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ESSAYS ON CONTRADICTORINESS OF ENTHUSIASM AND RECKLESSNESS IN URBAN LANDSCAPES — AND IDEAS OF THEIR SUCCESS

URBAN LANDSCAPE STUDIES
EUPHORIGENIC LANDSCAPES

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LAREG

城市景观研究

EUPHORIGENIC LANDSCAPES

本研究关注城市景观演变中并存的热情与轻率，探讨两者之间的矛盾性以及实践平衡之道的成功案例。

系列文章描述了城市景观的不同“层次”，分析令人愉悦的景观基础，并检视它们如何为场地贡献优势。同时，本研究揭示了一些城市由于目光短浅、不计后果的行为导致了原有景观脉络的中断，并希望以此为鉴，探讨推动城市景观积极、有序、成功发展的策略。

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Urban landscape is a relatively young but (widespread) common technical term meaning various space-describing and space planning disciplines such as geography, sociology of space, urban studies / urban development, architecture and landscape architecture. By that term different phenomena, previously known by the terms 'suburban area', 'Zwischenstadt' ('City without City' or 'In-Between City'), 'city landscape', 'city region', 'sprawl', 'periphery', 'commuter belt', 'urbanization' etc. are summed up in a general category of space (in the plural mostly: urban landscapes).

On the one hand, it describes the complete urbanization of space analytically (i.e. the overall expansion of urban designs, infrastructure and lifestyles). On the other, however, he programmatically describes experiments to detect and design new relations in fragmented areas which are neither city nor country. The first fundamentals of understanding urban landscapes were conceived by Henri Lefèbvre in the 1970s:

"Urbanization (the urbanized area, the urban landscape) is not visible, we do not see it yet. Is that simply because our eyes have been shaped (or spoiled) by the previous landscape and cannot recognize new space? ". [1]

In German-language areas, research was intensified in the course of the debate about Thomas Sievert's 'Zwischenstadt' and the Ladenburg Research Kolleg of the same name "to describe the urbanized landscape".

The scientific debate is currently characterized by the struggle between urban architecture schools about whether urban landscapes should be considered as 'featureless' ('generic') areas (see 'The Generic City' by Rem Koolhaas), or indeed as specifically describable landscapes as well (see Switzerland – A Portrait of Urban Planning, by Studio Basel of the ETH Zurich by architects Herzog & de Meuron). Urban landscape was also the theme of the official German contribution to the 9th Architecture Biennale in Venice in 2004 –("Epicenters of the Periphery").

[1] Lefèbvre, H. (2003). The Urban Revolution [La Révolution urbaine, 1970]

This text is an English translation from German Wikipedia. The article on Urban Landscapes [Urbane Landschaften] was written by Sören Schöbel

INTRODUCTION — MEDIATING LANDSCAPES

Sören Schöbel

Some of the fastest growing regions in the world are regarded as particularly attractive landscapes. Here not only residents and guests, but also people's representatives and regional marketing enthuse about the beauty and grandeur of the natural or historic cultural landscape and often also attribute the extraordinary qualities of life and the economic success of the region to those qualities. Landscape is often almost celebrated as a major location factor for a city or region.
Simultaneously, it is just these growing regions where the existing qualities of the landscape are most ruthlessly dealt with. This is due first to the pressure for growth itself that, through more buildings, triggers accelerated use of space, density and urban sprawl. It repeals existing rules, conventions and responsibilities of care for space and, by this, leads to new unprotected area types between city and country, which are correctly described as 'urban landscapes' (see page 5).

Maybe the recklessness also comes from a certain carelessness, because strong beauty of landscape is subconsciously associated with invulnerability. Both are linked together in the concept of euphoria: the "upscale lifestyle of greatest well-being, with increased vitality and reduced inhibitions" (Wikipedia). The term 'euphorigenic landscape' therefore supposes a locally typical behaviour, a specific 'regional habitus', which tends toward elation and at the same time to disinhibition against one's own landscape.

This book tries, by exploring very different regions in Asia, Europe, and Africa to define by way of example which natural, morphological and cultural factors lead to the conclusion that a landscape can be considered as socially and economically 'euphorigenic'.
The contributions are no empirical geographic or socio-cultural considerations. They were results of parts of a research project in landscape architecture, and took an interest, therefore, in influencing the processes, i.e. in the shaping of space. Methodologically they are Cultural Landscape Studies. They undertake research on landscape in an open perspective as a phenomenon of everyday life and also feel obliged to design possible and better developments.
Cultural Studies are also called 'dense descriptions'. They are subjective perceptions and theories. They should,

however, be made understandable by arguments. Like any form of qualitative research these studies do not claim conclusiveness, but still a right to depict reality.

The selection of the regions is a mere coincidence. It was based on the simple situation that from 2010 to 2012, at the Department of Landscape Architecture of Regional Open Spaces at the Technical University of Munich, a group of doctoral candidates from Germany, China, Taiwan, Italy, Spain, and Ghana had come together.

Given the incomparable rates of growth of Asian and European regions, each attempt to develop common methodological approaches means quite a risk. But still the wish to better understand each other and to learn from each other is stronger. So not simply twelve different essays have been tied together, but were created in a joint project step by step. In intensive workshops the purpose, levels and the resulting texts were discussed mutually. Parallel to this all the participants discussed the theses of Henri Lefèbvre.

LEVELS

The French sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefèbvre (1901-1991), whose theory of social production of space for several years has been experiencing a remarkable Renaissance in European space science distinguished, for the understanding of the general urbanization process, three levels on which social reality develops spatially (is produced): the private level P of everyday life, the G level of global systems and, in between, the mediating level M, the actual city which develops from the urban fabric, the 'tissue urbaine'.
To that it must be said that Lefèbvre, despite this concept, does not regard the city as a constructed form, but as a 'pure', i.e. a social form, as it appears in terms like overlapping, repetition and difference. Therefore Lefèbvre does not deal with the city built, and still less is he committed to landscape. The dissolution of the cities into suburbs he sees as a paradox that has come into existence by the predominance of individual levels (P or G), and the replacement of the level M by the mere consumption of space.[1]

Since the 1960s urbanists, architects, urban sociologists, geographers, human biologists, psychologists and philosophers have been discussing world-wide the knowledge that city is a structure which provides not only economic but also social and ecological potentials. Personalities such as Jane Jacobs, Hans Paul Bahrdt, Aldo Rossi, Richard Sen-

nett and many others have renewed general appreciation for urbanity. This process has highlighted in the programs for the critical reconstruction of the European city since the 1980s.Today that ideal of urbanity undisputedly serves as an urban paradigm for Europe and partly for America - against the progression of the industrial dissolution of the city. But they have also made clear that the architecture and texture of the town as a built form has been inseparably connected to its 'pure' qualities.
In the current debate on urbanization, learning from old city structures, based on this model, in order to optimise especially social and ecological conditions in contemporary cities, is increasingly being demanded for the recently developing Arab and Chinese types of cities. At the same time it has become clear that the social reality of the formation of a new urban type of space, i.e. the 'In-Between City' [Zwischenstadt] cannot be denied any longer and needs urban practice.

However, that classification of urban discourses, which is based on profound exploration and critique of urban structure, has not yet been transferred to landscape as a socially produced space type. At the same time general urbanization, at least beyond the highly condensed nuclei of future major cities up to megacities, already even exceeds the term of 'Zwischenstadt' and arises in the form of urban landscapes (see above). That phenomenon expresses the need for an extension of such a term.
In this book it is argued that beside the intermediatory level of the city there can be marked a tissue in the landscape, too. Lefèbvre calls it 'tissue paysage', which exists between the level of everyday life and that of the systems.

Beyond this extension of Lefèbvre's mediating level it is made clear in the discussion here presented of the phenomenon of 'euphorigenic landscapes' that there is another level that contributes to the production of space significantly. This level is the morphology of natural landscape. It precedes the social and thus historical levels, but also penetrates into them again and again and influences the production of space either insidiously or with sudden violence.
Mountains, rivers, coasts, and even the climatic characteristics of a region appear formative wherever it is not only industrial logic that dominates the space development - particularly where it finds its limitations. All the old urban structures and cultural landscapes can, in their uniqueness or typologically, are attributed to certain natural conditions. And those old structures are still part of the urban present.

Although the processes are very slow, take decades or even thousands of years and also run both with and without human intervention, they are a historical force for the production of space. Plate tectonics and climatic changes secretly affect what is going on in towns. Nevertheless the foundation of more than 90% of today's existing towns in a relatively short period of time in Germany can be put down to climatic changes. And sudden disasters, storms, inundations, volcanic eruptions and earthquakes have largely influenced the development of urban cultures and will continue to do so. However, it is important for us to show the existence of this level of social production of space between the extremes.

Lefèbvre describes that level as the 'primordial nature' onto which the city of glass and stone has been established as a 'second nature' of man. The two levels do not hit each other, are no part of social reality. By incorporating this relation of (primal) nature and city, and using a fourth level in our reflections, landscape appears before our eyes as a category of social production of space. So, in addition to the mediatory level M of town and landscape texture situated between the global systems and everyday life, there arises another comprehensive level N of natural morphologies.

Thus the four levels of 'production of landscape' now envisaged by us, which serve all the texts in this book as an open experimental model, are:

1 The Level of Natural Morphologies
2 The Level of Everyday Life
3 The Level of Global Systems
4 The Mediating Level,
the Fabric of the City and the
Palimpsest of the Landscape

ENDNOTES

[1] Cf. Lefèbvre, H. (1991). The Production of Space [Production de l'espace, 1974]
Henri Lefèbvre already developed the levels P, G, M as a prelimenary work to The Production of Space in:
Lefèbvre, H. (2003). The Urban Revolution [La Révolution urbaine, 1970]

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UTC +1
RANDSTAD
BILBAO
VALENCIA
ACCRA
MUNICH
NOVA GORICA


UTC +8
SUZHOU
SHANGHAI
HANGZHOU
HONGKONG
TAIPEI
SHENZHEN

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HONGKONG
22°18′N, 114°10′E

SIZE	1,104 KM^2
POPULATION	7,061,200
DENSITY	6,480/KM^2
ELEVATION	50 M
TIME ZONE	HKT (UTC+8)

THE LANDSCAPE OF HONGKONG

Yi-Fong Kuo

FLOATING CITY

"Many, many years ago, on a fine, clear day, the floating city appeared in the air in full public gaze, hanging like a hydrogen balloon...."[1]

Why does one choose XiXi's "the Floating City" as the introduction of this essay? Is Hong Kong really a non-rooted, rich and alienated city as described in XiXi's novel or Wong Kar-wai's Chungking Express? "The Floating City" describes a modern international harbour city that was developed by overcoming natural power and merging cultural differences in a short time by the use of institutional, economic, technological and global labour power. Yes, Hong Kong is most recognised as a city instead of a region for that it is isolated from its ground; and it is merely about the urban centre besides the Victoria Harbour and different functional–productive, recreational and dwelling–sites connected by rapid transport modes. In fact, Hong Kong as a region is a mountainous peninsula (Kowloon Peninsula) with 263 islands (the one opposite Kowloon Peninsulas called Hong Kong Island) and is divided from Shenzhen by Shenzhen River. Since Palaeolithic, there have been people like Hakka settled and lived here. Hong Kong used to be a traditional agricultural region with only 2000 population in 1842; but it grew into an service-based international economic centre with 7 million population and average PPP about $4,4000 in 2010. It's 3500 times of its population in about 150 years ago. Hong Kong's modern development focused on interest-oriented, easy managed and one-step development, mainly based on the power of modern governance and market economy, Lefèbvre's global and institutional level, to transform land resource to capitals and to working and living spaces for 7 million people. It's power to transform the regional landscape is very different from the urban areas grew from European medieval towns and Chinese ancient cities while in these urban areas, the power of Morphology, the power of global and institutional level and the power of habitat has hundreds of years to converse and intersect. The Landscape of Hong Kong is created with predominated traces of quantitative plans and orders by industrial logic.

THE LAYER OF MORPHOLOGY AND LAND RESOURCES

Hong Kong, located at the intersection of Global market economy and Chinese

social economy, has naturally the opportunity to become an open market. The morphological beginnings of Hong Kong as an international finance centre are the Victoria Bay and its mountainous terrain. The Vitoria Bay–located at the mouth of Pearl River Delta, the most developed area in China after 18 century, and with natural 15-meter's deep water–and the 1180 km coastline from the islands, provides the foundation for Hong Kong to grow up to the top-ranked container throughput among international harbours. In addition, the distribution of its mountains, island, plains and bays is the most important character to decide its urban region's distribution: First, the form of the Kowloon mountains that run from north-east to south-west, has divided Hong Kong into 4 areas: at the south-west is the Victoria Bay and its surroundings; at the north is the Yuen Long alluvial plain; at the north-east is the Sha Tin Hoi (also called Tide Core) and its surroundings; in addition to Port Shelter at the south-east. Second, alluvial fans that located at every river mouths, together with bays suitable for harbours and ports development, found the core of urban development. Furthermore, the distance to the coastline and the landform of mountains forms hierarchal the transition from artificial to natural landscapes.

In the south, due to the mountain forms and the regional climate, the surroundings of Victoria Bay and Port Shelter developed different livings. The surroundings of Victoria Bay (known as Hong Kong and Kowloon District), has more than the natural harbour. Its mountainous landform provides a shelter for consistently settlement against typhoons ravaged the South East Asia every summer. If one took the Central-Mid-Levels Escalator and Walkway System from the central business district at the coast to the top Victoria Peak (known as the Peak), one would experience the Hong Kong miniature while passing by the working/public spaces, semi-private/mix-used high-rise districts and private villas. The skyline, of glitter skyscrapers sitting on the winding coastline with clusters of settlements at different times background by the hidden hills around the Victoria Harbour, not only symbolized the glory of modern and industrialized Hong Kong, but also the economic centre of the market world and the winner of the highest priced rental units. On the contrary, although the Port Shelter area is full of hills and bays; there is no shelter against typhoon. The coastal basalt landscape is preserved and the fishing village, Sai Kung, is the classical scene for countryside shots against urban area in Hong Kong movies.

In the north, there are major differences the alluvial plain and the alluvial fans. The alluvial plains of Yuen Long and Fanling area, is equipped with good soil, great flat area and wide intertidal zone that found the foundation of agricultural settlements. Before Hong Kong's urban development, there were plenty of fish farming, shrimp ponds and rice fields. Moreover, before the idea of "developing with Shenzhen" came, the alluvial plain was the granary of Hong Kong that from the Deep Bay to the Tai Mo Shan scattered mangroves, gei wei (基圍; the water area closed by embankments; also used for fish farming), shrimp ponds, fields, and waitsuen (圍村; walled villages). However, due to the development pressure from Shenzhen, these agricultural landscapes are transforming. Compared to the alluvial plain, the alluvial fan along the ShingMun River by Sha Tin Hoi was also settled by several walled villages of fishermen. However, since the Sha Tin Hoi was one of the biggest bays among Hong Kong; and the construction cost to built channels to connect Kowloon (surroundings of Victoria Bay) and Sha Tin through Lion Rock was affordable; the alluvial fans by Sha Tin Hoi were the first area to be chosen for new towns (mainly with harbours, industrial sites and housing areas) to support continuous growth of the surroundings of Victoria Bay in 70's.

