chinese-born essayist, novelist, and screenwriter. She was a well-known realist and feminist writer of Chinese literature, known for portraying life in 1940s Shanghai and Hong Kong.

At that time, Russian Park had a tennis court and a sports field, swimming pool, and skating rink, while the Italian Park had a tennis court and a Western sports ground. Additionally, almost all these parks had entertainment facilities or grounds specially set up for children. In the French Park, there was a playground for children on both sides of the main entrance. There was also a children's playground on the east side of the Queen's Park (Figure 4-18), with a sand pool and three sets of slides. There were two children's playgrounds on the east and west sides of the Italian Park for Chinese and Westerners, respectively, equipped with sandpits, swings, and slides. Elgin Park was a street green space more than half of whose area was devoted to children's play areas, so it was also called a "children's park." Most concession parks had special play areas for children, reflecting Westerners' meticulous care for children, which is almost non-existent in the ancient gardens in Tianjin. It can be seen as an advanced achievement of modern Western civilization, and these parks played a demonstrative role in the construction of urban parks in modern Tianjin (Liu, 2016).

<Figure 4-18> Entertainment facilities for children in Queen's Park
Source: Wang Wei, in (https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/sdq0dVk3v1p3f4VH5tX4dA)

4.2 Contemporary renovation and consumption of space in the parks of the former concessions in Tianjin

Tianjin's historical parks in Tianjin have experienced the prosperity of private gardens, the construction of the concession parks, and the emergence of public parks in the Chinese community. Such events as the wars, the Cultural Revolution, and the earthquake of 1978 left them severely damaged, and the parks largely declined during these periods (Figure 4-19).

<Figure 4-19> Road around French Park during the Cultural Revolution, plastered with big-character posters [9]
Source: photo by Wang Tai citied in: (Wu, 2015)

This is a photo showing the state of French Park during the Cultural Revolution as described by a resident: "*Garden Road was a quiet, clean, and civilized sanctuary in my childhood memories. During the Cultural Revolution, it suffered a hit early due to its special status. The houses here, as well as their owners, were decimated. Large-character posters and slogans were painted all over the houses around Garden Road, and the beautiful houses immediately became like patients with scabies, which was dis-*

9 Big-character posters are handwritten posters with large characters, usually mounted on walls in public spaces such as universities, factories, and government departments, and sometimes directly on the streets. They were used as a means of protest, propaganda, and popular communication. Although many different political parties around the world have used slogans and posters as propaganda, the most intense, extensive, and varied use of big-character posters was in China in various political campaigns associated with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Since the 1950s, big-character posters played an instrumental role in many political campaigns, culminating in the Cultural Revolution.

gusting. Was this the Garden Road and Center Park (former French Park) of my childhood? In 1967, my father-in-law had terminal cancer, I accompanied him to the People's Hospital. In my spare time, I helped him stroll along Garden Road. The big-character posters and slogans were gone, and there were still mottled scars on the walls. We sat on a bench in the park and watched it all, and my father-in-law's eyes were filled with desolation" (Wu, 2015).

With the restoration of the historic parks in recent decades, some of them have survived and were repaired according to the principle of "repairing the old as the old," others were partly preserved and renovated, and still other parks had to be rebuilt to adapt to the development of the city. Regarding the consumption of the parks in the former concessions, on the one hand, they retain the classic functions of modern parks; on the other hand, there are innovative ways of using them.

4.2.1 Classic functions

In traditional Chinese society, the landscape environment mainly serves the garden owners, that is to say, a minority of people. Modern city parks have broken this lifestyle element reflecting the influence of traditional Chinese gardens, making activities in parks much richer and influencing the lifestyles of later residents. With the accelerated pace of contemporary social life, people often want to leave the pressure of work by keeping away from the noisy city and seeking environmentally comfortable spaces. As in modern times, these public, human, recreational, and ornamental parks in the former concessions of Tianjin could provide people with places to relax, have fun, chat with friends, and improve the quality of life. This shows the importance of the modern parks in Tianjin and the far-reaching influence they exerted on the later urban landscape, culture, and life (Yang, 2019).

The small parks built by foreigners and left behind in the concessions of Tianjin are now places where citizens go for morning exercises, sitting, taking a walk, playing badminton or shuttlecock, meeting friends, and playing with children. This is quite in line with the original intention of the construction of the park: small places that are public, leisurely, familiar, free, not far from the residential area… but the main users now are the Chinese residents (Figure 4-20). A resident recorded a fond memory of Fux-

ing Park (former Queen's Park)*: "If a park can save some of the city's memories, then Fuxing Park carries Tianjin people's happy time of childhood for several generations. As early as in the 1940s, Fuxing Park built a standardized children's playground, which has since become a place for generations of children to play during their childhood. In 1987, a monument gallery was built on the west side of the park, which collects the handwriting of 42 nationally renowned calligraphers and celebrities for the enjoyment of visitors. In 2010, the municipal government upgraded and renovated Fuxing Park… Then the park introduces history and culture with rockery and water into the whole landscape, so that the public can experience the mood of classical gardens in leisure and entertainment activities. Although Fuxing Park has been renovated and changed several times, it is still the same as in one's memory. The children who used to play in the park have now become seniors; they get together in the park to play chess, dance, and talk about the world, and their grandchildren run around them happily. Fuxing Park thus preserves this carefree time and will be forever engraved in the memory……"* [10]

<Figure 4-20> Fuxing Park in the former British Concession of Tianjin
Source: Yue LU (2023)

4.2.2 "Innovative" renovation and consumption

Historical parks are often located in crowded city centers, where there is a clear lack of green and open space; hence, the historical parks are largely the responsibility of the city. Therefore, historical parks largely serve contemporary special use functions (Sun, 2009). Concerning the "innovative" use of the extant six parks in the former concessions of Tianjin, they have been renovated or used differently according to the demand of the soci-

10 https://www.sohu.com/a/325744809_120207161

ety and the need of the local government. There are three categories according to the current functions: neighborhood parks, collective activity sites, and tourist attractions.

1) Neighborhood parks for special civic life

Traditional civic culture

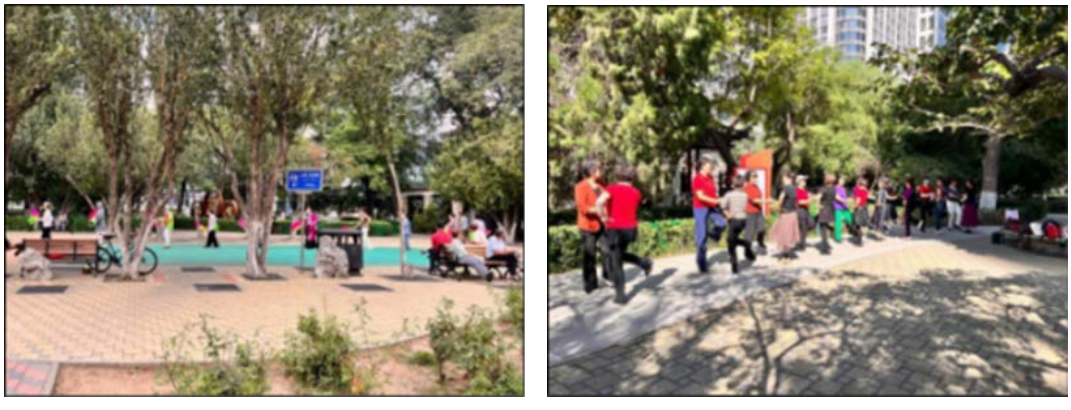
After the founding of New China, city parks became one of the most active places for Chinese civic activities. Some places and spaces in the park (especially those that are most suitable for citizens' use custom) have become a reflection of traditional civic life space to a certain extent. The civic activities in parks are often a microcosm of social life. Some of the open spaces, dense tree shades, and free paths are in line with the traditional customs and habits of Chinese residents (Liu, 2016).

<Figure 4-21> Citizens playing cards and chess in Fuxing Park
Source: Yue LU (2023)

Public square dance

Since 2013, the "square dance" has become a popular term in China's Internet search. The square dance is a rhythmic dance performed by residents in open spaces such as squares and parks for the purpose of physical fitness, usually accompanied by electronic music remixed from popular ballads and pop songs in mainland China. The square dance does not require high facilities, skills, or cost, so it is very popular among middle-aged and senior people, mostly women, and has been regarded as a social phenomenon in China. According to our observation, the square dance is an extremely

popular activity in the concession parks (Figure 4-22), with a wide variety of types such as aerobics, Yongko, ethnic minority dancing, and ballroom dancing. It is characterized by frequent practice and long duration.



<Figure 4-22> Residents square dancing in Fuxing Park
Source: Yue LU (2023)

Overall, the Chinese traditional or contemporary customs have had a certain impact on the consumption of space in the urban parks. During the long-term use of the concession parks by citizens, traditional and contemporary "civic life scenes" of Tianjin have been subtly integrated into the park space over time, forming a kind of lifestyle with regional and national cultural characteristics. This is a spontaneous process of re-creation of the concession parks in Tianjin (Liu, 2016).

2) Educational parks for collective events and propaganda

Collective events

In term of collective activities, Central Park (former French Park) is undoubtedly a representative example. In 1995, to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Ji Hongchang, a famous anti-Japanese Chinese general who had a residence located next to Central Park, a bronze statue of Ji on horseback with a horizontal sword was erected on the southeast side of Central Park, on the original site of the former statue of Jeanne d'Arc. Central Park is thus not only a park for public leisure and children's play, but has become an official patriotic education base.[11]

11 https://csgl.tj.gov.cn/zl/cslhjs/qsgy/202009/t20200922_3777807.html

During important memorial days, this park is often used to receive educational and commemorative events. For example, on September 30, 2023, the tenth Chinese National Martyrs' Day, Center Park held a Martyrs' event (Figure 4-23). A certain neighborhood committee organized a group of about twenty people in the open space in front of the statue of Ji Hongchang to listen to his great achievements as anti-Japanese hero and patriotic general, to "*deeply commemorate the martyrs, inherit and carry forward the fine revolutionary tradition spirit.*"[12]

<Figure 4-23> Memorial event for Chinese National Martyrs' Day in Central Park
Source: Yue LU (2023)

There is another famous phenomenon that has made Central Park a landmark in Tianjin—the "matchmaking corner." This is a public area where parents hang the "CV" of their single children and exchange contact information with other parents interested in their child's marriage potential. Around 2005, in big cities like Shanghai, Beijing, and Nanjing, a large number of "matchmaking corners" began appearing in city parks in China.

During weekends, parents or "matchmakers" coming from various districts spontaneously formed a blind date market around Central Park in the hope of finding an idea mate for their children or clients in this way (Figure 4-24). During our first fieldwork in this area, we were surprised to find a large gathering of elderly people in the heat of summer, surrounded by papers hung up by a rope stuck on the head of a bike or a board, with personal information: age, height, career, household registration, income, personality, property ownership, requirements for choice of spouse, etc. This is the weekend meeting place for the city's "matchmakers," where people praise the q-

12 https://www.tjnh.gov.cn/ztzl1/ztzl/nhqcjwmsq/202210/t20221002_6001657.html

ualities of their still-single family members, all in an extremely relaxed atmosphere. Later, we realized there was no age limit: There has been a notice for a 77-year-old widower looking for a wife (Salabert, 2013).

<Figure 4-24> Matchmaking corner around Central Park
Source: Yue LU (2023) & (Salabert, 2013)

Thematic propaganda

Since the 2010s, some parks in the former concessions of Tianjin have undertaken an official propaganda function with specific themes.

During the "Eleventh Five-Year Plan" period (2006–2010), Tianjin Hexi District included demographic culture in the development of advanced culture, providing high-level advocacy and policy preferences. It has invested more than 5 million yuan in the construction of population and family planning service centers, demographic culture bookstores in various subdistricts and communities, and a demographic culture park. The "Demographic Culture Park," completed in 2010, is located in Jiefang South Park (former German Park), covering an area of 8,000 square meters. In this park, there are 13 demographic culture sculptures and 6 demographic culture communication boards (Figure 4-25). According to the government of Hexi District, Jiefang South Park created a unique leisure space for citizens: "Rich humanistic sculptures fill the park with a cultured atmosphere and the elegance of life, which enables the people to subtly feel the influence of demographic culture while relaxing, creating an artistic demographic culture atmosphere for Hexi District."[13]

13 https://news.yuanlin.com/detail/72386.html

<Figure 4-25> Communication boards about demographic culture
in Jiefang South Park Source: Yue LU (2023)

Moreover, in response to the National Sport Program (2011–2015) launched by the State, the local government of Heping District in Tianjin incorporated the program into its official work with the construction of the Sport Trail along Hai River and several sport parks, and installed 1,178 pieces of outdoor fitness equipment. As a part of this work, Fuxing Park (former Queen's park) was renovated in 2014 as a "Health Education Park" under the leadership of the Health Planning Commission of Heping District. The renovation did not change the original function of the park, but added sports areas, a plastic running track, fitness facilities, and a physical monitoring area, as well as many health education boards (Figure 4-26).[14]

<Figure 4-26> Introductory board and sports equipment in Fuxing Park
Source: Yu4e LU (2023)

14 https://ty.tj.gov.cn/sy2/gabsycs/sjdtgh/202007/t20200722_3075520.html

In 2017, in response to the call of the central government, Tianjin made incorruptible culture a priority of government work. Heping District drew upon its historical resources to "dig" deep into the elements of financial rectitude. Consequently, Central Park (former French Park) has become the "Incorruptible Thematic Park" (Figure 4-27). In the park, the statue of General Ji Hongchang and his motto "Officials are not allowed to get rich" could remind officials to be honest and incorruptible. Additionally, there are some display boards in the park about the deeds of integrity in public affairs such as Jiao Yulu and Kong Fansen,[15] so that "*visitors can receive the influence and baptism of the culture of incorruptibility everywhere.*" [16]

<Figure 4-27> Anti-corruption thematic guide map of Central Park
Source: Yue LU (2023)

