

臺灣真實的「世界的遺產」

場域的保存與發展之平衡

撰文 | Mike Robinson (英國伯明翰大學文化遺產研究 教授、鐵橋谷國際文化遺產研究中心 主任)

譯者 | 邱鐘義 (自由譯者)

圖片提供 | 新北市立淡水古蹟博物館

導論：世界遺產的概念

在此篇短文中，我認為雖然聯合國教育科學和文化組織 (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, UNESCO) 所正式指定的世界遺產是一個十分重要的概念，但仍有其限制存在，特別是不應該阻止當地社群保護及確實利用其資產，儘管當地社群已經採用可持續經營的方式。此外，透過民族，甚至是民族主義的角度所看見的世界遺產和那些真正表現出跨國性的「世界的遺產」之間存在著一種緊張關係。臺灣的遺產現時仍被摒除於聯合國教科文組織所認定的世界遺產之外，正可以說明這種重要的跨國聯繫，超越了世界遺產／準世界遺產的基礎觀念。

對於國家、區域性及地方政府和廣大民眾而言，世界遺產這個觀念對其仍十分有吸引力。這個觀念源自於 1972 年 UNESCO 的「保護世界文化和自然遺產公約」，以「傑出的普世價值」為基準，這是個十分難以表達的觀念，具體的表現在一些超越了其所屬國或所屬地，而具有全球性意義的地點上 (建築物、紀念碑、文化景觀和自然遺產，或以上種種的組合)，且這種意義還必須透過各種措施來證明其真實性及完整性。申請世界遺產的過程是十分嚴格且耗時的，同時還涉及大量的財政資源。而若是一個地點被登錄為世界遺產，還需投入更多資源進行有效及持續性的管理維護及限制發展。(UNESCO 將不會提供援助，必須由世界遺產擁有者或當地政府機關承擔) 現在已登錄的世界遺產共有 1052 件，很難做出有普遍意義的權利要求，此外，還有部分人士認為，世界遺產名錄的過度擴張將會淡化其相對意義上的排他性。

Taiwan's Real Heritage of the World

Mike Robinson

Chair of Cultural Heritage, University of Birmingham

Director, Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage

Introduction: The Idea of World Heritage

In this short article I argue that while World Heritage, as officially designated by UNESCO, remains an important concept, it has its limitations. For instance, it should not prevent communities from protecting and indeed capitalising on their wider heritage assets, though in a sustainable manner. Further, there is a tension between World Heritage when viewed through a national, or it even nationalist lens, and heritage that demonstrates a true trans-nationality which should be understood as 'heritage of the world'. Taiwan's heritage, while outside of the UNESCO categorization, is able to demonstrate important trans-national linkages that transcend more grounded notions of potential World Heritage.

The concept of World Heritage continues to hold a fascination for national, regional and local governments and for a wider public. Emerging from the 1972 UNESCO 'Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage', World Heritage is based upon the idea of Outstanding Universal Value. This remains a very difficult concept to articulate but is effectively taken to be a demonstrable quality in sites (buildings, monuments, cultural landscapes and natural heritage, or a combination of these) that have global significance – significance beyond their national or regional importance – and, that this significance is in various measure evidenced through claims of authenticity and integrity. The process of applying for World Heritage Status is rigorous, time consuming and involves considerable financial resources. Furthermore once a site is inscribed, further resources are needed for the effective and sustainable management of the site (there is no funding from UNESCO so this is borne by the owners of said sites or by the appropriate government agencies). Development restrictions are put in place as well. Now that there are 1052 properties on the World Heritage List, claims for universal significance are difficult to make and it is argued by some that the very expansion of the list could have the effect of diluting its relative exclusivity.

There is no doubt that the label of World Heritage is viewed as a marker of distinction but it is important to understand the various motivations behind nominations and also the ways in which societies consume World Heritage Sites. The original purpose of the World Heritage Convention was to protect significant monuments from the processes associated with 'modernisation'. This remains the core purpose of designating World Heritage; however beyond this there have emerged a very different set of motivations and new expectations from World Heritage sites. Now states are looking very openly to