Yet the mountainous terrain also leads Hong Kong the competition of land resources and the difficulties in connecting developed areas. This can be easily discovered through the proportion and distribution between developed lands and urban greens. The various hilltops of basalt bases were designated as ecological and environmental sensitive areas such as country parks. This fact leads directly that 67% of Hong Kong total land is green and that the developed areas are limited to 20% flat area at the hill foots.

To house as more people as possible in limited land is always the key to modern Hong Kong development. Especially in those harbour and river mouth areas, the high-rise buildings are so densely sited that serous urban heat effects arise. Yet, under the philosophy of "human over nature", and the support of modern technology and local construction materials, these limitations in morphology do not stop the pace of Hong Kong development; in turn, they inspire Hong Konger's creativity to form the basis of 3-D urban area. Such an attempt to control and overpass nature is the global institutional level–the combination of urban governance and market economy.

THE LAYER OF GOVERNANCE AND LANDSCAPE STRUCTURE

The available landscape element of the layer of governance could be traced back to the military commanding stations from Ming and Qing dynasties, which were set up to guard the coastline and to look after the inner land. For instance, the Kowloon walled city was located by the coastline of Kowloon Peninsula and opposite the British colony on Hong Kong Island by Victoria Bay. Nevertheless, when Hong Kong grew into a modern harbour city, these military commanding stations, like their fellow along the Chinese coast, lost their original functions and were converted to thematic heritage parks of modern planning system.

Compared to governance attitude of "securing the coastal land but not developing" at Ming and Qing dynasties (prohibition policy), the British government in Hong Kong was to experiment a colonized "city + countryside" that has never been seen. Its' regional governance toward shaping modern Hong Kong landscape is mainly by the land use and development control system, including different development and planning applications between the New Territories and the Hong Kong and Kowloon District (the surroundings of Victoria Bay/ Harbour); and systematic control over natural resources. In addition, its efforts on infrastructures, such as transportation, water and food supply and housing, provide the basic living conditions of rapid life style and of Hong Kong as an urban habitat.

To describe the layer of governance in Hong Kong, one can't miss these three fundamental linear spaces: The first one is the Boundary Street, which divided the New Territories, and the Hong Kong and Kowloon District. In the south of the Boundary Street, the Hong Kong and Kowloon District is the centre of Hong Kong and a luxury shopping, catering and economic district. Over 150 years' dialogue between Cantonese tradition, English modern and global economy, there are both modern functional skyscraper districts and historical cultural mix-used districts. The New Territories sitting at the north of the Boundary Street, is not only focusing on countryside development, but also the main destination of those new towns with idealistic "garden city" structure and with the eternal mission to support the economic growth of the Hong Kong and Kowloon District. The New Territories is the area to preserve traditional Chinese countryside in British colony, and also the land reserve zone. The land rights, of original people of the New Territories, are allowed to

be hold in clans or families as in Qing dynasty; so that some specific agricultural landscape tissues are preserved. In the meanwhile, the introduction of New Territories Small House Policy speeds up the death of traditional village houses. Thus, upon the non new-town area in the New Territories lies the landscape the varied from traditional village houses, fields, and three floor small houses. To be simplified, the part at the south of Boundary Street is a highly developed urban city; and the part at the north of Boundary Street is an urban region consisted of new-town clusters with transitional regional landscape between agricultural and industrial societies.

The second linear space is the Frontier Closed Area (FCA). This is the old border of British colony and the new bolder of Mainland China and its Special Administrative Region. Since the existence of the FCA, the development is very different between Shenzhen River: In Shenzhen there are clusters of high-rise buildings; while in Hong Kong there are rice fields, fish ponds and natural villages. Then again, with recent year's trading trends that the Hong Kong's manufacture industry is moving to the north- east of the Pearl River Delta, the connection between Hong Kong and Shenzhen are getting closer and closer. The existence of the FCA is now facing the challenge of new towns and new development projects such as the Fairview Garden. In the new coming plan, the FCA will be shrunk from 2800 ha to 400 ha. A new urbanization movement is now in the Yuan Long Plain, and the reflections of the Shenzhen River and the Victoria Harbour are going to overlap someday.

The third line is the coastline in the year of 1887. What shows on the map of 2011 at the location of 1887's coastline are main streets; and where used to be sea are now the territory of high-rise buildings and urban open spaces, no matter they are called business zones, airports or urban parks. Lacking for flat lands for development, Hong Kong government's main means of getting lands was through land reclamation. The lands of the new towns such as Tai Po and Tuen Mun, and the former Kai Tak and the new Chek Lap Kok airports are all from land reclamations. Yet the most dramatic landscape change occurs at the Victoria Harbour, the start point of Hong Kong. Although lots of lands released through reclamation to maintain the economic growth, the price was paid that the narrowest gap of Victoria harbour shrunk from 3000 meters to less than 800 meters. The Victoria Harbour is now the Victoria River.

The other important system of the layer of governance came from the 19 century British tradition of preserving countryside and natural heritage. Up to the year of 2010, there are more than 24 country parks and 7 ocean parks designated as the urban recreation or "BBQ" areas within 1-hour travel zone; in addition to 17 SSCIs with specific ecological values, such as Mai Po natural reserve at the Yuan Long Plain. This is the most important foundation of why Hong Kong's 68 % total land is still green or countryside under such a demand for developable land. However, although the system could secure these greens, but it can't secure that Hong-Kongers could get enough time to be familiar with these greens. In fact, most of Hong-Kongers pass by these greens to different blocks though various travel modes. They see these greens but not walk on or touch personally these greens.

THE LAYER OF URBAN HABITAT AND SPEED OF MODERN LIFE

As described in the introduction, Hong Kong grew from a cluster of agricultural settlements of only 2,000 people to an urban region of 7 million in population in about 150 years. For these, to find a good dwelling in Hong Kong is always thorny. Despite of the wealthy people living in the hillside villas, most of Hong-Kongers, both in the Hong Kong and Kowloon District and the new towns in New Territories, live in the united dwellings–at the housing buildings about 16-30 floors–provide by the government and the developers; and work in another high-rise office building. Additionally, in the New Territories that encourages countryside living, from 70's people lived not in the historical village houses but the 3-floored small houses with less than 65.03 square meters living area. Moreover, by the outskirts of urban areas or traditional settlements sometimes lie the refugee houses made by timber or iron sheets legally.

Due to the high price and rent of housing, many people live in the New Territories and travel everyday to Shenzhen, the Hong Kong and Kowloon District, and even Macau or Zhuhai for work. Convenient and rapid transportation becomes the key to Hong Kong's daily life. Between the New Territories and the Hong Kong and Kowloon District, there are various transport modes, such as metro, rail and fly-over motorways, running underground, through the mountains and in the air, in order to deliver people and goods to the destinations as soon as possible. Furthermore, sitting in the busiest business centre, the Central-Mid-Levels Escala-

tor and Walkway System is not only fast but also operated rain or shine. As the trailer of Octopus (digital wallet system of Hong Kong) said, Octopus—and the moving boxes— makes life easier.

Meanwhile, similar moving boxes and tunnels bring everyday from China fresh food and water to support the daily life of 7 million people in Hong Kong. Although during the British Colonization, about 17 water reservoirs were created through closing bays or valleys to supply clean water and maintain agriculture in the New Territories. At the moment of integration between Shenzhen and HK, urban water supply comes from the East River, and the water reservoirs are transformed to recreational use gradually; the urban agriculture in the New Territories is almost dead except some transformed to organic faming through green parties and some struggling and fighting against the layer of governance like the Choi Yuen Village. With the backup of the mainland, individual city's food self-sufficiency is no longer valued. In turns of local agricultural landscape, the Hong Kong food culture that values flesh ingredients is now supported by industrial transport network exceeding Hong Kong's territory, shipping containers and retail logistics.
This is the Hong Konger's modern convenient life created by the layer of governance. Multi-functional high-rise buildings, travel boxes and Octopus could supply almost the basic daily needs of a human's dwelling and working. Yet as criticised by Lefebrve, such spaces are merely homogenous, quantitative produced dwelling machines or boxes that function only specific life experiences; but such spaces are not the habitat that reveal the meaning of being.

THE LAYER OF EVERYDAY LANDSCAPE AND HETEROGENEOUS URBAN LIFE

In fact, there is another layer to make Hong Kong so colourful, to provide opportunities to communication and connection of different culture, and to support and linking the layers of governance and private life in addition to integrate with the morphology and to make one localized. This layer is where Hong Kong's slow life lies and where the lost values are. According to Lèfebrve, taking design/political landscapes off the layer of governance and the layer of homogenous habitat off the map lays the intermediate layer. Than it's also what J.B. Jackson called the existing and the transforming vernacular landscapes that created by the conversation of users and the spaces. In Hong Kong, taking off the layer of governance and the layer of homogenous habitat,

such as the filled tide lands, new-towns, airports and country parks, out of the map, there are different landscape tissues lie in high-density development areas, such as the Hong Kong and Kowloon District, and the low-density development area, such as Yuan Long Plain.

In high-density development areas, the most significant landscape tissues are streets/blocks (街坊, in Chinese means one or more streets or one block or people living in these areas, estates (屋邨, UkTsuen; tsuen in Chinese means village) and parks. The streets/blocks are usually formatted for more than 100 years and are mainly located in the Hong Kong and Kowloon District. The streets/blocks usually refer to the area along one street or around several streets. The spatial composition of the streets/blocks has a tendency toward mixture of Cantonese styled shop houses and modern buildings with elevator; and the main streets are parallel to the coastline due to land reclamation and morphology while the connecting steps between street blocks are vertical from coastline to hilltops. The land use of the streets/blocks is usually mix-used; and normally, one cannot distinguish one block from another as the "urban centre. There are unusually public living spaces, such as markets and school, in the streets/blocks for the inhabitants, no matter where these inhabitants' origins are. Due to historical biding of these interests groups, neighbourhood blocks present different landscape characters and different attitude toward living.

For instance, the Temple Street area of Kowloon was where the fishermen's gathering around in the past. It is now the place to experience traditional nightlife of Hong Kong. Before land reclamation, the Temple Street connected the Tin Hau Temple (天后宮) and the Banyan (榕樹頭), the traditional social grounds, with the coast. Tin Hau Temple was where to worship the goddess of fishermen; and the Banyan (always forms a small square or plaza) and the streets were the traditional public spaces, where Chinese people communicate, celebrate, exchange, exercise and gathering in the past; and the area around the Banyan were full of shops and houses. These as a whole formed a streets/block, or community. Yet now, the Banyan is a park; and public buildings such as the parking tower divide the Tin Hau Temple and the streets. Only the Temple Street left as the true space for public life 'cause the existence of night market. The night market street is about 15 meter's wide with stall-keepers and Can-

tonese styled shop houses besides; and the sighs flying over one's head. There is usually one-man's corridor left to move around at night. However, everyone here is busy at bargain, eating and hanging out with friends, and nobody really cares about this limited corridor. The natural setting of traditional streets is to let people walk slowly, stay longer and exchange.

Except traditional Cantonese streets/blocks such as the Temple Street Area, there are also some modern or British colonize styled streets/blocks. One of them is the Happy Valley Area. The centre of the Happy Valley is the Happy Valley Racecourse; and it is sitting facing the ocean with the hill backup. The Happy Valley is not only with isolated setting that bring peace to the area; but also with an easy contact to the main commercial area of the Hong Kong island. It is different from the traditional streets/blocks in particular, that while the traditional Cantonese streets/blocks are usually mix-used and with intensive street activities after dark, the Happy Valley Area is quiet at night and mostly for housing except some British-styled main streets. Close to the Racecourse set majority Cantonese styled shop houses and modern buildings with elevator; away on the hills are housing estates and private villas, which are the flagships of Hong Kong's luxury housing and the ideal model for Chinese hillside development.

Though in Chinese called "tsuen/邨"with the idea of village, the estates are the real estate development units with the idea of bringing forward communities. They are in Hong Kong usually clusters of 16-30 floor buildings with some functional green. Only some projects target to middle to wealthy people, like the Kowloon Garden City or the Fairview Garden, is built into clusters of villas. Both of these two types, with their original garden city idea or radiant city idea from Le Corbusier, their ground and outdoor levels should be the area to provide urban recreation and life, the intermediate layer. Yet in order to save spaces and cost, most of the ground and outdoor levels of public housing estates are with greens to look at and with mushroom like cooked food stalls as public restaurants. In addition, for the private sectors that looking the maxima land profit, their estates are usually with walled community garden and with first and ground floor shops or traffic services. Even more, those shops and supermarkets in different estates are usually with the same names. To work, communicate and be harmonious with surrounding everyday landscapes is the battle between the design

and management concepts between developers, management agencies, architects and landscape architects.

One reason for this situation is that the emphases for convenience and fengshui （風水）in Hong Konger's dwelling culture is much more important than the needs for nature or greenery. The other reason is that the lack of building land resources leads to build to maximum. Nevertheless, there is the development model such as the Mai Po natural reserve and Tin Shui Wai. The wetland and aqua farms become the beautiful landscape to look at and to set up the housing estate. Together they are not only the miniature of urban Hong Kong with the modern life style and its antithetic countryside splendour, but also the classic scene for trading posters. Although the Hong Kong Wetland Park connects the Mai Po natural reserve and Tin Shui Wai; together the skyscrapers' cluster that was built right to the boundary and the six-lane Wetland Park Road make the opposition between traditional aqua farming landscape structure and modern functional landscape structures more obvious. With the fragmented landscape tissues and the spaces that opposite to mix-use tradition, the isolated housing estate become the soil of social problems and the theme of "the Way We Are " by Ann Hui.

The parks and community gardens of estates are another intermediate layer to support and linking the layers of governance and private life. There is little consciousness about parks and community gardens in traditional Chinese society. Take the Temple Street Area for example. In previous time, the living and urban activities happened in the places like on the streets, in the temple plaza and under "The Tree"(usually Banyan in this region). The public greenery like parks and walled community gardens was introduced to the region to ease the overcrowded, dirty and disordered conditions of living spaces in Chinese communities in 19 century. In the rise of parks and walled community gardens, a series of user regulations was announced to maintain its cleanness and tranquillity. Unlike the vivid nature in the streets and on the plaza, these public greeneries are recreational and leisurely; and are the outdoor buffer zone to crowded dwellings. Compared this attitude to what the new immigrates from China are trying to adapted from traditional use of public spaces (streets and plazas) to these public greeneries, the reason behind the social conflicts happened while the user regulations of public spaces in Hong Kong are getting more and more open, is quite clear.