Another example concerns Tushan Park (former Jubilee Park). To create an anti-drug demonstration site in Heping District, in June 2018, the Narcotic Control Office of Heping District, in conjunction with the Municipal Environment and Parks Management Committee, established an outdoor "Anti-Drug Propaganda and Education Base" in Tushan Park, in which the government of Heping District invested more than 1 million yuan as special funding. In the park, a corridor of anti-drug history was built, more than 20 anti-drug knowledge and regulation communication boards were established on both sides of the roads (Figure 4-28), and a drug display area was constructed. This park has become an important anti-drug education base for primary and secondary school students, volunteers, and employees of enterprises and public institutions, which "*has led to a new climax of anti-drug propaganda work in the district, and creat-*

15 Jiao Yulu (1922–1964) and Kong Fansen (1944–1994) were Chinese politicians. They were symbols of the honest Party cadre who devotes himself tirelessly to the Chinese Communist Party.
16 http://tj.news.cn/20231009/cea3d6995007423f827d922b3cdfda23/c.html

ed a good social atmosphere in which everyone participates in the anti-drug effort, so that the anti-drug work in the district has stepped up to a new level."[17]

<Figure 4-28> Anti-drug communication boards in Tushan Park
Source: Yue LU (2023)

3) Touristified parks as sightseeing attractions

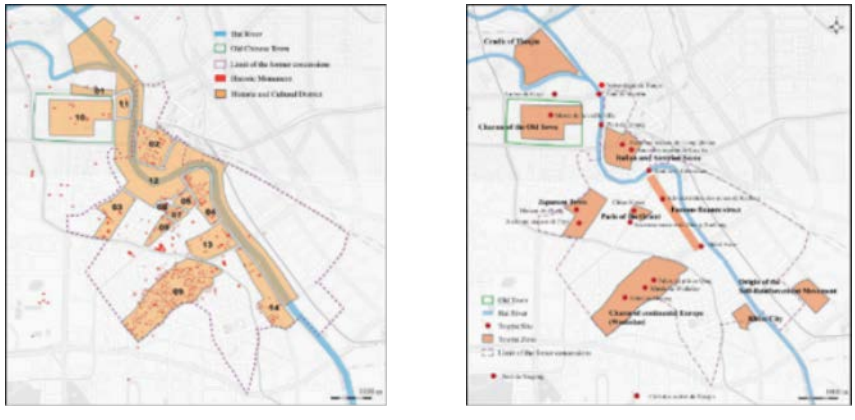
Over the past two decades, the landscape of the former concessions in Tianjin has been transformed by two major spatial dynamics: first, heritage preservation and restoration, followed by the development of tourist and commercial projects. Since 2005, the municipality has accelerated the heritagization in the city, classifying a total of 14 historic districts and 877 historic monuments, most of them located within the limits of the former concessions (Figure 4-29). At the same time, the tourism development of the concessions tended to stress foreign architectural styles, resulting in the creation of "mini-themed parks" dedicated to commerce, leisure, or tourism (Lu et al., 2019). A series of attractions of the cultural tourism brand "See China's modern history through Tianjin" have been created in the former concessions, including Japanese Town, Paris of the Orient, Charm of Continental Europe, Rhine City, Famous Finance Street, and Italian and Austrian Scenes (Figure 4-29).

The former Italian Concession was the first of the former concessions in Tianjin to have been entirely transformed into a tourist attraction (Figure 4-30). Since 2008, the "New I-Style Town," where "I" stands for Italy has emerged from an urban renewal project for the former Italian Concession, which is classified as historic sector. It has be-

17 https://www.app.tjyun.com/jinyunhao/system/2023/06/20/054033439.shtml

en promoted as a successful example of “consumable exotic cultural heritage,” where one can “discover Italy entirely without ever leaving China,” and has become one of the most popular tourist sites in Tianjin, with Chinese domestic tourists as the main visitors.

The area of the former Italian Park has become Marco Polo Square and its surroundings, which is the core of the New I-Style Town; indeed, the renovation project of the former Italian Concession started from Marco Polo Square. The reconstruction of the sculpture in the center of the square in 2004 was the first intervention of Flight[18] in this project. In fact, in the Italian Concession, the statue in the middle of the square is a key element. With no official historical archives on this architecture, Flight took two years to analyze the form, height, and materials and design plans to restore an “authentic” landmark to the Italian neighborhood (Li, 2010). However, during the renovation, the old sword in the statue’s hand was replaced by an olive branch, symbolizing “friendship and peace” (Zhao, 2011). Mr. LI Yunfei explains, “we immediately realized that in this area, which was the Italian Concession, an Italian statue with a sword in its hand would not be welcomed and admired by the Chinese. Therefore, we had to find another symbol for the contemporary eternal theme—peace” (cf. interview with LI Yunfei, 2014). The reconstruction work was completed in April 2004, and the square was officially opened to the public on May 18, marking the start of the renovation of the entire former Italian Concession (Figure 4-31).



<Figure 4-29> Heritage and tourism dynamics in contemporary Tianjin
Source: Yue LU (2023)
Left: Historic districts and monuments in the downtown of Tianjin.
Right: Tourist attractions of the cultural tourism brand “See China’s modern history through Tianjin.”

18 Company in charge of the restoration work of the buildings in the former Italian Concession of Tianjin.

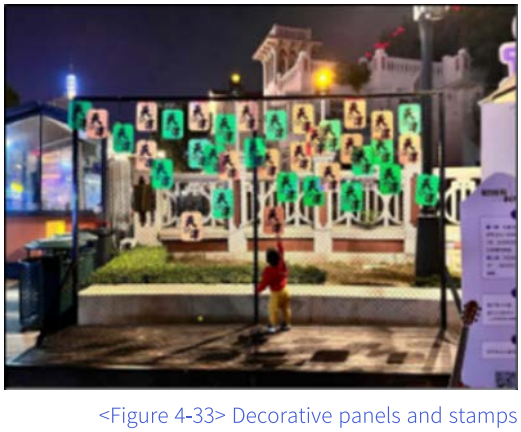
<Figure 4-30> The former Italian Concession renovated as "New I-Style Town"
Source: https://www.tj.gov.cn/sq/yztj/jqjs/202005/t20200520_2467987.html

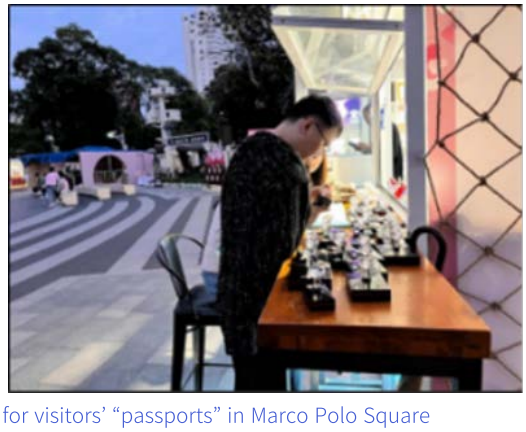
<Figure 4-31> Reconstruction of the sculpture in the center of Marco Polo Square
1. An old photo in the 1930s, reproduced by LI Yunfei (2006: 142).
2. Reconstruction site in 2004 (Ibid.: 143).
3. The reconstructed sculpture in 2008 (Sun, 2008).

Marco Polo Square after the renovation now seems to have an "eternal" image as one of the most photographed spots for visitors in New I-Style Town (Figures 4-32). Environmental decorations mainly include sculptures, sign panels, and festive elements. In front of a souvenir shop at the corner of the square, stamps are offered to tourists to enrich their validated destinations in their travel "passports" (Figures 4-33). It is also the meeting place and the first attraction for group tours in this tourist site: "*We're now looking at Marco Polo Square, the center of the Italian Concession, where the statue of Victory stands in the middle, with a height of 13.8 meters, and was rebuilt as the original appearance in 2004. Originally, Victory had a sword in her hand, and we have replaced it with an olive branch, a symbol of peace and friendship. Six villas surround the square in typical Mediterranean and southern Italian style. The building on the right is the former Italian Concession Club, which used to be a large casino. The*

public space in front of the former Italian Circle was the Italian Park, where a lion fountain once stood." [19]

<Figure 4-32> Renovated Marco Polo Square as a tourist attraction
Source: LU Yue (2014).





<Figure 4-33> Decorative panels and stamps for visitors' "passports" in Marco Polo Square
Source: LU Yue (2023).

19 Contents of the audio-guide for the mini-train tour in New I-Style Town. Translated from Chinese.

5. Conclusion

During the modern period, Tianjin was transformed into a global city, a veritable world microcosm where peoples of the West and Asia seemed for a time to coexist and exchange with each other after having violently clashed (Singaravélou, 2023). As a unique existence in a special period of time, the parks in the concessions of Tianjin recorded a humiliating history of the Chinese nation, but they also opened the windows toward the world, introduced Western cultures and lifestyle, and influenced the design and use of parks afterward.

In Tianjin's concession parks, hybridity manifests through the mimetic landscape and architectural forms of the colonial countries and their adaptation to the context of the city and Chinese culture. Additionally, Tianjin was not just in the special position of a simple dichotomy between the "colonizer" and the "colony," but was under the gaze and control of multinational imperialist powers. Although each of the concessions attempted to establish its own identity vis-à-vis China and the other foreign powers through the careful arrangement of space and modern technology, the parks in the Chinese and various concessions interacted with each other—imitating, competing, confronting, and negotiating—and Western elements were not simply transplanted or synthesized but rather localized and translated, characterized by their rich variety. Consequently, while the municipal authority of each concession was keen to give the most representative of their public parks and buildings the characteristic features of their nation, the urban landscape ended up combining European references adapted to the Chinese context.

Currently, the surviving parks in the former concessions of Tianjin have undergone a series of renovations and renewal projects to continue serving society with a new look. On the one hand, they have retained the basic functions of parks in modern times of supporting a wide variety of leisure activities like wandering, resting, doing sports, meeting with friends, and playing with children, in which a great number of people of different ages and backgrounds coexist. On the other hand, the Chinese have developed some "innovative" uses for parks in the new century, such as Chinese traditional civil activities, political propaganda, and some collective events and tourist attractions, according to the new needs of the public and the government. Again, these "innovative" uses are not exclusive, as the functions of parks are often multiple and mixed.

This study of Tianjin at the turn of the century reveals the strength and intensity of the impact of imperial globalization. Tianjin is not China, but this enclave represents a possible path to modernization/globalization, from which Chinese statesmen have drawn inspiration to implement new policies. From this point of view, it embodies a possible future for China (Singaravélou, 2023).

6. Plan for Project Completion

The next step is to conduct fieldwork again in 2024 involving on-site observations and interviews with local stakeholders. The observations will be carried out on site to gain a deeper comprehension of the state and characteristics of the space in the parks, as well as the attitudes of visitors. Interviews will be conducted with the visitors of the sites with a prepared questionnaire to better understand how these sites are consumed by residents/visitors and what their experiences are.

Based on the findings and results of the fieldwork, completed with the comments of visitors on social networks, we will conduct further and deeper analyses from a more critical point of view of two aspects of the parks: tensions and conflicts in the use of space in the park, and the experiences and impressions of the users of these parks.

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3) The Changing Heritage Landscape Influenced by Wanghong Urbanism: Former Concessions as Internet-Popular Destinations

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Abstract

In China, the image of heritage has been changed by tourism with the wave of "Wanghong" (Internet-popular) urbanism, which aims to promote heritage sites by producing spaces with Wanghong features. This research aims to explore the mechanisms of this process through the case of former concessions in Tianjin, especially Wudadao, the former British Concession and now a popular tourism destination. Driven by local entrepreneurs to generate economic income, the promotion of tourism through Wanghong images of a heritage site is celebrated. This study explores how the images act as iconic communication symbols in the production of Wanghong spaces, where heritage sites are central to their cultural and historical context. This process is characterized by the presence of a new aesthetic community identified through the practice of producing "simulacrum" images online, which are superimposed on the reality of heritage sites, especially in a post-colonial context.

1. Introduction

It is not news that streaming media platforms have strongly influenced urban development, particularly heritage tourism (Falk & Hagsten, 2021; Rialti et al., 2016). From Instagram to TikTok, images and videos shared on social media have become the most dominant form of travel writing and destination marketing, providing "the ideological blueprint that underpins contemporary tourism" (Smith, 2018, p. 172). In China, "Wanghong" urbanism, a city-making trend with social media marketing at its core, has become the choice of an increasing number of cities to foster tourism and consumption economy (Zhang, 2021). In this context, heritage sites are increasingly trying to become popular online destinations to attract more tourist spending through policy incentives and private entrepreneurship.

As a derivative of the Wanghong economy, what is the operating mechanism of the Wanghong destination and what role does the heritage play in it? Under the lens of heritage tourism, it is the purpose of this paper to explore the formation of the "popular online heritage destination." Using the Tianjin district of Wudadao as case study, this research hopes to discuss the position of heritage image in Wanghong marketing and how Wanghong marketing reproduces the space of heritage sites, especially in a post-colonial context. It is argued that streaming platforms, with image sharing at their core, have actually changed the discourse of heritage branding and the production of heritage sites images. The research hopes to explore the dynamic that the Wanghong discourse is not only a method of promoting heritage sites but also a new driving force for the creation of heritage, while it reshapes the relationship between local residents and tourism practitioners.

<Figure 1> Wanghong check-in place in Tianjin
Taken by author (2023)

2. "Wanghong Destination," an Image-Centered Production

2.1. The concept of "Wanghong"

The concept of "Wanghong" originates from the terms of "Internet celebrities" or key opinion leaders (KOLs), who act as experts or leaders recommending clothing, food, travel destinations, and even lifestyles and values to their followers. In China, this term is known as "Wanghong" (网红), which means "Internet sensation" or "net celebrity." While Internet celebrities' incomes depend on commissions for the products they recommend, they must maintain their personal brands by constantly showcasing their sophisticated lives. Gradually, the concept of "Wanghong" has expanded from a specific person to a wide range of online hipsters and transformed into a series of derivatives, such as Wanghong cosmetics, Wanghong food, and Wanghong travel destinations (Zhang, 2021). From being recommended by Wanghong bloggers, products and spaces with Wanghong attributes have gradually evolved to rely on the "Wanghong" label to achieve marketing goals. The word "Wanghong" has thus become an adjective as well as a noun. This has brought about a boom in destination marketing with the Wanghong marketing model, which has become a form of Wanghong urbanism.

