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## Cultural Heritage and Its Authenticity: Spatialization of Local Pasts through Making Models in Jinguashi Mine, Taiwan

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### Keywords

Spatialization, memory, model, Taiwan, Jinguashi Mine

### Introduction

Developed in earnest during the Japanese colonial period, the Jinguashi Mine, located in northeastern Taiwan, was one of the leading gold mines in Asia, operating on a continuous basis for approximately one hundred years until its closure in 1987. Suspension of mining operations often leads to the emigration of area residents and the associated decline of local communities. The Jinguashi Mine operators also experienced the decline of the local area, but immediately after the suspension of the project, residents came up with a plan to make the entire area a museum, leading to the opening of the Taipei County (present-day New Taipei City) Gold Museum (Hatano 2019, 120–140). In other words, some of the residents chose not to leave after the mining company closed the mine, instead remaining by reinventing the area as a cultural heritage site.

Since its opening, the Gold Museum has been conducting restoration research to document the past together with researchers in history, geography, architecture, and so forth. This research mainly uses plans, photographs, and literature prepared by the mining company, and the historical realities that emerge will necessarily be from the mining company's perspective. By contrast, the focus should be on the lived historical realities woven by local residents, but these have largely been neglected. However, thirty years have passed since the closure of the mine, and ever fewer residents remember the time when it was a booming mine with many workers. Some residents noticed this and became worried, which motivated them to set up a private exhibition hall called Jinguashi Wenhua-guan (the Jinguashi Culture Hall), where they began exhibiting models of buildings and spaces of the past, relying on their own memories and those of previous generations. In

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other words, this was the start of historical practice by local residents as opposed to historical research by researchers.<sup>1</sup>

However, we can easily imagine that the past on which they based their model production consisted of a diverse range of attributes, such as their own experiences, information from interacting with people from other generations, a mixture of these, and old photographs. It goes without saying that this past is not necessarily identical to the historical facts revealed by historical research. Likewise, the models made based on this past with those attributes may not be identical in shape to the mining facilities that existed in the past. Nevertheless, what are the motivations of the residents who are thus forging ahead with this spatialization of the past? What significance do they attach to this visualization of the past? This study is concerned with the new historical practice carried out by residents at the Jinguashi Mine and aims to clarify the theoretical framework for that historical practice through interviews with the people involved and by architecturally organizing their spatialization of memory.

### **Materialization and Spatialization of the Past as Memory**

Memory can be shared through the production of objects, images, symbols, and so forth. In their production process, the subject imbues the product with the meaning they associate with that particular past and shares it as memories through the product. This is what Sturken (1997, 9–12) calls “the technology of memory.” According to Sturken (1997), memory somatization refers to the active involvement of subjects in relation to social institutions and practices, and its technologies include public art, television, photography, advertising, and the body. The past of individuals and communities is given meaning and becomes memory through the production of cultural objects. The memory then expands through the power relationship between the remembering subject and the recipient (10).

In addition, memories are closely linked to locations. Nora (2002) states that memory is anchored to location and is spatialized through the arrangement of cultural products. Bronze statues and monuments commemorating the past of individuals and communities have meaning in relation to spaces connected to those past achievements, and the relationship between space and memory is visualized through this spatialization of the past.

Alternatively, in disaster-stricken areas, affected structures and remains are often preserved and opened to the public for the sake of communicating the disaster experience to later generations. In other words, by materializing and spatializing past events through preservation activities, part of the past is intentionally remembered. The subjects of memory production will selectively recall past events and intentionally establish and pass them on as memories through material.<sup>2</sup>

This can be interpreted as an aspect of memory use. That is, the past is chosen and spatialized according to its value of use for the sake of the action of memory use. This is the act of shaping memories in “power dynamics” (Sturken 1997, 10). It reflects the aspi-

rations of the subjects for the narratives of the past and is by no means an innocent past.

On the other hand, there are process-oriented cases in which the past is manifested as memory through physical activities. One example at the site of an earthquake disaster is activities such as recording the memories of the residents and visualizing the memories in models (spatialization) for the sake of preserving the town's memories.<sup>3</sup> In this case, they work to materialize and spatialize the past recalled with the aim of manifesting and sharing the past latent inside each individual so that it can be passed down as memory. Assmann states the following:

Cultural memory, in other words, is not only a passive "accumulative memory" but also includes the possibility of reactivating this past and making it our own as an active "functional memory." What this means is that the structures of participation that make possible the process of reclaiming [the past] individually and collectively play an important role. All of this distinguishes cultural memory from the abstract instrumentality of encyclopedic knowledge. Encyclopedic knowledge is universally applicable but has no connection to identity. (2019, 22)

Memory is nothing more than a reconstruction of the past.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, memory is not fixed but rather a process of social organization. In other words, memory is positioned between current demands and past achievements and appears where they are combined.

Memorization can be said to be not merely an expression of the past itself but a structure newly created by the mutual penetration of present and past. Pointing to this, Ryohei Miyamae says, "Memory is not information stored in the brain, but rather something that has an actual relationship with us by being externalized and materialized" (2020, 19). This means that the "past" that appears as memories is not necessarily authentic to the original form of past events or experiences, so we should not assume that to be the case.