Compared to traditional streets/blocks modern estates and recreational green in the high-density development areas, landscape tissues of the intermediate layer, in the low-density development area and outskirts of the high-density development areas, are of wider period and bigger difference in social and economic functions. For instance, the agricultural landscape tissues as walled villages, rice fields/upland field, and the wetland structured by mangroves, gei wei, and shrimp ponds; and the industrial landscape such as undesigned or unplanned container fields.

The walled villages like the streets/blocks in the high-density development areas are traditional settlement in the region; but the walled villages are built early before the British came and with inhabitants of the same clan or of Hakka people. The key elements of the walled village as the intermediate layer are the defence wall, the middle axis as public spaces, the ancestral hall, the fengshui trees, the well and the parallel lanes in front of terraced houses. At present, some walled villages are preserved as living heritages; but most of them lose their characters while most of the village houses were converted into small houses; and some leave only the names and the boundaries through modern development.

In the New Territories, the landscape tissues that are the relics of pastimes and that are still explicit and functional at present are the separation and functional lines of the "fields," such as irrigation channels, field banks and productive roads; upon these tissues, the function of the field might be transformed, but the separations still exist. There are small-scale peasant landscape tissues that featured by terraced croplands on the hills and rice fields on the plane; on the other side, by the river mouth of Shan Pui River (Yuen Long River) are the landscape tissues of wetlands that are formed by scattered mangroves, gei wei, shrimp ponds. These are what the granary of Hong Kong left today. Agriculture and fishery are shrinking in Hong Kong. Except the large and functional agricultural and fishery tissues in the areas of the Frontier Closed Area and the Mai Po natural reserve, the productive spaces for rise and fresh vegetables and fruits have been squeezed into broken and scattered pieces lying on the hillsides or enclosed by motorways.

In fact, though the landscape tissues of "fields" (田) exist, more than 60% of the croplands lost their functions. In particular those croplands along motorways, they have almost all transformed into Container yards, scrap yards and other open storage areas that

fix the Hong Kong's character of international logistics centre. The reason that the landscape tissues of "fields" could be preserved or transformed is because that land status of these croplands in planning does not change. They are still agricultural lands. Their functional change from agricultural production to industrial storage is due to the land users/owners adaption to social economical change instead of master plan of governance. In this case, the economic power of the layer of governance overwhelms.

CONCLUSION

The transformation from agricultural to industrial landscape happening in the low-density development area and outskirts of the high-density development areas represent the attitudes toward future resources and environmental sustainability of those in power, the public and interest groups in Hong Kong. The relationships between living style, public greenery, estates and the streets/blocks emerges the gap between local culture and modern development when trying to achieve quantity and functions at once; in other words, how local culture was altered by modern development. Time, clusters of different people, and partial experiment and development give Hong Kong the opportunity to have interaction between Hong Konger's living style and the spaces derived from the layer of governance; thus rise the cultural landscapes such as the streets/blocks. On the other hand, due to the role as land storage and boundary, and the related regulations of country parks, the development in the New Territories is limited to several concentric-circled new towns. Yet the agricultural landscape and greenery of the New Territories are not treasured and extended. The layer of governance views the New Territories only as functional but not living landscapes. The confrontation and fragmentation phenomena of landscape are clear in the New Territories.

Stepping over the homogenous habitat and international governance, the existence of the streets and the blocks supported the Siyizhuxing (食衣住行; Eating, Clothing, Living and Moving) and Economic Development in the Hong Kong and Kowloon District. The rooting floating city shows one Hong Konger' street life culture. Yet, the countryside dream by the British colony and the layer of governance is breaking down. At the rise of Hong Kong and Shenzhen alliance, the power of the urban agglomeration has been staged in the New Territories; and is going to perform even faster than ever (China's national policy is usually for a period

of five years) with modern urban planning and more centralized governance tools. Although the key issue of next phase plans is "low-carbon and low-density," one does not know if the real content is to continuing its quantitative and development-orientated new towns and estates that bring forward the new urban habitat aesthetic of combination of ecology, wetlands and housing estates with numerous homogeneous container-like dwellings or not. It might be that the euphoria of Hong Konger towards development orientation could change to the real concern of living quality and environment; and they might reconsider the relationship of time, living quality and urban planning, and bring forward the unique modern walled villages and mix-use agricultural and industrial landscapes through overlapping and connecting landscape tissues. Perhaps the answer lies in five years.

ENDNOTES

[1] From Marvels of a Floating City and Other Stories, by Xi Xi (translated by Eva Hung), Renditions Paperbacks, 1997

香港地景

郭怡妦

1引言－浮城

“許多，許多年以前，晴朗的一日白晝，眾目睽睽，浮城忽然像清氣球那樣，旋在半空中了…“
～節錄自1997年西西短篇小說，浮城志異

為什麼選用西西的浮城作為本篇開端？香港是否如西西小說或王家衛的重慶森林中所述，是一座浮動沒有根、富有而疏離的城市？浮城描述出了一個在極短時間內，運用公權力、經濟、科技與勞動力，人定勝天克服環境與文化融合因素所興起的國際級現代化海港城市。是的，香港在多數人的心目中，是作為一座城市被理解的－與其所在的土地聯繫甚微，只有維多利亞港的兩岸主城區以及被快速交通所連結起來的各類功能性基地－生產的、休閒的、居住的。事實上，香港作為一個地理名詞，與深圳一河之隔，涵括263個島嶼與多山少平原的九龍半島；自舊石器時代以來，即有越人、客家人等在此屯墾、定居、生活。然而，就一個1842年開埠時僅2000人，以傳統一級產業為主的區域而言，在僅150年左右的時間，人口成長3500倍，成為擁有超過700萬人口，人均PPP近4,4000美元，以面向全球為主的服務業為產業導向的國際金融中心；香港的現代發展，講究利益導向、易管理、一步到位的開發，主要透過來自Henri Lefebvre 所言－現代區域治理與市場經濟的集成－全球制度化層級 (global and institutional level)的力量，轉土地為資本，去提供支撐七百萬人的工作與生活空間。其改變區域景觀的力量，不同於中古世紀的歐洲城鎮、明清以前的中國古都，有著數以百年的時間在治理與經濟力量及生活棲地間積累、轉化與交集；也導致了香港的景觀有著鮮明工業時代後發展區域的量化與規範的痕跡。

2地理型態與空間分布

香港，處於世界市場經濟及中國社會經濟的交會點，具備開放性市場的歷史區位。其作為國際金融中心的開始，源自維多利亞港灣以及多山少平原的地形。維多利亞港灣，此一位於18世紀以後中國主要經濟發展區－珠江三角洲－河口的天然深水(15公尺)良港，以及香港多島將近1180公里長的海域、海灣，提供了香港發展成為當今貨櫃吞吐量排名第一的海港最重要的利基。而其多山、島、港灣與平原的分布，則是決定香港都會區域空間分布與發展的最主要特性：首先是由東北走向西南的山勢，區隔香港區域成為西南區塊的維多利亞港及其中周邊、北部區塊的元朗沖積平原及其周邊、東北區塊的沙田海及其周邊、東南區塊的牛尾海及其周邊

四個區塊。其次環繞在各個河口港灣的沖積地，配合著各類碼頭港口的設置，構成了最主要的城市發展核心，並依照臨海岸線的遠近與山勢的關係，達成了人工到自然的過渡。

香港南邊，由於山勢開口與區域氣候的關係，維多利亞港灣與牛尾海的發展方向截然不同。東南區塊維多利亞港灣及其周邊（以下簡稱為港九地區），不但具有最寬闊的深水港；其屬於多山的地勢，更在颱風經年肆虐的東南亞地區，遮風擋雨提供香港相對能穩定發展的區塊。事實上，由臨港的中環商業區沿半山自動扶梯及行人道系統到太平山頂，就可以體驗通過公共/工作空間，半私人住宅公寓到高隱私別墅的香港社會階層縮影。隱山環繞維多利亞港、層跌的聚落群聚、蜿蜒的海岸線與閃耀的摩天大樓所構築的天際線象徵著現代化香港的榮耀，也是當今世界經濟中心及最高單位租房單價的得主。而西南區塊的牛尾海及其周邊多個島嶼，雖然丘陵港灣較多且南面無屏障，不適發展海港。保留較為原始的風貌，能夠一睹香港玄武岩自然地質地貌；而其最主要的漁村聚落西貢，更是香港電影中與城市對比的鄉村場景經典拍攝地。

香港北邊則是河口沖積扇與平原發展方向的角力。北側的元朗沖積平原及粉嶺地區，位近深圳，其土壤肥沃、平地多且潮間帶寬，成為其發展定居農業的基石。香港開埠之前就有多個漁塘、蝦塘、稻田耕作等，並在面向深圳開發前，是香港重要的魚米之鄉，由後海灣深入大帽山散置著紅樹林、基圍、蝦塘、田埂與圍村；但近年來，面對來自深圳的發展壓力，這些農業景觀已經逐漸轉型。沙田海及其周邊，城門河畔有大片淺灘，早期聚集了不少漁民等傍水而居，有許多圍村，但由於港灣不算小，且開鑿獅子山的隧道以連通九龍與沙田的工程難度與經費在可接受的範圍內；因此，早在70年代，沙田海及其周邊就作為支撐港九地區發展的第一期新市鎮開發出來。

然而，多山與港灣也導致了香港土地開發資源的匱乏與交通串連上的困難，最顯著可發現的部分是城市綠化與建成空間的系統分布。陡峭以玄武岩為基底的眾多山頭被劃為郊野公園等生態與環境敏感地區，67%的土地屬於自然與綠化面積，而已建成區域集中在佔全境路域不到20%的山腳平原上發展。

在有限土地上尋求機會以裝進更多人口一直是香港空間發展的主軸線，特別是鄰近港灣及河口區，甚至因為開發密度過大，有著極為嚴峻的屏風樓課題。但是，在人定勝天的觀念、20世紀科技的支撐以及

本地石料資源的供應下，這類空間上的限制並沒有阻斷開發的腳步，反而激發了香港人的創意，形成了香港發展立體城市的基礎。這種企圖超越自然的控制力就是－現代區域治理與市場經濟的集成－全球制度化層級。

3現代區域治理與景觀結構

可考的香港區域治理層級的空間元素，可以追溯至明清時期的軍事防衛措施，其設置最初，是以管理海岸線及守衛內陸土地為目標。例如九龍城寨，座落於九龍半島海岸線前緣，隔維多利亞港與英國領地對望；然而在香港發展海港城市時期，如同同時期中國沿海許多衛所，幾乎已喪失其功能，而被現代城市規劃作為古蹟或主題型公園保留下來。

相較於明清時期，對沿海土地只守衛不鼓勵長期屯墾的態度（沿海封禁政策），港英政府在香港則是在實驗一個前所未有的殖民”城鄉”。其區域治理對現代香港地景的形塑主要體現在土地開發控制系統，包含新界與港九部分不同開發與規劃規則的運用，以及系統化自然資源的控制。其次，其在交通、供水、住宅等基礎設施上的投入，則建構了香港城市棲地與便捷生活的基本條件。

說明香港的區域治理層級，有三條非常重要的線性空間。第一條是界線街，它區隔了新界與港九地區；界限街以南，維多利亞港兩側的港九地區，是香港主要中心，一個極其華麗的購物、餐飲與金融中心，150年的經濟發展與中西文化空間對話下來，有著現代機能性高樓，也有著歷史生活街坊。界線街以北的新界，是鄉村發展，也是支持港九地區經濟發展、具有顯著花園城市結構的新市鎮基地最主要的落點。新界作為傳統中國鄉村區域以及發展土地儲備地區，新界原居民的地權可沿用其傳統習俗，由宗族所持有，也因此傳統聚落及農業景觀紋理被保留了下來；同時，由於新界小型屋宇政策的推出，替換了傳統村屋，使得新界非新市鎮地區，形成了傳統圍屋、農地與三層丁屋交雜的景觀。簡而言之，界限界以南，為高密度都會城市；界限街以北是一塊由新市鎮群聚的都會區域，在區域景觀上傳統農村聚落與現代工業地景交織呈現。

第二條是邊境禁區。這是過去英國殖民邊界地區，也是中國內地與特別行政區之間的緩衝帶。由於這個緩衝帶的存在，深圳河兩岸的發展是截然不同的：深圳地區為高度發展的高層建築物群聚；及香港新界仍是水稻田、魚塘和自然村。然而，隨著近年，香港製造業往珠江三角洲東北岸轉移，香港和深圳之間越來越密切，邊境地區的存在，逐漸被新市鎮及核准開發項目如錦

繡花園等擠壓，2800公頃的邊境禁區將會減少至400公頃，新的城市化運動開始在元朗平原上興起，深圳河兩岸正與維多利亞港兩岸的倒影逐漸重合。

第三條，是1887年的香港海岸線。1887年海岸線的位置，在2011年的地圖上呈現的是一條條主要道路；而過去是海的地方，現在多數是一片片高樓大廈，商業區、工業區或者公園。香港山多平地少，政府主要透過填海造地的手段獲取土地，包含大埔、屯門等新市鎮、原啟德及新赤臘角機場等都是政府與開發商填海造地來的。但最劇烈的景觀變動發生在香港賴以成長的維多利亞港：透過沿港填海工程雖然釋放出土地，維持了經濟不斷成長，但代價是維多利亞港最窄處由3000公尺寬變成不到800公尺，由維多利亞港變成了維多利亞河。

形成香港地景的全球治理層級，另一個重要的系統，源自於19世紀英國鄉村及自然傳統。截至2010年，有超過24個郊野公園和7個海洋公園作為一小時內便捷可達的城市休閒或BBQ基地而設立，另外還有17個具備特定生態保護價值的SSCI，例如位於新界元朗平原的米埔自然保護區。這是香港在經濟壓力與土地需求如果高的狀態下，至今仍然保有有68%的總面積為農村或綠色環境的最重要基礎。然而這個系統，在保障綠地的同時，並不能保障香港人每天都能有親近這些綠地的時間。事實上，多數的香港人每天經由各種運具經過這些綠地來往城鎮間；但，人們只是看到而並沒有親自碰到或走上這些綠地。

4 城市棲地與便捷生活

如同引言所描述的，150年間，香港從2000人的農業聚落長成一個具有700萬人的大城市。這個原因，使得香港一向一屋難求。除了極少數住在半山別墅的富豪外，不管是在新界的新市鎮或港九地區，絕大多數的香港人，住在由香港政府或開發商統一供給的市民”居所”－多半是16-30層高的住宅大樓，在另一棟更高的鋼鐵帷幕寫字樓工作。
而另一方面，即使是提倡鄉村生活的新界，其傳統聚落核心所謂的村屋多數已改建成70年代開始的僅有3層樓，面積小於65.03的丁屋；而聚落或新市鎮邊陲，則合法的錯落著鐵皮或木頭搭建的寮屋（原先是收容難民之用）。