Baudrillard uses the term "symbol" to describe the cultural category of modern consumer objects whose value derives from the cultural and social needs of the class. He developed the concept of "Simulacra" to express "the social expectations and aspir-

ations of class, and its illusory participation in the culture of some higher-class form, custom and symbol" (Baudrillard, 2016). As Jameson (2002) points out, the commodity assumes a symbolic function between the market and the media, where the commodity and the media discourse bind together to essentially become one. Not only does the collection of commodities become the landscape of the consumption society, but consumer goods characterized by images have developed their meaning associated with media texts through media consumption as a mediator. With the further development of Internet technology, especially social media, it is not only the symbolic goods or image-oriented consumer goods that can represent lifestyles. Images themselves can become symbols that transcend commodity entities. Images have become an important feature of the 21st-century economy (Schroeder, 2002).

The Wanghong economy is undoubtedly an economic model that relies on images. Whether it is Instagram, Xiaohongshu, or Douyin, these popular streaming platforms rely on images or videos as their primary mode of content production and distribution. The hashtags and explanatory text accompanying the images reflect the brand and value of the product appearing in the image, as well as the time and place where the image was taken. The product range appearing in the image, the context in which the image was taken, and the human body carefully orchestrated by the blogger, all create a consistency that reflects a certain desired lifestyle label: sophisticated, elegant, green, or healthy. To ensure that the story is well put together, bloggers often pay close attention to the consistency of their tweet style. The main aim of this design, with the composition, colors, objects, and actions of the featured characters designed in advance, is to create a setting and atmosphere that tells an easy-to-understand narrative.

<Figure 2> A Wanghong photoshoot on the street retrieved from Xiaohongshu (2023)

To complete a successful shoot, bloggers need to find locations that fit their ideal spirits to serve as backdrops for setting the scene. These backdrops have to be simultaneously unifying, simply stylistically recognizable, and visually striking to make the best possible statement, while maintaining a certain sense of distinction. “Beauty” is an important factor, but color, composition, lighting, and spectacle are equally important. The choice of background becomes particularly significant. It is not easy to produce a well-crafted and widely accepted photograph, so once a successful picture has “gone viral” and proved effective, it is often copied by other bloggers, who choose the same background, the same angles, the same elements, and the same systems of behavior to “copy” the photograph. This constitutes the logic behind the formation of the first generation of Wanghong attractions where one place is popular as the shooting scene of Wanghong images. Therefore, starting with the construction of the photograph, the destination gradually becomes independent of the bloggers and claims its own right to be popular, thereby forming the first generation of “Wanghong destination.”

2.2. Heritage as a Prominent Backdrop for Wanghong Images

The image of a destination is an important part of tourism development. Indeed, it is the visitors who create the image of the destination (Gartner, 1993). Images of destinations were used as a means of presentation, influencing tourists’ selection of destinations and their behavior (Bell & Davison, 2013). In 18th century Europe, painting gave rise to the creation of picturesque landscapes as the main vehicle for the dissemination of the epistemology of landscape (Chylińska, 2019). Later, the invention of photography and the rise of traditional mass media, combined with easy access to transport, directly contributed to the development of mass tourism and the creation of major photographic attractions (Lo et al., 2011). Over the past decade, the role of image-based social networks such as Instagram has caught the attention of researchers in tourism studies, particularly in terms of how popular images on social media have helped to increase the visibility of destinations and emphasize local attributes (Zeng & Gerritsen, 2014; Leung et al., 2013; Hvass & Munar, 2012). These rapidly disseminated images are becoming the main way of promoting the image of the destination, either actively or passively.

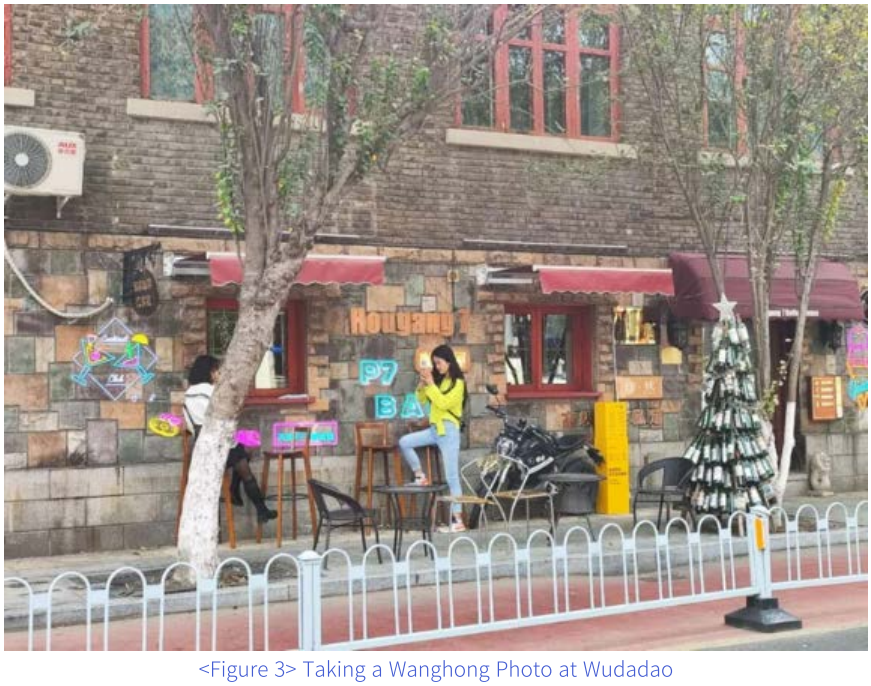
Each city has a different cultural approach, social beat, and visual rhythm, and the online image reflects their relationship to the everyday life of the city on different levels (Aramendia-Muneta et al., 2021). Creating a differentiated destination identity has always been key to making a destination stand out (Huete Alcocer & López Ruiz, 2020). Goeldner et al. (2000) argue that history can provide a unique experience for a destination and that local historical stories can create a wonderfully rewarding experience. Heritage site identities have developed rich cultural capital through historical change over time, creating cultural diversity that can be used as material for creating a heritage site brand. Cities with unique cultural attractions can use culture as a relevant investment, using marketing tools to make the city unique and attractive through public-private partnerships (Cvijić & Guzijan, 2013; Kavaratzis, 2004). Since the 1980s, this has become an important and widespread tool for many countries and cities to attract tourism, achieve growth, brand their cities, and win the internal urban competition (Ozer, 2017).

Heritage imagery can be considered one of the main themes of destination branding, while cultural heritage has been at the heart of the city's marketing content. Heritage can help shape the uniqueness of a destination brand, whose image can effectively distinguish similar destinations in the minds of visitors (Saeedi & Heidarzadeh Hanzaee, 2018; Ozer, 2017; Qu et al., 2011). Photographs are key to the successful creation and communication of a destination's image (Choi et al., 2007). Consequently, heritage has become central to the production of Wanghong destination images. By borrowing the historical and cultural value of heritage, Wanghong images attempt to quickly maximize the message in storytelling within a limited number of photos, thus setting the scenes and achieving their promoting goals. Heritage, through its unique historical value and its ability to carry the regional culture, becomes the backdrop for creating stages with a sense of content.

The images represent a simplification of the vast amount of information associated with the destination. It is their own narrative atmospheres and specific physical images that make heritage sites a "perfect" backdrop for Wanghong photographs in terms of composition. These narrative atmospheres are imagined through "labels" or tags, as collections of specific elements such as "nostalgic," "vintage," and "old-fashioned," which are then fixed by specific combinations of objects. For example, industrial nosta-

lgia" photographs are often taken against a background of industrial heritage, including brick walls, shipping containers, rusting cast-iron staircases, or factory buildings and trusses. It is not important to choose which specific industrial heritage, but the site could provide these visual elements and historical information so that the photographs can convey a consistent style.

Although in the visual presentation of heritage tourism, bloggers still construct the traditional practice of the tourist identity of "being able to understand history," "having a sense of aesthetics," and "having surplus capital, leisure time, and the ability to travel to distant places," not all heritage sites will naturally become Wanghong destinations. In fact, only a small percentage of heritage sites have gone viral on social media. There are some general rules, such as the need for simplicity, a strong visual impact, a stunning landscape, a certain number of vintage elements but not too heavy on historical baggage, a niche perspective, and a distance from the everyday. The ultimate principles can be summarized as being simple, awe-inspiring, heterogeneous, and accessible, and thus able to relate to contemporary trends. In this sense, heritage can be a suitable backdrop for photographs of figures, providing ease of color, composition, and setting without being so striking as to overwhelm them.



<Figure 3> Taking a Wanghong Photo at Wudadao
photographed by author (2022)

2.3. The Wanghong Discourse at the Heart of Heritage Site Promotion

Social media can provide a prominent and visible platform for cultural venues to interact with their audiences. By investing in social media presence, cultural venues are exploring new ways to increase self-generated income and visitor numbers, thereby stimulating public interaction (Lazaridou et al., 2017). If the original Wanghong heritage was discovered by providing the background, Wanghong discourse was quickly used as an effective means of marketing the heritage site after it became a popular channel for accessing information. Heritage sites are also looking to use the Wanghong trend to increase their visibility and convey more cultural values while gaining income to sustain their operations.

Wanghong marketing of heritage sites represents an evolution of traditional heritage site marketing. Wanghong marketing has a decentralized nature compared to traditional planned discourse in marketing. Its creation and dissemination rely on spontaneous promotion on social media, and the heritage site image appears as a result is characterized by the personalities of the bloggers, which is not entirely controllable. Fragments of heritage sites are connected by fragmented images on social media, which may only be a facet of a heritage site. The elements are combined to form a certain online heritage symbol. Second, online place-making relies more on social relationships and sharing behaviors, therefore placing greater emphasis on the experience of the site. Also, and most importantly, online urban marketing is based on the dissemination of images and videos, underlining the visual perception of first impressions. Wanghong promoting therefore requires heritage sites to develop their image identity quickly.

Heritage serves as an important symbol and name card for Wanghong urbanism. In the age of the flow, even Xi'an, with its top tourism resources such as the Terracotta Warriors and the Ancient City Wall, only saw a second spring when it found the right "flow code" (XinLvJie, 2021). From relying on cultural heritage to self-promotion to creating cultural artifacts in the name of Wanghong, "Wanghong destination" has become an important cultural language in city-making. Existing heritage must also be able to connect to contemporary discourse to trigger the dominoes of Wanghong marketing. Cities without top cultural tourism resources are also creating "heritage" as

tourist destinations through the rediscovery of urban culture and creative city branding. While tourism is a heritage-producing machine (Gravari-Barbas, 2018), tourism is producing and transforming heritage image in the name of Wanghong tourism. This article hopes to further illustrate this point with the case study of a heritage of the former concession in China: Tianjin Wudadao.

<Figure 4> Wanghong shop at Wudadao
photographed by author (2022)

3. A Field of "Hybridization": Concessions in China

3.1. International concessions in China: The 19th and 20th centuries

International concessions emerged in some of East Asia's most important commercial cities from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries, with China being a prime example. Following the signing of a succession of unequal treaties, portions of these cities were set aside for the settlement of foreigners from various colonial empires, with their own independent and well-established administration, judiciary, and urban planning systems. In contrast to the imperialist paradigm of oppression-resistance, these urban enclaves, which Osterhammel (1986) refers to as "semi-colonial" places, highlight the complex political, social, and spatial tensions between lo-

cals and foreigners as well as between different empires through their negotiation, compromise, and confrontation, providing “an alternative history of globalization” (Singaravélou, 2017). Having the character of a “laboratory of modernity” (Marinelli, 2009), the many experiments with urban planning and architectural design ideas, as well as the related infrastructures, supplies, and techniques provided by Western planners (Falser, 2021), were also considered initial steps toward the modernization of Chinese urban development. The concession was not a copy of any “Western model,” but a concrete expression of the eclectic nature of the aspirations, needs, and struggles of the different sectors of society (Li, 2013).

Not only do the concessions provide a particular perspective on urban and architectural history in a globalized context, but the key forces shaping the transformation of colonial cultural heritage are also extracted from the imaginary value of historical spatial character. While the concessions’ history may be a painful and traumatic memory, they are considered as driving the narrative of China’s opening, globalization, and modernization in the post-1990 urban development agenda with their distinctive economic and symbolic capital (Gravari-Barbas et al., 2021). Concession areas were restored, transformed, and rearranged into cultural heritage sites by enterprising municipal governments to promote urban development. The concession area’s historic architecture and urban character are extracted and reconstructed as an exotic cultural theme park, attracting tourism and fostering an economic momentum with a distinctive urban identity as an international metropolitan and creative consumption destination.

This specific postcolonial relationship involves the ongoing cultural, economic, and power interactions between the former colonial powers and the former colonies, as well as modifications to these dynamics brought about by the continuing process of social change. In light of the growing scholarly interest in concession studies, this research aims to examine how it can serve as both a critical approach to reflection on tourism development and critical heritage studies in the globalized circulation, especially in the context of digital urban spectacles.

3.2. Foreign concessions in Tianjin

Tianjin, a river city located 120 km to the southeast of Beijing, is characterized both by its importance in the history of modern China and by its economic dynamism. It is also a Chinese city active in the protection of heritage, which offers the particularity of constituting a politically delicate heritage arising out of the old concessions. Protection and enhancement stem from contrasting logics, from the desire to erase the "century of humiliation" to the preparation of a candidacy for world heritage, through the creation of trendy leisure districts, using buildings constructed at the beginning of the 20th century as architectural decor.

At the end of the Second Opium War, Tianjin was one of the port cities of China that had to accommodate Western concessions, and the one where they were the most numerous, since nine powers (Great Britain, France, United States, Germany, Japan, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Belgium) built residential quarters, hotels, factories, banks, schools, hospitals, and businesses there on the granted lands, making Tianjin, from 1860 to the Second World War, a "global microcosm" (Singaravélou, 2017). In half a century, Tianjin has become not only a metropolis but also a laboratory of modernity, for Western powers and companies, as well as for Chinese politicians and city officials, and then for the Japanese occupiers (1937–1945).