## Historical Context

### *Insularity of Taiwan: Possession, Domination, and Immigrants*

Current residents of the Island of Taiwan mainly belong to one of four ethnic groups: the Hoklo, the Hakka, the *waishengren*, and the indigenous Taiwanese. The terms Hoklo and Hakka primarily refer to Han Chinese who migrated from Fujian Province and Guangdong Province between the Dutch period (1624–1662) and the Qing period (1683–1895), while *waishengren* refers to Han Chinese and their descendants who migrated from the Chinese mainland and came to reside in Taiwan after 1945. *Indigenous* Taiwanese is a generic term referring to the people who lived on the Island of Taiwan before the migration of the Han Chinese.<sup>5</sup>

Before the seventeenth century, the main inhabitants of the island of Taiwan were none other than the indigenous Taiwanese. However, from the end of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth century, Taiwan received attention from European and Asian countries as a territory to be possessed and controlled. First, at a time when European countries were expanding their territories through colonialism, the Dutch

East India Company established bases in present-day Tainan and Anping in 1624, constructing Fort Zeelandia and Fort Provintia, and started a partial occupation of the Island of Taiwan (Ying 1996, 34–35). In 1626, Spain occupied and built forts in Tamsui and the Chilung area in the northern part of Taiwan, but the Dutch moved northward and expelled the Spanish in 1642, which led the Dutch East India Company possessing most of the island of Taiwan. However, in 1662, the Dutch were ousted by Koxinga (1624–1662) and his clan, who arrived from the Chinese mainland.

When the Koxinga clan crossed over to Taiwan, the Manchurian Qing Dynasty was overthrowing the Ming Dynasty on the mainland. The Koxinga clan had advocated *Fǎn Qīng fù Míng* (overthrow of the Qing Dynasty and restoration of the Ming Dynasty) and so attacked Nanjing on two occasions but failed, after which they decided to make Taiwan the base for *Fǎn Qīng fù Míng*. The Koxinga clan moved to Taiwan en masse with a total of about thirty thousand soldiers and their families, occupying Fort Provintia as well as developing administrative zones in southern Taiwan and Penghu Island (Itoh 1993, 28–29). Koxinga believed that securing food was an urgent task, so he transformed the land owned by the Dutch into “government fields” and allowed the Han Chinese migrants to cultivate it.

Subsequently, Zheng Jing, Koxinga’s eldest son and successor, advanced the demarcation of administrative zones and started developing a household registration system as a way to actively attract Han Chinese (Itoh 1993, 30). This resulted in full-fledged migration of Han Chinese (Chen 1994, 19), with the Han Chinese population in Taiwan estimated to have reached approximately 1.2 million (Chou 2007, 63), while the number of indigenous Taiwanese in the same period is estimated to have been approximately from one hundred thousand to 1.2 million, which shows the rapid increase in the number of Han Chinese.<sup>6</sup>

In 1683, the Qing Dynasty invaded Taiwan and overthrew the Koxinga clan government. However, for about one hundred ninety years until 1874, the Qing Dynasty’s management of Taiwan was fundamentally passive as it imposed various restrictions (Itoh 1993, 40),<sup>7</sup> such as limiting travel from the southeastern part of the Chinese mainland, segregating indigenous Taiwanese to designated residential areas, and banning entry into indigenous areas and interactions with the indigenous population (Itoh 1993, 43).<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, the number of Han Chinese immigrants increased, with their numbers growing to as many as 2.9 million in 1906, compared to about 113,000 indigenous Taiwanese (Itoh 1993, 63–64).

Wan-yao Chou (2007, 123) argues that for Taiwan, the Japanese colonial period that began in 1895 was a mixed historical experience of both colonization and modernization. In Taiwan, Japan engaged in political governance and economic exploitation. At the same time, infrastructure was developed through railway and bank construction, while agricultural production increased in extent and was commercialized. Furthermore, Taiwan was modernized through the active introduction of bureaucratic, judicial, educational, and police systems.



Throughout the Japanese colonial period, numerous Han Chinese continued to reside in Taiwan. According to *Taiwan Current Population Statistics*, compiled by the Office of the Governor-General of Taiwan,<sup>9</sup> the proportion of Han Chinese in the total population of Taiwan was more than 90% during the Meiji, Taisho, and Showa periods. In 1905, ten years after the start of Japanese rule in Taiwan, Japanese people accounted for 1.96% while Han Chinese accounted for 97.77% of the population.<sup>10</sup>

In 1945, as a result of Japan's defeat in the war and the acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration, Taiwan was placed under the administration of the Kuomintang and immediately became the "Taiwan Province" of China. Han Chinese who had been living in Taiwan since before 1945 became Chinese nationals and were called *benshengren*. The Kuomintang regime nationalized Japanese companies and appointed *waishengren* to manage them. Discriminatory attitudes toward *benshengren* by soldiers of the National Revolutionary Army and *waishengren* officials were rampant. Despite both being Han Chinese, a severe distinction was made between *waishengren* and *benshengren*, and the Kuomintang governed the *benshengren* harshly.<sup>11</sup>

In this section, we have looked at the insularity of Taiwan from two aspects: territorial possession and control as well as immigration. Rwei-ren Wu (2021, 16) discusses these two aspects in terms of the concepts of "continuous colonization" and "multi-layered colonization," which characterized Taiwan's colonial experience. The former captures Taiwan's experience diachronically and refers to the successive absorptions of Taiwan into the nations of the Qing, Japan, and the Republic of China. In other words, Taiwan was colonized as a result of being regarded as a "common frontier" by several countries. Therefore, Wu (2021, 16) says that Taiwan is a "fragment stuck between empires."

