

当代城市空间
异质空间
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TERRITORIES
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北京 - 米兰
当代城市的异质空间

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“城市生活:北京·米兰现场研究”国际城市设计研讨班

北京 2005年10月10日-24日
米兰 2006年07月07日-21日

北京工业大学建筑与城市规划学院
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中国电力出版社

**Beijing-Milan
Territories of discomfort in the contemporary city**

Chief editors: Maurizio Meriggi, Han Linfei

**Proceedings of the International Urban design Workshop
“Urban Life. Beijing and Milan case studies”**

**Beijing, 10-24 October 2005
Milan, 7-21 July 2006**

**Beijing University of Technology, College of Architecture and Urban planning
Milan Polytechnic University, Department of Architectural Design**

**Master in Architecture and Urban Planning
Beijing University of Technology**

**Doctorate in Architectural Composition
Doctorate in Architecture, Town planning, Living-space and Landscape Conservation
Milan Polytechnic University**

China Electric Power Press

Colophone

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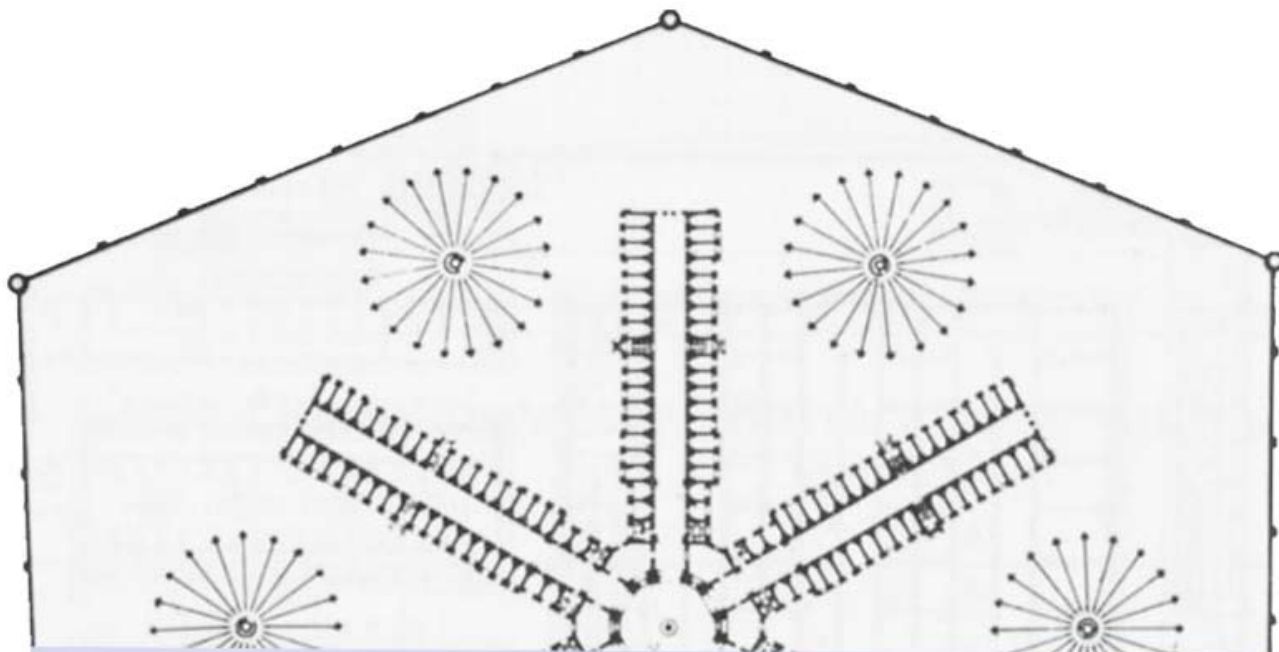
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M.麦瑞吉, 韩林飞

这次名为“城市生活：米兰—北京现场研究”的建筑与城市规划学术研讨班，参加成员包括米兰工业大学的博士研究生和北京工业大学的硕士研究生共计25名学生以及6名指导教师。它具有实验性，更具有挑战性。

这次调研会的实验性，体现为尝试结合两种截然不同的大学设计传统；事实上，它们如此不同，以至于在项目在为北京和米兰所具备的两种迥异境况做出共同的可行性的提议变得极其重要。

另一方面，这次调研会的挑战性，体现在对于设计提议的严格约束上：它必须建立具有多种选择可能性的策略和解决方法，而不是那些通常由市场提供、或由公众和大众传媒暂时认可的现象所提供的实践和解决方法。

这里我们提到的“大学传统”，并不是指一所或另一所学校在它们的历史进程（无论这历史是长还是短）中，被人认为已经形成的策略方法和固有典范；相反，我们之所以使用“传统”，是基于对学校中每天需要面对的真实情况的熟悉，以及针对那些情况的独有背景所捕捉到的问题。

就这一方面来说，作为年轻学校（如北京工业大学）所谓的惯性“传统”，迫切需要探索一种新的现代化形式，以便对抗目前令人眼花缭乱的快速经济发展¹；同时，对于米兰的学校来说，“传统”由两部分构成，其一是它对于意大利历史上一次又一次的，针对假设前提和发现事实之间复杂联系所做出的辩论的熟悉，其二是一种能够维持那段历史连续性的创新现代化的发明²。在这两种情况中，如果忽略全球化所带来的过度精简，于某种程度上最具有利害关系的便是这些城市的重要身份。

学术研讨班上提出的案例——北京的“城中村”，以及米兰历史上具有重要意义的圣·维多里（San Vittore）监狱——是被我们暂时描述为“异质空间”的一个代表。它们尽管差别巨大，却仍有一些普遍的共同特征：在现行实践中缺乏原始或特制的途径。

对于这两个案例来说——其一是对于毗连北京历史上重要核心地区的广大外围区域的改革，而这些重要核心地区近日被相关著作加以分类，并被称作“贫民窟”；其二是对于成为米兰中央建筑物重要组成部分的著名历史综合建筑的再利用，以及对于诸如监狱一类受到巨大功能制约的建筑物的再利用——现行实践提供了完全相同的解决方案：“拆迁”和“伪装”。这两者都是“删除”身份和记忆的另一种方式——以更大的经济利益、功能效率、城市“舒适”为名义的“删除”；或以一种自称的“现实主义”为名义的“删除”，这种自称的“现实主义”嘲讽式地争辩说：到目前为止，在现有条件下，没有任何留传下来的东西值得保存或

Maurizio Meriggi, Han Linfei

The architecture and urban design workshop “Urban Life. Milan-Beijing Case Studies”, which involved some 25 pupils and six teachers from research doctorate courses at Milan Polytechnic and the Masters course at the Beijing University of Technology, was designed as an experiment – and a challenge.

It was experimental in attempting to bring together two very different university traditions of design; so different, in fact, that working out a joint practical proposal for two such diverse situations as those of Beijing and Milan was a considerable tour de force.