With the establishment of the Binhai New Development Zone on the seashore, it has taken its place as a leading industrial port that is part of a major economic center linking Beijing (Jing), Tianjin (Jin), and the neighboring province of Hebei (Ji), called Jing-Jin-Ji. Its development is based on aeronautics, telecommunications, and the chemical and pharmaceutical industries. The territory of Tianjin, which includes the city of the same name and suburban and rural districts, extends over nearly 12,000 km2 (the equivalent of Île-de-France) with a total population exceeding 15 million residents. Like Beijing, Chongqing, and Shanghai, Tianjin is directly administered by the central government.

Tianjin offers a contrasting cityscape. Since the beginning of the 21st century, the enhancement of urban heritage has had features in common with the general situation in China: accelerated tourist development but also the search for distinctive historical and cultural characteristics, in a context where national identity and domestic consumption have become major economic issues in China.

3.3. Tianjin Wudadao

In 1860, after the defeat of the Second Opium War, the area around Zizhulin in southern Tianjin was designated the British Concession, initially covering 460 acres. In 1870, anti-Catholicism emerged in Tianjin, which triggered a wave of foreign settlement in the concession. In 1888, the British Concession was described by Alexander Michie as “long straight central streets, lined with double rows of elms... The appearance of these large and beautiful foreign houses initiated the emergence of a distinctive structure in the Concession” (Tianjin Local History Editorial Committee, 1996, p. 21). It was not until 1947 that the British Concession was abandoned. For 85 years, the British Concession constituted a de facto enclave, independent of the boundaries of Tianjin and administered by the Council and the British Works Ministry, except for the period 1941–1947 when it was under Japanese control.

The Wudadao District was part of the third extension of the British Concession in 1903. Henry McClure Anderson, a prominent English architect and engineer, designed the district with the idea of a garden city, which was very popular at the time (Tianjin Local History Editorial Committee, 1996). He pursued the idea of zoning and architectural control with a healthy, hygienic, fluid, and orderly layout, taking Edinburgh as a model (Gravari-Barbas et al., 2021). Infrastructure was a prerequisite of the British Concession, including power plants, underground water networks, and green belts. Effective planning and design made it among the most pleasant residential areas in northern China at the time, leading to the construction of housing. Residents enjoyed the most advanced urban management and living environment in the world at the time, with flush toilets, heating boilers, bathtubs, electricity, waste disposal, and fire protection, a true “aristocratic enclave” and a “laboratory of modern life” (Chauffert-Yvart et al., 2020). The beautiful living environment and the special political status of the Concession attracted a large number of important political, military, and cultural figures of the modern Chinese period to live here, making it an important stage in modern Chinese history.

<Figure 5> Tianjin Wudadao (Sina Tianjin, 2016)

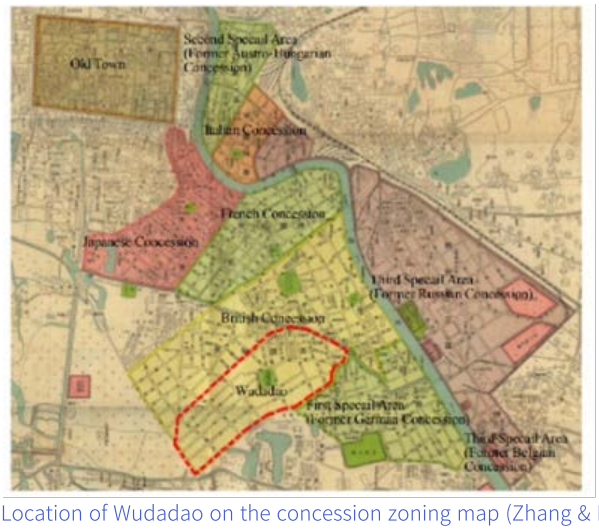
4. Tianjin Wudadao as a Wanghong Destination

4.1. Former Concessions as Wanghong Destinations

This study explores how the Wanghong Urbanism movement plays into postcolonial debates, especially in terms of the formation of new networked identities at the intersection of digital media and urban tourism promotion. These tendencies have particularly affected former concession areas in China's metropolises, which are sought after for their western-style architectural façades and street culture. Due to the "exotic" and "romantic" imagery of Europe, these neighborhoods have become platforms for marketing business concepts and even lifestyles under the influence of social media.

Tianjin Wudadao is an excellent example of this pattern. This former British Concession neighborhood is now home to China's densest concentration of Wanghong stores. The street is full of photo-ready millennials, thanks to the Minyuan Stadium as a landmark. These shops sell such items coffee, bread, pastry, and Hawaiian Poke. The interior of the buildings have been carefully designed by interior designers. The success of concessions as tourism destinations has become a kind of urban branding template, and other cities with former concessions, including Shanghai, Tianjin, Wuhan, and Dalian, have followed suit with such projects.

If the rhetoric of "internationalizing" Chinese cities by transforming their semi-colonial heritage to promote them has become a cliché, online communication has further transformed this heritage into a symbol of exotic culture and the public's collective imagination. An online community's identity is formed via a succession of consumption, filming, and sharing acts. The unique historical and cultural context brought by the former concession districts is entwined with Wanghong's commercial propaganda to create a fascinating social landscape. Rather than being rejected as an ideology, the semi-colonial past is actively sought to promote a "modern and healthy lifestyle" and is even encouraged by the local government to promote tourism in Wanghong. However, this is not just a game of imaginary geography. This group consumes not only the nostalgic atmosphere of European culture, but also the logic of online marketing based on exotic imaginary ultimately creating a new hybrid spectacle.



<Figure 6> Location of Wudadao on the concession zoning map (Zhang & Han, 2014)

<Figure 7> Map of today's Wudadao (Zhang & Han, 2014)

4.2. From Colonial Heritage to Wanghong Destination, a History of Wudadao

4.2.1. The Touristic City Strategy Defines the Image of the Heritage Site: 1976–2005

Following the economic reforms of 1978, tourism was considered a "strategic sector for economic modernization and an experimental zone to attract foreign investment" (Chauffert-Yvart et al., 2020). Additionally, the authorities attempted to restore order in the city by establishing a unified management system and planning directives (Qiao, 1994). From 1994 to 2002, the Tianjin Municipal Party Committee and government proposed dedicating eight years to revitalizing the state economy, transforming businesses and their commercial mechanisms, establishing a modern business system, and introducing foreign investments, technologies, and advanced management practices (Party History Research Office of the CPC Tianjin Municipal Committee, 2018). After 2003, Tianjin continued its project to construct the image of a modern international port metropolis (Dai, 2006).

Colonial heritage, as a historical reference that objectively contributed to the modernization and transformation of Tianjin and cultural exchanges between the East and West, became a pillar and a window for promoting Tianjin to the outside world (Lu et al., 2019). In 2005, Mayor Dai Xianglong called on the community to protect the "negative and colonial" heritage (Zhang & Han, 2014). In the eleventh five-year plan for Tianjin's economic and social development, published in 2006, he proposed leveraging the Beijing Olympics to showcase Tianjin's rapid development to the national and international public, integrating tourist resources, creating a central tourist brand of "Tianjin and modern China," and constructing a number of iconic tourist attractions, including the Wudadao District (Dai, 2006).

Wudadao, with its stylistic characteristics of a "universal architectural museum," entered the narrative of modernity and economic transformation in the context of urban change. In 1984, Li Ruihuan, the mayor of Tianjin, proposed the creation of an urban planning and control office for Wudadao. In 1986, the State Council approved the plan submitted by the city of Tianjin, designating Wudadao protected areas (Chauffert-Yvart et al., 2020). The same year, a survey of the Heping District revealed that high construction and popu-

lation density, low living standards, lack of facilities, and illegal constructions were the main urban issues (Qiao, 1994). Consequently, industrial enterprises in the Wudadao District were demolished, the proportion of residential land was reduced, and the nature of the land was changed to commercial, office, and educational use (Li, 2009). The Heping District began to evolve into Tianjin's most cosmopolitan area, with a concentration of entertainment venues and shopping centers (Liu & Chen, 2004). Wudadao became a unique area with low urban density in this emerging commercial district.

Wudadao started to emerge as a heritage site. In 1993, the municipal government's general office issued a notice about strengthening the management of "xiaoyanglou," positioning them as "historical architectures of style and precious cultural heritage," and requiring that publicly-owned xiaoyanglou not be sold or transferred without authorization (Yang, 1996). In 1994, the "Protection Plan for the Construction and Management of Wudadao" designated Wudadao a complete historical area, proposing a holistic approach to conservation, construction, and management, curbing demolitions and new constructions.

The improvement plan for Wudadao, prepared in 1999–2000, launched a pilot renovation project for the district. It classified Wudadao as a historical conservation zone with special protection provisions, and classified 160,000 square meters of new post-earthquake constructions as unauthorized and cleared (Zhang & Han, 2014). In 2006, the Tianjin municipal government enacted the Regulation on the Protection of Historical Buildings, defining "historical buildings" as a legal term and categorizing protected buildings hierarchically and legislating for their protection. In anticipation of regulations related to tourism and heritage protection, historical buildings along the street were renovated, commercial stalls and billboards were redesigned, and infrastructure was upgraded and placed underground. These actions partially restored Wudadao's appearance from the concession era (Zhang & Han, 2014).

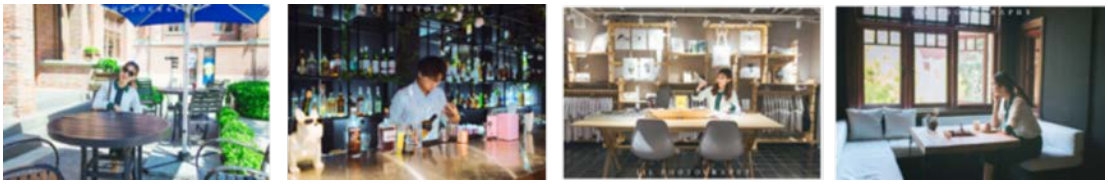
<Figure 8> THARD-led developments.
(Tianjin Municipal Bureau of Planning and Natural Resources; Tianjin Institute of Urban Planning and Design, 2019)

4.2.2. Seeking to Transform Tourism through Creative Discourse: 2014–2019

In 2013, the "Tianjin Wudadao Modern Architecture Complex" was selected as the seventh national key cultural relics protection unit (Tianjin Daily, 2013) with the dual guarantee of the Cultural Relics Protection Law and the Historical Cities Protection Regulation, establishing a legal basis for comprehensive landscape protection. In 2014, the "Wudadao Cultural Tourism Zone" received the classification of a 4A tourism sector from the National Tourism Administration.

Increases in the purchasing abilities of visitors and the preservation of and enhancements in the quality of heritage have combined to promote the image of tourism of Wudadao. According to the Wudadao Management Committee, three million tourists visited the area in 2016. However, the 2014 Tianjin Statistical Yearbook also points out that the problem of Tianjin's development is that the market demand is not strong, the intrinsic dynamics of the autonomous growth of economic operation are relatively weak, and the basis and sustainability of the rebound need to be further consolidated and strengthened. In 2009, the Tianjin government work report listed "soft and creative industries" as among the key industries in need of adjustment and revitalization (Liu, 2009).

In a 2014 report, the Tianjin Tourism Bureau website commented on Wudadao's new conservation strategy: Cultural creativity drove the rebirth of "old houses." It praised THARD (the Tianjin Historic Architecture Restoration and Development Co. Ltd) for combining "various business ideas with advanced lifestyles ..... to rejuvenate and revitalize historic districts such as Xiannong Courtyard and Minyuan" (Tianjin Tourism Bureau, 2014). THARD's thinking has been described as "taking conservation and utilization as a catch, passing on historical heritage, improving service functions and promoting superior enterprises" (Tianjin Tourism Bureau, 2014). The newly opened "creative bazaar" features "original brand designers, students, also white-collar craft enthusiasts" (Tianjin Tourism Bureau, 2014). Although these creative products are still not cheap, they have become less restrictive for visitors than the original high-end club-like consumption.



<Figure 9> Activités créatif dans Xiannong (YueYuePi, 2018)

4.2.3. Creating a Wanghong Destination in a "Wanghong City": 2019–2021

In 2017, Tianjin's economy experienced an unprecedented precipitous decline, with GDP growth of only 3.6%. Delayed industrial restructuring, the high proportion of traditional industries, and the deeply rooted concept of a planned economy were seen as the main factors hindering Tianjin's economic development (China Economy, 2018). In 2020, Tianjin's GDP even fell out of the country's top 10 for the first time, and the population continued to decline in the 2021 census. As China's urbanization process increasingly enters a phase of intense competition among the country's cities, Tianjin's development model is in dire need of transformation. In July 2019, Tianjin released the Two-Year Action Plan for the Promotion of Tourism Development in Tianjin (2019–2020), which aims to achieve significant enrichment of tourism content, significant improvement of tourism quality, steady expansion of market share, and significant improvement of the city's image (Li, 2019).

The marketing-driven Internet economy has revived the concept of the "Wanghong network." With the explosion of short video and live-streaming platforms, the competition for cities has entered the "era of Wanghong competition." The external image of cities marketed through exhibitions and festivals is reinforced by the use of the Internet to publicize cities' business cards. Since 2017, several cities such as Chongqing, Xiamen, Hangzhou, Wuhan, Chengdu, and Xi'an have started to join the marketing of "Wanghong cities," and the dissemination on media platforms has directly led to the development of tourism.

In July 2019, Tianjin Mayor Zhang Guoqing said for the first time at the "China Online Media Forum" that he hoped to help Tianjin become a "Wanghong city" and promote Tianjin's economic transformation with a tourism economy based on urban marketing (People's Daily, 2019). In August, the Minister of Tianjin's Propaganda Department said that "Wanghong city" was "a trendy cultural and tourism label for the people to aspire to poetry" (Tianjin Municipal Culture and Tourism Bureau, 2019).

The combination of the terms "creative city" and "Wanghong city" has further strengthened Wudadao's image. From July to August 2019, a series of terms like "influencers" and "TikTok" appeared on Wudadao's WeChat site, along with "Minyuan," "Creative Bazaar," and several specialized restaurants for promotion (WeChat Wudadao platform, 2018). Images of music festivals, night markets, creative bars, and craft stalls were repeatedly posted on the streaming platform alongside iconic buildings. Wudadao has also launched activities such as the "Ice Cream Contest" (WeChat Wudadao platform, 2019), the "Thousands People project, take a best and beautiful Wudadao photo" (WeChat Wudadao platform, 2019), and other activities to continuously strengthen Wudadao's image as an influential city. Wudadao also wants to organize consumer festivals such as "Bon Beer" and "Xiannong Summer Cultural Market" as part of the "Jincheng Night Market Consuming Festival" (Sina Tianjin, 2020). In April 2021, the Wudadao Tourism Zone became the first of the "New Tianjin Landmarks" through a call for audio and video entries and public voting on five online platforms. During the selection process, netizens and celebrities "promoted" and "brought in" the filmed locations in the hope of boosting physical tourism through online advertising (Tianjin Daily, 2021).