The latter aspect is a synchronic view of Taiwan's experience, which points to Taiwan's historic character as an immigrant society, and Wu notes that "the suzerain states always furthered exploitation and immigration simultaneously" (2021, 16). This is an extremely important point. As an example, Western colonial rule of India by the British Empire was based on governance by a small number of British persons, such as military men and bureaucrats. By contrast, Taiwan was colonized by several states and actors through many settlements, with both direct and indirect resource exploitation. Moreover, what Wu refers to as multi-layered is the coexistence of foreign governments, immigrants such as the Han Chinese and the Japanese, and indigenous Taiwanese in a hierarchy of domination (Wu 2021, 16–17). Furthermore, as noted above, we need to emphasize the multi-layered nature of immigration according to each era. The Han Chinese who stood on the ruling side through the Koxinga government and the Qing government found themselves dominated under Japanese rule. After the war, when the majority of Japanese people left the country and there was a large influx of Kuomintang-related immigrants, a hierarchy was formed between the newly arriving Han Chinese (*waishengren*) and the *benshengren*. Wu regards the *benshengren* as typical indigenized immigrants and attaches importance to their experience of both being colonists (vs. the indigenous Taiwanese) and colonized (vs. the Qing, Japan, and the Kuomintang). In this way, Taiwan as a colonial

society was formed through territorial possession by those regarded as “other” by the indigenous Taiwanese (*benshengren*, Japanese, *waishengren*, etc.) and those regarded as “other” by the *benshengren* (Japanese, *waishengren*) as well as immigration by Han Chinese and Japanese. This is a characteristic of the island of Taiwan as it has continuously been influenced by geopolitical factors.

### ***Historical Context of Jinguashi Mine***

Chobei Tanaka,<sup>12</sup> who acquired the mining rights of the Jinguashi Mine, introduced modern technologies and developed large-scale facilities as soon as business commenced and actively engaged in mining and smelting (Hatano 2015, 50–70). During the Taisho period (1913–1926), the operation of the mine was succeeded by Jinguashi Kozan (1925–1933), and all rights were sold to Nippon Kogyo (1933–1945) in the early Showa period (1930s). During this time, Japanese and Han Chinese workers mined and smelted ore under Japanese mining companies. Residential areas for Japanese and Han Chinese were separated, and the schools the children attended were also divided into ordinary higher elementary school and public school.

After the end of the Second World War, the Kuomintang government seized the mine and established the Taiwan Metal Mining Company (hereinafter, Taiwan Mining). The *waishengren* played a central role. Many of the Han Chinese involved in mining projects during the period of Japanese governance (*benshengren*) were engaged in physical labor such as mining and ore transportation. In other words, although the prewar relationship between the Japanese (ruler) and Han Chinese (*benshengren*/ruled) changed to one of Han Chinese (*waishengren*/ruler) and Han Chinese (*benshengren*/ruled) after the Second World War, the position of the *benshengren* as ruled did not change significantly.

In 1987, Taiwan Mining closed the Jinguashi Mine as management worsened. Subsequently, Taiwan Power Company and Taiwan Sugar Corporation, the state-owned companies that handled Taiwan Mining’s debt, took over all assets, including the land and buildings of the Jinguashi Mine (Chen 2015, 20–21). In 2004, Taipei County (present-day New Taipei City), Taiwan Power Company, and Taiwan Sugar Corporation established the Gold Museum, which embodies the concept of creating a museum for the entire area as proposed by local residents and reuses extant mining facilities as museum facilities.

The 2000s were an epoch-making era for Taiwanese and global mining heritage. In 2003, the International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage adopted the Nizhny Tagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage (TICCIH 2003), after which the protection of industrial heritage attracted worldwide attention. In Jinguashi during this same period, shrine remains as well as mining sites such as huge smelters were designated as cultural properties one after another starting in 2003.

Since the period of Japanese rule, mining has been the main industry of Jinguashi, not only for the local economic benefits and a stable working environment, but also providing complete education and living functions, such as schools, the collective store, the cinema, the barbers, and the miners’ hospital, etc. The Shi-Yu senior high school established by

Taiwan Mining improved the convenience of miners' children graduating from elementary school and going to nearby Jiufen and even Ruifang to study. The incline,<sup>13</sup> as a mining transportation system, was not only for transporting ore but also the carrying of people. It was the transportation for miners to go to work or for children to play. A bustling scene of the mine's past became indelible memories and emotions for residents.

Therefore, in 2012, a voluntary activity organized by residents called "Going Back along the Road" was held. The aim was to clean up the extant incline in the Jinguashi Mine and the surrounding area (mowing and cleaning). It was also an opportunity for tourism development and to restore the incline.<sup>14</sup> As a result of these activities, the value of the incline as a cultural property was reviewed, and it was registered as historical architecture in New Taipei City in 2013, and in 2019, some residents set up the Jinguashi Culture Hall (hereinafter, the Culture Hall) to represent the buildings of the past mining period through models, hoping to promote the mining culture of Jinguashi and the development of local tourism.

## Valuation and Spatialization of Pasts

### *Content of Selective Pasts*

The act of visualizing experiences with models as well as making them public and sharing them is a historical practice, different from empirical research, that clarifies historical facts in the past. In this paper, we analyze the narratives of interviewees and their method of making models and discuss them from the viewpoint of rejection of authenticity.