事實上，在香港，由於高租金高房價的關係，許多人住在新界往返深圳、港九甚至澳門、珠海等地工作；因此便捷的交通是香港生活的核心。在新界、九龍及港島間，各式各樣的地鐵、隧道與立交公路從地底、從山間穿越，追求最快速的將人與貨到達目的地。同時，在世

界最忙碌的金融中心之一，港島的中環半山自動扶梯及行人道系統不但快而且不論晴雨都運行無阻。套句八達通控股有限公司的口號，只要一張八達通（香港通行的電子錢包與公共交通卡），移動的盒子讓生活更輕鬆。

同時，類似的移動盒子與管線，每天從中國內地為香港700萬人口帶來供應一日所需的生鮮食物與生活用水。儘管在港英政府時期，曾經通過封閉海灣或山谷創造了約17個湖泊的水庫，以供應淡水並且維持新界地區的農業發展；但在深港一體的現在，城市用水來自東河，昔日的水塘逐漸被轉為景觀娛樂功能；而新界地區的城市農業除了少量在環保人士支持中轉型有機農業外，已逐漸式微；或者如同菜園村，與區域治理層級的力量在生死線上拉扯。有著一個大陸做後盾，單一城市的糧食自給率已不再被看重，轉而由四通八達連向內地的交通網路、產地直送貨櫃與零售物流，來支撐起香港重視生鮮食材的飲食文化。

這就是在區域治理層級引導下創建的現代化香港便捷生活，多功能高層小區、寫字樓、車廂外加電子錢包八達通就幾乎可以滿足一個人工作與生活的基本需求。如同Lefebvre所批判的，這樣的空間只是一個同質而定量生產的，以運行特定生活經驗的居住機器或盒子，而非能體現存在意義的棲地。

5日常景觀與異質城市生活

事實上，給香港帶來繽紛色彩，提供了生活交流、文化融合的機會以支撐及仲介區域治理層級與私人生活，並融合自然地理層級使之具有歸屬感與在地性的，另有一個層級。這個層級是香港慢速生活的所在，也是香港正在丟失的價值。依照Lefebvre對此一中介層級（intermediate level）的闡述，把區域治理層級與同質棲所層級等設計/政治景觀從香港地圖上拿掉後，所剩下的，也許就是J.B.Jackson稱之為－由使用者與空間對話產生的－原始及轉變中的風土景觀的所在。在香港，當我們把海埔新生地、新市鎮、機場、郊野公園等從地圖上拿掉以後，在港九地區等密集城市發展區，與元朗平原等低密度發展區，呈顯出了不同的景觀元素與結構。

在密集城市發展區，最顯著的中介層級是街坊、屋邨與公園。經過百年所形成街坊（大街小巷;或居住在同一條街的坊眾），集中在港九地區。其空間組成是一條或多條街的集成，多半有著唐樓、現代電梯樓混和的狀況，並且由於填海造地與地理型態等因素，主要街道與海岸線呈平行發展，建築基地間透過由垂直由海岸向山頂的通道串連，其

土地使用多半為住商混合，根本沒有所謂的”市中心”的區分。老街坊的居民，不論從何處移民過來，通常有著在街坊裡有著共同的公共生活空間，例如市場、學校等等。也因此，老街坊由於歷史上不同時期群聚的關係，呈顯出異質景觀與生活特色。

例如九龍的廟街地區，曾經是漁民聚集的地方，而現今是香港一般民眾與遊客重要的飲食聚會、出遊購物的場所。廟街，在填海造陸前連接著海岸、天后宮及榕樹頭；而天后宮及榕樹頭，是過去傳統社會裡重要的社交場域。天后宮主祭祀、榕樹頭與街道主交流，屬於傳統公共空間，在過去的香港華人社會裡，節慶、交易、運動、聚會都在此發生；而周邊街坊則是商家又是住戶;整體形成一個街坊。現在，榕樹頭變成公園，天后宮與街坊被停車場大廈等公共建築阻隔；只有廟街因為夜市還活絡著。現在的廟街兩側一般由帶有嶺南風格的唐樓，圍塑起不足15公尺寬的街道，街道中間留有約一人寬的通道，兩邊是路邊攤販，以及出挑的招牌群；儘管很難移動，但很少人會抗議；畢竟，傳統市街就是要讓人步行、停留與做交換。

除了廟街等傳統嶺南街坊外，在香港也有許多現代或殖民氣息濃厚的街坊。例如跑馬地，背山面海又坐擁跑馬地跑馬場此一大綠地，且臨近港島主要消費金融區，屬鬧中取靜的地區。與傳統嶺南街坊四處混合使用且夜晚商家、大排檔林立的狀況不同，跑馬地只有少數街道以類似英式小鎮大街的概念，有著食肆與大排檔；其餘以住宅為主，臨運動場是一棟棟唐樓、現代獨棟電梯樓；山坡上則是大型高層小區及半山別墅，在香港房地產豪宅一類具有指標作用也是中國境內許多山坡地開發不斷複製的對象。

而屋邨或者內地稱之為小區，雖然沿用傳統”村”的概念，但實際上是以社區為概念的房地產開發單元。多是高達16-30層的住宅大樓群聚；僅有及其少數如九龍塘花園城計畫或錦繡花園，為花園洋房。在這些屋邨，其地面層與戶外依據Le Corbusier 的Radiant City與花園城市的理想，應該是能提供都會休閒與生活的區域，也就是中介層。但實際上，依據其公共屋邨或私人開發屬性的不同，多數廉價公共屋邨為了節省空間與成本，多半是簡易小區綠化加上菇亭食肆；而私人開發為追求最大土地效益，往往圍塑社區花園，或裙帶一體成型商業街及交通公設；甚至，這些屋邨商場的商店、超市都是同一品牌的。是否考慮與周邊已形成之日常景觀紋理融合或創造地方特色，成為開發單位、建築師或景觀建築師等個別的設計或管理理念的角力。

箇中原因之一，是香港人的居住文化本身對方便性與風水的重視，例如鄰近車站及背山面海，強於對自然或綠地的需求。其二，是在土地資源緊張的狀況下，必須物盡其用蓋到滿。尤有勝者，則是如同米浦自然保護區與天水圍開發的模式，溼地或田園景觀成為房地產襯托與注視的美景，形成城市生活與鄉野自然美景對比的微型香港城市生活，並以此”容易親近自然田野的現代化居所”，成為另類的宣傳模式；但雖然米浦自然保育區與天水圍住宅區間以香港溼地公園試圖串接起來，但蓋到邊界線的高樓群及環繞天水圍的六線道溼地公園路卻使得這種傳統農業地景與現代都會景觀更顯對立。其斷裂的景觀紋理、違背混合使用傳統的空間，孤島式的住宅終究成為社會問題的溫床，成為許鞍華”天水圍”系列電影的主題。

公園與社區花園是另一個香港用以支撐及仲介區域治理層級與私人生活的中介層。在傳統華人社會中，原本沒有公園與社區花園的概念。如同上述的廟街，過去的生活交流與都會休閒是發生在街道、廟前廣場、大樹下(在香港，通常是榕樹)等場所。這種公園與社區花園的綠地型態，是港英政府在十九世紀時為了改善香港居住空間過於擁擠以及髒亂的狀況而引入的，並且在初期，設有一連串的使用規範以維持此類公共綠地的清潔與安寧。不同於街道與廣場的熱鬧，對於香港人而言，這些公共綠地是休閒的、靜逸的，以及擁擠居所外獲得緩衝的呼吸空間。把此種態度對照新一代內地華人移民將傳統公共空間使用方式移植到此類公共綠地的狀況，近年香港公共空間使用方式逐步開放產生的一些社會衝突問題，箇中原因不難猜測。

相較於密集城市發展區的傳統街坊、現代屋邨及休閒綠地，在新界低密度發展區或密集區邊陲，中介層景觀紋理橫跨的年代與社會經濟機能落差更大，比較顯著的紋理如傳統圍村、水田/旱田景觀、基圍與魚塘共同構成的溼地地景與未經設計或規範的貨櫃場等工業地景。

首先是圍村，它們在中介層的角色類似密集城市發展區的街坊，都是地區傳統聚落，但同質性更高，是由同宗族或客家人聚集一起，於港英政府治理香港之前建立的。圍村作為中介層的關鍵元素是防衛外敵的圍牆、作為主要公共空間的中軸線、主要傳統祭儀空間的宗祠、風水樹、主要飲水來源的水井以及中軸兩側對稱平行排屋前的街道。如今，部分的圍村被作為活古蹟保存下來；但多數的圍村，隨著現代城市發展，或者牆內舊屋改建成了丁屋或其他形式的村屋，或者只餘圍

村的範圍與名字留存。

在新界，上個時代留下且至今仍在清晰且運作中的景觀紋理，最顯著的是”田”的分隔線，例如灌溉系統、田埂、產業道路；在其上，”田”的功能或許被改變，但田與田的區隔仍在。
在元朗、粉嶺平原近山的坡地上，依稀可見梯田式的小農地景與平原上的水稻田紋理；在山貝河(又稱元朗河)河口，則是滿片基圍、紅樹林、蝦塘形成的溼地紋理。這是上個世紀以前，元朗與粉嶺平原作為香港糧倉的遺留。農漁業在香港已經式微，除了山貝河河口透過米浦自然保護區、深圳對岸邊境禁區的設置等，還保有大面積完整的農漁業紋理與機能以外，水稻與生鮮蔬果生產的空間已經被擠壓成破碎而零散分布在山坡地或被道路包圍的狀況了。

事實上，雖然”田”的紋理還在，但超60%的農地已經喪失其機能。特別是延道路兩側分布的農地，基本全面性的轉型為符合香港國際物流中心機能的貨櫃場、拆車場等露天貯物區。田間的紋理之所以得以保留或轉化，是因為這些土地在規劃上性質沒有轉變，依然是農業用地；其從農業生產到工業貯物功能的轉換，主要屬於民眾對其土地根據社會經濟改變的適應，而非城市致理的規劃分區。在這種狀況下，區域治理層級的經濟力量對中介層產生了更大的影響力。

6結語

在新界低密度發展區或密集區邊陲上發生的農業地景到工業地景的轉換，具體而微顯現了香港主政者、民眾與利益團體對未來空間資源與環境永續的態度；而在密集城市發展區或新市鎮的街坊、屋邨、公共綠地與居民生活方式的關係，呈現了現代發展模式在尋求一步到位、量化及功能性的過程中，與在地生活文化的落差；或者，換句話說，如何改變了在地生活文化。時間、群聚以及局部試驗與發展的過程，卻使得香港人的生活方式與區域致理層級下的空間的有長時間相互調整的機會，而有街坊等香港文化地景的出現。而新界，雖然因土地儲備與邊界的角色、郊野公園的相關規範，有限度的將開發侷限在幾個新市鎮同心圓上，新界地區的農業景觀與綠意依舊沒有被重視與延伸，而只是作為機能性的而非生活的地塊，在空間上清晰可見景觀紋理的對立與破碎現象。

跨越了棲地與全球城市，街坊的存在支撐了港九地區的食衣住行與經濟發展，紮根中的浮城讓我們看見屬於香港人的街道生活文化。而新界，港英政府時期區域治理層級影響與期待下的鄉村發展式新界已不復存在。深港聯合在即，城市群

聚的力量已經在新界上演，並誓言以超越過去的速度（中國國家政策五年為一期），透過現代城市規劃及更加集權的治理手段完成過渡。下一輪的規劃雖號稱以”低碳與低密度”為主調，但實質內容是延續其重量與開發導向的過往新市鎮與屋邨概念，發展住宅小區、生態與溼地組合的新都市棲地審美角度與大量同質性方盒棲所？還是香港人對開發導向的驕傲能真正轉向對生活品質與環境的真實關懷，重新思考城市規劃、時間與生活品質的關係，並透過景觀紋理的串連，促進人與空間對話，以演繹獨特的現代圍村與農工混合使用地景。也許，答案就在五年後。

URBAN LANDSCAPE STUDIES
EUPHORIGENIC LANDSCAPES

BILBAO
43°15′25″N 2°55′25″W

SIZE	40.65 KM^2
POPULATION	874,879
DENSITY	8,700/KM^2
ELEVATION	19 M
TIME ZONE	CET/CEST (UTC+1/2)

A TALE OF MANY CITIES — THE EUPHORIGENIC LANDSCAPE OF THE GREATER AREA OF BILBAO

Maider Uriarte

A BIT OF HISTORY

Bilbao and its metropolitan area are located geographically in an estuary valley limited and structured by mountain ranges which belong to the pyrenaic system, in the north of the Iberian Peninsula, close to the French border. The Bay of Biscay in the Atlantic Ocean is named after the province to which Bilbao is the capital city. It's the fifth urban agglomeration according to average densities and population in Spain, and the most populated urban area of the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC). Although it holds an important status in economic and demographic terms, it's not the capital of the BAC. Bilbao and its influence area account for a medium population and high densities of land occupation distributed in 35 municipalities.

Founded as a town [villa] in 1300, Bilbao evolved as an important market and port. A villa can be considered the equivalent of a medieval town governed by special rules and with certain privileges regarding merchandise, communication infrastructures and so on; Bilbao's privileges concerned the trade of Castilian wool and local iron ore and in so doing, responded to the merchant interests of the Castilian crown, functioning as its branch. This of course generated the usual tensions with the ruling nobles of rural settlements [anteiglesia] that responded to the local law [fuero] which didn't permit trade with iron. The port of Bilbao was located 16 km upstream where the effect of the tidal shift ends and ships could navigate to, and not, as we might think, by the sea. Traffic along the estuary was controlled by the Bilbao Consulate, an important administrative figure that managed also infrastructural ameliorations and any conflicts with the villages [anteiglesia] that might emerge.

Town [villa] and village [anteiglesia] represent the medieval settlement morphologies that have evolved differently in the case of the Greater Area of Bilbao. The town associated to commerce and port activity represented by Bilbao (and in a less significant way by the Portugalete municipality) was a typical walled settlement with a dense pattern of streets, squares where the church or the town hall stood, a marketplace and the suburban developments along the roads that came out of the gates. The village, associated to the rural way of life, corresponds to the other 32 municipalities. Originally

comprised of scattered farmhouses, their administration assembled in a certain church or parish and the immediate square accounted for the main public gathering space. It could be said, that while the traditional structures of the towns has been maintained, the villages have lost most of its formal structure (except the testimonial squares around the churches) to urban development. The current municipalities house several of the former villages as neighborhoods [auzo].The most prominent and well kept example of the town [villa] morphology is of course, that of Bilbao, which has kept its commercial character over centuries.