The challenge, on the other hand, was provided by an absolute constraint on the design proposal: that it should identify alternative practices and solutions, not those usually on offer either from the market or in the visions that currently have the sanction of public and mass media judgement.

What we mean here by “university tradition” is not so much a method or an established model of practice which the one school or the other is supposed to have developed in the course of its history (short or long); rather, we use “tradition” in the sense of familiarity with the real situations we find ourselves facing every day in each of our schools, and that situation’s problems which we tackle against their own background.

In this sense, then, “tradition” for the younger school (that of Beijing) amounts to its customary situation urgently needing to invent a form of modernity to cope with the present dizzying economic development¹; whereas for the Milan school “tradition” consists of its familiarity with the issue of the complex relationships between the assumptions and discoveries which history brings up again and again in Italy and the invention of an original modernity capable of maintaining some continuity with that history². In both cases what is in some sense at stake is these cities’ very identity, in the face of the over-simplifications offered by globalization.

The themes tackled in the workshop – an “urban village” in the case of Beijing, and in Milan’s case the historic San Vittore prison – are ones we tentatively describe as “territories of discomfort”. In spite of the enormous differences between them, they both offer common denominator: the absence, in current practice, of any original or tailor-



An urban pattern in one building

Beijing
Forbidden City. Repetition of courtyards
complexes at different scale in one great
building of regular grid.

一个城市形态的建筑

北京
故宫，在规则网格限定下以不同规模
的庭院群组成一个“巨型建筑”

维护，因为那些值得这样做的东西已经全部遗失了。
“拆迁”，在“十里河村”的项目中来说，意味着通过破坏和重置那些具有平淡无奇的共管区域的土地来对“城中村”原始特性进行本质改变，同时还意味着随之产生的分流，即是指将原始居民转移到别的地区。这些提供给我们、需要我们理解的东西已经在北京的某些重要区域发生了：推土机已经开始运作，将我们不久以前仍然重视的建筑物铲平。

对于监狱来说，它意味着将其作为远离城市居民建筑和再生建筑的公共机构进行移除，代之以在城市之外的穷乡僻壤非居住地建立更新的以及大概更舒适而更有效的设施。倘若将监狱群体从这种为了特定目的而建造的教养所中驱除，那么建筑物将有能力改变单一的功能而成为另一种场所——比如说博物馆。在这种最根本的提议下，圣·维多里——一座十九世纪建筑史上的纪念碑——将被毁坏，而它所在的地点也将被退让给日益侵袭中央地区的、饥渴的投机事业。这个提议直到现在都在米兰地区引起争论。

因此，我们应该重视这两个案例所共有的微妙线索：怎样保存和使用那些虽代表我们城市身份、却无法适应发展以满足房产地项目需要的地理区域和纪念性建筑？

这次调研会所设计的方案旨在找寻一个根本的技术性答复，不是任何意识形态或道德说教姿态的事物，而是单纯对那些由市场或最新建筑学争论所提供的多选择路线进行评估。

主题和方案

对定居在那儿的两个群体所遭遇到的“不舒适和不亲切”³的重视，产生了存在于两个案例之间的可能联系，而除这种可能的联系以外，居住在监狱中的群体——极度的拥挤并不是复兴的手段，而是作为一种惩罚的方式存在——另一个处于“城中村”里的群体，生活在贫民窟使人能够忍耐的最低限度中，两个案例之间的比较引起调研者的思索，而这思索不仅涉及到这些群体所引发的社会问题，更涉及到城市规划在变化方案中的概念难关。

从这两个案例独有的特殊性质开始，调研会试图突破纯粹的功能限制，并确立新的建筑样式和解决模式，以此可以窥见：我们城市的规划在未来可能会比现有状况更脱离那种廉价商品部门的风味——像米兰和北京那样——在新的国际样式的成功典范中⁴。

城中村

让我们从改变“城中村”的主题入手。

我们此处所提出的关于研究地段原始性征的文章，以及北京“城中村”⁵的详细资料，为这一地区与近日著作中所定义的“贫民窟”⁶之间的真实差别提供了证据。

我们现下拥有的，正如作者所指出的，是一种近日由城市和乡村结合所带来的居住地，而在西方世界，这种城市和乡村的结合已经是很久以前的事情了；在这种居住地中，原始的半城市、半乡村居民被新的从乡村而来的移民群体取代（并且他们通常从同一个地区而来）⁷，而这种取代至今仍然具有重大意义。尤为显著的是，在这里的个案研究中，原始的半乡村居住地处于商业区、二手市场和古玩市场的近旁，而这些地方如今成为了城市性甚至全国性的重要区域。这两者的结合引起了两种事物之间独特的联姻，其一是充斥着自建乡村小楼的非正式居民区（主要为居住性质，正

如“乡村”所表达的严格意义), 这些小楼往往只有一层, 最多也只是两层; 其二是作为中国一些省份驻京办的大型塔楼宾馆, 以及真正的商业贸易集市、仓库与特殊的市场的联盟体。

如今任何一个读到这样的画面描述的意大利人在脑海中直接反映出的情况, 不是城市外围的普通地形⁸, 而是中世纪的威尼斯城中, 围绕瑞阿尔托(Rialto)的市场聚集成片土耳其与德国大商店的场景。而北京这个区域实际上采取楔形小城镇的形式, 像很多其它的同类一样, 深入到北京城市/乡村群落交错区的部分建筑物中。每一个这种微型城市到最后都能提供十万居民, 其中一部分人口居住在“贫民窟”的普通建筑中(或至少居住在一个地区的非正式建筑物中), 另一部分人口居住在办公用玻璃幕墙摩天大楼和住宅塔式大楼中⁹。根据某些评估表明, 至少三分之一的中国国内生产总值(GDP)从以下两方面产生, 其一是较大城市中这种类似于“城市乡村”的非正式设置, 其二是从正在都市化的原有乡村领土中脱颖而出的“新城”, 这一都市化的过程从沿海地区开始, 如今已经发展到内陆。

许多西方学者对这种实验性质的迁移抱有极高希望——主要是指对于那些原本是乡村或半农业规划地区的城市尺度的某些方面所进行的迁移, 比如城市乡村。然而, 到目前为止, 研究这种现象的人群主要局限于社会学家和城市地理学者¹⁰, 而与之相关的建筑文化研究实在是凤毛麟角, 至少从那些用西方语言出版的著作中可以看出这一点¹¹。

依照一些美国学者的观点来说, 在乡村中的城市迁移和与之相反的行动有助于提升人类居住地的模式, 这些人类居住模式在世界历史上是空前的, 至少在经济学和人类学方面是空前的¹²。