We conducted a field survey that included photographing the models and holding informal interviews at the Culture Hall from September 21 to 22, 2019, as well as three semi-structured interviews with individuals directly involved in the opening and operation of the Culture Hall and the production of the models on December 12, 14, and 17, 2020 (see table 1). Since April 2020, it has not been possible to conduct surveys in Taiwan because of the COVID-19 pandemic. Therefore, we conducted an informal interview online with the curator of the Gold Museum on May 27, 2020. All interviews were confidential by mutual agreement.

TABLE 1. List of interviewees

	Identification marker	Sex	Age	Duration of residence	Semi-structured interview	Remarks
1	A	M	50s	0 to 18 years old, 43 to present	○	
2	B	M	50s	1 to 18 years old, 32 to present	○	
3	C	M	60s	0 to 18 years old, 38 to present	○	
4	D	M	50s	Unknown		

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5	G	F	50s	None	Curator of the Gold Museum
6	H	M	40s	None	Geological researcher

The content of the interviewees' narratives is divided into three categories according to the era: the period of Japanese rule (21%), the period of Taiwan Mining (71%), and the period after the closure of the mine (8%). All interviewees were born in the early days of the Taiwan Mining period, left Jinguashi in the latter half of their teens, and then returned following the closure of the mine. Consequently, many of the narratives about the Jinguashi Mine have to do with the Taiwan Mining period, reflecting the three interviewees' direct experiences.

Many of the narratives about the period of Japanese rule were told to the interviewees by their great-grandfathers, grandfathers, or other older relatives who had worked in the mine in Jinguashi since their father's generation. The details are as follows: the mining company needed a large number of workers and offered relatively stable salaries (interviewee B), and the Qingbu Dormitory was constructed by Nippon Kogyo as a lodging house for the Taiwanese (interviewee B). This narrative was passed down from a Taiwanese worker's perspective, so details about the mining business as a whole are scarce.

By contrast, as regards the Taiwan Mining period, most of the narratives stemmed from personal experience. The three interviewees' youth mainly occurred in the 1970s, so I heard many experiences from that period. It was particularly valuable that their youth largely overlapped with the rise and fall of the Jinguashi Mine itself and the depletion of the mine's resources, a key moment in the mine's history. "Our mine had prospered a lot since before" (我們的礦山以前是多麼的繁榮) (interviewee A). "We had everything: a hospital, a movie theater, and collective stores. We definitely had that in our Jianguashi..." (我們有醫院、有電影院、有什麼供應社，有什麼...我們金瓜石以前有...，是沒錯) (interviewee A). "It was so lively. It was lively wherever you went. Even the bus stop and the school were lively" (就很熱鬧，到處都很熱鬧，車站也很熱鬧，學校哄哄叫) (interviewee B). "I started elementary school in 1971, and Jinguashi Elementary School had five classes in the same year when I started, so if you multiply that by six years, there should have been about 1,500 students" (60年我進去國小，進去金瓜石國小那時候我們的同學，我們一年有5班，一年有5班然後6個年級，那你算起來，差不多1,500個人) (interviewee B). In this way, they explained that they had a variety of facilities and that it was a lively town, with many people despite being in a mountainous area. By contrast, in the latter half of the 1970s, the mining resources were already exhausted (interviewee B), and the smoke damage was severe (interviewee C), which reveals a striking difference between the prosperity of the first half of the 1970s and the decline in the second half.

Concerning the mining business, we only heard about the work of the fathers (interviewees A and B). The interviewees were not aware of the mining business in general

because they were not involved in the actual mining work. This was not of interest to these three people who experienced the decline of the mine in the late 1970s, as shown by the statement, “In fact, I feel there is no big relationship between us and the gold and veins of ore” (其實我感覺我們跟黃金跟礦脈生產, 其實關係是不大) (interviewee C).

Incidentally, the three interviewees’ accounts of this period all mentioned the incline. Their common boyhood experience was expressed as follows: “When I was a child, we went all the way to Suinantong and had fun swimming in the sea [...] sitting in the incline” (到民國60幾年, 我小時候我們去水湳洞玩水, [...] 坐incline下去) (interviewee C). So they rode the incline to go swimming on the coast at Suinantong. These experiences were also expressed in statements such as, “The most impressive thing to the people of Jinguashi is the incline” (金瓜石的人, 最強烈印象的就是incline斜坡走道) (interviewee C), and “Most old residents of Jinguashi have used it” (幾乎老金瓜石人都會坐過) (interviewee C). In addition, visitors to Culture Hall saw the model of the incline and spoke of similar memories,<sup>15</sup> and the fact that the word incline with Japanese pronunciation existed as a slogan<sup>16</sup> suggests that it was a common experience among the people living around the Jinguashi Mine in the 1970s.

