

建設文明模範的安陽殷墟小屯村： 文化遺產、國族敘事與地方記憶*

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自從1899年王懿榮釋義甲骨文後，河南安陽小屯因是出土甲骨之處而有名。自20世紀以來一連串的考古發掘，不但使得安陽殷墟被標誌為中國考古學的發源地，當時發現甲骨的小屯也因此被編列入中國大陸歷史地理課本中。2006年安陽殷墟成功申報為世界遺產地，大規模的文化建設與地方整頓因應而生，小屯村在考古學的名氣讓當局決定保留村莊作為殷墟國家考古遺址公園。官方試圖在此打造中華文明的意象；然而在殷墟小屯村，官方的歷史敘事與地方居民的日常經驗似乎充滿矛盾。有別於象徵光榮的世界級文化遺產，建構當代華夏國族的基地，考古學概念中的中原文化發源地，地方居民如何在生活記憶中與考古遺址產生關聯？他們的生活因為遺產保護受到什麼影響？為打造殷墟國家考古遺址公園，原來遺址周邊的村莊正面臨被拆遷的命運，即使有幸保存下的村落，其經濟發展也受限。本文呈現官方各級政府的地方營造與在地的遺產價值間的觀念分歧，地方居民透過不同形式的嘲弄語彙來描述這個國家的重要考古遺址。本文將透過探討中國安陽殷墟考古遺址被打造成為世界文化遺產地以及參與現今建設殷墟遺址博物院的過程，來探討文化遺產作為商品的概念被製造與包裝在國家營造下所帶來的社會影響，與小屯村民在日常生活中如何實踐對空間與地方的特殊情感。

關鍵詞：文化遺產，地方營造，文化記憶，中國，考古

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Constructing An Exemplary Civilized Village in Xiaotun, Anyang Yin Xu:

Cultural Heritage, National Narrative and Local Memory

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After the archaeological site Anyang Yin Xu, China, became a World Heritage Site in 2006, changes occurred quickly in the surrounding villages without much in the way of preparation. Xiaotun village became well known after the discovery of Shang-period oracle bone inscriptions there in the late 19th century. This fame contributed to the decision to retain the village as part of the on-going construction of the Yin Xu National Archaeological Park by local authorities. Transforming an everyday living place into a national archaeological park has both national significance and global value, and all these spaces speak to the juxtaposition of different temporalities. This transition (i.e., from ruins to heritage site) results in the competition of temporalities in a given space containing historical values that are defined by the nation as well as being a site of memory for living inhabitants. The aim of state-led nationalism in China has been to bring 'civilization' and progress, but local villagers who have been displaced (e.g. Huayuanzhuang villagers) or who are fighting to remain in their homes (e.g. Xiaotun villagers) view the project negatively. Part of the reason for the villagers' dismay is the failure of tourism to bring economic prosperity. The competing sources of memory and identity have resulted in several parallel scales of failed adjustment—from central state and municipal governments to local farmers—to brand Anyang as tourist destination.

Drawing on ethnographic research, this paper investigates the life experience of Xiaotun villagers in the post-World Heritage era and the social impact of processes of heritage branding. I pay special attention to

the social impacts of the state-imposed projects of heritage branding and to local memories of place. I was surprised to find that the local villagers had complex feelings toward the museum, site and place. How do the local people understand the UNESCO concept of a national heritage site? How is nationalism imposed upon the local people and in what ways do they understand, interpret or resist national discourse? This account is the first to document the rapid changes in local village life near the Anyang Yin Xu archaeological site following its elevation to World Heritage status in 2006. This paper intends to share elements of cultural memory among the villagers, as well as to explore the top-down imposition of nationalism juxtaposed with local modes of resistance, interactions with national history and understandings of the UNESCO concept of a World Heritage site. The paper describes how the official desire to project a civilized image to the outside world is played out in the transformation of people's everyday lives. This research highlights clashes that have arisen in the process of making Yin Xu National Archaeological Park out of an idealized vision of national space. This clash is evident in the open conflict between local villagers' lack of interest in the national project and the failure of this particular facet of the national project to deliver sustainable heritage development.

Keywords: cultural heritage, civilization, place making, China, social archaeology