基于这种思路, 三个意大利/中国研究小组在北京工业大学于2005年10月组织的北京学术研讨班中处理这个课题, 并从普通的途径入手, 探讨了三种不同的方法。

中国的读者不要惊讶于发现在这个课题中, 存在文献上的依赖以追忆那种表现出第一代现代运动建筑师研究特色所采取的主题和方法。这条途径之所以被米兰的学校采用, 原因有二, 其一是米兰的学校教师对国际现代运动中的大师和领导者十分熟识(甚至亲自同他们有过接触), 其二是大量针对那些活跃于意大利与其他欧洲国家的前卫派大师及其后人作品的调查研究都在学校中进行。

同样, 人们也不应该惊讶于项目对城市的外貌、历史、形态学、分类、建筑、纪念性建筑的特征投注了特殊的关注; 因为它可能是米兰的建筑院校在国际建筑舞台上最著名的一点。

关于三个课题的详尽细节, 同样要指出的是: 在西方城市的历史上, 从中世纪开始, 外围便已经成为新的社会和经济行为形式发展的地点¹³; 而在近代历史中, 只有这些真正的外围(特别是那些具有工业性质的)才被革新类型发展的前卫建筑研究特别调查过¹⁴。

有了这些事实作为背景, 本次学术研讨班所规划的项目试图通过提供解决方案来寻找简单改变十里河地区“城中村”特征的多种方法, 而对于解决方案的提供, 主要针对如何在保持低密度的前提下, 通过使其与当地的市场、小型制造商业、社会和医疗服务相结合来保持社会化和功能化混合。更胜于着意提出可能的解决方案, 这三个课题将它们的任务视为一连串能够带来机遇的研究。它们旨在说明丰富的北京建筑文化遗产是怎样适应新的城市和新的建筑样式的发展, 无论是重要的历史建筑胡同, 还是伟



Articulated urban pattern

Beijing
West central area. Repetition of
courtyards complexes at different scale
mingled in a courtyard tiny urban tissue.

整体、连续的城市形态

北京
中心区西部, 不同规模的庭院群混
合在一起, 构成了微小的城市组织



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made approach.

For both these subjects – the transformation of the extensive peripheral areas adjoining the historic nucleus of Beijing, which the literature at present categorizes as “slums”, or the recycling of historic building complexes that form part of the central fabric of Milan and labour under powerful functional constraints such as being a prison – current practice offers the self-same solution: “removal” and “disguise”. Both are forms of “obliteration” of identity and memories in the name of greater economic advantage, functional efficiency, and urban ‘comfort’, or in the name of a self-proclaimed “realism” which cynically argues that by now, in its present condition, there is nothing left to conserve or to preserve, that all is already lost.

Removal, in the case of the “Shilihe village”, means the physical removal of the original characteristics of a ‘countryside in the city’ by demolition and re-settlement of the land with run-of-the-mill condominium boxes, and the consequent shunting of the original inhabitants to areas further out. This is what we are given to understand is already going on in the very section of Beijing studied here: the bulldozers have already removed the fabric that was our subject-matter only a year ago.

For the prison, it means removal as an institution away from the living fabric of the city and building anew, with more up to date and presumably more comfortable and functional facilities sited out of town in one of the “unplaces” of the hinterland. With the prison community banished from this purpose-built penitentiary, the building would then become available for conversion to some other function – a museum, for instance. Under the most radical proposals, San Vittore – an architectural monument of the XIX century – would actually be demolished, so that the site could be given over to the hungry speculation that stalks our central areas. This is what is even now being proposed, in the ongoing debate in Milan.

And so we come to appreciate this subtle thread that the two cases have in common: how are we to conserve and use areas and monuments which form part of our cities’ identities but are hard to manage in terms of advantage to the real-estate operator?

The projects designed in this workshop sought to give a reply that was primarily a technical one, far from any ideological or moralizing stance whatsoever, but simply seeking to evaluate alternative paths to those offered by the market or in current architectural debate.

Functional polarization in the city

Milan

The Cathedral (C) and its square and the Great Hospital (H) in typologies clearly identified in the urban space and distinguished by the surrounding mixed tissue.

城市中的功能极化

米兰

大教堂 (C) 和它的广场，以及大医院 (H)，在城市空间和周围的城市肌理中可以清晰地地区分出它们的建筑类型

The themes and the projects

Beyond the possible associations between the two subjects that might stem from a recognition of the “discomfort and unhomeliness”³ suffered by the two communities housed there, the one in prison – so overcrowded as to be a source of *punishment* indeed, rather than an instrument of rehabilitation – and the other, in its “urban village”, living

in conditions so near the edge of what is bearable as to make it a very slum, the comparison between the two subjects invited the workshop to think not only beyond the social problems raised by these communities but particularly consider the conceptual problem of urban design in a conversion project.

Starting with the peculiar characters of each of the two subjects, the workshop sought to break through purely functional limitations and identify new architectural forms and settlement patterns offering a glimpse of how the design of our cities might in future smack less of the bargain basement than what is presently on offer – for Milan and Beijing alike – in the shiny models of the new international style.⁴

Urban village

Let us start with the theme of converting the “urban village”.

The essays presented here on the original characteristics of the Study Area and the Beijing-specific issue of the “urban village”⁵ bear witness to the substantial differences between this area and what the current literature defines as a “slum”.⁶

What we have here, as the authors point out, is a kind of settlement that has arisen just recently from a coming together of city and countryside which in the Western world belongs in the distant past; where there is still a considerable significance to the community approach of the original half-urban, half-rural inhabitants, overlaid by a new community of migrants from the countryside (and usually from the same region).⁷ In particular, in the case study dealt with here, the original half-rural settlement found itself next to a commercial area of second-hand markets and antique-sellers which has by now grown to city-wide or even nation-wide importance. The combination of the two gave rise to a fairly unique marriage between an informal residential settlement of self-built or community-built village buildings on one or at the most two storeys, mainly residential (the “village” strictly speaking), side by side with big, turreted “hotels” acting as representations of particular regions of China, real merchant warehouses aligned with those regions’ particular markets.

Now any Italian reading the description of such a picture will immediately be put in mind, not so much of the *generic landscape*⁸ of an urban periphery but of medieval Venice with its Turkish and German warehouses gathered around the market of Rialto. But this Rialto of Beijing actually takes the form of a small town wedged, like many others, into part of the fabric of Beijing’s urban/rural ecotone. Each of these micro-cities has in the end come to accommodate a population of as many as 100,000 inhabitants, some in the horizontal fabric of a “slum” (or at least a settlement of informal buildings), others in glass skyscrapers of offices and in residential tower blocks⁹. According to some estimates, at least one third of China’s GDP is in fact generated



Functional polarization in the city

Florence

The Cathedral (C) and the Hospitals (H1,2) in typologies clearly identified in the the urban space but mingled in the surrounding tissue.