過多的遊客讓威尼斯恐遭世界遺產名單除名

毫無疑問的，世界遺產這個標籤被視為一種區分的標誌，但重要的是了解在申請世界遺產背後的種種動機，以及這個社會消費世界遺產的各種方式。《世界遺產公約》最初的目的是保護重要古蹟免受現代化開發進程的破壞，這點目前仍是指定世界遺產的核心目的。但除此之外，此際出現了一種完全不同的申請動機以及對世界遺產的期望。十分公開地，現今世界各國都在尋求登錄世界遺產，來促進地方及區域的經濟發展，主要是預期登錄新世界遺產將會帶來的觀光人潮及帶動經濟成長。然而，目前許多世界遺產早已經是觀光客「必看」的旅遊景點，根本不需要 UNESCO 將其登錄在世界遺產名錄中不吸引更多參觀者。事實上，標題案例研究也的確說明了世界遺產景點所面臨的旅客過多問題（威尼斯和中國大陸長城的部分地段是很知名的例子），但這些地方早在被指名為世界遺產之前就已經是重要的觀光景點了。更進一步地說，被指名為世界遺產並不一定保證能吸引更多的觀光人潮，在大多數的情況下，世界遺產的登錄對於觀光人數的影響並不明顯，景點的交通連結、基礎設施和行銷同樣是吸引遊客的重要因素。

如果我們接受這樣的一個前提，即並非世界上每一個遺產地都能依據《世界遺產公約》條款得到聯合國教科文組織的承認，同時如果我們也承認所察覺到的觀光和發展利益不如地方所預期時，就會產生一個關於世界遺產意義的問題，特別是對那些地方社區而言，他們一方面希望保留和地方認同息息相關的遺產，但另一方面又試圖謹慎小心的利用這些遺產為他們創造可

World Heritage Sites to be the catalysts for local and regional economic development, mainly through an anticipated rise of tourist numbers and new cultural heritage led economies. However, many World Heritage Sites map directly onto already well-established 'must-see', tourist attractions and so are not in need of UNESCO listing to generate more visitors. Indeed headline case studies do illustrate the problems of excessive tourist pressure on World Heritage Sites (well-known examples are Venice and parts of the Great Wall of China), but these were important tourist destinations prior to designation. Furthermore having World Heritage status does not guarantee attracting more tourists and in the majority of cases designation does not appear to affect visitor levels significantly with many other variables at work, including site access, the quality of supporting infrastructure and the effectiveness of marketing.

If we accept the premise that not every heritage site in the world is able to achieve UNESCO recognition under the terms of the World Heritage Convention, and if we acknowledge that the perceived tourism and development benefits may not meet local expectations, then it raises a question about the meaning of the World Heritage category, particularly for local communities who wish to maintain their heritage as it connects with their local identity, but who also seek to benefit from prudent and sensitive utilisation of heritage and the possibilities it offers for sustainable economic development. Whatever category heritage is placed in, be it 'world' or 'national', it can be used to drive local economic prosperity and provide a viable alternative to other forms of modern development. Heritage based tourism, if properly planned and managed, can stimulate local businesses and entrepreneurship and it should focus the minds of those who may seek World Heritage status and encourage them to reflect upon alternative strategies of recognition that will allow for site protection, but also the possibilities of sustainable economic development. Such strategies are likely to connect well with notions of local identity and community engagement, though they may be less constrained in terms of development options and are just as likely to attract tourism if conditions are favourable. And while some sites may technically not have outstanding universal value, they are still able to demonstrate genuine and important trans-national connections.

Taiwan and the Realities of World Heritage Exclusion

Despite Taiwan being outside of the United Nations, and as such not able to be a signatory of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, it has ingeniously developed its own system of recognising heritage that 'could' have claims to having 'outstanding universal value'. Since 2002, and broadly mirroring the UNESCO process, Taiwan has elaborated its own list of 'potential' World Heritage Sites. This currently comprises eighteen sites across the island that have undergone assessment broadly following the UNESCO World Heritage criteria. It is highly debatable that all of these listed sites would be able to achieve actual World Heritage designation, if Taiwan was ever going to be able to re-join the United Nations and ratify the UNESCO World Heritage Convention. But while we can, in part, accept the symbolic benefits of global recognition that Taiwan would gain through being able to have some of its sites on the World Heritage List, we do need to examine what happens at these sites in the meantime.

持續發展的經濟利益。不論將這些遺產放在「世界」或是「國家」的層級來看，它們都可以用來推動地方經濟繁榮，並且提供除了現代化發展外的另一個可行選項。如果規劃和管理得宜，基於這些遺產所發展的旅遊業可以刺激地方的企業及創業精神，並且應該聚焦那些心繫世界遺產地位之人的想法，鼓勵他們思考取得世界遺產資格以外的另一種策略，一種可以同時兼顧遺產保護及持續性經濟發展可能性的策略。這類的策略可能可以妥善的結合地方認同和社區參與，在發展限制上受到較少的拘束，同時若是條件有利的話，也可以吸引旅遊業。某些遺產點或許在技術上不具有「傑出的普世價值」，但仍能顯示出其真正且重要的跨國聯繫性。