Meanwhile, it was commonly believed that the Jinguashi Mine during the Taiwan Mining period was a place where immigrants gathered and a place of (tough) life and survival. The former also covers the interviewees’ own families, who moved there during the period of Japanese rule and the Taiwan Mining period. However, it is characteristic that although good relationships were established among neighbors who had moved there to earn a living (interviewee A), some had also escaped from their old homes (interviewee A), so it was 「龍蛇雜處」 (a place where a mix of various people lived together). This also indicates a fluid situation in which people came and left, which made people less attached to the land (interviewee C).<sup>17</sup>

All three recognized the Jinguashi Mine as a place of life and survival and talked about the contrast between the mine’s prosperity and the people living in poverty. Interviewee C said, “In reality, the people of Jinguashi were just fighting to live, wanting to survive. To put it simply, that’s what it was. Who in our neighborhood would talk about gold, the mine, the veins?” (其實金瓜石的人, 在這裡, 其實就是只有討生活而已, 只有求生存而已, 簡單說就是這樣子。我們的鄰居左鄰右舍, 誰在跟你談金子怎麼樣、礦場怎麼樣、礦脈怎麼樣). That is, people were so busy trying to make a living that they never talked about the mining business.

After the closure of the Jinguashi Mine, the area was described using words like *sad* (interviewee A) and *still* (interviewee B). In addition, the withdrawal of Taiwan Mining was described using words such as abandoning and leaving behind (both interviewee A). This shows that the situation after the closure of the mine was seen in a negative way. Table 2 summarizes the content of their narratives in each period.

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TABLE 2. Narrative content by time period

Time period	Rise and fall of the region	Regional characteristics	Local facilities	Local life	Mining business	Rate of speech
Japanese rule	<p>The Japanese mining company needed a large number of workers (B). Japanese mining companies' salaries were relatively stable (B). The most prosperous period was around 1937–1938 (C).</p>	<p>The elderly said that when they went to mine at night, many drivers were waiting at the entrance to take the ore (A). I called my relatives and friends from Soken (B) because I have (mining) jobs in gold puddle.</p>	<p>Nippon Mining constructed a lodging house for Taiwanese people called Qingbu Dormitory (B).</p>	<p>In his great-grandfather's time, he moved from Shuangxi to cultivate tea leaves. However, since the land was unsuitable for tea leaf cultivation, he engaged in mining (B). His great-grandfather smoked cured tobacco and opium (according to his father). This was the preference of a person with relatively high social status (B). His grandfather began working at the Japanese mining company when he turned 20. The salary was stable, and he was also educated in Japan (B).</p>	<p>His great-grandfather summoned relatives and friends, and all engaged in the mining business (B). His grandfather began working at the Japanese mining company when he turned 20 (B). His father has migrated from Nanzilin to work as an earth-worker (C).</p>	21%
Taiwan Mining Company	<p>It was booming with a lot of people (A, B) in the 1970s, mining was actively carried out and Jianguashi was bustling (B). In the 1970s, more than 10,000 people lived there (B).</p>	<p>Characteristically, everyone worked at the same company and the children attended the same school (A). The neighbors were aware of each other (A). Most of the residents came from outside, and the largest number of migrants came from Yiliand, coming from Taoyuan, Chiayi, etc. (A). Jianguashi was a typical immigration society (C). <i>Benshengren</i> children grew up in Jianguashi, so they felt very strongly about the land (C).</p>	<p>Incline (A, B, C). He rode the incline to go swim in the sea (A, B, C). The incline was a transportation facility connecting the top and bottom of the mountain (A). Long-time residents of Jianguashi have the experience of riding on the incline (C). The most impressive thing for the people in Jianguashi is the incline (C). The incline is a collective memory (C). Hospital (A, C). Movie theater (A, B). Suspended cableway (C). Public bath (C). School (A).</p>	<p>It was a greedy society (A). People lived in poverty (B, C). The relationship between us and mining was not big (C). The elementary school had about 1,500 students in the early 1970s (B). In the 1970s, more than 10,000 people lived in Jianguashi, including miners and merchants coming from outside (B). He rode the incline to go swim in the sea (A, B, C). When a friend came to Jianguashi, he took him to swim in the sea (C). Incline and hospital (both with Japanese pronunciation) were words that identified people from Jianguashi (A).</p>	<p>His father worked at Taiwan Mining during the day and at an nearby coal mine at night (A). His father worked with air conditioning in the gallery. He started work at 8 am and came out at 3 pm (B). By 1977 and 1978, resources in the mining area were already exhausted (B). Around 1979, he returned to Jianguashi, but smoke damage was severe (C).</p>	71%
After mine closure	<p>The saddest situation (A). Taiwan Mining went bust, and the residents disappeared (A). Everything went still (B).</p>	<p>No people and no lights on in the houses (B).</p>	<p>The Gold Museum was established, but many mining facilities had already been destroyed (A). Rainbow staircase (A).</p>	<p>By 1987, Taiwan Mining had “abandoned” and “left behind” the Jianguashi Mine (A).</p>	<p>By 1987, Taiwan Mining had “abandoned” and “left behind” the Jianguashi Mine (A).</p>	8%

### *Making Models as a Spatialization of Own Experiences*

The models displayed at the Culture Hall are the thirteen items in Table 3. Among these, four also appear in the interviewees' narratives: the incline, the suspended cableway, the hospital, and the rainbow staircase.<sup>18</sup> We can see that this is a mix of memories from their youth, such as the incline and architecture along Qitang Old Street, and several buildings from the period of Japanese rule, which they never experienced themselves.