During the 19th century and 20th century, thanks to the port and the local mining industry it became the second most important industrial region in Spain after Barcelona, its main activity revolving around the iron and steel industry and ship building and the creation of associated services of banking, insurance, energy companies and so on. The whole area suffered huge demographic increases and urban development in two waves of economic increase, first by the end of the 19th century, and the second in the 1960s. These two waves and the accompanying urban development established the bases of the area as we now know it.

THE G LEVEL OF PLANS AND INFRASTRUCTURE

The dictatorship of Francisco Franco[1] probably represents the strongest expression of urban development authority of the central G level, as well as the least effective and efficient. In this sense, the urban planning that was produced during this time -mainly the district plans of 1946 and 1964- was of technocratic character, focused on the support of the industrial activity of Bilbao, as well as the interests of the regime's loyal oligarchy. Many infrastructural interventions were planned: docks along the tributary rivers to increase the shipping capacity, building a bridge to connect both banks (there was none in 16 km), planning further locations for industrial activity etc. An interpretation of these plans shows the pretentious scale of the proposals, but lack of management directives and of population growth forecast. This, together with the lack of funds gave origin to a chaotic city which improvised most of its growth through private speculation and without the necessary infrastructural development.

If we turn back in time, however, by the end of the 19th century the area was quite well developed in the sense that there was a tightly-knit web of railway lines that ran parallel to the banks, to and from mines, factories,

docks, and Bilbao proper; a network that was mostly privately funded and developed in parallel to the advancements of industrialization, and also in response to the marginalization of Bilbao/Biscay from the radial lines from Madrid towards the borders with France. The industrial class clearly supported the railway services in detriment of roads, which were developed much later on and had to then deal with the already outgrown dense residential and industrial areas.

From the 1960s onwards, in the framework of the economic flourishing period of the Spanish Miracle within the dictatorship, the main priority was placed in road transportation in answer to the demands of properly connecting the Port and the industry of Bilbao with Madrid and the Mediterranean regions. This meant that most of the building took place in the left bank (which corresponds to the south side of the estuary) where the access was easiest to the industrial areas and naval facilities. However, significant projects like the bridge over the river connecting both banks as well as the Behobia - San Sebastian - Bilbao highway along the coast as well as the bypass roads and accesses to central Bilbao came later in the end of the 1970s. After the establishment of the 1978 constitution, the power hierarchy in Spain shifted from a central to a decentralized system of Autonomous Communities (AC). The document known as the Gernika Statute of Autonomy[2] managed the specific competences, among other the spatial and urban planning of the Basque AC and those of the three Provinces within. The Basque Government focused its interests so forth in developing a closer connection with Europe. Based on this view, think tanks such as the Fundación Metropoli developed spatial planning directives which depicted the BAC in an eccentric position with regards to European economic axes that connected with the Mediterranean axis through Barcelona. Bilbao has always seen itself displaced in this European network, and thus much strength and funding has been directed towards the modernization of the airport, the building of an external port and many roads and town bypasses that should guarantee the relationship with Europe. The next step in this euphoric trajectory is the building of the High Speed Railway connecting the three provinces (within less than one hour road trip's distance), and that will enable the people "to have breakfast in Bilbao and dinner in Paris", but still the intense inter-valley traffic will depend on roads. This development is nowadays in building process though

highly compromised by the economical situation.

P LEVEL OF THE APARTMENT BLOCK

The Greater Area of Bilbao is characterized mainly by the P level as in very dense residential areas of multistorey housing. Most of the development took place in between the 1960s and the 1980s and provided housing for the immigrants (which raised the population to a maximum of 1 million inhabitants in the area) who found work in Bilbao's steel and iron industries. These developments where built in a disorderly manner, with almost no planning and without any social service facilities or public space provision. In this sense, it was a state of social emergency which triggered the building process, and the private speculator which most profited from the situation, enabled by the Land Act of 1956 and the District Plan of 1964. These plans allocated enormous amount to residential zones and facilitated the transformation of a rustic land to a buildable one, yet, established little or none developmental regulations. All in all, this urgent and improvised urban development which was no different from the informal settlements of previous periods (end of 19th century) of emigration if we attend to morphological aspects of land occupation, is the basis of the inherited city that had to be retrofitted from the 1980s onwards in the so called transition era, and the base of the metropolitan area as we now know it.

This is not to say that there weren't any good practice precedents in the area, for the 19th century extension plan of Bilbao [Ensanche] was and is formally a planning reference. This structure is based on squares and streets as articulating open space and the urban block which comprises commercial space on its street level and dwelling on the higher levels. However, it must be said, that this extension was very slowly developed as land owners speculated with the value of land enormously and in such way, introduced a social exclusion factor attached to house purchasing power; the demand for housing in the early 20th century was satisfied elsewhere, mainly in the suburbs of Bilbao proper.

But, let's continue with the pre-war precedents. In the framework of the "Ley de Casas Baratas" (literally, the law for cheap houses) of which the first version dates from 1911, Bilbao built many public funded housing following trends of other European cities also in architecture style and housing typology. In this sense, the city was a reference and still is one of the cities which the biggest stock of public housing in

Spain, many as we said, built before the Civil War (1936-39). The emergence of many low-density neighbourhoods built in the style of the Garden City is a consequence of this law.

But returning to the end of the dictatorship era, we confront ourselves with a disorganized, very dense, eminently in state of profound economic crisis urban situation. The transfer of power from the centralized state government to the different autonomies and thus to the municipalities, gave way to a bigger intervention of the public authorities in urban design and housing matters. Urban design was approached as a retrofitting process whereby closely following the postmodern theories of urban continuity, architecture and the structure of the 19thcentury expansion where the main tools.

In the 1990s population begun to flee from their former dense municipalities to others where the dream of the rural idyll could still be achieved in the form of minuscule terraced houses with gardens of 15 sqm, mainly located in towns of the right bank. The same right bank that was once chosen by the industrial oligarchy as the preferred residential area; near the beaches and the sea, where the rural landscape still remained somehow uninfluenced and far from the factories and the immigration of the left bank.

THE M LEVEL OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

In between the G level which is in close connection to ruling classes and economic power, and the P level of the home, the family and work related shifts and relocations, we find the flexible M level which adapts itself to whatever condition the other two levels shape by contracting and expanding through escape routes or spaces of opportunity.

As mentioned, town and village [villa and anteiglesia] have been the traditional morphologies of settlements, and thus, of public space in the area. While the first one has kept its formal and functional features, the latter has been thoroughly transformed. The rural settlements, developed chaotically and then where retrofitted as to resemble 19th century cities with squares, boulevards and arcades.

On the one hand, it can be said that the rural M level of social organization and functioning was transposed into the urban in the sense that despite the developments of the 1960s, the strong tradition of the neighbourhood communities has been transmitted into the suburbia settlements. Thanks maybe to the short work-home distances –family, neighbours, and community associated and built ties to a specific space or neighbourhood. In the midst of the

dense city and lack of social facilities, the space immediate of the apartment block was somehow a prolongation of the P level into the M, becoming thus an informal public space. This might explain the strong sense of belongingness within the municipalities and their neighbourhoods of the Greater Area of Bilbao; while still resembling one urban unit dependant of the core, each community knows (or knew) where its territory ends –this street, or the railroad track, or that bridge, as well as the limits of belongingness. It is said that Bilbao only refers to the modern extension and old town [Ensanche and Casco Viejo, respectively], the rest are seen as semi-autonomous social communities.

The counterpoint to that is that while the streets felt safe as home, the social relationships and customs were closely watched and scrutinized. Nowadays, there's some nostalgia attached to the time where kids could play all around the streets and the public space was full of lively urban activity in spite of the tight social control of space.

On the other hand, as an example of the expansion of the M level into the P level, a mention could be made to the strong social cultural activity that took place in hiding during the dictatorship period (1936-1975), specially related to the transmission and enhancement of Basque culture and a creation of an educational system in basque language, as well as of reclaiming proper living spaces in suburban districts during the dictatorship's repression. This accounts for an inherited culture with a strong sense of community, social organization ability, political commitment and critique of the establishment that developed more in the private level away from the public sphere.

An important shift has taken place following post-industrial developments. The increase of work-home distances has brought about much mobility enabled by infrastructural development and change of living space, changes in G and P levels. In this sense, although people wish they could still live in the same place where they grew up, close to their families and circle of friends [cuadrilla], this has become more and more difficult due to housing market prices and availability of land. The quality of public space has also been modified in the sense that it has become a space of franchised consumption, with the help of public promotion of land for shopping malls and the pedestrian safe areas. So, the neighbourhood and its social ties might have lost their significance and the urban space, while lively, has acquired a homogeneous identity.

The last 20 years have seen changes

promoted by institutional efforts to generate cultural facilities that answer both to global demands –Guggenheim museum, congress centres, trade fairs—and more local ones –municipal and neighbourhood social centres, sports facilities and so on. However, this mostly can be translated as a physical beautifying of the urban space, more than an increase in the social power to mediate of the M level. The top-down model of communication and mediation still rules, even if the power to decide is closer to "place" than ever before.

THE N LEVEL OF NATURAL MORPHOLOGY

Wilhelm von Humboldt, on his dedicated second visit to the Basque Country (1801) praised the picturesque hills of lush greenery on the banks of the Ibaizabal river (one of the names for the estuary) that resembled "the most beautiful and diverse English Garden". According to him, by climbing those hills one could in one look perceive the most charming landscape with "the sea shimmering on the distance". One can still achieve this today; however, Humboldt's image is a long gone state.

The estuary, as the backbone for development, has suffered much transformation, the first and most significant being the engineering of its trajectory by the acclaimed Evaristo de Churruca by the end of the 19th century. The main challenge that nature placed was the dynamic sandy bed of the mouth that made it very difficult for ships to navigate into the port. At the same time, the sandy beaches of the right bank gave place to a culture of sea-side resort, in the trend of the time, and were chosen as the recreation place for the rising oligarchy of the industrialization. The municipalities in the right bank along the coast later developed as the suburb inhabited by the economically favoured class. But this fact cannot be understood without knowing the transformations taking place in the left bank.

Structuring the main valley where the estuary sits, are three mountain ranges that encompass heights from 400m to 1000m. Due to its ferrous composition on the south side mountain range, correspondent to the ranges on the left bank, the forge activity was a common proto-industrial trade of the area. When the liberalization of the common lands of the mountains took place in the 19th century [3], many mining companies established activity in the left bank municipalities and also in Bilbao –where the mines stood opposite the city centre. The location of the mineral in straight lines acces-

sible from the summits of the mountains, made it very easy to labour; the strong demand of mineral, its good quality and abundance required many pits and tunnels to be opened causing a frenetic activity. Today, these former productive landscapes are either open air leisure areas or have disappeared under developments or filled with waste. At the same time as the mining activity, the iron and steel factories were located also on former common land on the marshes, as they represented perfect flat land that was otherwise scarce and had the possibility to build docks as well. The industry which attracted huge immigrations, and grew informally first, and then in very dense communities near the factories was mostly established on the left bank.

The rural activity somehow lasted on the right bank, and this together with the associated value of the elite establishing its residences there made it the desired location away from the hustle and bustle of the city and the factories. The fact that the sea and the beaches were in close proximity also increased the value of the area. Nowadays, there are still some municipalities with neighbourhoods that maintain the structure of the scattered farmhouses and pastures but are inhabited by few farmers and the houses are exclusively of residential use. The rural activity survives thanks to public funding in most of the cases. All of the above accounts for a spatial specialization of the area that can still be recognized today.

In the end, it can be said that the N level has been mostly fought back and remains present in the form of the estuary's tides (no longer can we find marshes or dunes or creeks), also in the form of an atavistic presence of the sea, the coastal cliffs and the beaches, and finally in the form of the mountains; that is, often relegated to inaccessible places outside the city. Taking hold of Humboldt's words, one must climb the mountain (or plunge into the sea) in order to interact with natural space, in other words, escape the dense city.

INTERACTIONS

We can firstly say that establishing a decantation of the 4 levels which compose a territory is a challenge, for all levels interact in periods of varied intensity whereby one or more levels are of bigger prominence. I would say that in the case of Bilbao (as in any other case) the G level assisted by the P level of high class and wealth have been the main shapers empowered by the euphoria. The M level has adapted itself to the particularities of each period, whilst the N level has suffered trans-

formations that in many cases have no way back.

The main consequences of the euphoric development now can be diagnosed as the dislocated social relationship towards space in all levels, as any individualistic society might convey. It seems that space has become solely a commodity and an object to regulation and control, with little implications in cultural meaning. The planning system has much to say in this, as its procedures show contradictive shifts between the foster of private initiatives sectors and the promotion of conservative environmental regulations generating social and spatial collisions, which in turn result in many gaps and seamless edges. If we focus on the N level, as mentioned above, it has been profoundly modified, all the way to become almost a mere presence at the background, physically close but with problems of accessibility due to topographic conditions; but nevertheless, capable of adaptation and encroachment through opportunity loopholes towards the built environment.

Continuity with the euphoria of the past is still latent within the G level for politicians are still focused on investing on infrastructural, so called strategic development to remediate the "eccentricity" of Bilbao/the Basque Autonomous Community from European axes and to keep its place in a global rank and brands of cities. In a way, acting eccentrically to solve eccentricities. At the same time, the wish to "protect" the traditional landscapes and biodiversity is also present in the G level; however no clear strategy is established thus showing signs of "double entendre", an idealization of the past through tourist appealing images combined with retrofitting type management in an effort to integrate large transformations. This reflects the main tension detected between globalist and localist attitudes of trying to keep up with the world while maintaining and idealized vision of the past.

In conclusion, we can identify the following potentials that can assist on a remediation or creation of non-euphoric landscapes:

G Level: On the one hand, the administrative hierarchy shows very local levels of action, with three local levels of administration (Basque Government, Provincial Government and Municipalities). On the other, planning technicians have it in their system that urban growth rates of the past must be avoided. There's a chance to use this administrative proximity and technical sensibility to implement more bottom-up decision making.

P Level of dwelling: Due to the high density rates, the territory is not as

sprawled as it is in other areas. Does this define a scenario where frequency for social interaction is higher?

M Level of public space: The liveliness and use of public open space together with the multiple social cultural associations, many acting on neighbourhood level, define a situation where criticality and action are abundant, along with cultural diversity. These social-cultural strengths could be directed towards a more affirmative activity which focuses on the opportunities for action (rather than just the flaws) that the current situation conveys.

N Level: The intricate geographical features means that the city has had limited opportunity to sprawl, thus natural spaces are available at a little distance. The potential for creating connections is thus high.