城市中的功能极化

佛罗伦萨

大教堂(C)和医院(H1, 2)，在城市空间中可以清晰地区分出它们的建筑类型，但它们都混合在周围同样的城市肌理中

大的能作为历史遗存的纪念性建筑，同时包括的，还有作为城市地形面貌一部分的建造规则，无论这城市地形的规模是大还是小，无论它处于历史古城还是现代都市。

圣·维多里圆形监狱

处于米兰的一块被认为占主导地位的区域被选中用于建造圆形监狱，这个区域正处在建于十六世纪、毁于二十世纪初的防御工事圈内。正如文章¹⁵中提供的记录所述，我们可以用两种完全对立的观点来解读这个地区。

从地形学的角度看，这是一种处于核心的“内边缘”。准确地说，这无疑是一个功能性场所，就像在城市工业扩张第一阶段时的监狱建筑或屠宰场；而从另一方面，即建筑物的特征角度看，现今这个地区与一些中世纪和文艺复兴时期十分重要的纪念性建筑群(圣·安布洛吉奥教堂(Santo Ambrogio)建筑群，以及存放达·芬奇《最后的晚餐》的圣·玛利亚感恩教堂(Santa Maria della Grazie)和修道院)相毗邻，共同形成了城市中心的一个完整部分。毫无疑问，圆形监狱的存在本身就是一座十九世纪建筑学界的纪念碑¹⁶。

需要指出的是，在研究小组中，参与者们都毫无保留地评说了米兰以及其他一些意大利城市(威尼斯、佛罗伦萨和帕维亚)：与收容所一样，监狱建筑拥有一个以大型的市民公共机构为特性的纪念性型制，将其从环境中区分并突显出来；而且，作为建筑的完整体系，监狱还担当着促进城市有机化格局的角色。在米兰圣·维多里这样的环境中，这一点不仅决定了圆形监狱在起源于中世纪并作为司法行政部门用地的建筑群中以及城市中心大教堂前的位置——就像学生们在米兰和帕维亚见到的“市政厅”风格建筑的例子——同时也决定了监狱中的一个独立且清晰可辨的建筑物的位置。

简单地说，我们可以看到建于1872年—1879年的圆形监狱是如何沿着历史上著名的城市中心的外边界呈环状分布在若干同时期市民建筑设施周围的。这些社会机构(监狱、感化院、公共浴室、贫民所、孤儿院等)，以及各种各样的服务性建筑物(屠宰场、粮食市场、火车站等)，共同在城市(仍然有城墙包围着)和已有的城外核心区域之间形成了最初的连接¹⁷，这一连接地带处于城镇和乡村的过渡区中，被称为“城中村”。一方面这部分公共机构和公共建筑在确定工业城镇风光及其组成的等级秩序中扮演了基础性的角色；另一方面，它们作为工业用地形成和发展的关键发挥着自身的作用。

现今，尽管在城市基础性工业的逐渐拆除(一个早在二十世纪70年代就开始的工程)之后，即工业化早期阶段，监狱和其他市民公共机构被突显出来，但最终还是被主要的居住性建筑所包围。它们取代了之前的工业景观，并在早期工厂的历史中留下不容忽视的印记。由于居住建筑规模的不断扩大，从周围建筑中脱颖而出的建筑设施如今虽依旧完好，却几乎从城镇景观中消失不见了。

尽管如此，当着眼于米兰的中心区域或者它周围众多的次中心区域时，我们还是可以发现，城市模式的形成，是对属于多种政权制度、各个时期以及不同建筑语汇的建筑物之间的相互关系进行了深入思考和反复斟酌的结果。所以这种经深思熟虑后的相互联系并没有受到城镇景观特征改变的影响，圣·维多里监狱就

是一个例子。

看到这些情况后，研讨班中参与这个项目的三个中国/意大利工作小组于2006年7月在米兰工业大学建筑设计学院成立，通过实验来发展三个不同的解决办法，设法从中寻找能使同时具有纪念性特征和不协调功能的监狱建筑群与城市之间合理融合的策略。

这个计划是在希望圣·维多里监狱向低戒备的刑事拘留中心转变的活动号召的基础上进行的，转变后这里将拥有适合于引导狱中服刑人员重新开始一段有价值的劳动生活所需的各种设施¹⁸。

为了完成这些任务，这三个小组主要致力于对监狱机构中圆形监狱形式的研究，设法寻找改变圣·维多里监狱复合式布局中单独部分的可能性。圣·维多里监狱的复合式是这样的：场地中心有一个带圆形屋顶的建筑，男性牢房部分的建筑平面为巴西利卡式，两侧有用于刑事拘留的耳房，另一个拥有庭院的建筑作为女性牢房部分，入口部分则是一座穹顶式的建筑物，周围还有带通道和塔楼的围墙。

在重新组织这些部分的过程中，考虑到监狱具有更近一层的重要性，每一部分都得以重新设计和分类，之前提出的三个方案展示了监狱建筑群向城市开放的不同程度：其中一个方案计划将围墙完全展开——重新决定圆形监狱的布局，释放所有的立面，在公园区安排一个新的基地；另一个方案为局部开敞式——涉及到周围的一些城市建筑物，并将圆形监狱引入这些重新安排的建筑物中；第三个方案旨在维持整个由复合式监狱组成的建筑群，将监狱的某些部分扩大至周围区域，以求创造一种大尺度的集合体。

在整理监狱建筑群每一个单独部分与周围城市环境间关系的工作中，解析方法的运用是必要的；但同时又应该综合地看待问题，即在遵守显著的等级性和象征性的原则下重新安排其各个部分——我们详细地认识到中国城市设计的方法，这是一种为创造大型的、有机的建筑群(皇帝的宫殿、宗庙、城市景观)，以深入探究中国建筑学悠久历史经验以及近代工业和后工业城市的经验为本质的方法。然而，这种方法又是通过应用参观意大利城市时注意到的原则重新安排组成部分表明的。下面这一个例子将说明这一切：对比米兰奥斯派达来·马吉奥(Ospedale Maggiore)的大型建筑与佛罗伦萨圣·安努齐亚塔(S. Annunziata)广场的育婴院建筑群，在米兰的例子中，柱廊、庭院、教堂和育婴院耳房组成了一个封闭的、统一的建筑群，并形成了一个独特的城市街区，而在佛罗伦萨，相同的元素却被安排在城市网状街道系统的方格里。

未来的前景

这次经历的结果有力证明了由本次学术研讨班开始的交流沟通完全能够并且绝对应该持续下去：它为意大利学生和中国学生提供了一个宝贵的机会，使他们能够更深入地去理解专业的研究。

就目前的趋势来看，学术研究所应该做到的，是将自身同职业建筑师的现行实践、专业考试以及大众传媒所接受的看法相区分。

这里我们为未来的研究勾画了一幅大致的假想图景。

我们相信——矛盾不仅存在于选择大量无意识的描绘建筑类型和经济利润之间联系的通常练习中，更加存在于以“现实主义”的名义压制地区文化传统的愤世嫉俗的观念中，这些观念认为，地区传统文化仅仅是民间的传说，它无法应对疯狂的经济全