TABLE 3. Models displayed at the Cultural Hall and how they were produced

	Models displayed at the Culture Hall	Interview	Existing	Method of model production	Notes
Mining Facilities	incline	○	△	memory, photographs	
	station for incline 斜坡索道纜車站	△	△	memory, photographs	It was a facility integrated with the incline, but it was never specifically mentioned.
	cableway 架空索道	○	×	memory, photographs	
Living Facilities (for Japanese)	Japanese-style house 日式宿舍		△	memory, photographs	It reproduces the residences left behind after the Taiwan Mining period.
	Jinguashi ordinary higher elementary school 金瓜石尋常高等小學校	△	×	photographs	There are many stories about schools, but all of them are own experiences and not about “Jinguashi ordinary higher elementary school” during the period of Japanese rule. The reconstructed building was built in the late Meiji period.
	hospital	○	×	photographs	The reconstructed building was built in the late Meiji period.
	Jinguashi shrine 金瓜石黃金神社		△	photographs	
	Jodo Missionary Office 淨土宗布教所		×	photographs	
	octagonal pavilion 八角亭		△	memory, photographs	The barbershop run by a Japanese person. It is thought that it was built by a private person.
Living Facilities (for Taiwanese)	restaurant 允發食堂		○	present condition	
	shophouse at Qitang old street 祈堂老街店家	△	○	memory, present condition	
	church 教會堂		○	present condition	
	stairs with rainbow colors 彩虹梯	○	○	present condition	In order to attract tourists to Qitang Old Street, one of the interviewees (A) colored the staircase's balustrade.

Informal interviews with the model makers showed that the forms on which the mod-



els were based were derived by using either (1) memory, (2) photographs, (3) present condition of the subject of the model, or a combination of them. The memories of the makers were used to reproduce the forms. In the case of the Culture Hall, memory was not enough for reproduction, and either photographs or the present condition of the subjects of the models were also needed before making a model. Photographs were used to reproduce buildings when most of a facility had been lost or no longer existed. When some of it did still exist, it was reproduced by relying on memory. When one reproduces a building that no longer exists, the model is produced by only using a small number of photos that serve as clues. When some or all of the facility still exists, the model can be produced by visually capturing its present condition.

### Rejection of Authenticity

Both *mixed intentions for materialization* and *mixed time periods for materialization* were involved when making these models. The former means that several techniques were used simultaneously to materialize the past. As the discussion in the preceding section shows, three techniques were intermingled: memories of experiences, the intention to reproduce the past through old photographs, and miniaturization of existing facilities. By contrast, the latter, *mixed time periods for materialization*, refers to how, for example, two or more photographs from different times were used to produce a model, mixing elements from different time periods. In other words, although the purpose of the model was to reproduce a facility that existed in the past and has now disappeared, we now have a form that did not exist in the past. Here, I will examine this mixed time periods for materialization from an architectural standpoint, using the Jodo Missionary Office and the Jinguashi Shrine as examples.

When making the model of the Jodo Missionary Office, the model maker used a photograph published in a collection from 1913 (fig. 1). As far as I know, this is the only extant photograph of the building. In other words, it is the only photograph that can tell us the architectural style, and it is not currently possible to know about parts other than the frontal view that is shown.

Looking at figure 1, we can see that the building was a wooden one-story building with a gabled, hipped roof, a wall with Japanese-style weatherboard, and corrugated slates placed on the roof. It has *onigawara* tiles placed on the ridge, and fish are hanging from the gableboard.

Figure 2 is a model of the Jodo Missionary Office exhibited at the Culture Hall. Looking at the front, we can see that they have tried to reproduce the design by having Japanese-style weatherboard on the wall surface, making the roof gabled and hipped with corrugated slates, and including *onigawara* tiles and hanging fish. However, what was likely an independent foundation has been converted to a fabric foundation, while a staircase has been added to the entrance as well as a fence and plants at the boundary of the site. In addition, a round window was placed on the side, and other details were added to

make up for the parts that cannot be known from the old photograph through imagination.

Next, let us look at the Jinguashi Shrine. The Jinguashi Shrine was built by Chobei Tanaka in the Meiji period (around 1900) (fig. 3) and was reconstructed by Nippon Mining in the early Showa period (around 1930) (fig. 4). The Jinguashi Shrine of the early Showa period had a new main hall, a new worship hall, and a new shrine gate but kept the approach and stone wall built in the Meiji period. These two photographs can be seen at the Culture Hall.



FIGURE 1. Photograph of the Jodo School missionary office constructed in the Meiji period.

Source: Kinukawa 1913.



FIGURE 2. Model of the Jodo missionary office.

Source: Jinguashi Culture Hall n.d.



FIGURE 3. The Jinguashi Shrine in the Meiji period.

Source: Kinukawa 1913.

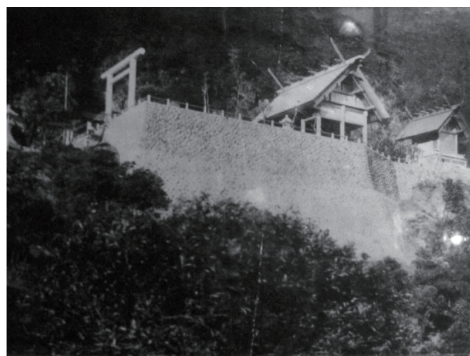


FIGURE 4. The Jinguashi Shrine in the early Showa period.

Source: the Gold Museum.