If we turn towards the spatial scale, we can focus on the urban landscape by means of two levels of the everyday; that of the regional scale which is interlaced by transport and communication infrastructure, and the smaller scale of the neighbourhood connected by foot. At the scale of the whole area an interesting interaction occurs between the N level elements of mountains, sea, lowlands, slopes and estuary with the transportation network of the G level. The former allows for movement flows that travel parallel and perpendicular, move from high points to low ones along the estuary or the subsidiary valleys; turn around, meander and go under hills through tunnels to find a completely different scene. That is, mobility along the area using different means of transport (car, boat, train) enables a rich sequence of perspectives, vantage points, long views, at varying altitudes accompanied by changing scenic frames. This valuable quality that has been achieved thanks to euphoric development of infrastructures, was often, not planed on purpose and still, it is part of the everyday experience of the area.

On the other hand, if we focus on the smaller neighbourhood scale, movement on foot or bike is more problematic, especially in the non consolidated areas between municipalities or on the edges of built environment; where the street becomes a path, the asphalt becomes gravel, the private garden is substituted by formal and informal orchards and where, instead we find dead ends and other kind of spatial collisions of land uses. Perceptions of landscape as well as the interaction with space at such human pace render more visible the effects of careless development and are in need of specific interventions.

It is perhaps that at this scale a reinvigoration of the M level can be extremely

useful, where we can already find examples of success. A formulation such as the traditional neighbourhood work [auzolana] is considered appropriate, for it's based on the communal cooperation to solve problems of practical life also relative to space and built elements, with self-regulating character, traditionally practiced in rural settlements, in villages (in the former anteiglesias). This formula of course isn't groundbreaking or exclusive to the area; nevertheless its interest relies on the scale of application and traditional existence.

Application in a different scenario such as the urban one might render weaknesses; however, the benefits that this practice based on ethics of care might bring about the responsibility and appropriation of the communal space. Neighbourhood work [auzolana] can have the ability to influence political mediation, social relationships, leisure associated to public space, responsibility over infrastructural problems, public space maintenance, social care services etc. Some examples of such practices found in Bilbao include local associations which take care of the paths in the mountains and forests, groups which keepurban/periurban gardens and orchards, neighbourhood "time banks" where anyone can offer their own time to provide a service for their community and groups of people which organize and manage cultural centres. Their success shows that neighbourhood level communal effort can be considered a possibility with chances of spreading to other areas.

For instance, if we focus on the problematic of spatial experience and landscape perception at the walking pace and on the reinforcement of built and un-built elements' interaction and connection, then settlements located on slopes, foothills, or nearby the coast, that is, on the edges of consolidated areas play a key role. In the case of the slope settlement areas, we find that these are often structured by the adaptation of access roads, paths, stairways, squares, ramps to the slopes and in-between residual spaces of unspecified character. These elements could be used as basic foundations to implement micro interventions that would seam the said gaps and become part of a more general strategy of connecting dense areas of the municipalities with the un-built, let's say greener surroundings. A similar intervention has been already implemented in the Bilbao municipality through the "Bilbao green belt" strategy. However, acting merely from the G level, it lacks the mediation of M, and, as a consequence, many well kept and established illegal orchards have been cleared and re-

placed with random tree plantings. This G level programme could have profited from the interaction of the M level, through neighbourhood level space appropriation and social intervention on it.

Perhaps, becoming producers of space could be the key to reinvigorate the M level while at the same time fostering a balanced interaction with the rest of the levels, and in so doing, influence an improved landscape.

ENDNOTES

[1] The dictatorship period lead by fascist general Francisco Franco was established at the end of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and finished by 1975 when he died. In 1969 Franco designated the actual King Juan Carlos the 1st as his successor who took over in 1974 due to Franco's illness.

[2] The Statute of Autonomy of the Basque Country is the legal document organizing the political system of the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country which includes the historical territories of Alava, Biscay and Gipuzkoa. It forms the region into one of the autonomous communities envisioned in the Spanish Constitution of 1978.(from Wikipedia)

[3] This liberalization process took place amongst the towns which lost the 3rd Carlist War against the liberal side and had to pay debts to the Spanish crown which they did by selling their common land.

URBAN LANDSCAPE STUDIES
EUPHORIGENIC LANDSCAPES

MUNICH
48° 8′0″N 11° 34′0″E

SIZE	310.43 KM²
POPULATION	2,606,021
DENSITY	4,440/KM²
ELEVATION	519 M
TIME ZONE	CET/CEST (UTC+1/2)

THE MUNICH LANDSCAPE

Sören Schöbel

There are two very conflicting images of the landscape of Munich. For the first image Swedish conquerors stand for, Gustav Adolf of Stockholm in 1632 and Ingvar Kamprad from Elmtaryd in Agunnaryd in 1974 (one was killed a few weeks later on the battlefield, the other built a furniture empire). The surrounding landscape appeared to them like a 'barren old horse', or as cheap building land, but Munich itself as a 'golden saddle' or as a promising market. As witnesses of the other image of the Munich landscape stand all the tourists form Prussia, Russia or Italy, the USA and Japan, who are crazy about Munich, but especially they adore the Upper Bavarian foothills, and what they can see, feel and 'perform' from the landscape in the city.

For both images is to say: the Munich area is undoubtedly euphorigenic. But what the city on the one side, the landscape of the other side contribute to this "intense state of transcendent happiness combined with an overwhelming sense of contentment" (Wikipedia) is to be discussed here.

THE LAYER OF NATURAL MORPHOLOGIES AND REGIONAL CULTURES

Munich is the capital of the Free State of Bavaria in south-eastern Germany. The Free State is the largest and the second most populous of the states. In a way, Bavaria has always played a special role in Germany. This is based on the one hand on the very attractive landscape in many places, and on the other hand, on a culture that is characterized by a peculiar connection of tradition-conscious and highly modern lifestyles. Literally, the sky over Bavaria is very blue and people wear both laptops and leather shorts [Laptop und Lederhose]. Indeed, since the reconstruction of Germany after World War II Bavaria has developed from a rather backward rural area into an internationally successful economic region and has, at the same time, remained an attractive holiday resort.

However, Bavaria is not a uniform entity but it is composed of culturally, economically and scenically very different regions. The Region of Munich is, on the one hand, clearly a growing region - unlike booth the slightly declining population elsewhere in Germany and likewise the shrinking population in rural areas particularly in the north and east of Bavaria.

The natural landscape also shows important differences. In the north of

the Alps there begin the Alpine foothills, after them the cuesta landscape of the Swabian and Franconian Alb and the East-Bavarian highlands. Munich is located in the foothills [Alpenvorland]. These had originally been a huge sea-sink, which had developed on the edge of the board of the European Alps and was filled with erosion material of the mountains in the Tertiary. In their present form, however, the Alps, were shaped by the Ice Ages, when great glaciers from the Alps invaded the foothills, pushed up moraines and, retreating, re-formed the land by the flowing water. Those ages and post-glacial formations made the Alpine foothills into a succession of hilly country, large lakes, river valleys and accompanying gravel plains. Thus, the wide sloping Munich gravel plain is bordered in the south by the Alps, in the west and east by moraine and in the north and north-west by tertiary hills. In the middle of this huge gravel plain [Schotterebene] Munich is located on the river Isar.

THE LAYER OF EVERYDAY WORLD AND REGIONAL HABITUS

The landscape of the gravel plain can be seen very differently, depending from which place, movement and above all in what kind of weather it is experienced. With sky overcast it appears to the wanderer or traveller as a flat plane structured in several landscape zones. Along the river Isar – when watching it from car or bicycle - you can experience its remarkable slope because in the south of the city the river cuts deep into the plane, in the city it builds terraces and high banks, and flows through open heaths and moors in the north. In good weather the gravel layer appears as vast flat land, impressively towered above by the panorama of the Alps.

On days without high visibility the river Isar river, the smaller rivers and streams even in the most peaceful places in the plain witness the neighbourhood of the mountains. The Würm canals in the Nymphenburg Park, flowing through Munich city down to Schleissheim, or the Eisbach in the English Garden take the power, the coolness and the limestone of the mountain waters far into the plain. Since the partly dismantling of the bank reinforcement the Isar approaching the city constantly shifts its course and pushes aside masses of debris. Even in the north, where the Isar is surrounded by dense low forest, where beyond the Isar Canal and the storage lake actually only residual water flows and the mountains are visible only in perfect weather, at the sills the river forms insurmountable water rollers

which break the silence of the forest and so remind us of the nearby Alps.
The mighty panoramas and cool rivers still witness a sublime landscape that in the foothills of the Alps and in the blue land [Blaues Land] of lakes is enriched by picturesque beauty. The modern Munich inhabitant, dressed in leather pants and functional underwear, with a traditional headdress [Gamshut] and sporty sunglasses, walking stick and navigation system, adds to these two 'classical aesthetic judgements' of nature a marked self-confidence and a hedonism. This attitude regards the foothills as the 'local mountains' [Hausberge] of the city, the country towards the Alps as a large city park and the river floodplains in the city itself as a huge beer garden [Biergarten], and the alpine foothills as the front garden to Munich.

International guests like to adopt this attitude of nature. But in tragic moments again and again it is shown how all-powerful nature can be in this garden. In summer, newspapers report weekly how bodies have been recovered from the steep walls of the local mountains or from the water-rollers on the weirs of the rivers Isar and Eisbach. One could say that the inner city of Munich actually has no particular landscape qualities and is safe to some extent in comparison to other cities - but that landscape and nature, in both the sublime and a tragic sense lie just around the corner and, so to speak, rise out of the blue.
Weather and sight, however, do not only portray the surrounding landscape of Munich in very different ways, but they seem to connect this city, situated on the border of southern Central Europe, across the Alps with Italy when the down winds [Föhn] blow and open a foehn window with fantastic views. People like to call Munich 'the northernmost city of Italy'. In some of the established lifestyles you can actually feel Italian mentality, which, however, comparable to the transformation of the foehn air in crossing the Alps, perhaps appears to have caught a light cold, needs to be warmed and is a bit dried up. The Italian lifestyle experiences, in everlasting ice, sheer wall of rock and the rich pastures experienced a multiple change of its physical state, namely 'freeze-drying'. This also applies to the Mediterranean light which is known to be refined by a special white-blue sky in that region.
Perhaps this relationship of the sublime, beauty, hedonism and the tendency of risks, as it is experienced in the Munich landscape also forms the lifestyle, mentality, or even 'regional

habitus' and thus the economic culture of the metropolitan region.
All the intensity of the natural landscape is noticeably diminished towards the north, especially beyond the city.
In front of the magnificent Alps, the picturesque lakes, the hill country and the urban terraces in the city now a wasteland opens which, based on natural landscape, seems to be interpreted by a suburban cultural landscape. The landscape here originally consisted of large heaths, and where the gravel plain slowly submerges into the layers of ground water of shallow marshes, which are called [Moose] here. Heaths and mosses still exist where until recently they were used by the military or are now under conservation.

This great distinction between the southern and the northern landscapes of Munich, have fostered very different social milieux. If you were blindfolded to the outskirts, it would be possible only by 'reading' the car marques, the dog breeds, even the walking style of pedestrians, whether south or north of the city one is located. In contrast, differences between East and West not only in terms of topography, but also in the habitus of the milieux are hardly to distinguish - at least for an uninitiated like the author.

This differentiated geography of the gravel plain - a solid distinction between North and South, a subtle difference between East and West - also characterizes all processes of suburbanization, which take place in the euphoria of the Munich landscape in a particularly uninhibited extend, but produce very different pictures. To understand this, another level is considered, which is controlled by the national and global power and which forms infrastructures.

THE LAYER OF GLOBAL AND AUTONOMOUS SYSTEMS

The genesis of the new layer began in the Region of Munich presumably with the construction of castles and gardens by the former Prince Electors of Bavaria. With the Castles of Schleißheim and Nymphenburg they wanted to realize ideal models of art and dominance in front of the western and northern gates of the city. These were intended to put the city itself in the background. Taking this as an example the city, especially in the second half of the 20th century, pushed all the 'incompatible' buildings and functions into the same area.
In this era of growth and euphoria of prosperity the adjoining communities have taken this up: commercial and industrial areas, settlements of single

and multi-family houses, furniture markets, sewage treatment plants and dumping grounds, but, above all, the major airport. This airport has 'hyperventilated' the former ‚phlegmatic', mostly misty landscape of the Erdinger Moos and replaced the barrenness of the moorlands by the wasteland of asphalt and grass. And now it is Lufthansa which lets its 'cranes' land here.

Our measurement of the morphology and regional particularities again and again tracks a basic south-north line. Along this, the Munich landscape is extremely different. Between East and West there is less dramatic change. That is because the transition from the gravel plain to the final moraines in the south-west and east mostly takes place hidden in the forest or settlements. In the north-west, a small river called Amper enters the tertiary hills. On the escarpment the towns of Dachau and Freising make real 'thrones' 'from which one can see far out into the plain - but this protrusion is again more on the basic line between south and north. Unlike in the west the transition from the gravel plain to the hilly landscape in the north-east is not marked by a natural river, but by an artificial canal. On the border of the town it branches off most of the Isar's water and feeds power plants. Along with the huge reservoir there this Isar Canal is therefore a part of the previously described functional suburban area [suburbaner Funktionsraum] that has been formed in the north of Munich.

The large-scale social structure shows a south-north gradient in the purchasing power in the municipalities of the region, whereas in the urban areas of Grünwald and Bogenhausen along the Isar a 'line of prosperity' stretches to the north. Since in the course of the migration to the suburbs even colonies of villas have protruded from the cities there have been formed in the west two more islands of prosperity with Pasing and Nymphenburg .

This topography of wealth is overlapped by another separate layer. Households with children move to settle down in concentric circles around the city. A 'family belt' has been set up that extends far into the region. This must be differentiated according to the local and long- distance commuter rings. So it surpasses public transport tariff rings deep into the region.

With the explosive growth of cities since the second half of the nineteenth century, they have systematically been provided with infrastructure. Autonomous systems of transport and supplies have been formed which determined the development of the city so

that on this layer cities arose friendly to transport and supply. Munich has developed seven such key-systems: the express railway axis, the main regular line and the subway network, the urban and regional Isar canals, the motorway ring, the central ring road, the hub airport and the landscape of dumping grounds [Entsorgungslandschaft] at Fröttmaning - Ismaning. In addition to those systems that clearly shape the area, there are more functional systems attached to those: the soccer arenas and trade fairs, the logistics centres. Along the railway lines and highways band-like business parks are being developed.
Those systems are certainly embedded in the city and the landscape, but they follow only their own laws. So everywhere there is confrontation: through noise, obstruction and cuts, through stigmatization and increased pressure on the system which arises at access points and junctions like railway stations and motorway exits. Compared to natural morphology and social topographies, however, these systems do not behave as indifferently. They ignore the urban fabric and the cultural landscape layers but follow the large-scale morphologies and social structures.
So the systems all reinforce all the north-south differences in the Munich area. The ring road has not been completed in the south because of morphological and social reasons. The deep cleft of the river Isar and the wealthy people here are stronger than the rules of the highway system. The water is supplied from the mountains and the forests of the south with their clean soil. The contaminated landscape of the northern gravel layer can no longer provide a comparable quality of water. In this direction however, runs only the sewage disposal. Landfill sites and sewage treatment plants are found there.