臺灣與其被摒除在世界遺產之外的現實

雖然臺灣目前不是聯合國的會員國，因此不能成為聯合國教科文組織《世界遺產公約》的簽署國家，但臺灣仍自行發展出一套屬於自己的系統來認定「可能」具有傑出普世價值的遺產點。自 2002 年起，臺灣仿效 UNESCO 的做法做出屬於自己的「潛在」世界遺產名單。這份清單包含全臺 18 個依照 UNESCO 世界遺產標準所選出的潛力點，雖然如果在未來的某一天，臺灣能夠重新加入聯合國並簽署世界遺產公約，這些潛力點是否真能被登錄為世界遺產仍屬未知之數，但我們現在可以接受部分臺灣可從這些潛力點登錄在世界遺產名錄中的象徵性好處，即全球性的承認，在此同時我們必須審視在這些潛力點所發生的事件。

臺灣這份世界遺產潛力點名單帶來的一項重要副產品是對島上遺產普遍意識的提升。這種高調的運動有助於不斷提升臺灣遺產許多面向的意識，以及社區對於遺產點的活動參與，當然，這些提升還有許多其他的因素在內。這些反映在過去十年來，越來越多的國內遊客參觀這些遺產點，以及臺灣地區博物館數量和種類的迅速增加；更重要的是，越來越多人意識到這些遺產點同樣可以在更廣泛的經濟活動上扮演重要角色。後面這點對臺灣許多遺產點是一項巨大的挑戰，這些遺產點仍面臨快節奏經濟發展帶來的威脅，這些現象很明顯出現在臺北、高雄、臺中等都會區，在周邊城市地區也開始慢慢增加。

臺灣認同在表達上常引發問題，但遺產不論是有形或無形的形式，都將其認同投射到世界各地發揮關鍵性的作用。人們可以說被 UNESCO 正式承認的世界遺產有助於臺灣全球形象的提升，但有些東西並不需要這種證明，且這種事情看來短期內並不可能發生。但只要對這座島的遺產有最粗淺的了解，就可以發現這座島嶼作為理解與世界其他地區多層連結中心點的地位及其作用，以及其被納入一個更廣泛的持續發展議題的潛力。

An important by-product of Taiwan's Potential World Heritage initiative has been to raise general awareness of the island's heritage. While there are other factors at work, the high profile campaign has contributed to an ever-increasing awareness of, and community engagement with, the many dimensions of Taiwan's heritage. This is reflected in increasing numbers of domestic tourists visiting heritage sites and attractions, a rapid rise in the number and variety of Taiwan's museums over the past decade and, importantly, a growing realisation that heritage also has a role to play in the wider economy. This latter point opens up a great challenge in many parts of Taiwan, as heritage remains under threat from the normative processes of fast-paced economic development. This is manifests clearly in the centres of Taipei, Kaohsiung, Taichung etc. but also increasingly in more peripheral urban areas too.

Taiwan's identity is often problematic to articulate but heritage, in both its tangible and intangible forms, has a critical role to play in projecting its identity to the rest of the world. One could argue that UNESCO recognised World Heritage Sites would be helpful in raising the global profile of Taiwan but this is not axiomatic and moreover it is unlikely to occur for some time. However, even a cursory understanding of the island's heritage reveals its role as a focal point for understanding multi-layered connections to different parts of the world, and also its considerable potential to be incorporated into a wider sustainable development agenda.

Heritage of the World Rather than World Heritage

Taiwan's heritage reflects its multiple, complex and often conflicting identities, but also its networks of relationships with the rest of the world. The range of heritage resources in Tamsui alone reveals the historic role of the whole island in the production and trade of natural resources and, more recently, manufactured and processed goods. As with any port city, Tamsui is marked by a rich cosmopolitan heritage but it is also subject to intense development pressures in the course of maintaining its role as a trading hub. Its groupings of preserved buildings (Hongmaocheng Fort, Customs Officer's Residence, Hobe Fort etc.) speak of connections with Spain, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Canada, the USA, China and Japan. But also, though less obviously to some, does the 2011 restored Shell Warehouse, which was part of the wider regional Pacific strategic trade in oil. Of course, over the years these sites have changed their function and have taken on new values, but nonetheless they indicate the ways in which Taiwan was linked to global trade patterns.