全球化¹⁹所带来的真正的“无家主义”(unhomeliness)——在北京和米兰这种重要城市中,存在着一种能够确保城市根基连贯性的对抗手段,一种即便在企图标准化和“高速都市化”的影响下也能够发挥作用的对抗手段。

在这次合作交流中,最为引人注目的部分在于:作为工作组出发点的“传统”,衍生出了在当前“全球化”语境中对于城市开发体制的重视。

正如这本书中接下来的斯特法诺·卡麦利(Stefano Cammelli)的文章²⁰所表明的那样,观点碰撞所产生的丰富交流对这些迥异城市的再现绝不亚于观察者对它们的研究和描述。

我们感觉到,如果从多种观点出发,并具有一系列的重点、不同传统和各种问题,那么对于如何对抗由全球化所引起的标准化的研究将更富有成效。

我们期待着在将来某天,一群中国的学者能够尝试草拟一份评论,用以描述表现当代意大利建筑学研究(尤其是米兰的建筑)特点的正面现代性的改革意见,我们同时也期待着意大利学者进行一次深入研究当代中国建筑现代主义根基的实践——正如一些年轻中国建造者指出的,这种实践将带来空前的盛状²¹。

注:

1. 参见本书《北京的城市规划与建筑》以及《居住改变城市:1980年代以来的北京城市裂变》
2. 参见本书《米兰》以及《时代与作品:米兰的本土建筑》
3. 术语涉及安东尼·维德勒(Anthony Vidler)在《建筑的离奇,现代异地主义评论》中的观点,出版社:麻省理工学院,剑桥(麻省),伦敦,1992
4. 关于米兰与北京在这一点的对比参见本书《米兰》篇
5. 参见本书《北京潘家园街区与十里河村的历史概况综述》《北京城中村状况分析及其改造探讨》
6. 参见麦克·大卫(Mike Davis),《贫民窟星球》出版社:Verso,伦敦,2006
7. 西方读者可以在樊杰和W·陶普曼(Wolfgang Taubmann)合著的《中国大城市中的流动人口聚居区》中找到详实的描写。发表于约翰·洛根(John R. Logan (ed.))主编的《新中国城市》一书,出版社:Blackwell Oxford/Malden Mass.,2002
8. 参见库哈斯(Rem Koolhaas)的《广普城市》出版社:OMA;以及与布鲁斯·毛(Bruce Mau)合著的《小,中,大,超大(S,M,L,XL)》出版社:The Monicelli Press, New York/010 Publishers, Rotterdam 1995.
9. 参见顾朝林等《北京社会极化与空间分异研究》,发表于《新中国城市》
10. 对于西方文学著作中对于中国城市转化的综合概览,参见约翰·弗瑞德曼(John Friedman)《中国的城市变迁》,明尼苏达(Minnesota)大学出版社,Minneapolis-London 2005
11. 试比较另一个有意思的项目:都市实践设计工作室对于深圳四个不同的“城中村”展开的设计项目,参见《村城城村》中国电力出版社,北京,2005。本书中《北京城中村状况分析及其改造探讨》一文中两张图片的出处。
12. 参见Gregory Eliyu Guldin (ed.)《别了,农耕的中国,20世纪末期的田园都市化以及社会变革》:G. E. Guldin,《农民何去何从?中国南方村庄变为城镇》出版社:Westview Press, Boulder Colorado/Oxford 2001.
13. 这一主题的文学作品很广泛。我们向中国读者推荐西方西方历史在这一议题上最为

知名的一位拥护者:史学家亨利·皮雷纳(Henry Pirenne),在他《中世纪城市》出版社:普林斯顿(Princeton)大学数版社,普林斯顿(Princeton)1952。(是他法文原著《Les villes du Moyen Age》Lamartin,布鲁塞尔1927,的英文译本)

14. 参见(只引用一部分研讨班中学生设计中涉及的案例)居赛皮·特拉尼(Giuseppe Terragni)1940年于科摩(Como)设计的“Cortesella”街坊公寓;L里希斯基(L. Lisickij)1923年在莫斯科中心区设计的“水平摩天楼”(Horizontal Skyscrapers);19世纪20年代后半期,为了满足法兰克福(Frankfurt)的人口增长,安斯特·梅(Ernst May)在尼塔河(Nidda)流域设计的居住区;以及同期,路德因西尔贝斯爱蒙(Ludwig Hilberseimer)对于“Groszstad Architektur”(大城市建筑)的图解。

15. 参见本书中《作为米兰通往弗切里的门户:圣·维多里监狱和科技博物馆的再审视、再连接及整合研究》一文。

16. 从G. 卡奈拉(Guido Canella)1969年所著的《监狱和建筑》(本书中附有全文)中,我们认识到,在西方,监狱作为一种建筑形式,其建设主旨经历了一段不寻常的发展。这一发展的核心就是18世纪圆形监狱设计的引入,这种在组织监房河庭院上的构造模式,来源于修道院的模式。文章通过举例说明监狱建筑形式变革带来的象征性、功能性和文化性上的贡献以及为每一种变化提供特色、前后相关的目的性的贡献,这种目的在规范型制中,使每一种机遇带来不同的变化。在研讨班中,Pellegrino Bonaretti 教授、nrico Bordogn教授以及米兰工业大学的博士研究生Micaela Bordin, Jose Luis Chaon, Marina Kopsida, Giovanni Maggioni, Elvio Manganaro, Chiara Occhipinti, Alberto Soci共同完成了《米兰以及监狱建筑文选》。这套丛书是继G. Canella先行组织的《西方文化下的监狱》之后的又一部文集,该部文集包括:J. Bentham,《T圆形监狱作品》(1791),编辑:M. Bozovic,出版社:Verso, London 1995; Helen Rosenau《监狱》in Id.,《建筑的社会意图. 巴黎于伦敦之比较1760-1800》出版社: Studio Vista/Verso, 伦敦1970; Michel Foucault,《Panopticism》in Id.,《纪律与处罚:监狱的诞生》(1975),出版社: Vintage Books, 纽约1995; Nikolaus Pevsner,《监狱》in Id.,《建筑类型的历史》出版社: Thames and Hudson, 伦敦 1976.