Not only the family belts in the suburbs but also modern urban extensions are created on the principle of the system. One example for that is the exhibition center of Riem, which was built on a former airfield in the past decade. It was not planned according to the network of the Greek polis, but according to the system of a Roman military settlement, with Cardo and Decumanus not being justified by necessary troop movements or cosmic systems but by weak winds and flows of cold air. Even the borders between public and private space have not been formed by an urban texture but by a 'graded system of open spaces'.
As indicated earlier, systems were created before industrialization. They

can be described for example in the landscape of the time of absolutism, in which princes started the migration of city functions to the suburbs. Starting from the hunting stars in the forests and along the lines of the model of French Baroque, the castles with their large gardens were connected for miles through the countryside by a network of visual axes both with each other and with numerous steeples - a symbolic system of secular and religious rule. The North Munich Canal System of the same time served both for transporting building materials to the palaces as well as for baroque pleasures playfully imitating Venetian canal cruises - an early leisure park in the landscape.
Such systems - now without function - are waiting to become part of the city and part of the landscape on a different layer.

THE MEDIATING LAYER, THE FABRIC OF THE CITY AND THE PALIMPSEST OF THE LANDSCAPE

Over the Everyday worlds and regional habitus on the one, the autonomous systems on the other side lies, as described in the introduction of this book, the layer of the natural morphologies and regional cultures. Between the everyday worlds and the system, there is another layer. City and countryside form a fabric of places for living, for activities and consuming, and thus an layer for mediation between everyday life and the other two layers, Globalization and the autonomous systems. Regarding the city this network has been called a fabric (texture - Colin Rowe, Fred Koetter, tissu urbaine - Henri Lefebvre) in order to emphasize the fact that here actions and relationships overlap in high density. Concerning the landscape the texture was named a palimpsest (André Corboz) in order to emphasize the overlapping there of historical enrollments and layers. Yet it has been noted that city can be a palimpsest and landscape can make a texture. Among many others, streets and blocks can most easily be recognized as structural elements of this layer in towns as well as ways and fields in the landscape.
The fine structures of cultural landscape that have developed in field boundaries, road networks and what in them is the mosaic of agricultural uses, do not play any special role in the Munich area. Impressive descriptions, as they usually occur in other landscapes, of the open fields, hedgerows, orchards, vine terraces, cabbage fields, sewage farms and many other things do not exist for Munich.
The French landscape architect Gilles Vexlard, in his design of the great

landscape park of Munich-Riem, reconstructed old field boundaries and rebuilt them as axes in the park. However, it can be observed that this means a great challenge to the visitors because they do not at all expect historical construction lines in the Munich landscape. Instead people erroneously like to relate this Frenchman to the Baroque axis systems, such as those described for the north of Munich, and one is disappointed accordingly that the supposed visual axes do not have any symbolic starting or destination points. But the other layer exposed by Vexlard, namely the transition from forest and settlement enclaves in the south to the open heath plains in the north of Munich, is easily understood in Riemer Park.

Large-scale morphology always dominates the fine structures of the cultural landscape in the Munich area. It is Vexlard's good intention to develop parks neither as horticultural quotations nor as guidance systems for pastimes but as part of a landscape that re-connects everything. So beyond park boundaries the suburban residential landscape is offered integration, but unfortunately it is met by other developments of space which are insensitive to the fine structures of the landscape because they are planned either systematically or globally.

First of all this does not apply to the old urban textures of Munich. Unlike in other German cities, after the Second World War, the road network and the building alignments of Munich were not subjected to total revision. The road network in the Old Town and the oldest of the extensions of it follows the relief. The roads and squares correspond to the borders of the blocks so that this part of the fabric gets tight and twisty. But since these preserved parts of the town have also been subjected to road traffic with the widest possible streets, parking lanes and one-way traffic regulations, narrowness arises from density. Even some avenues with the slender column-like poplars increase the emphasis of the vertical and the necessarily somewhat stifling effect.

Apparently there is no negative impact on the people of Munich. They compensate for the urban canyons with green courtyards, and conquer the streets themselves at least one day in July by street parties. These came into existence in neighbourhoods with a committed population - Schwanthalerhöhe, Schwabing, Glockenbachviertel, Maxvorstadt - and were developed in the 1970s. Nowadays in many different districts in Munich almost one hundred and fifty street parties are organised every year.

Because of the street festivals, a quality that only in the dense suburbs of the 'Gründerjahre' (period of industrial expansion in Germany from 1871 on) could be created was transferred to other districts, although these do not have the spatial qualities described. terraced housing, apartment buildings or large housing estates just do not correlate – apart from exceptions such as the Borstei in its interiors - with the spaces of the streets and squares that make them accessible so that a relationship to public space which can be used for every day life, and not (only) as a traffic area, is much more difficult to provide.

In some of these 'modern' neighbourhoods though once being a homogeneous population that consisted of workers, nevertheless a vibrant public scene has developed. Because of the heated Munich property market those districts are now subjected to the process of gentrification. The improvements of the environmental quality of neighbourhoods have contributed to this. So the football matches of the two major Munich clubs moved from the stadiums in the inner city - naturally to the northern - outskirts also for noise abatement reasons. For the district of Giesing this meant a significant loss of identity, which speeds up the decay of the old neighbourhood milieu. A comparable effect have the tunnels of the Middle Ring. The northern section was covered by a park. As a result, the population in the adjacent residential areas has been exchanged, since rents have increased by the newly-won quality of life.

Although the socio-spatial structure of city and landscape in Munich cannot be summarized under one single aspect, still the emergence of 'semi-urban neighbourhoods' has to be stressed, neighbourhoods and suburbs that consist of relatively homogeneous milieux, especially in the 'scene' and in the family quarters. In spite of this there still exists in the area of Munich a highly urban open culture which is both capable of integration and hospitable.

This has to be ascribed to certain key locations. Not only The City with Marienplatz does belong to them, but as a counterpart also Theresienwiese at the time of the October Festival and finally some larger urban areas. also In addition to those such places as Nymphenburger Park and above all the English Garden, which is one of the most beautiful and lively parks in the world, must be named. Of quite comparable importance is the beer garden culture.

Thus Munich has not a single centrality, but a landscape of various urban islands, whose centres not uncom-

monly are build by parks and gardens, a 'picturesque polycentrality'. This picturesque polycentrality makes the open city and at the same time the social glue which the semi-urban milieus and all urban extensions beyond the suburbs, the settlements and suburban landscapes cannot offer.

Munich is a contradictory landscape. There is a lack of urban and landscape fabric in the large suburban zones between the inner-city edges and the countrysides. A fabric, that could make the collision between the world of systems and the everyday worlds productive and sufferable. But the lack is enforced by the south-north-distinction of the landscape and the wealth in the region. These cracks are cottered by a collective experience of the sublime, by fine tuned differences between east and west and by a picturesque polycentrality. This can not content, because these cotters are dependent from only a few factors, especially a high prosperity level that ensures liberty of consume and mobility. To hold this level today means extraordinary stress for a large part of the population in the region.

The planning system tries to preserve a reputed contradiction of town and country at the periphery of Munich, e.g. by highlighting a 'green belt'. Instead of positioning landscape as a force against the urban, it seems to be much more important to develop the fine structures of the existing and rising urban an suburban quarters. Understanding as the basic spatial structure in suburban spaces, Landscape - 'urban landscape' - has to be developed as careful as the City.

URBAN LANDSCAPE STUDIES
EUPHORIGENIC LANDSCAPES

SHANGHAI
31°12′N 121°30′E

SIZE	6,340.5 KM^2
POPULATION	23,019,148
DENSITY	3,600/KM^2
ELEVATION	4 M
TIME ZONE	CHINA STANDARD (UTC+8)

SHANGHAI, A TYPICAL BUT ATYPICAL CHINESE CITY

Jixiong Pan

Chinese cities are growing fast. A few months ago, some words of my German friend made me lament: "In the past 20 years, my family went skiing in Switzerland each winter, and my parents always told me to buy a loaf of bread for breakfast at the same shop. Basically, nothing has changed in that place in Switzerland. 20 years later, waiters in the small village are the same persons, just their hair having turned white." As a Chinese under 30 years old, this is hard for me to imagine. If you can find a group of Chinese at my age, let them find their houses and playing places of childhood on Google Satellite: most of them will respond with an embarrassing smile after a hard search. Concerning Shanghai, the biggest Chinese city, the extent of change of the urban landscape allows you to see a new world every six months—as I witnessed the tremendous changes in my four years living there. The road behind the campus was rebuilt because there will be a new overpass; the main entrance of my university turned into a construction site due to the new subway lines; the world's tallest building is under planning across the Huangpu River, again; those things happen every semester.

Furthermore, compared with London, Paris, Hamburg and other European metropolises, China's major cities have an obvious feature: they are too giant. For instance, Shanghai is 20 times as big as Munich compared to its urban area. I can imagine that, if someone who lives in Munich wants to spend an outdoor weekend with his family, he can drive out of Munich and will reach within one hour a very beautiful countryside. Unfortunately, this is not the same in cities such as Beijing and Shanghai. It costs you much more time and fuel to get close to nature and landscape facilities, which mostly are located a few hours driving away. That is why I believe that in Shanghai, as a typical Chinese metropolis, the "euphorigenic landscape" is more reflected in the concrete and brick.

Concerning the "fast" and "giant", euphorigenic landscape of Shanghai can be read from a perspective of "changing" and "urban landscape".

THE LAYER OF NATURAL MORPHOLOGIES

Shanghai, located at the East China Sea coast, is the largest city in China, which gradually has been formed through a long history with many vicissitudes. Like all the world's largest commercial centres, it was not a famous place at

the beginning. Though once a bustling port, in the eyes of the ancient Chinese capitals, Shanghai was just a coastal rural place. Located in the Yangtze River Delta, Shanghai has fertile fields, a vast hinterland, and convenient transportation. The local people lived on fishing, farming and textile. Decades of development have changed the coastal plain landscape, once full of wetland and salt marshes. Like a late-maturing child, although there are nearly a thousand years of city history, Shanghai only grew rapidly in the last century, with amazing development.

In spite of the few hilly mountains of the southwest, the average altitude of Shanghai is just 4 meter, all of broad flat plains. The general trend of the land topography is slightly tilted from east to west. It makes the construction of skyscrapers and underground infrastructure difficult with the serious soil subsidence phenomenon (but the amount of Shanghai's skyscrapers ranks third in the world, New York and Tokyo coming in second).

As a typical southern city full with criss-crossing rivers, long agricultural civilisation makes river corridors play an important role in Shanghai's landscapE pattern. Among all the rivers, the greatest impact on urban pattern comes from the Huangpu River. The urban morphology along this river was a clear asymmetry. Before 1990, urban construction focused on Puxi (the west bank), conversely, the development of Pudong (the east bank) is just limited to the area along the river. According to high-density development and huge investment, glamour and flourishing of the whole city gathered on the west. Since the 1990s, thanks to the completion of the cross-river bridge and tunnel, Pudong has developed rapidly, but the pattern of asymmetry just appeared in another way. Compared with high-density irregular streets and blocks, steady streams of people, relatively low but historical architecture, Pudong is full of wild and tidy roads, well-dressed white-collar elite, brand-new skyscrapers and seems to be sophisticated anywhere without any gap between the rich and the poor, not to mention the traces of urban development. Decades ago, there was a saying popularized in Shanghai's real estate branch: "Rather have a bed in Puxi than a house in Pudong". This has changed today, from the economic point of view, but still they are like two different cities.

As previously mentioned, natural landscape and rural fields are far away from downtown of most Chinese big cities, nonetheless, Shanghai has a large number of parks and forest parks. Mild and humid climate makes street trees (most of them are camphor and London-plane)

grow tall and flourish. After the Expo, the green coverage of the entire city has significantly increased.

Because of the unique role in modern history, Shanghai is not only endowed with abundant natural landscape, but also has many historical and cultural landscape resources. From the original shanty towns, Shikumen buildings [1] (a traditional architectural form of Shanghai), the Bund [2] (the most famous landscape and attraction of Shanghai), to the skyscraper skyline on the east bank, you can find the transformation of the urban landscape of this city, under irresistible external influences.

THE LAYER OF GLOBAL AND REGIONAL HABITUS

Modern Shanghai is a microcosm of modern China. Excellent geographical environment and the special historical background let the city be first to accept the fresh air of Western civilisation. Landscape changes in Shanghai can almost represent modern landscape changes of China, which should be talked from the treaty ports opening in 1840's. Britain, the overlord of the European maritime trade in the 19th century, was extremely dissatisfied with the closed-door policy of the Qing Dynasty—there was only one port: Guangzhou. As a result of the treaty of the Opium War, Shanghai and four other cities became the open doors to the trade with the West. Along with the emergence of the concessions, Shanghai, to some extent, gradually drifted away from China's vast culture and social life and started learning everything from Western countries (concessions to be accurate) on urban construction, radiating new architecture, gardening and landscape to the whole country.

With the large number of Westerners doing business and settled in Shanghai, Western-style buildings and gardens mushroomed all over the city. The microcosm of various western architecture schools and different architectural styles of each period can be found easily in modern Shanghai. For instance, the style of British, Greek, French, Russian, German, Spanish, Nordic, Japanese, and so on, mixed standing shoulder to shoulder. There won't be a second city in the world that can accommodate such a diverse and contrasty architecture, the Bund is the most characteristic landscape of Shanghai, known as "World Fair of Architecture", facing to the Huangpu River and backed by architecture with rigorous modelling and different styles. No matter it is day or night, its extraordinary scenery with its special charm will always attract tourists. The river, its long embankment, the green belt and the magnificent buildings constitute a unique style of street

which has become the most important landmark. In addition, there are also rich cultural connotations because of the unique geographical location and role in the economic field of Shanghai and the whole China over the past century.

Shanghai has become a bridge between China and Western countries, a transit point to Western civilisation outputs to China. Shanghai has changed with the exemplary role of the concession; China as a whole has changed with the exemplary role of Shanghai. This is the track of modern China's urban and social evolution, and above all, life changes are the most obvious part of all changes.