The architectural styles of the main hall and the worship hall vary greatly between the Meiji period and the early Showa period. The main hall in the Meiji period was a *hirairi* structure with a gabled roof, with the pent roof being curved and extending to the front. This is a common style in Japanese shrine architecture and is called *nagare-zukuri*. By contrast, the main hall in the early Showa era was a *hirairi* structure with a gabled roof,

but instead of curvature, the roof had crossed rafter ends and logs at the top. Although this style is close to the *shinmei-zukuri* style, it lacks the characteristic ridgepole. Moreover, the worship hall in the Meiji period was built as a hirairi structure with a gabled, hipped roof and onigawara tiles on both ends of the building. The worship hall in the early Showa period was a hirairi structure with a gabled roof just like the main hall, with crossed rafter ends and logs at the top of the straight roof. It was likely modeled to imitate the *shinmei-zukuri* style. In addition, a *shinmei* shrine gate is erected in front of the worship hall.

Figure 5 is a model of the shrine exhibited at the Culture Hall. The main hall is a hirairi structure with a gabled pent roof in the *nagare-zukuri* style, and the worship hall is a hirairi structure with a gabled, hipped roof. In other words, it appears that the makers of the model mainly referred to the Jinguashi Shrine in the Meiji period. However, the shrine gate, which can be confirmed only in a photograph from the early Showa period, is also placed in the model. Moreover, the shrine gate is not a *shinmei* gate as shown in figure 4 but is a so-called *inari* gate. In other words, this model shows the makers' creativity with regard to form and also mixes elements from different time periods.



FIGURE 5. Model of the Jinguashi Shrine.  
Source: the Gold Museum.

It is easy to criticize these models in terms of authenticity. Both the Jodo School Missionary Office and the Jinguashi Shrine are on display along with commentary on their characteristics and history as well as the old photographs. Nevertheless, the forms shown in the old photographs and the models are not identical. That which is not part of the old photographs was creatively invented by the makers of the models. Even if we look at the parts that are shown in the old photographs, the scales of the different parts are off. From the viewpoint of a museum exhibition or curator, authenticity is of utmost importance. If we ask about the authenticity of the exhibit at the Culture Hall, the answer will naturally be negative. However, authenticity was not such an important issue for the people at the Culture Hall:

We just want to say that this is what happened before. We have photos for most of it, and it's fine if we have photos and models. We just want many people to know that we used to have this. The scales and standards of the models aren't accurate, but a glance is enough to see

that, aha, this is a hospital. (interviewee A)

(我們只是說以前有這個東西，我們就大部分都是照那個照片，有照片又有模型為證這樣就好了。就是讓大家知道說，以前我們有做這個東西，它也沒有說真的照比例，真的照那個規格，什麼都沒有，就是一眼看到就知道，啊～這是在講醫院) (A).

They are saying that it is not necessary to pay attention to the detailed forms and ratios of the models. Rather, it is enough to have the old photographs and models to show that these facilities existed in the past and to have the models depict how they looked. The authenticity of the models is not meaningful to them. If it is obvious to the people at the Culture Hall as well as others and tourists that the model is a shrine or a missionary office, then that is thought to be sufficient to evoke memories of and talk about the past. What we see here is the sharing of memories through visualization (materialization), not the justification of memories. Meaning is found in the models if they can facilitate a platform for communication and mutual understanding, and this depends on a rejection of authenticity. This attitude and perception also holds true for those who appreciate the models, as they associate the remembered past facilities with models and gain an awareness of their sameness of being. Here, sameness of being is superior to sameness of form.

By observing the model, the observer perceives the existence of the real thing in the past, and if they have experience of the real thing, this will further summon forth the meaning of the real thing. However, that that meaning is summoned does not necessarily mean that the content summoned is the same as the meaning that originally belonged to the real thing (e.g., the functional meaning of a mining facility). In other words, meaning is given separately depending on social demands and individual experience. Therefore, the meaning that a single model brings to the observer is very specific and carries multiplicity. In other words, the observer is reconstructing the meaning through the model in front of them, and we also should not overlook the possibility that the meaning summoned is not necessarily the same as that intended by the model maker. Nevertheless, for the model maker, the purpose of the model is to create opportunities to share existing experiences rather than sharing the meaning that the maker possesses (really based on the superiority that the maker has whether they like it or not).

At the same time, observers without direct experience of the real thing in the past that the model depicts will recognize the existence of the real thing in the past through the model. In addition, by reading the name and explanatory text attached to the model, they come to understand what it means. Regardless of whether the observer accepts the meaning, the meaning that the maker gives to the model is communicated to the observer as the model maker is in a superior position.

## **Conclusion**

The Jinguashi Mine was one of the largest gold mines in Asia. However, those who lived there from the period of Japanese rule through the Taiwan Mining period experienced both the mine's prosperity and its decline.

The Island of Taiwan is located in a geopolitically vulnerable position for possession and control by other countries. For this reason, the inhabitants of Taiwan have had to live through a history of constant change. The Han Chinese, who have determinedly continued to migrate to Taiwan for hundreds of years, have sometimes been the rulers and sometimes the ruled in this process of possession and control. In addition, after the Second World War, the Han Chinese were divided into *benshengren* and *waishengren*, with the *benshengren* splitting into two.

While talking about the abundance of facilities and the large population from the period of Japanese rule to the first half of the 1970s, the interviewees also described the period after the late 1970s as one of sadness and stillness. The visualization, materialization, and spatialization of a better Jinguashi was achieved by going back to the period of Japanese rule to talk about the incline and the abundance of facilities, thereby sharing pleasant memories from their youth.