17. 这一定居地早在19世纪中期就已经存在并有人居住了,被称为“Comune dei Corpi Santi”,在其边远的镇区,比城市更多的人口居住于其中;并稳步上升直到19世纪30年代,与米兰城市行政整体合并。这个与内地贸易区通过运河、铁路、郊野电车紧密相连的居住区,成为19世纪末期以来城市的主要工业开发区。

18. 参见本书中《作为米兰通往弗切里的门户:圣·维多里监狱和科技博物馆的再审视、再连接及整合研究》一文。

19. 此处的判断并非是一种说教的成分。我们认为是非常有启发意义的,例如,前面提到的库哈斯(Rem Koolhaas)在其《广普城市》中对于当代城镇景观的观点和分析或《垃圾空间(Junkspace)》(发表于城市2/哈佛设计学院,《购物指南》出版社:Taschen, Cologne 2001);但是我们也认为,建筑学的学术研究需要与社会的现实问题相关联,去关注那些居住在“广普城市”和“贫民窟星球”中人们的不适。很明显,全球化的一个影响就是当代“怪诞”种类的建筑实践横行——参见安东尼·维德勒(Anthony Vidler)在《建筑的离奇》和《扭曲的空间:艺术,建筑和建筑实践中的焦虑》,麻省理工学院,剑桥、伦敦,2000;我们认为,一个建筑师的任务就是找出创新的解决方案以使得“区域不舒适”变得舒适。

20. Stefano Cammelli是意大利年轻一代的汉学家,当代历史学家。他的主要著作《北京的历史以及北京如何成为中国的首都》出版社: Il Mulino, Bologna 2004,以丰富的文献材料为依据,寻找从马可波罗时代到19世纪初期,对于中国首都那无数形容和描绘的序列,正是这些描述导致了对于这个城市与现实状况完全不符的绝对的神话化。

21. 在意大利,我们可以通过Laura Anna Pezzetti于2005年在帕尔马(Parma)举办的“建筑文化节”鉴赏这些建筑师的作品,不久安置于(2006年春) Faculty of Civil Architecture of the Polytechnic of Milan,并在其间出版了《拆装中国建筑.传统与变革:张永和,王澍,刘家琨,张磊》出版社: Libreria Clup,米兰 2006。

in such informal settings as these “urban villages” in the bigger cities and the “new townships” that have sprung up throughout the territory in a process of urbanization of the countryside *in situ*, a process that began in the coastal regions and is now spreading to the inland ones as well.

A number of Western academics have high expectations of these experimental transplants of aspects of the urban scale to areas with an originally rural or semi-rural layout, such as the urban villages. Nevertheless the phenomenon has so far been studied mainly by sociologists and urban geographers¹⁰, while studies of their architectural culture are extremely few and far between, at least in the literature published in Western languages.¹¹

According to some US academics these city transplants in the countryside and vice versa are giving rise to patterns of human settlement unprecedented in the history of the world, at least in economic and anthropological terms.¹²

With this in mind, the three Italian/Chinese working groups which tackled this subject in the Beijing workshop organised at the Beijing University of Technology in October 2005 explored three different avenues, though starting from a common approach.

The Chinese reader should not be surprised to recognize in these projects an almost philological recourse to reminiscences of themes and methods which characterized the researches of the very first generations of Modern Movement architects. This is an approach adopted by the school of Milan partly because many of its teachers are familiar with the masters and protagonists of the international Modern Movement (and indeed knew them personally), and partly because of the great amount of research and the many studies generated within the school on the work of the Avant-garde masters and the succeeding generations in Italy and various other European countries.

Nor should there be any surprise at the special attention paid to the city and its history, morphology and classification, the characteristics of its fabric and its monuments; for this approach is perhaps the one for which the school of Milan is best known on the international architectural scene.

Concerning this specific feature of the three proposals, it should also be pointed out that in the history of the Western city it has been the peripheries which, ever since the Middle Ages, have been the site of the development of new forms of social and economic behaviour¹³; and in recent history it is these very peripheries (the industrial one in particular) that have been especially studied by avant-garde architectural research for the development of innovative types.¹⁴

With this as background, the projects designed in the workshops sought to find alternatives to the simple removal of the “urbanised rural” characteristics of the Shilihe Village area, by offering solutions

aimed at keeping the social and functional mix by integrating it with the markets and small manufacturing businesses and with the social and hospital services present in the area, while still keeping a low density. Rather than aiming to propose possible recipes for a solution, the three projects saw their task as a series of investigations that could bring out the opportunities. They aim to show how fertile Beijing’s architectural and cultural heritage can still be for the development of the modern city and of new architectural types, from the historic fabric of its *hutongs* to its great monuments, and including the building regulations which are a feature of its urban landscape on both large and small scales, in the historic city as much as in the modern one.

The Panopticon of San Vittore

In the case of Milan, the choice fell on an area of the city which nowadays counts as central, inside the circuit of the XVIth century fortifications which were demolished only at the start of the XXth century. As shown in the chronicle offered in one of these essays¹⁵ the area can be looked at from two different – indeed opposite – viewpoints.

From the topographical point of view, this is a sort of “inner periphery”, inside the central nucleus; as such, indeed, it was the site of functions like the prison and the public slaughterhouse during the first stage of the city’s industrial expansion. From the point of view of its architectural quality, on the other hand, this area nowadays forms an integral part of the city centre, being close to some of the most important monumental complexes of medieval and Renaissance Milan (the Santo Ambrogio complex, and that of the convent of Santa Maria alle Grazie which houses Leonardo da Vinci’s *Last Supper*) – and indeed the presence of the prison, itself an architectural monument of the XIX century.¹⁶

One aspect must be pointed out, which the participants were able to observe directly on their visits during the workshop, including those to other Italian cities (Venice, Florence, and Pavia): prisons, like hospitals, took a monumental form characteristic of big civic institutions, differentiating them from and showing them off against their surroundings; at the same time they had a role in the organizing of the city as an architectural whole. This applies both where the prison is sited within a complex of medieval origin intended for the administration of justice and located in the city centre in front of the cathedral – as in the case of the “Broletto” type of building, examples of which the students saw in Milan and Pavia – and where the prison consists of a separate, clearly identifiable building, as in the case of San Vittore in Milan.

Simplifying somewhat, we may see how the San Vittore building, constructed between 1872 and 1879, takes its place alongside a number of contemporary civic installations located in a ring along the outer perimeter of the historic city centre. This consists of social facilities

(the prison, the workhouse, the public baths, alms houses, orphanages, etc.) along with various service structures (the slaughterhouse, the grain market, the railway stations, and so on), forming a primary connection between the city (still enclosed within its walls) and the archipelago of existing extramural nuclei¹⁷ regarded as “urban villages” in a transitional area between town and countryside.

On the one hand this set of institutions and public buildings played a fundamental role in defining the hierarchical order of the industrial townscape and its components; on the other, they functioned as growth points in the formation of the industrial settlement itself.

Today, even after the progressive dismantling of city-based industry (a process that began as early as the 1970s), the prison and the other civic institutions erected in the early stages of industrialization, were in the end surrounded by a mainly residential fabric which has replaced the industrial landscape and over-written the memory of the earlier factories. These still-existing facilities, having thus begun to stand out from the surrounding fabric, are today almost all vanished from our townscape because of the predominance of the residential building that has grown up around them.

When we look at the centre of Milan, or indeed at many of its semi-central neighbourhoods, we can nevertheless see how the city's pattern is the result of a deliberate and measured re-connection between architectural objects belonging to a variety of functional régimes, eras, and architectural languages. San Vittore prison is one case in which this re-connection with the altered character of the townscape has not taken place.