Since 2018, there have been ever more “Wanghong” shops and increasing numbers have visited the area. Several trendy shops from international chains have been set up in the area, such as the special designer shop, Starbucks’ flagship in North China, Teddy Bear’s Lawson shops, and KFC’s flash shops, creating the image of a “trendy gathering place.” In a 2020 report, Minyuan Stadium was described as a gathering place for “hipsters,” with a shop featuring a “star staircase,” “a bar selling roast duck with creative dishes,” and “an afternoon tea for girls” being highly recommended (Tianjin Cultural Tourism Information Site, 2020).

In September 2018, a report published by China’s largest new media company, ByteDance, revealed that the tokenization of city images on streaming platforms boils down to four aspects of BEST, namely B-Background music (city music), E-Eating (local food and drink), S-Scenery (city scenery), and T-Technology (technology; Pingcheng Tourism, 2018). In terms of heritage, these elements draw on the historical culture of Wudadao. The local character of Tianjin integral has become part of the influential city. For example, the restaurant “Jiuhe Xiangshe” sells traditional Tianjin dishes but has a “republican” themed menu, and the room is decorated in an “Wanghong republican style,” in line with the style of xiaoyanglou. A two-generation café with a courtyard filled with “pop-up umbrellas” and a cart selling traditional Tianjin pancakes creates a space that is both local and full of influential symbols.

On the other hand, these elements also have a global style, such as Café 109, which emphasizes the “cactus green Instagram style.” Jiuguo B & B, run by a young architect, offers accommodation with “Japanese style” “colourful manga-style” as well as “republican-style” rooms. The designer said she wanted to create a “design manual” that would allow customers to quickly select the symbols that make up an influential space online. A common element in these shops is that the design of the space was conceived from the outset as a “picture.” In the case of the renovation of the façade of the Xiangjiang Holiday Inn, the owner posted photos of the “historic façade of the world-popular hotel” on a design community looking for designers who could produce a similar design. Since the historic building could not be transformed, the façade, entrance, interior design, and roof design became the key elements of the transformation of the “Wanghong” space.

In this wave of “Wanghong,” some elements of resistance have also emerged. For example, a bookstore near Minyuan Stadium refuses to sell bestsellers or to allow web celebrities to take photos inside, wanting instead to create a place that “returns to the essence of Wudadao.” The owner of the Western restaurant “Decent” says he refuses to be rated by the popular review site and insists on running his restaurant through recommendations from friends and by promoting Western food culture. These owners who resist the image of “influencers” often have strong economic or social backgrounds (for example, Decent’s owner is the great-grandson of Cao Kun, a senior Kuomintang official). They use their capital to maintain the image of Wudadao as a “heritage site” in their minds, even refusing to become a “tourist destination.”

<Figure 8> “Weblebrity Live” (Wudadao WeChat Platform, 2014)

5. Research Design

5.1. Research Objectives

At the dawn of the 21st century, economic policy has placed greater emphasis on tourism as a key driver of economic transformation in China. The discourse on heritage has increasingly come to the forefront, on its important role in building the country's image, where the complex interplay between cultural capital and the whole socio-economic system can be seen. As a former British Concession, Tianjin Wudadao is now considered an important historic district and tourist attraction, with its characteristic architectural styles and former residences of famous political and cultural figures. With the decline of Tianjin's industry and economic status, the municipal government has sought to develop tourism with Wudadao at the center of city promotion and development, and furthermore to create a brand of "Wanghong city" of Tianjin. Colonial history, once considered a sad and shameful story, has become material for advertising a destination with "Western characteristics." This research hopes to explore how tourism has influenced the image of heritage sites in this context, and in particular how the historical identity of colonial heritage sites has been used in Wanghong Urbanism.

This research aims to explore how the landscape of Wudadao has been influenced and transformed by "Wanghong" tourism, and thus how the heritage image and identity that has been developed. This discussion is set in the context of the integration of cultural heritage tourism development with urban development in China from the 1980s, and especially strengthened by the popularity of streaming media after 2010s. How are the spaces of heritage sites socially shaped by tourism? More specifically in this case, how is the landscape space of Wudadao affected by the process of touristification with digital intervention? Using ethnographic methods, this study aims to investigate how the dynamics of globalization and digitalization are manifested in tourism activities, thus influencing the landscape of local heritage sites. In this way, heritage landscape space is used as a lens to reflect the digital reproduction of social landscape in contemporary China.

5.2. Research Hypothesis

The reason for the one-time concession becoming a favorite location for different Wanghong phenomena is that as a former semi-colonial space, the concession has always been a field of tension and power, representing complex emotional capital. On the one hand, its humiliating history as a site of invasion is reshaped in the name of urban development, and a positive attitude toward it is fixed in the form of heritage preservation. The concessions often added a further layer of elite enclaves as the fountainheads of important events in China's modern history, and as residences for important cultural figures and the upper classes. On the other hand, the relatively positive process of openness, integration into world culture, and modernization represented in China's modernized history added filters of both "modern" and "retro" to the period, thus providing a positive image of the contemporary. The concessions also added a sense of exoticism to their international context, not only offering an escape from reality but also providing evidence of the authenticity of the international products sold here. It is an imagination of travel after localization, where one can easily have a trans-regional travel experience through globalized goods, and the heterotopian atmosphere of the concessions reinforces this sense of crossing over.

This research can show how a specific urban space with a symbolic character can be commercialized through the influence of Wanghong urbanism. The creation, popularity, and subsequent variation of this symbol highlight the fascination of the former concession area as a field of study within the urban digital landscape. As a destination popularized by online influencers and recognized as a Wanghong destination in its own right, its popularity is driven by the act of sharing online and visiting offline. This process is both inevitable and contingent, with its inevitability stemming from the exoticism brought by the concessions and the Wanghong lifestyle that serves not only as a means of escape from the mundane but also as part of the global digital circulation landscape through the creation of consumption traits such as "Instagram-style." The rise of Wanghong destinations and their commercialization reflects a shift from a traditional production-oriented model of economic development to a consumption-oriented urban agenda. In this context, local growth alliances aim to

partner with Wanghong groups by revitalizing heritage sites, attracting targeted investments, and crafting destination images to achieve the objectives of tourism growth and consumption.

5.3. Methodology

The research mainly aims at adopting an anthropological and sociological approach, trying to link the processes of touristification and digitalization as a social dynamic and the spatial "patrimonialization" and the "Wanghong Influence" of architecture. The research aims to study the history of social dynamics in the different stages of tourism development in the post-2010s Chinese context, the digitalization of landscape spaces, and their superimposition, and thus the mechanisms of interaction between Wanghong tourism and the spatial regeneration of heritage. The research methodology includes textual analysis and fieldwork. Research methods include web-based ethnographic methods and fieldwork methods. First, the research expects to discuss the process of digital reproduction of heritage through semantic analysis of text and image analysis of streaming platforms. Second, through specific fieldwork, it reflects on how the impact of digital landscapes is literally changing heritage spaces.

Anthropological Methods: The empirical investigation for this study is based on qualitative research and is divided into two main parts: interviews and ethnography. Qualitative interviews primarily included semi-structured interviews and focus groups. The key individuals involved in the interviews were:

Visitors, categorized into three groups: Tianjin residents who use Wudadao for daily consumption, visitors from outside China, and foreign tourists;

Government personnel involved in planning decisions, specifically from the Planning Bureau, Housing Bureau, Heritage Bureau, and Tourism Bureau;

Traders operating in Wudadao;

Residents, divided into three categories: original residents and their descendants from the republican era, original residents after 1949, and new residents who moved in after 2000;

Representatives of administrative institution owners;

Experts and researchers;

Volunteer preservation teams, including the “Tianjin Memory Team”;
Cultural workers such as designers, artisans, and self-publishers involved in image promotion.

Participatory observation involved observing the urban and residential environment, experiences in typical places such as guesthouses, bars, cafés, and art studios, and observations within planning and decision-making bodies. Spatial observations are divided into the following layers:

Urban scale—urban landscape and visitor/resident activities at the urban scale;
Neighborhood scale—integration and juxtaposition of neighborhoods, visitor destinations, and route choices;
Individual building scale—variation and character of building façades, use and character of interior spaces, utilization of courtyard spaces, logic of architectural transformation, and behavior of individuals using and transforming spaces;
Signage and symbolic scale—logos, branding, and internal imagery.

6. Choice of the Field

Due to the vastness of Wudadao, the study primarily focuses on six specific blocks for detailed research. These 5 blocks are: Xiannong Dayuan, Min Yuan Sports Stadium, Min Yuan Xi Li, Qing Wang Fu, Chongqing Dao 225 Factory and the road of Chongqing Dao. This selection is made because these locations are densely populated with tourist and Internet-famous phenomena.

6.1. Xiannong Dayuan (Xiannong Courtyard)

Xiannong Dayuan is situated in the Wudadao area of Heping District, Tianjin, China. It is located at the intersection of Hebei Road and Luoyang Road, and was constructed in 1925. Designed by a British engineer, the mansion was developed under the auspices of the Xiannong Engineering Corporation Limited. Covering an area of 4188 square meters with a building area of 5355 square meters, the Xiannong Courtyard was primarily inhabited by employees of the Xiannong Corporation, from which it derived its name. The courtyard follows a lane-style layout, characterized by a row of connected

buildings. The exterior adopts a surrounding arrangement, composed of distinct units. The ground floor features reception rooms and kitchens, while the second floor consists of bedrooms, bathrooms, and storage rooms. This architectural structure has maintained its original design for 88 years and remains well-preserved to this day.

Being a focal point within the Wudadao area, this project has employed a comprehensive relocation of residents, utilizing investment attraction to create innovative formats, particularly by enticing foreign cuisine and goods to attract tourists. Furthermore, the courtyard serves as a public art square, hosting various art exhibitions such as sculptures, installations, photography, calligraphy, and paintings, alongside cultural salons and artistic performances. Notably, creative markets are organized as hallmark events, solidifying its distinct character.

<Figure 9> Xiannong Dayuan, creative market
taken by author (2023)

6.2. Qingwangfu

The Qingwangfu, located at No. 55 Chongqing Road (formerly Cambridge Road) in Heping District, Tianjin, is situated in the heart of the most concentrated area of historical architecture, known as the “Wudadao Historical Architectural Area.” It is classified as a special-protected-level historical architectural landmark by the Tianjin municipal government and holds the status of a cultural heritage preservation site. Following the 1949, this former mansion has served successively as the office location for the China-Soviet Friendship Association Tianjin Branch, the Tianjin People’s Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, the Tianjin Municipal Commission of Foreign Eco-

nomic and Trade Affairs, the Tianjin Municipal Commission of Commerce, and the Foreign Affairs Office of the Tianjin Municipal People's Government.

In May 2011, THARD, under the guidance of the Tianjin Land and Housing Administration, completed nearly a year of renovation work on Qingwangfu. Subsequently, the mansion was repurposed as a museum. Currently, Qingwangfu has introduced diverse commercial ventures, including bars, cafés, and Western-style restaurants, making it a Wanghong destination for tourists and a hotspot for social media enthusiasts in the Wudadao.

<Figure 10> Wanghong Coffee Shop in Qingwangfu
taken by author, 2022

6.3. Minyuan Sports Stadium

Tianjin's Minyuan Square, located on Chongqing Road in Heping District, is part of the renowned "Wudadao" area, a hub of international cultural and tourism significance. Minyuan Square was previously the Minyuan Sports Stadium, established in 1920, which served as a prominent sports facility in the Far East. Eric Henry Liddell, a British figure, played a pivotal role in the stadium's history. Born in Tianjin in 1902, Liddell achieved international acclaim, notably at the 1924 Paris Olympics, where he secured a gold medal in the men's 400-meter event. Liddell's involvement continued upon his re-

turn to Tianjin, as he contributed to the design of the Minyuan Sports Stadium, which was completed in 1926. Throughout its history, the stadium hosted significant events and represented Tianjin's football legacy. In 2014, the stadium underwent a transformation into Minyuan Square, a contemporary cultural space offering leisure, shopping, dining, and a panoramic cityscape view. Minyuan Square's evolution reflects Tianjin's dynamic blend of heritage and modernity, highlighting the city's cultural essence and evolution over time. It has become the center of tourism consumption, with restaurants, a museum, and creative markets.

<Figure 11> Minyuan Stadium
taken by author, 2023

6.4. Minyuan Xi Li

Minyuan Xi Li, established in 1939, is situated on Changde Road (No. 29-39), to the west of Minyuan Sports Stadium. Designed by the renowned modern architect Shen Liyuan, it comprises 17 gates forming interconnected courtyards. In May 2009, Minyuan Xi Li underwent restoration, preserving its historical architecture while infusing a "modern urban lifestyle and artistic atmosphere." As a cultural and artistic district on Wudadao, it is now open to the public. Presently, Minyuan Xi Li hosts diverse establishments such as cafés, bookstores, tea houses, bars, and restaurants, making it a must-visit artistic hotspot in Wudadao. It frequently hosts urban events like creative markets.

<Figure 12> Bookstore in Minyuan Xi Li
taken by author, 2022

6.5. Chongqing Dao 225 Factory and Chongqing Road

Chongqing Road is a prominent street in Wudadao renowned for its array of trendy and popular shops. Featuring vintage stores, bars, coffee shops, and a revamped factory complex that highlights the industrial heritage, Chongqing Road has become a popular destination for social media check-ins in Wudadao. The area is also home to local residents.

<Figure 13> Bar on Chongqing Road
taken by author, 2023

7. Research Plan

The research will be carried out over two years. With pilot research in 2022, field research was conducted in September 2023, including the investigation of several places in the six fields.

A paper will be written on the basis of the results for submission to the journal Cities and/or Urban Studies. Both are open journals publishing in English.