The models at the Culture Hall reproduce something from the past. As indicated by the prefix re- in reproduction, it is something that can only come after the past. The shape of the model is not necessarily the same as that of the original. The model shows only a parenthesized past summoned forth according to the demands of modern society. Thus, memorization of the past through the process and result of modeling has a different meaning than the authentic position. In other words, what intervenes in the recollection of the past and its materialization and spatialization during the modeling work is not the authenticity of the past and its shape but the loss of meaning of certainty. Since the model is not a straightforward summoning of the past, it is not meaningful to ask whether the result of its materialization and spatialization is authentic.

Visualization, materialization, and spatialization in modeling, and the accuracy of memory expressed through it, has never been a big issue to the people who opened the Culture Hall and others. Rather, memories were augmented by creativity and appeared as something that can be shared and partitioned through their visualization, materialization, and spatialization. Therefore, criticizing a model for being “similar but not identical” or “inauthentic” has no meaning, at least in their eyes. Here, the question of historical accuracy has been rejected in the first place. In other words, rejecting this problem is a way (strategy) for residents to live in this place where most land continues to be owned by a state-owned corporation that was founded by the Kuomintang government after the war. That is the philosophy that underlies the historical practice of the residents of the Jinguashi Mine area.

## Notes

1. Here, *historical practice* refers to what Minoru Hokari calls acts that summon the past by coexisting and jointly advancing with various other daily practices (Hokari 2018).

2. Kenta Awazu (2010) cites Olick (2007) and writes that “*Recollection* strengthens and renews memory. Moreover, *recollection* repeats the interaction with society” (233).

3. For example, “Project for the Restoration of Models of Lost Towns in Support of Reconstruction after the Great East Japan Earthquake,” <https://www.losthomes.jp> (accessed April 24, 2021).



4. Eyal Ben-Ari states that “personal memory is a highly selective and adaptive process that reconstructs the past, and collective memory is also a product of the behavior of social groups and their ever-changing interests and political positions, as is now understood to be formed by current needs and contexts” (2010, 5).

5. At present, there are 16 ethnic groups recognized by the government (Council of Indigenous Peoples n.d.).

6. Han Chinese immigration to and cultivation of Taiwan had already started in the era of Dutch occupation. Wan-yao Chou (2007, 59) estimates that the number of Han Chinese living in Taiwan at the end of the occupation was between 35,000 and 50,000, partly because the Netherlands recruited Han Chinese to work in agriculture.

7. In the late nineteenth century, the Opium War, Japan’s dispatch of troops to southern Taiwan, and the Sino–French War led Taiwan to fall into turmoil at the hands of the United Kingdom, Japan, and France. As a result, the Qing Dynasty’s management of Taiwan became more aggressive as it promoted development of infrastructure such as electric cables and railways, stronger governance of the indigenous Taiwanese, and strengthening of the administrative system by establishing Taiwan Province.

8. Furthermore, the Qing Dynasty prohibited import of iron products and the casting of iron tools to prevent immigrants from privately owning weapons (Itoh 1993, 44).

9. The *Taiwan Current Population Statistics* survey was first carried out by the Provisional Taiwan Household Survey Division in 1905 and then compiled annually by the Secretariat Statistics Division from 1907 to 1916 and the Secretariat Survey Division from 1917 to 1931. For this paper, we used material in the collection of the National Archives of Japan.

10. This ratio remained unchanged throughout the period of Japanese rule, with Japanese being 3.05% and Han Chinese 96.49% in 1910, Japanese being 4.54% and Han Chinese 94.79% in 1920, and Japanese being 5.17% and Han Chinese 93.87% in 1931. Although the proportion of Japanese grew, this was mainly due to the excess number of Japanese moving to Taiwan compared to those leaving, while the increase in the number of Han Chinese was mainly due to natural increase as the number of births exceeded the number of deaths.

11. According to Masahiro Wakabayashi (2003, 128–130), the number of *waishengren* migrating to Taiwan after 1945 can reasonably be estimated to have been about 100,000 by 1955, based on the research findings of Tung-Ming Lee. Since the total population of Taiwan was just under 9.08 million in 1955, we may assume that approximately 10% were *waishengren*. According to “Century Population Statistics” by the Department of Household Registration, MOI, Taiwan’s total population in 1955 was 9,077,643.

12. Chobei Tanaka is known for purchasing the Kamaishi mine from the government and making it a successful business.

13. An incline is a device on rails connecting two points where there is a height difference. Motive power is used to move a cart to carry things and people.

14. However, it became difficult to realize the project in a short period of time given the land pollution caused by the limited land use for mining, and it was found that the cost to restore the incline would be enormous.

15. “They said they used to take incline to play in the water” (他們說以前他們坐INKURAIN去玩水) (interviewee B).

16. “I know to hear people who speak incline and hospital, I know that is people of Jinguashi, that it seems to be the same as the secret word” (我知道聽到會講INKURAIN會講BYOIN, 我就知道他是金瓜石的人, 那個好像是通關密語一樣) (interviewee A).

17. The concept of rooting and landing is not strong, and the concept of land is not strong enough (生根落地的觀念都不強, 跟土地的觀念都不夠強烈) (interviewee C).

18. The interviewees also talked about schools, but their narratives were limited to the schools they themselves attended, while the model reproduces the school constructed by the mining company during the period of Japanese rule.

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