Looking, then, at this situation, the three Chinese/Italian working groups which tackled this subject in the workshop organised in Milan at the Department of Architectural Design of Milan Polytechnic in July 2006 worked experimentally to develop three different solutions, trying to find strategies that would ensure proper integration between the prison complex, with its monumental characteristics and its awkward function, and the city.

The designs were developed on the basis of a programme of activities calling for the conversion of San Vittore prison into a low-security penal detention centre with facilities for various kinds of activity suited to programmes for the inmates' reintroduction into the life of productive work.¹⁸

To achieve these objectives, the three groups worked mainly on research into the Panopticon type of prison facility, trying to test the possibility of converting the individual parts of which San Vittore's composite type is made: a central building with a dome, detention wings with a “basilica” plan for the men's section, a building with courtyards for the women's section, and a pavilion style building for the entrance, as well as the surrounding wall with its walkway and turrets.

In the process of reorganizing these parts, each of which was redesigned and reclassified in view of the new significance which the prison was to take on, the three alternatives produced show various degrees of opening the prison complex to the city: one involved opening up the surrounding wall entirely – repositioning the panopticon, liberated on all fronts and arranged on a new basis, in a park area; another a partial opening – involving part of the surrounding urban fabric, and inserting the panopticon into this reconfigured fabric; while the third aimed to maintain the entire set of architectural examples constituted by this composite-type prison, extending parts of the prison into the surrounding areas so as to produce a sort of large-scale citadel.

It is perhaps in this attitude – analytic, in that it tends to codify each individual part of the prison complex and of its urban surroundings, but at the same time synthetic in its rearrangement of the parts under a clear hierarchical and symbolic principle – that we may recognize the details of a wholly Chinese approach to urban design, an approach whose roots go deep into the millennia-long experience of Chinese architecture in creating big, organized complexes (imperial citadels, temples, cityscapes) as well as into the more recent experience of the industrial and post-industrial city. At the same time, however, this attitude was manifested here by applying principles for the rearrangement of component parts that had been observed in the Italian cities visited. One example will serve for all: the comparison between the huge building of Milan's Ospedale Maggiore and the complex of the various Hospitals gathered around the Piazza della S. Annunziata in Florence. In the Milanese case, porticoes, courtyards, churches and hospital wings are organised as a closed, unified installation which constitutes one particularly large city block, while in Florence the same elements are arranged within the grid of the city's street network.

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Prospects for the future

The outcome of this experience is a firm opinion that the exchange begun with this workshop can and should continue: it offers an opportunity for deeper understanding for both Italian and Chinese students through the preparation of specialist studies – PhD theses, for instance.

In our view, academic research ought to make its contribution by distinguishing itself both from the current practice of professional architects and from those critical visions which, having passed the test of institutional and mass media acceptability, have become the trends of the moment.

Here we sketch a scenario for future research.

We believe – contrary not only to standard practice which has opted for a largely automatic delineation of the relationship between building type and economic profit, but even more to the cynical outlook which in the name of “realism” annihilates local cultural traditions by

suggesting they are now mere folklore, incapable of dealing with the real “unhomeliness” produced by economic globalism run mad¹⁹ – that there is in the very DNA of cities like Beijing and Milan a kind of antidote that could ensure continuity with the city’s own roots, even given the fractures provoked by attempts at standardization or, even more, by “high-speed urbanism”.

The scenario we find particularly alluring here is one in which the comparison between “traditions” which this workshop has begun develops a greater awareness in both our institutions about the direction of the city’s development in the present climate of “globalization”.

As Stefano Cammelli’s essay²⁰ later in this book shows, the richness of the exchanges lies in the encounter of outlooks, producing as many images of these very different cities as there are observers studying and describing them.

We feel that the search for those antidotes to the standardization frequently offered us by globalization will be more fruitful if it starts from a variety of points of view, with a range of concerns, diverse traditions and different problems.

We look forward to the day when a group of Chinese academics seeks to draw up a critical review of the crusading attitude to modernity of facade which characterises contemporary Italian architectural research (especially in Milan), just as we look forward to an exercise in which a group of Italian academics delves into the Modernist roots of contemporary Chinese architecture – which, as some young Chinese master-builders have shown, can be particularly flourishing and prolific.²¹

NOTES

¹ On this, see this volume’s essays on *City Planning and Architecture in Beijing*, and *Houses Change the City. Beijing’s Urban Fission from the 1980s*.

² On this, see this volume’s essays on *Milan*, and *The Time and the Works. Milanese Architecture*.

³ This terminology is a conscious reference to Anthony Vidler’s suggestions in *The Architectural Uncanny. Essays in the Modern Unhomely*, MIT, Cambridge (Mass.) – London, 1992.

⁴ See the comparisons between Milan and Beijing on this point in this volume’s essay on *Milan*.

⁵ See this volume’s essays on: *The area of Beijing Panjayuan district and the Shilihe village; Discussion and analysis of the transformation of Urban Villages in Beijing*.

⁶ See Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums*, Verso, London 2006.

⁷ Western readers will find a full description of the phenomenon in the essay by Fan Jie and Wolfgang Taubmann *Migrant Enclaves in Large Chinese Cities* published in John R. Logan (ed.), *The New Chinese City*, Blackwell Oxford/ Malden Mass., 2002

⁸ Rem Koolhaas has offered a very effective description of this kind of landscape in *The Generic City*, published in OMA, Rem Koolhaas, Bruce Mau, S,M,L,XL, The Monicelli Press, New York/010 Publishers, Rotterdam 1995.

⁹ See the essay by Chaolin Gu and Haiyong Liu *Social Polarization and Segregation in Beijing*, in J. R. Logan, *The New Chinese City*, cit.

¹⁰ For a general overview of urban transformations in China as seen in the Western literature, see the John Friedman’s book, with extensive bibliography, *China’s Urban Transition*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis-London 2005

¹¹ Cf. the interesting projects produced by the Beijing group of architects URBANUS for four different “urban villages” in the city of Shenzhen, described in the URBANUS volume, *Village/City. City/Village*, www.cepp.com, Beijing 2005. This was the source of two pictures reproduced in the essay *Discussion and analysis of the transformation of Urban Villages in Beijing*.

¹² See: Gregory Eliyu Guldin (ed.), *Farewell to Peasant China. Rural Urbanization and Social Change in the late Twentieth Century*, M. E. Sharpe, New York/ London 1997; G. E. Guldin, *What’s a Peasant to do? Village becoming town in southern China*, Westview Press, Boulder Colorado/Oxford 2001.

¹³ The literature on this subject is very extensive; we commend to the Chinese reader one of the best-known supporters of this interpretation in Western history: Henry Pirenne, in his *Medieval Cities*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1952 (English translation of HP’s original French, *Les villes du Moyen Age*, Lamartin, Brussels 1927).