The research would be an important part of the applicant's PhD dissertation, which aims to explore the process of touristification and heritagization of Tianjin Wudadao, the former British Concession.

8. Fieldwork in 2022–2023

The two field surveys in 2022–2023 focused on the Wanghong shops in Wudadao, while a part of the interviews with residents and tourists were conducted. As the interviews with the public sector in Wudadao were limited, this part is expected to be continued in the next fieldwork. Several representatives were selected in the areas targeted for investigation.

8.1. Guiyuan Restaurant

<Figure 14> Guiyuan Restaurant
Retrieved from Xiaohongshu, 2023

This is a traditional restaurant with local Tianjin specialties. Previously it was only known by residents. With its discovery through the Internet, many bloggers started to post about this small semi-underground restaurant, making it among the most popular restaurants in Wudadao. A year later, the restaurant opened an opulent branch.

"This is a secret restaurant for Tianjin locals, which you should definitely visit directly during your travels without any hesitation. Although it's underground with only a small signboard, it's truly unique. Everyone who comes to Tianjin should visit this place. Especially when going to Wudadao, it's a must to go there!"

Retrieved from comments on Xiaohongshu, 2023

8.2 "青门" East Gate Coffee & Bar (Qingwangfu)

<Figure 15> Café East gate,
taken by author, 2022

<Figure 16> Bar East gate
taken by W.L., the architect of the shop

This is a coffee bar run by a young group. The café is located in Qingwangfu. Prices are very high, with each coffee costing 60–80RMB. The clientele is divided between middle-aged people who can afford to spend and young people who use the place as a photo destination. Some young people will share a drink among themselves. The bar has been designed and decorated by a designer who specializes in "Wanghong" shops. The designer herself runs BNBs and hotels in Wudadao. The tables, chairs, and spaces have been specially designed to attract people wishing to taking photographs from the start. This was an extremely successful prediction: Customers would come dressed in specific outfits and make-up, specifically ready to be photographed here.

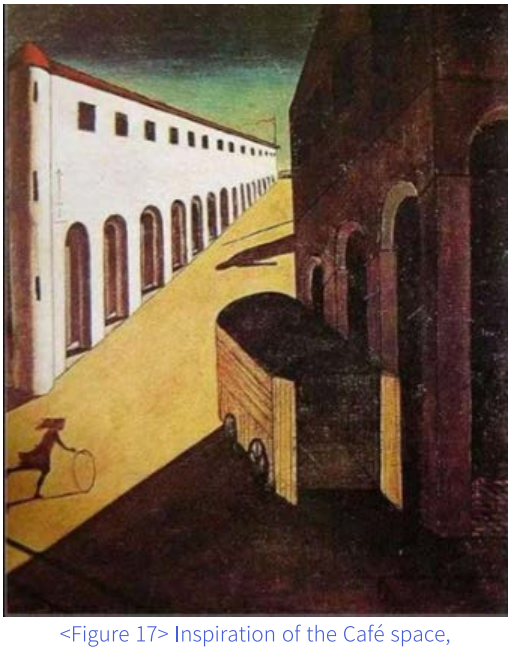
The bar and the café are in two different spaces. The bar faces the main entrance of the Qingwangfu, while the café is on the side. In the evening, the bar tables and chairs are set up within the courtyard of Qingwangfu. Although designed by the same designer, the bar adopts a contemporary expression of Chinese symbols, while the café is made with a Western landscape painting as its inspiration. The symbol of the bar comes from a Chinese door ring with a lion motif.

My main participatory practice takes place in the café. The product of this place is a "global boutique coffee" that has specially selected coffee beans from all over the world and produced in an extremely refined way. While the beer has its own suppliers, the coffee beans are created by way of a "joint flash shop." For example, the first season's coffee menu was sourced from the famous Beijing coffee shop "Berry Beans." This joint coffee shop provided the beans and recipes, thus recreating a popular Beijing shop in Qingwangfu Palace in Tianjin. Business is brisk here: On Sundays, 300–400 cups of coffee can be sold every day. The main consumer group is local people.

The shop uses exquisite plates and specially designed tastes and visual images to present the drinks and food. For example, the desserts are presented as "balloons," "meteorites," and "the surface of the moon." These desserts are the work of a dessert chef who studied dessert making in France. Next to the high-priced boutique coffees, the waiter will also serve some cards explaining the origin and flavor of the coffees. The shop regularly offers themed nights to attract traffic.

The members of the operating team are all very young. These "trendy" young people have good faces and an extremely polite and courteous presentation. They are proud to be part of this team. The manager of the café graduated from a prestigious university in the UK with a degree in winemaking, which means that she comes from an extremely privileged family. She is looking forward to opening her own shop in the future as well.

The owner, Mr. D, is experienced in this field and has many contacts. He owns a number of similar shops in Wudadao, which are jokingly referred to as "D's Group." The positioning of these bars also varies. Eastgate, for example, is a more sales-oriented shop. However, there is a speakeasy in an unassuming tin house in a residential area. It is a private meeting place for the shop owners of Wudadao, other boutique beer shop owners in Tianjin, and designers for these shops.



<Figure 17> Inspiration of the Café space, Provided by W.L., the architect of the shop

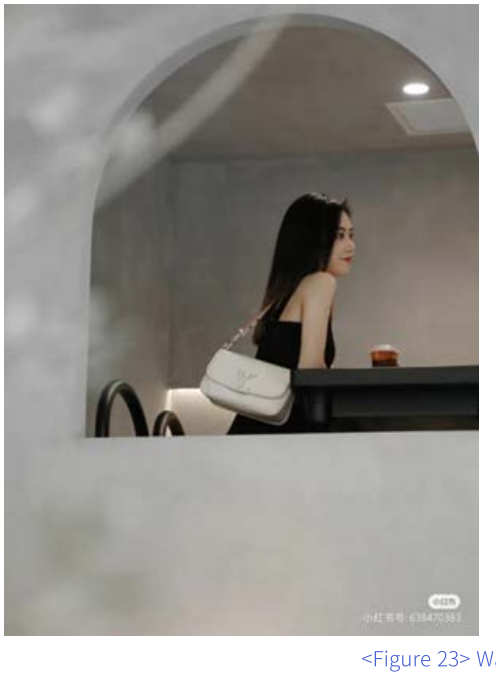
<Figure 18> Work-in-progress table design, taken by W.L., the architect of the shop

<Figure 19> Advertisement “Drink, do not give Fxxk,” with the “east gate logo,” Eastgate

<Figure 20> Advertisement, “Happy Birthday Eastgate,” Eastgate

<Figure 22> Environment of Eastgate,
From Xiaohongshu, 抹茶奶黄包溪哥,
published 2022.08.06

<Figure 23> Wanghong Photos,
From Xiaohongshu, 抹茶奶黄包溪哥, published
2022.08.06



<Figure 23> Wanghong Photos,
From Xiaohongshu, 抹茶奶黄包溪哥, published 2022.08.06

<Figure 24> East Gate with the Façade of Qingwangfu Palace,
photo taken by author

<Figure 25> Another Hidden Bar of the D Group, a Support System for Owners,
photo taken by author

8.3. 桑丘书店 Sancho Bookstore (Minyuan Xi Li)

Sancho refers to Don Quixote's servant. This three-story booksh op, located in Minyuan Xi Li, features niche and boutique books as well as records, vintage toys, and other content. It is also a venue for events and there are often book sharing events on Tianjin and beyond on a wide range of topics.

<Figure 26> The entrance of the bookstore, photo taken by author

The owner of Sancho Bookshop is a man in his thirties. The owner used to study in Xiamen and formerly held an important position at Uniqlo, where he learned how to run a chain of shops. Then, with a passion for books, he took over the marketing and supply chain of a new Chinese book chain called Sisyphus. Then, with a desire to "come home" and "do something for Tianjin," he returned to Tianjin to try to open a bookstore.

He grew up in Chifeng Road, Heping District, and has a deep affection for the streets of Tianjin. His first shop opened underneath a large office building on Binjiang Road, the shopping district most familiar to Tianjin people. He believes that the quality clientele brought by the office building will help his shop to survive. Although it soon became a popular destination for Tianjin's cultural youth, the 2,000 square meter shop underneath the office building soon closed down.

It was at this point that THARD contacted him to ask if he would be willing to move the shop to Xiannong Courtyard. He was more than willing, but thought the rent for Xiannong Courtyard was too high. As it happened, a room in Mingyuan Xi Li became av-

ailable and he was able to move his shop there. Now he considers it an extremely satisfying coincidence: He thinks it is less commercial and more liberal than the Siena compound.

This shop is only a tenth of the size of the previous one. However, it has continued operating very well, even during the COVID period. The shop has ample space for the display of books and plenty of lounge space. In some rooms, records and toys from the 90s have also started to be sold.

This bookshop is one that is very much focused on the relationship with its readers, which has led to the creation of a community with Sancho Books as its core. This community includes not only young people, but also secondary school students and middle-aged and elderly people. To communicate with the community, Sancho Bookshop has its own WeChat website and runs several private fan groups where readers share the books they have read. The manager takes a selection from the book each day and shares the "Sentence of the Day" with the group. The owner says that his core business philosophy is to "resonate with Sancho." Gradually, the fan group has come to share not only books but also life, and even helped each other out during difficult times.

Although in a tourist area, the bookshop owner does not consider himself to be running a tourist destination: He believes that tourists spend money "for sure," but as a way to subsidize his local community. He does not like tourists who take pictures, but accepts them for profit. He prefers the bookshop in the low tourist season. He has developed an extremely good relationship with the neighboring merchants. He sees the bookshop as an "attraction" and does not compete with any other shops.

During the pandemic, the number of visitors to this shop was greatly reduced because of the inability to travel, but it was clearly able to survive in the local community. This community became a base for another kind of shared travel. In April 2022, Sancho Bookshop joined forces with several other brands to launch the "Share a Travel Story" campaign. In the WeChat group, readers also kept sharing photos of their previous trips, insights, and places they would like to travel to in the future. Travel, as a representative lifestyle of this community, has become a highly compelling element of communication and interaction.

The shop is a virtual Internet sensation: Many visitors share it on social media. However, the shop operator argues that he does not like the logic of Wanghong. He wants people who come to the shop to really understand the content of the books in the shop. He thinks that Wanghong tourists will ruin the atmosphere of the shop, that Wanghong is destroying the cultural atmosphere of Wudadao, and that the regulators should be responsible for that.

<Figures 27/28> The Most Recent Travel Story, campaign at Sancho Bookstore, photo taken by author

<Figure 29> “Sentence for the Day” and the Poster for “Open the City, Find Local Cultural Signification”
Photos taken by author

8.4. 衣日记服装店 Clothing Diary Clothing Shop (Chongqing Road)

This is a shop run by two middle-aged couples in their forties. The daughter of one couple is about the same age as me. By offering some advice on studying abroad, I secured a three-hour interview with them. They were once permanent employees of a state enterprise, but the lady of the house considers herself a “romantic” at heart, so when China first opened up its market economy, they chose to open a clothing shop. The lady thought it was a brave move at the time but one that would actually pay off very quickly, as the market conditions were very good at the time.

This couple greatly enjoys travel. In the shop, you can see decorative items they have bought from all over the world. This has become a special feature of the shop-many gue-

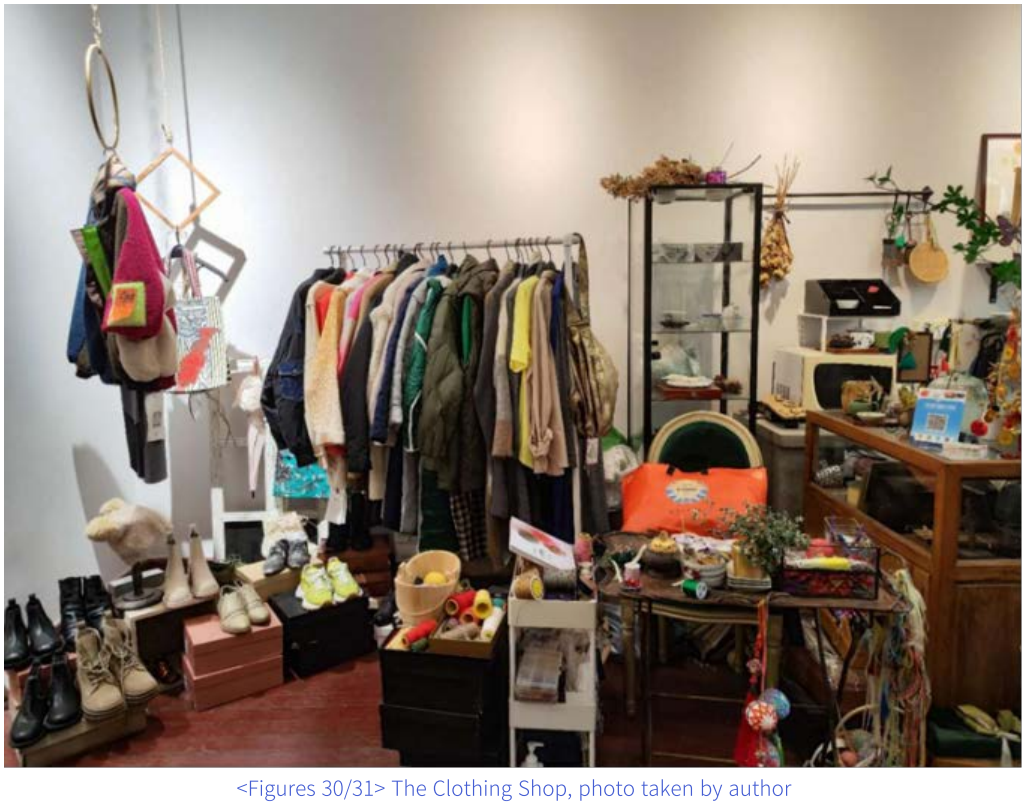
sts feel that this creates a sophisticated, elegant, and welcoming atmosphere. The lady sources her goods mainly from Italy, from friends she has made while travelling.

The shop was initially located in the West End of the river, but as the economy slowed down and the market was not as hot as it had been, the owner started looking for a lower-rent location. They chose a room in this historic building. The rent was actually very cheap because of the poor condition of the building. There is currently an elderly couple living in the whole building, and a designer couple's studio is located here.