These cultural heritage sites and many others across Taiwan demonstrate intimate and often forgotten connections with the rest of the world; maybe not forgotten by Taiwan but overlooked by a wider international community. Each site opens up its own series of memories and stories, not only in a local historical sense, but in a global way as well. Individually, collectively, and thematically, Taiwan's cultural heritage may never be officially designated 'World Heritage' but this should not prevent it from protection through official designation at a national level. There is inevitable debate as to what and whose heritage is worthy of marking, but being able to identify the place of heritage sites in a wider

做世界的遺產而非世界遺產

臺灣這些遺產點反映出其多元、複雜且經常彼此衝突的認同問題，同時也反映出其和世界其他地區的關係網絡。單單淡水周邊的遺產資源就可以顯示出整座島嶼在天然資源生產及貿易上，以及更現代的製造和加工產品上的歷史作用。就像其他的港口城市一樣，淡水擁有豐富的國際都會遺產，但在維繫其貿易中心地位的過程中也遭受到強大的發展壓力。淡水保存的建築群（紅毛城、前清淡水關稅務司官邸、滬尾礮臺等等）訴說著其與西班牙、荷蘭、英國、加拿大、美國、中國、日本各國的連繫。同樣的，雖然對某些人來說不甚明顯，但 2011 年修復的殼牌倉庫（原英商嘉士洋行倉庫）也是更廣泛的太平洋區石油貿易戰略的一部分。當然，隨著時間過去，這些地點的機能也有所改變，並被賦予了新的價值，這些都在在顯示了臺灣過去和世界貿易體系間的關聯。

這些文化遺產點和其他許多臺灣的遺產點一樣，都展現出它們和世界其他地區緊密卻又經常被遺忘的連結性，或許不是被臺灣所遺忘，但卻被更廣大的國際社會忽視。每一個這種遺產點都有屬於它自己一系列的記憶和故事，不僅是對其所在地的歷史而言，同時也在全球的脈絡之中，不論是單獨的、集體的、主題性的。臺灣這些文化遺產也許永遠不會正式被登錄為「世界遺產」，但也不應因此阻擋其被指定為國家級的文化遺產來保護。關於哪些和哪種遺產值得被指定保護無可避免會引發一番爭論，但是這種爭論能使這些遺產點在更廣泛的跨國背景下確認自己的定位，也能在保護和管理這些遺產時更有立論依據。

擁有世界遺產的名號並不代表此遺產點從此就可以免於經濟發展帶來的壓力以及持續性的管理與財政問題。在遺產本身的故事傳遞給更多觀眾時這個遺產點才能持續發展，而這部分必須取決於遺產點的管理者。在世界許多地方及臺灣都不能例外，文化遺產（包括世界遺產）的敘事都過分注重在科技性和歷史細節上，而忽略了遺產點本身在當時的世界中所代表的意義，以及其串聯過去、現在及未來的連續性。講述臺灣這些遺產點是如何和世界其他各地區連結的故事是一種重要的機制，以促進社區參與、吸引觀光客以及促使政治力參與其中。此外，這也是一種串連文化遺產和經濟發展模式的新思維，以期讓這兩者能更進一步合作。



紅毛城為淡水文化資產最主要代表

trans-national context can add to the arguments for their protection and management.

By simply having the label of World Heritage does not mean that a site avoids the pressures of economic development and/or on-going management issues, including finance. Heritage flourishes when its story is communicated to a wide audience, and this in part rests upon the managers of sites. In many parts of the world, and Taiwan is no exception,

the narratives of cultural heritage (World Heritage included) are over-technical and overly focused on historical detail rather than on the wider meaning of sites for the contemporary world, where continuities between past, present and future can be emphasised. Telling the story of how Taiwan's heritage links to the rest of the world is an important mechanism for community involvement, for attracting tourists and for much needed political engagement. Furthermore it also is a means of generating new thinking around connecting cultural heritage with models of economic development so that the two domains can better worktogether.

Notes

1. UNESCO. 1972. Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Paris: UNESCO Publishing.
2. Gravari-Barbas, M., Bourdeau.L. and Robinson, M. 2015. World Heritage and Tourism: From Opposition to Co-production. Chapter in: Gravari-Barbas, M., Bourdeau. L. and Robinson, M. (Eds) World Heritage, Tourism and Identity.London:Ashgate, pp.1-24.
3. Gravari-Barbas, M., Bourdeau.L. and Robinson, M. 2017 - forthcoming. Tourism at World Heritage Sites: Community Ambivalence. Chapter in: World Heritage: Global and Local Relations. London: Routledge. pp.1-17.
4. Huang, A. H.H. 2014. World Heritage in Reverse, International Institute for Asian Studies Newsletter, No.69, Autumn, pp.26-27.
5. Council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan. 2003. Introduction to Taiwan Potential World Heritage Sites.Council for Cultural Affairs.
6. Chang, C.Y. 2016. Analysis of the Spatiotemporal Transformation of Fort San Domingo in Tamsui, Taiwan, from the Perspective of Cultural Imagination. Chapter in: Brebbia, C.A., Echarrri, V, Clark, C. and Gonzalez Aviles, A. (Eds.) Defence Sites III: Heritage and Future. Southampton, WIT Press, pp.51-60.
7. World Heritage: Global and Local Relations, (with Maria Gravari-Barbas and Laurent Bourdeau), Routledge. In production, 2016.