¹⁴ See (to cite only a few examples mentioned in the projects designed by the workshop students) Giuseppe Terragni’s design for the “Cortesella” neighbourhood at Como in 1940, or the design for “Horizontal Skyscrapers” by L. Lisickij for the centre of Moscow in 1923, the districts to accommodate Frankfurt’s growth in the Nidda valley designed by Ernst May in the second half of the 1920s, Ludwig Hilberseimer’s schemes for a “Groszstad Architektur” (“Big City Architecture”), also from the second half of the 1920s.

¹⁵ See the essay published in this volume on, *The Vercellina Gate, Milan*:

rehabilitation, re-connection, and integration of the San Vittore Prison and the Museum of Science and Technology.

¹⁶Reading the essay on *Prison and Architecture* by Guido Canella of 1969 (reproduced in this volume), we learn that the theme of the prison has had an exceptional development in the West from the point of view of building type. Central to this development has been the introduction of the panopticon device from the XVIII century onward, a constructional arrangement organised into cells and courts, derived from the monastery type. The essay offers one interpretation of the architectural problem by illustrating both the contribution of symbolic, functional and cultural motives in the development of the prison as a type and the contribution of context-linked motives which on each occasion caused particular variations in the canonical type to accommodate the characteristics of each development. On the occasion of the present workshop a fascicle entitled *Text Anthology on Milan and Prison Architecture* was produced by Professors Pellegrino Bonaretti and Enrico Bordogna and students working for the Research Doctorate in Architectural Composition at the Polytechnic of Milan: Micaela Bordin, Jose Luis Chacòn, Marina Kopsida, Giovanni Maggioni, Elvio Manganaro, Chiara Occhipinti, Alberto Soci. The fascicle is an anthology of essays following the pioneering one by G. Canella on *The Prison in Western Culture*: J. Bentham, *The Panopticon Writings* (1791), ed. M. Bozovic, Verso, London 1995; Helen Rosenau, *Prisons*, in Id., *Social Purpose in Architecture. Paris and London Compared, 1760-1800*, Studio Vista/Verso, London 1970; Michel Foucault, *Panopticism*, in Id., *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975), Vintage Books, New York 1995; Nikolaus Pevsner, *Prisons*, in Id., *A History of Building Types*, Thames and Hudson, London 1976.

¹⁷This settlement, already in existence by the mid-XIX century, was called the “Comune dei Corpi Santi” and housed, in its dozen or so suburban townships, a bigger population than the city within the walls; it grew steadily until the 1930s, when it was wholly incorporated within the Milan city administration. The settlement, closely linked with the hinterland by canal, rail, and suburban tram, was the site of the city’s main industrial development from the end of the XIX century.

¹⁸See the essay published in this volume on *The Vercellina Gate, Milan*, cit.

¹⁹The judgement expressed here is not a moralistic one. We regard as very illuminating, for instance, the considerations and analysis put forward by Rem Koolhaas on the characteristics of the contemporary townscape in his essays *The Generic City*, cit. or *Junkspace* (published in *Project on the City 2/ Harvard Design School, Guide to Shopping*, Taschen, Cologne 2001); but we also consider that academic architectural research must in some way tackle the social problem of the real physical discomfort of those who live in the “generic city” and the “planet of slums” (see Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums*, cit.). While it is now clear that one of the effects of globalization has been a windfall for the “uncanny” category in contemporary architectural practice – as investigated and illustrated by Anthony Vidler in his *The Architectural Uncanny*, cit. and *Warped space: Art, Architecture and Anxiety in Architectural Practice*, MIT, Cambridge/ London, c.2000 – we are of the view that one of architecture’s tasks is still somehow to find innovative solutions that can make the “territories of discomfort” comfortable, from every point of view.

²⁰Stefano Cammelli is a contemporary historian from the younger generation of Italian sinologists. He has written a major work, the *History of Beijing and How it*

Became the Capital of China, Il Mulino, Bologna 2004, in which, on the basis of an extensive bibliographical survey, he seeks to bring some order to the myriad descriptions of the Chinese capital from the time of Marco Polo until the early XIX century, which have resulted in some utter myths about the city, totally at variance with its reality.

²¹In Italy it has been possible to appreciate the quality of these architects’ work in the exhibitions organised by Laura Anna Pezzetti at the 2005 “Festival of Architecture” in Parma, later installed (Spring 2006) at the Faculty of Civil Architecture of the Polytechnic of Milan, on which occasion a catalogue was published entitled *Unpacking Chinese Architecture. Tradition and Transformation*. Yung Ho Chang, Wang Shu, Liu Jakun, Zhang Lei, (editor Laura Anna Pezzetti), Libreria Clup, Milan 2006.

边市民提供健康的社会气氛。公共市政设施欠缺和消防安全隐患是城中村必须面对和急需解决的基本问题。

但如果城市政府想通过城中村改造获取其优越区位，谋求这种区位所能衍生的巨额经济利益的话，就等于断绝了城中村的经济之源，同时对基于血缘、亲缘、宗缘、地缘的传统乡土社会造成了巨大的冲击。

城中村土地利用模式看似减少了城市土地集约利用的效益，但却发挥了政府目前所不能、市场力量所不愿的作用，即为大量城市流动人口提供了廉价住房，减缓或避免了类似于西方或东南亚、南美等地贫民窟的出现，社会综合效益明显。

城中村最重要的人不是可转制为城市居民的当地农民，而是数以十倍、百倍计的流动人口。为了城市体面或区位利益而端掉城中村的方式是粗暴的；只谋福利，尤其是为低收入流动人口的居住水平谋福利，这才应当是政府主导的城中村改造的根本出发点。

2. 城中村改造的可行模式——原位有机改造

尤其对位于中心城区的城中村，应通过改变其物质空间模式，实行“原位有机改造”，最终构建保证城中村村民及集体物业收益来源的空间系统，其关键是继续让其发挥为低收入流动人口提供住房的功能。

对于位于中心城区而周边商业繁荣且建筑质量较好的城中村，可以采取以下措施进行原位有机整改。

从改善间距、消防的角度，可以拆除其中25%-30%的住宅，使剩余的建筑都变成间距良好的沿街建筑，还可创造舒适的街道和庭院空间。整合商业铺面，缝合不必要建筑间距，使底层和二层作为完整连续的临街商业铺面，大大提升原建筑价值。植入积极的公共空间、公共功能，增加地下车库和绿化。连接不同高度的住宅屋顶，布置绿化和社区活动设施，使其成为住宅社区交往活动空间。适度挖掘城中村产业的地方特色，以提升城中村的民生条件，并创造一个有益于整体社会的良性文化（都市实践，2006）。

结语



城中村发展的根本取向是与城市融为一体，实现真正意义上的城市化。一些城市的改造实践也不断的证明这个过程是复杂的，长期的，我们不能试图通过简单的物质环境的改造来解决城中村问题，而应该更多的关注城中村社会、经济和文化等多方面问题，从而实现城中村的全面而真正的城市化。

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The poor construction quality and environment

城中村内的建筑质量和环境较差