The owner has carefully tidied up the garden to make it look very beautiful. The owner says that there are many visitors who cannot resist coming in to see such an exquisite garden. She believes that because many historical buildings are not open to the public, having the clothing shop in the building will attract people to come in and learn about its history. She does not know exactly who the historical figure was who lived here, only that he would have been of high status, and could guess at the previous use of each room. She told me that the floors and windows were in their original state, full of history but not actually comfortable or convenient.

In reality, however, the shop is still operating on the familiar clientele that she has built up. She says that after opening her shop for so long, she has realized that it is not just a simple clothing shop, but has in fact become a part of her customers' emotional connection. For example, many of her customers bought clothes here themselves when they were young and brought their children there when they were older. Many of them still ask her to send clothes to them when they go to work abroad. She finds the greatest sense of achievement in being able to find clothes that suit everyone and make them feel confident.

It is currently an Internet-famous shop due to its courtyard arrangement. Taking photos and shopping for beautiful clothes in a beautiful courtyard creates a contextual unity. Consequently, its transformation to online sales has thus begun. Even many tourists have become part of her customer base, and she shows them new products and sends them items through the Internet.



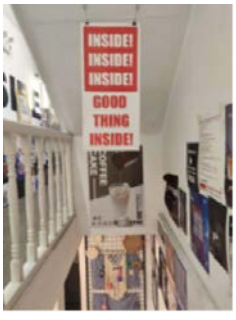
<Figures 30/31> The Clothing Shop, photo taken by author

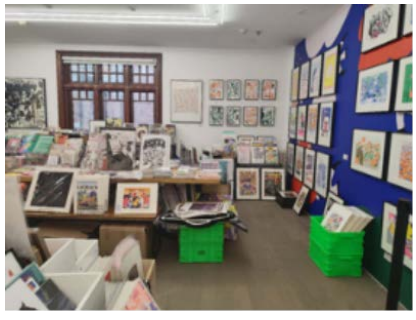
8.5. Inside艺术商店 Inside Art Shop (Xiannong Courtyard)

This art shop is run by three partners, two of whom studied in France, who seem to be very “trendy” young people. They are looking to create a space for contemporary art, in which they sell works with formal copyright. There were no Tianjin people among them. They chose Tianjin in the beginning out of curiosity about its history and recognition of the Wudadao space. They thought the space where it is located, 288 Hebei Road, was highly suitable as an art shop. They liked the feeling of the collision of history and contemporary art. They even produced a small book with the title 288 Hebei Road, along with a poster of the same name. They invited the grandmother who used to live there for an interview, and said that Grandma still comes back to visit from time to time.

The shop itself has encountered many difficulties. They tried to import original paintings abroad, but they were expensive, a relatively high level of consumption in Tianjin, and accepted by fewer people. Tianjin also lacks exhibition space. Many copied and reproduced items were also quickly sold on the Internet, crowding out their profit margins. They believe that Tianjin’s cultural policy is not well implemented: In particular, an official from the Culture Bureau came over once during an inspection visit and asked why they were selling modern art instead of shaved ice.

They currently see the shop as more of a “base.” Their business is more about trading contemporary art online; they tend to act more as an art broker. At the same time, they also hold temporary exhibitions around the country; the former exhibition space has been abandoned for financial reasons. Although the space is also home to some of Tianjin’s modern art lovers and there are frequent visits from friends, they are generally not optimistic about the future of Tianjin. However, due to the economy, this shop was relocated in 2023.





<Figures 32/33/34> Inside Art Shop, photo taken by author

8.6. Other Places that are to be Investigated

- Superrich:

Bookstore “Between the Sand and Foam”: a “private study” for the very rich; currently closed

Decent Western Restaurant: Cao Kun’s great-grandson’s steakhouse, now closed

-Vintage Shops: Online livestreaming selling, change of location

- International chain brands:

Lawson, a Japanese convenient shop brand, very “Internet-popular” in China. The Wudadao Lawson uses teddy bears as a selling point and displays British flags and elements around.

McCafé: Big symbolic status

<Figures 35/36> Lawson & McCafé at Wudadao,
Photo taken by author

- Gastronomic Anthropology (Fusion: Tianjinized Western food and Westernized Chinese food; authentic international restaurants)

煎饼果子 (Tianjin Pancakes) & Wanghong coffee: own house used as a shop. In the courtyard, the parents run a pancake stall that has been in operation for over 20 years, predominantly serving the neighborhood commuters. Inside the courtyard is a creative café run by the younger generation of the family.

Shanhai Coffee: A combination of Chinese culture and Western boutique café, a gathering place for lovers of calligraphy in Tianjin

Jiuguo Xiangshe Restaurant: A Tianjin fusion restaurant with a “minguo” culture

Xinjinhuan Western Restaurant: A family restaurant that “Tianjinizes” Western food

Guiyuan Restaurant: “Tianjin Cuisine” and “Tianjin Service”

Yueyuan Restaurant: Authentic Thai food

Mianli Café: Café at Xiannong Courtyard

- Souvenir /Handicraft shops

Hello Tianjin: A shop specializing in making local creative products

Shop of Mr. San: A shop of handmade shoes, emphasizing Tianjin Local Products

- Hotels and Airbnbs

Xiangjinag Holiday Hotel: A hotel tries to recall the style of “Minguo” to make itself Wanghong

Jiuguo Airbnbs: Wanghong-designed airbnbs

8.7. Architecture Studios

Use Less Studio: An independent studio with a focus on pop-up shop design. l, the lead manager, also runs AirBNB Kukuni and Holiday Inn Heung Kong. The former is a popular inn style and the latter is a “Mingo” style. The studio has relocated several times within the confines of the Wudadao.

BiAO Studio: A couple of designers whose projects focus on conventional school design and office building design. Previously based in a hutong in Beijing, they aimed to find a studio with a “cultural atmosphere.”

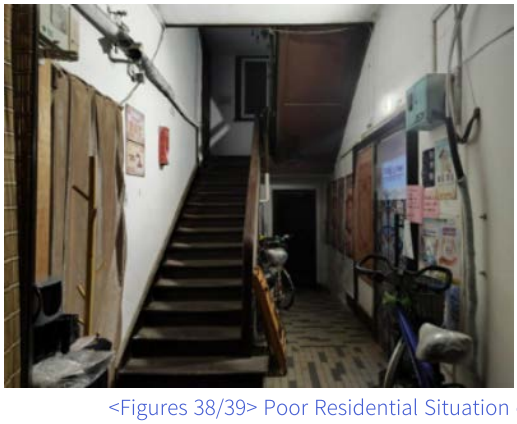
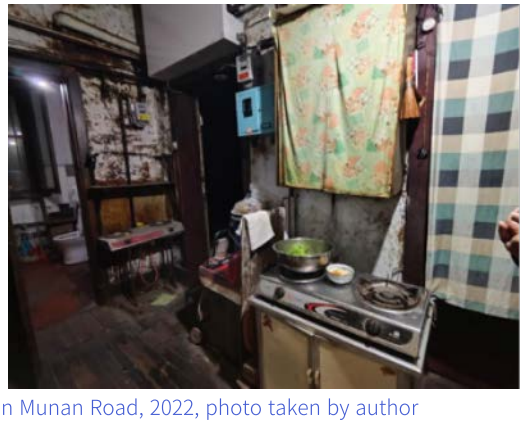
<Figures 37/38> Within and Outside Biao Studio, photo taken by author

8.8. Interviews with residents

It needs to be acknowledged that the interviews with residents are still not very in-depth. Only five residents have been interviewed so far. These include descendants of celebrities, who live in relatively affluent circumstances and whose families hold relatively good jobs, but as living conditions in Wudadao have declined, they have tended to move out and no longer reside here. However, their childhood memories are still here: They consider that living here was once a status symbol. In their minds, it represents more of a good childhood.

The interviews also include the more ordinary class of citizens. They see it more as a living space, and are more concerned with the congestion on the way to and from school and the public space for leisure. Interviews also include the poor elderly who live here. They are often in close proximity to the users of the “trendy spaces,” but instead of interacting with each other, they are in a state of exclusion. There is also a tension between them and the government due to the lack of infrastructure. This state of affairs includes negotiation, conflict, and, where appropriate, the use of different levels of management relationships in government to achieve objectives. For example, one resident claimed that he raised the lack of heating in their residence during the mayor’s visit to this location. The mayor immediately promised to improve the situation and informed the district mayor, who had accompanied him.

These residents hold a disdain for the Wanghong trend. They believe that these shops are not relevant to them and that they do not benefit from the proceeds of these shops. They do not think that these shops can be sustained for a long time.

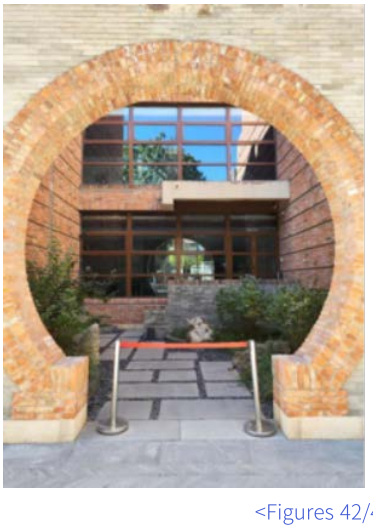
<Figures 38/39> Poor Residential Situation on Munan Road, 2022, photo taken by author

8.9. Tourism operators (Public Sector)

Communication with the public sector is also more limited. Fortunately, I was able to interview a THARD staff member. He offers the possibility of an in-depth look at the development project. Only one interview has been conducted so far, focusing on THARD’s financial difficulties in recent years. He describes the efforts to renovate what was once the Xiannong with a brick-by-brick level of restoration.” However, what was on-

ce a commercial strategy has now been changed by the city's goal of "seeking high-tech businesses." The Tianjin municipal government now expects to use the distinctive architecture as an attraction for high-tech industries. The second phase of the Xiannong is being built for this purpose. At the same time, the Shangyili Boutique Hotel has been converted into offices. However, the operation under this strategy was not successful. On the one hand, high-tech companies actually needed more space, which xiaoyanglou could not provide, which often ended up serving only as an exhibition space. Additionally, many of the companies actually did not operate as well as expected, and therefore did not have the expected tax revenues. Additionally, many companies are not taxed by the Heping District government, which prevents funds from being returned to the district.

Right now, THARD has accepted the Wanghong trend and is working with private sector actors to create new attractions and build more tourism services, especially in Xiannong Courtyard.



<Figures 42/43> The Second Phase Project of Xiannong,
which remains empty for a planned hotel, photo taken by author

8.10. Tourists

During the holiday, there were staff broadcasting live from the Mingyuan Stadium and selling souvenirs. Some of the souvenirs were very popular, such as Wudadao ice-cream. However they declined to be interviewed further. We had the chance to interview several tourists.

Tourists say that the word “Wanghong” is very important to them. They see Wudadao as a Wanghong destination and therefore come here on holiday from neighboring cities. They search online for Wanghong destinations and shops and go to spend money. They see Wanghong as a way to recommend great destinations and are very receptive to visiting Wanghong destinations for experiences. Although Wanghong brings with it the downside of needing to queue, it just goes to show the appeal of Wanghong destinations. They will search through the Internet and gather tips, as well as take photos to share on social media.

Tianjin locals who do not live in Wudadao will also come here to spend money during holidays. They likewise believe that Wanghong is an important attraction of Wudadao. Unlike the residents of Wudadao, they do not believe that Wanghong has affected their living environment, but rather that it has boosted Tianjin’s consumption growth.

<Figure 44/45> Holiday at Minyuan Stadium,
photo taken by author

9. Discussion

9.1. image & Spaces

Among the key logics of Wanghong is to focus on images and scenes. Images and scene-based videos have the ability to spread widely, and creating images that are easy to understand and easy to distribute has become the key to creating a Wanghong destination. Consequently, the logic of Wanghong heritage sites has shifted from heritage sites that attract tourists for their cultural and historical value to “check-in” destinations that attract tourists by creating images that are shot from a particular angle.

Images, to be easily understood, need to be colorful, iconic, and simple. This implies the amplification, reproduction, and semantic homogenization of elements. In particular, a space was created for a specific perspective for the photo. In this context, the heritage space is flattened to achieve an “iconic” symbol. The space changes from an experiential and creative purpose to a production purpose of the photographed image. This kind of production goes from attracting customers to foregrounding the design logic of the business, and ultimately revolutionizes the spatial production of the heritage site.

In particular, for Wudadao the proportions of the streets and buildings became a major tourist attraction under the template of an ideal city plan. Consequently, the template of “leisure” life was enlarged, and the space for shops was extended to the street, presenting a co-management of the street.

9.2. Production Circle: Partnership & Communities

The production logic of participating in Wanghong begins with a bottom-up process. Wanghong spontaneously start a cycle of information on the Internet and continue to influence offline spaces to achieve proliferation. Having seen this opportunity, local authorities look forward to revitalizing the post-industrial urban economy using the new economic cycle of Wanghong. Consequently, a joint partnership between Internet platforms, Wanghong influencers, offline businesses, and local authorities was formed. However, due to the spontaneity and unpredictability of the nature of Wanghong, the intervention of local authorities often seems clumsy. Even with the city’s declaration of “creating a Wanghong city,” more Wanghong production actually occurs in a bottom-up process. Collaboration in the loop, on the other hand, occurs more often when Inte-

rnet platforms and merchants join forces and when merchants and influencers join forces. These co-operations are mainly intended to provide visibility of the mutual reinforcement of the three. However, there are some businesses that view Wanghong as over-tourism and an unsustainable trend. These businesses have gradually come to believe that tourists are not their market and that they are more centered around local communities of interest. They believe that the lack of regulation by the authorities concerned has contributed to the proliferation of the low-quality Wanghong phenomenon.

9.3. Identities and the Post-Colonial Context

Wanghong tourism is more focused on “exploring the unexplored” to increase its appeal. Consequently, the search for different experiences has become an important part of the content production process for Wanghong. In the former tenement area, this production has two meanings. The first is the consumption of the exotic, where the semi-colonial history and elite life context of the former Concession serves as a context that justifies the experience of the exotic here. The second is to explore local life in Tianjin, i.e., “eating and experiencing like a local.” These two are intertwined to create a new heritage identity narrative based on everyday life: Wanghong have uplifted, reorganized, and re-narrated local culture to come up with a new label for Tianjin culture. The Wanghong discourse is not only a method of promoting heritage sites but also a driving force for a new cycle of the creation of heritage.

10. Future Plans

The next step is to plan to expand interviews with residents and tourists to discuss their views on the Wanghong phenomenon.

The greatest shortcoming of this fieldwork was the lack of interviews with the public sector, which will hopefully be addressed in the next fieldwork.

For the current phenomenon, I expect to continue to observe changes during the 2024 field work.

Finally, it is expected that the Wanghong phenomenon can be studied in comparison with the former concessions in Shanghai and Wuhan, and by observing the changes over time.

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(Resisting) heritage protection: exploring relations between resistance and protection of cultural heritage in Southeast Asian borderlands

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Abstract

Much of current research about relations between resistance and heritage focuses on political aspects of heritage: activists, grassroot movements and civil society resisting demolition and destruction of heritage in urban development areas, nationalist/colonial/postcolonial contexts as well as situations of conflict and war. However, there are also other, non-violent and more subtle forms of resistance in relation to heritage protection that need to be recognised, such as resistance by communities who intentionally chose to remain on the fringe, to be able to develop alternative strategies for heritage protection and temporary stewardship that are not accepted within conventional heritage management. Likewise, resistance might not only occur to protect heritage from destruction, it can also be the other way around: heritage protection through resisting protection. One such example is World Heritage designation that implies protection of certain conventional, often material heritage values, whereas resisting World Heritage designation can lead to protection of other heritage values, embedded in for example living and religious heritage.

Through case studies in Southeast Asian borderlands, this paper aims at identifying and better understanding various forms of resistance and how these relate to heritage practice and protection. Ultimately, it seeks to answer the question if resisting heritage protection, framed by international laws and regulations, results in and/or might even be necessary for heritage protection, according to contemporary critical heritage discourse.

1. Introduction

To safeguard and protect cultural and natural heritage is a taken-for-granted, firm foundation on which the international World Heritage program and idea relies. This preservationist ideal and idea is based on the notion of universal value, which implies that World Heritage is a common interest among all the people in the world and that the actual heritage belongs to humanity as a whole. These foundational perceptions about heritage are to a large extent valid also outside of the World Heritage context. Within contemporary heritage discourse, a growing interest in a multitude of definitions, interpretations and ways to use and manage heritage has emerged over the last decades. Material aspects of heritage are now investigated alongside immaterial aspects, heritage experts work together with local communities and their voices intermingle with others', less well articulated ones. Nevertheless, safeguarding and protection of heritage is still very much at the center of this new inclusive and multifaceted heritage discourse, of which Unesco's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage is an example. Notions of safeguarding and protection imply that heritage is threatened by something, such as decay, destruction, exploitation, war, climate change etc, and that the original material authenticity is what makes the heritage valuable and worth protecting. However, authenticity can also be performative and embrace change, which is not seldom the case within living heritage. In such situations, destruction may not only be accepted but also necessary for certain heritage expressions to be maintained and protected (Karlström 2015). Living heritage, often connected to religious practice and intangible aspects of heritage (c.f. Stovel et al. 2005, Poulios 2014) is a form of heritage that does not fit comfortably into established heritage protection schemes and projects, since it implies use, consumption, change and sometimes even destruction of material heritage.

These tensions between tangible and intangible as well as official and unofficial heritage practice are points of departure for this research. More specifically, it explores an area where national border issues are intermingled with minority rights and social justice, where nature conservation seems to contradict intangible cultural heritage protection, where potential extinction of certain species is put against change and con-

tinuity, and where international and authorised heritage discourse oppose local approaches to heritage protection. The main objective with this research project is to unpack these complexities. It aims at identifying and better understand various forms of resistance and how these relate to heritage practice and protection.

Much of the research about relations between resistance and heritage has so far focused on activism and grassroot movements resisting demolition of built heritage in urban development contexts, civil society's resistance in nationalist and political contexts involving not only buildings but also objects, collections, museums and sites, as well as resistance towards destruction of heritage in contexts of conflict and war. However, resistance might not only be violent. A growing field of research concerns other and more subtle ways of resistance in relation to heritage protection, such as resistance by communities who intentionally chose to remain on the fringe, in borderlands, to be able to develop alternative strategies for heritage protection and temporary stewardship that are not accepted within conventional heritage management, as well as local communities that push for having their traditions listed and safeguarded on an international level as intangible cultural heritage to be able to maintain their living heritage that otherwise would have been prohibited from national policy levels. Resistance might not only occur to protect heritage from destruction, it can also be the other way around. This research project explores protection of (unofficial) heritage by resisting (official) heritage protection, exemplified by the Karen minority group in Kaeng Krachan where the local community tried to resist a world heritage nomination since an inclusion on the world heritage list would result in losing the possibility to continue to use and thereby maintain and protect their own living heritage. Ultimately, the expected outcome of the project is to answering the question if resisting heritage protection, framed by international laws and regulations, results in and/or might even be necessary for heritage protection, according to contemporary critical heritage discourse. It is also possible to relate this to a larger scope and look at if and how it is possible for cultural heritage to operate as forms of resistance against displacement, neoliberalisation and undemocratic decision-making processes, as well as if and how the depoliticised face of cultural heritage can be used as a channel to smuggle in dissent from the dominant paradigm of society.

This is a report of preliminary results from the first phase of the project and not a complete paper. It includes a literature review, research plan and methodology, summary of key findings, and a plan for future research.

2. Literature review

The literature review covers relevant areas and includes texts that are divided into themes, and ends with the identification of a gap which this research aims to fill. It moves from the broader field of cultural heritage protection, through resistance studies in general and ends with resistance and heritage studies.

2.1. Cultural heritage protection

This research departs from contemporary critical heritage discourse, which has developed over the last two decades (e.g. Smith 2006, Harrison 2013), and more specifically from literature that challenges Eurocentric perspectives on our material past from an Asian angle (e.g. Byrne 2014) and through decolonial heritage practice (e.g. Timm Knudsen et al 2022). It acknowledges local religious and everyday living heritage practices, which sometimes clash with official institutionalised heritage discourse. It follows the developments within for example Unesco (e.g. Meskell 2018) from protection and preservation of designated material and monumental heritage to 'the intangible turn' that occurred alongside the developments of critical heritage studies.

2.2. Resistance studies and heritage studies

Resistance has been theorised within academia at least since the 1980s, within a realm often referred to as resistance studies. From a focus on social movements and open resistance, resistance studies have come to develop into more dialectical approaches exploring relations between control and resistance (e.g. Mumby 2005, Baaz et al 2017) as well as relations between power and resistance (e.g. McGhee 2016 within power studies), now also focusing on hidden and subtle resistance which is more individual and occurs in everyday life (e.g. Baaz et al 2017).

Within heritage studies, much of the research about relations between resistance and heritage focuses on political aspects of heritage: activism and grassroot movements resisting demolition of built heritage in urban development contexts (e.g. Hammami and Uzer 2017), civil society's resistance in nationalist and political contexts (e.g. Fouseki and Shehade 2017) involving not only buildings but also objects, collections, museums and sites, as well as resistance towards destruction of heritage in contexts of conflict and war (e.g. Lambert and Rockwell 2012, Roppola et al 2021). However, other non-violent and more subtle forms of resistance in relation to heritage protection have been recognised and explored (Hammami and Uzer 2022), such as resistance by communities who intentionally chose to remain on the fringe, in borderlands, to be able to develop alternative strategies for heritage protection and temporary stewardship that are not accepted within conventional heritage management, which draws on for example James C. Scott (2009). Scott's area of expertise and also the geographical focus of this research is the Southeast Asian highlands. Resistance related to heritage in Asia is dealt with by Mozaffari and Jones (2019), in an edited volume that specifically explores activism and local indigenous movements, in which heritage is regarded as process, and not only the remains from the past. This heritagisation process might result in activism and restistance, not only the other way around: the role of social movements and activism in the production of heritage (Roura-Expósito 2023). There are several examples of research on this more subtle resistance, also linked to World Heritage sites, as well as to the question of ownership of heritage, conflict and activism (e.g. Baaz and Lilja 2017, Lilja and Baaz 2019).

Likewise, resistance might not only occur to protect heritage from destruction, it can also be the other way around: heritage protection through resisting protection. One such example is World Heritage designation that implies protection of certain conventional, often material heritage values, whereas resisting World Heritage designation can lead to protection of other heritage values, embedded in for example living and religious heritage. This is an aspect of resistance in heritage discourse and practice that has so far not been researched.

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3. Research plan and methodology

Motivated by the identified research gap, this research aims at exploring what role heritage has in land use conflicts, and particularly the opposing ideas of heritage protection that occur when official institutional heritage discourse meets unofficial definitions of cultural heritage as a living tradition and knowledge where culture and nature intermingles. 'Heritage protection by resisting protection' seems contradictory, but this research wants to unpack the complexities that are embedded is this process, to reach a better understanding for relations between resistance and heritage. As an interdisciplinary academic field and critical inquiry, contemporary critical heritage studies is well suited as a conceptual framework. However, international law including human and indigenous rights needs to be part of the research foundation. This is one part that must be expanded on before the research project could be finalised.

This research is using archive and desk research as methodology, in combination with qualitative heritage-ethnographic methods (e.g. Meskell 2012) and collaborations with scholars from the specific research areas, such as international law. As part of the qualitative heritage-ethnography, the plan was to include field research. Due to additional teaching obligations, travels to the area around the Thai-Burma border where Kaeng Krachan is could not be undertaken within 2023. This is the second part that must be carried out before the research project could be finalised. It is planned to March 2024. Field research will then also be combined with archive work in Bangkok and collaboration with master students at Thammasat University.

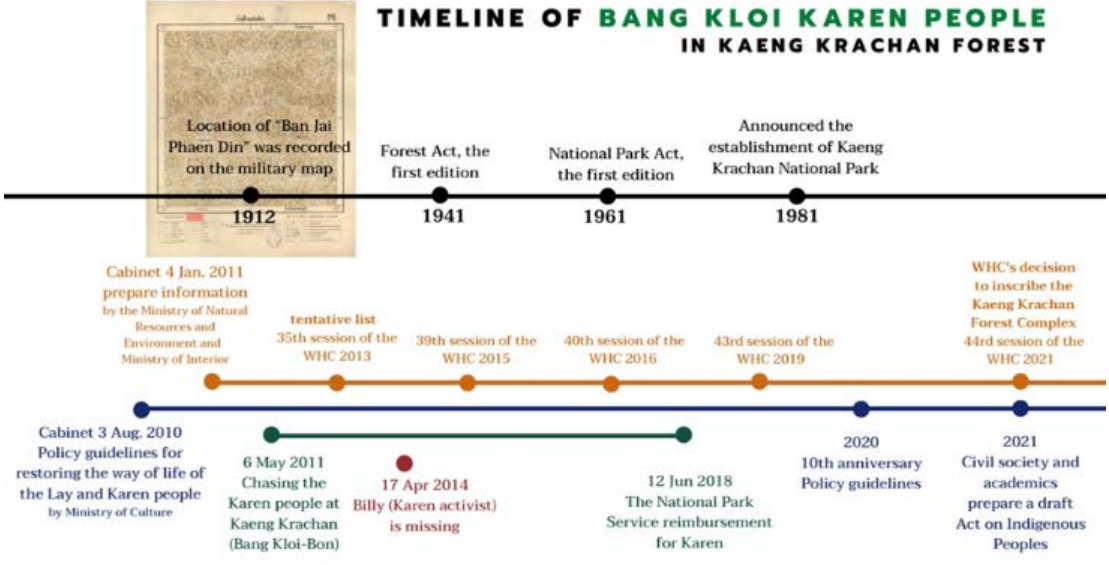
4. Preliminary results

Preliminary results are divided into three parts:

1. History and contextualisation of the Kaeng Krachan case. In 2011, the national park Kaeng Krachan in western Thailand, near the Burmese border, was nominated as a world heritage site by the Thai state. The process to make Kaeng Krachan a world heritage site went on for over a decade until it finally was accepted and inscribed on the list in 2021 . In the nomination of the site, focus is on its rich biological diversity, including rare species and a unique composition of both faunal and floristic distributions as well as its location in a landscape with highly variable topography and unique geological characteristics, consisting of for example wetlands that are vital for the important surrounding agricultural areas. Nothing is mentioned about the Karen ethnic minority groups who live in and of the nature of the park, maintaining the balance between nature and culture through their living heritage practices and traditional knowledge. Some of the Karen groups were evicted from the forest already in 2011, when their village was burned down by national parks officers. In 2014, a Karen leader and land-rights activist disappeared after being detained and has not been seen ever since. People living in the area, their land rights and livelihood concerns have since the nomination process started been impacted by the (potential) World Heritage status.

The Karen villages are now closed and their inhabitants relocated to an area outside of the World Heritage site. The situation is complex and the challenges manifold. The Thai government has negotiated with the Burmese state and also with local communities, not only the Karen groups (UNESCO 2019:214).

Constructing a time line to understand the process from nomination to inclusion on the World Heritage List. Connected to the time line various stakeholders as well as documents, everything from legal to media news etc, are identified and mapped. A preliminary time line is produced, see below. It will be completed.



<Figure 1> Timeline of Bang Kloi Karen People in Kaeng Krachan Forest

2. Archive and desk research focused on the various documents and standpoints in the conflict. For this part, material is already collected but not yet processed. Results will include a chronological account connected to the time line as well as a discourse analysis of the text to identify heritage values, which might contradict each other in terms of tangible/intangible heritage, nature/culture as well as preservation/use. Motivations for preservation and use of heritage will also be highlighted and analysed.

3. Field research including interviews with stakeholders through heritage-ethnographic method. This part will be conducted together with a master student in heritage studies from Thammasat University, during March. A preliminary survey on site was conducted already last year, including informal interviews focused on mapping the events that had occurred since the nomination, and also various stakeholders that were potential interviewees. Interviews will be transcribed and through discourse analysis the dichotomies above will be analysed. Resistance will also be focused on in the interviews and analysis, and related to motivations for preservation.

Results will be analysed in a concluding discussion.

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