THE LAYER OF EVERDAY LIFE

In the history of Shanghai, the poorest of the poor lived in large areas of squatter settlements. Arched by a bamboo frame and covered with mats, a small shack was finished, which had no windows, just a hanging straw mat at the entrance. Thousands of huts were connected to constitute a shanty town. In the 1920s, Shanghai had more than 50,000 huts, most of them were small, low, dirty, and hardly solid enough to withstand a storm. This is the darkest but most original part of Shanghai's urban landscape. Today, these dirty and crowded residential areas still exist at the core of the city (along the Shanghai Railway Station), they have just improved from crude huts to masonry dwarf rooms. Perhaps, for people who have just seen Shanghai's modern high-rise buildings and feasting, it is hard to imagine such an urban landscape and life style, so out of touch with modern civilisation in the centre of the city. Sharing the narrow aisle of less than one meter and limited taps at the door, with sewage flowing everywhere, people are washing, cooking, even brushing the toilet basket in the small space in front of the door.

The middle class in Shanghai lived in the neighbourhood housing, commonly known as Shikumen. Since the 1850s, as Shanghai's real estate developers want to profit from the influx of refugees as soon as possible, a kind of relatively simple and practical adjoining form of housing was constructed. It first appeared in the British Concession, and then extended to other concessions or even the entire city. The Shikumen are divided into old style and new style. The structure and layout of the old Shikumen evolved from the traditional low-rise courtyard houses of China, suitable for a large family. The whole building is closed, the high walls and heavy doors give the tenants a sense of security. New patterns of the Shikumen developed later, in order to

meet the requirements of tenants with different incomes. Prepared for smaller families and lower income families, there were low cost and simply decorated single-bays, a rough van or two small houses. Concerning the middle class with higher incomes, there were elegant single houses with a range of facilities. New Shikumen buildings were built with reference to Western-style houses and gradually detached from the Chinese courtyard style.

Today, the Shikumen landscape more becomes a symbol and concept. The most representative is the Xintiandi project, with 1.8 billion yuan of building costs. After the package, it became a funky playground under the appearance of Shikumen with costs reaching 20,000 yuan per square meter. Developers requested a "concept" from tenants, which means the furnishing of each tenant should not be less than 2 million yuan. Inside this Shikumen Starbucks, Michelin restaurant, ice cream shop of Venus Italy, Xavier clothing stores, all clubs and salons and so on – a variety of fashionable elements – are inlaid into the narrow old alleys, to get a perfect blend of old and new, tradition and trend, nostalgia and popular. It fits with the aesthetic psychology of modern Shanghai, fine enough to make a faint sense of alienation. Although it has succeeded in stimulating business and tourism, it cannot create a warm sense of belonging for local people. Perhaps, deliberately nostalgic new buildings precisely embody a fact: nostalgia is a cultural selling point, but also the embodiment of the lack of cultural diversity—with not more culture to show.

THE MEDIATING LAYER, THE CULTURE OF CITIZEN AND FEATURE OF CITY

There should be a mediating link between the different layers of natural morphology, global influence, and everyday life. What is the constant linking point, when all aspects of the different layers are changing? It is the culture penetrated in every aspect of city life and the temperament of the people which has been shaped by living environment, exotic lifestyle and traditional Chinese culture.

Many outsiders think that people of Shanghai are rigorous, hard-working, and receptive to new things, all these traits are factors in Shanghai's economic take-off. However, people of Shanghai are also said to be selfish and stingy, fawning on foreigners, self-sustaining, aloof, and lacking cultural identity.

Contrary to the expansion in workplace or public space, living space in Shanghai was extremely crowded. Except the small number of wealthy people enjoying spacious and comfortable dwellings, the vast majority of citizens lived

crowdedly in rented Shikumen houses, sharing limited living resources with others. Lacking of private space made the people inevitably become smart and calculating.

Eileen Chang, a famous female Chinese writer, said, "a Shanghai person is a traditional Chinese plus the results of the tempering by the high pressure of modern life", "they have a singular wisdom". Thanks to the use of this wisdom, the general public happiness under high pressure is reserved to the metropolis. Material deprivation in the old time did not prevent people from being happy; on the contrary, it brought a lot of interesting products, which can be clearly demonstrated by the food culture.

The "fritter" is a simple and cheap Chinese breakfast made with flour, which is hollow and fluffy after being fried. There is a traditional Shanghai dish called "seafood fried with fritters": smart Shanghai people found that cooking seafood with fritters makes the dish not only good-looking and delicious, but also seems full quantity. Besides, "Crab fried with rice cake" is the same. There are so many such examples in Shanghai, using simple and inexpensive materials to produce exquisite experience. Happiness does not need to be based on big numbers of money or material, which also makes sense in landscape. Much original Shanghai happiness is still found in the narrow crowded Shikumen residential areas on the west bank, and needs to be protected from the pursuit of higher, newer and faster represented by Pudong.

Shanghai has the largest number of fast food shops, from McDonald's to various oriental snack bars. Although it may not be civilised behaviour, you can still find many people holding their breakfast, eating or drinking on their way to work or school, no matter walking or on any public transport. Of all Chinese cities, Shanghai is the best embodiment of "fast ", from the speed of urban development to the pace of ordinary citizens' life. When I studied in Shanghai, I used to keep counting my pace speed when walking alone. I found my steps involuntarily speeded up, following other pedestrians in the streets. If there is no traffic jam, taxi drivers want to make their cars fly, as those Santana 2000, the old car models produced by Volkswagen which are still the most wildly used especially in taxi business, had been modified. The emphasis on efficiency is difficult to be caught up by other cities.

Having experienced Western domination, the lifestyle of Shanghai citizens is quite influenced by Western style. When you visit an authentic Shanghai family, perhaps, the host may first ask you "tea or coffee?", if the answer is cof-

fee, the following question might be "Turkish or British?" . The inconspicuous old grandpa in a small alley can tell you which button on your Western suit should not be buttoned. Most of them have an English name, at parties or at the workplace. They pay attention to the details of life to emphasise their good quality and taste—somehow the definition of good taste may always have some connection with "Western"—which can be traced from the semi-colonial period. However, a sense of practical cannot be denied, they may be used to have Starbucks everyday but still deeply love "seafood fried with fritters" when back home. There seems to be a mediating layer between Eastern and Western featured clearly in every aspects of Shanghai. Maybe it is hard to judge what is the perfect speed for the proceeding trend of culture integration. At least, reservations of a city's feature do no harm. It is particularly important for China to remain rational and keep arguing critically before rapid economic development.

Every city has its own feature. If Beijing means a male with cordial temperament rooted to the soil, Shanghai, in contrast, can be described as mature, wise female, soft, stylish, beautiful, smart, and versatile. If a foreigner wants to understand more about the Chinese traditional culture in one short vacation, Shanghai, as an atypical Chinese city, may not be the perfect destination. But in any case, Shanghai is the best example for a modern city which mixes both—Chinese and the world.

ENDNOTES

[1] Shikumen is the most characteristic of Shanghai's residential buildings. It originated in the period of the war of Taiping Rebellion. Generally, Shikumen buildings are found in the old alleys of Shanghai. The civil war forced wealthy landowners and officials of the Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces to take refuge in the city's foreign concessions, and foreign real estate agencies took advantage of a large number of residential buildings. In the twenties and thirties of the last century, Shanghai housing no longer paid attention to sculpture, but the pursuit of simple. As a combination of Chinese and Western, the Shikumen residence came into being. Shikumen means "stone gate" because the door frame was made of stone.

[2] The Bund is the must go for tourists in the centre of Shanghai, located in Huangpu District, with a length of 1.5 km along the west bank of Huangpu River. Known as the "world exposition of architectures", it is the financial centre of the old Shanghai and the concentration zone of the foreign trade organisations, composed by 52 different styles including Gothic, Romanesque, Baroque, and so on. Around the other side of Huangpu River, new landmarks such as Oriental Pearl Tower, Jinmao Tower and International Financial Center constitute the city skyline.

上海，一座既典型又特殊的中国城市

潘纪雄

中国城市的发展是快速的。几个月前，与一位德国朋友的交谈令我感慨：20多年来每个冬天他们都要全家去瑞士滑雪，他的父母每次都会让他去同一个面包房买一个面包当早饭。瑞士那个地方基本上没有什么变化，20年后小店的服务员还是同样的人，仅仅是头发变成了白色。这对我这个30岁以下的中国人来说是难以想象的，如果找一批像我这个岁数的中国人，让大家面对谷歌卫星地图找出童年的住所、嬉戏场地，我想大多数人都会在苦苦搜寻未果后报以尴尬的微笑。对于上海这样的中国大城市来说，城市景观的变化速度能够让你每六个月就看到一片新天地——之说以这么说，是因为我在上海读书的四年期间亲眼见证了她的巨大变化。由于要建立交桥，学校后面的马路被翻新；因为要开通新的地铁线路，校园正门变成建筑工地；外滩对面又要建设新的世界第一高楼；等等，这样的事情几乎每个学期都会发生。

相对于伦敦、巴黎、汉堡等欧洲大都市,中国的大城市还有一个明显的区别（准确的说是缺陷），那就是巨型。就都市区面积而言，上海是慕尼黑的20倍。可以想象，如果一个住在慕尼黑的人希望花一天的时间陪家人、孩子欢度周末，他们可以开车到慕尼黑以外，一个小时之内就可以到达很漂亮的乡村郊外。但是在北京、上海这样的城市不太一样，生态景观设施大都在数小时车程以外，亲近自然的代价是大量的时间与汽油。因此我认为，作为中国典型的超大型城市，上海的怡人景观（Euphorigenic Landscape）更多的体现在混凝土与砖瓦之间。
考虑到上海的“快”与“大”，当我们去发掘上海的怡人景观时，关键词少不了“变化”与“城市景观”。

自然形态与城市景观

上海地处中国东海之滨，是中国第一大城市，在慢慢历史长河中经历沧桑巨变逐渐形成。同世界上所有的大商业中心一样，上海起初并不是一个有名的地方，虽然曾经是一个繁华的港口，但是在历代都城的眼中她不过是一个沿海的小县城。作为长江入海处的三角洲，土地肥沃，腹地广阔，交通便利。这里曾经遍布盐田，当地人以渔猎、种植、纺织为生。但她就像一个晚熟的孩子，虽然有近千年的建城史，却在最近的一百年里快速完成了惊人的发育。

上海境内除西南部有少数丘陵山脉外，全为坦荡低平的平原，平均海

拔高度为4米左右。陆地地势总趋势由东向西低微倾斜，严重的土壤沉降现象使得修建摩天大楼和地下基础设施难上加难（但事实上，上海的摩天大楼总量已居世界第三，仅次于纽约、东京）。

上海作为一个典型的和网密布的南方城市，久远的农耕文明在一定程度上导致河流廊道对于城市景观格局起着非常重要的作用。在众多河流之中，对城市格局影响最大的是黄浦江，城市形态于江两岸形成清晰的不对称格局。在1990年以前，上海城市的发展都是以浦西为主，浦东的建设仅限于黄浦江的沿岸。伴随高密度的开发与大量投资，整座城市的繁华与魅力完全集中在浦西。直到1990年，跨江大桥和过江隧道的建成通车才开始使得浦东得以发展，但是整个城市形态上的不对称性却走向了另一个极端。相对于浦西那曲曲折折的高密度街道、拥挤的人流、相对低矮却充满历史气息的建筑，现在的浦东呈现出的是宽阔规则的街道、衣着精致的白领精英、簇新的摩天大楼，没有贫富差距，没有脏乱死角，当然，也找不到城市成长的印迹。二十年前上海有一句著名的话：宁要浦西一张床，不要浦东一栋房。从房地产市场的角度来看，这个现象已经不存在了，但是浦东和浦西仍旧像两个不同的城市

前文虽然提到,市中心远离乡村田野，但是上海仍然拥有为数众多的公园、森林公园。温和湿润的气候使得做为行道树的香樟、法桐高大茂密。世博会之后，整个城市的绿化覆盖率得到了更大的提升。由于在近代史中占有独特的地位，上海不仅拥有丰富的自然景观，而且遍布历史、人文景观。原生态的棚户区、石库门建筑、外滩建筑群、黄浦江以西的摩天大楼天际线见证了上海城市景观的转变。

全球与区域层面

近代上海是近代中国的一个缩影，优越的地理环境和特殊的历史背景使之最早接受西方文明的新鲜空气。因此，上海的景观变迁几乎代表了整个中国的近代景观变迁。而一切的变化都应该从开埠谈起，19世纪欧洲海上贸易的霸主英国，面对闭关锁国的清王朝仅有一个港口——广州，感到极为不满。作为鸦片战争战败的条约，上海与其他四座城市（广、夏、福、宁）成为了永不关闭的贸易大门。租界在上海诞生了，上海逐渐地在某种程度上游离于中国广大的社会之外，表现在城市建设上就是一切向西方学习，向租界靠拢，同时将新的建筑、园林、景观向内地辐射。欧式花园、洋房、公寓、石库门、阁楼出现了不同的区域分布特点。

随着大量西方人在上海经商及定居，西式建筑如雨后春笋般在上海

滩破土而起。近代上海可以清晰的发现西方各种建筑流派与各个时期建筑样式的影子，如英国式、希腊式、哥特式、法国式、俄国式、德国式、西班牙式、北欧式、日本式比肩而立。世界上不会有第二个城市有如此多样的建筑荟萃，它们屹立在那儿，互相形成对照。外滩是是最具有特征的上海景观，素有建筑万国博览会之称。无论是白天夜晚，其不凡的景致永远以其特殊的魅力吸引游人前往。外滩面对黄浦江，背倚造型严谨、风格迥异的建筑，江面、长堤、绿化带及美轮美奂的建筑群构成了独具一格的街景，同时也成为了上海最重要的地标。另外，独特的地理位置及近百年来在经济领域对上海乃至中国的影响，使其具有十分丰富的文化内涵。

上海成为中西交往的一座桥梁，是西方文明输向中国的中转站。在租界的示范作用下，上海发生着变化；在上海的示范作用下，整个中国也发生着变化。这就是近代中国城市与社会变迁的轨道，而社会变迁中最明显的莫过于生活变迁。

日常生活层面

历史上，上海低层穷人住在大片的棚户区里。用弓形的竹子作支架，盖上芦席搭成的小窝棚。这些草棚都没有窗户，挂个草帘充当门，一个个棚屋相连，就构成了棚户区。1920年代，上海有草棚5万个以上，这些棚户屋大都狭小低矮，环境污浊，难避风雨，是上海城市景观中最黑暗也是最原生态的部分。如今这些脏乱拥挤的居住区仍然存在，并且不乏与城市的核心地段(上海火车站一带），只是由简陋的草棚发展为砖石矮房。只见过大上海高楼光鲜的人，也许想象不到市中心还有这样与现代城市文明脱节的地带。房屋间通道窄处不到1米，坑坑洼洼，污水常流，因为各家的水龙头都在门口，洗菜在门口，刷马桶也在门口，炒菜的炉灶也在门口。

上海的中产阶级多租住在新旧里弄房（俗称石库门）中。石库门是19世纪50年代起，上海的地产商们为了尽快从大批涌入的难民那里获利而建造的较为简易且实用的毗连形式的住房，最早出现在英租界，随后扩至其他租界甚至整个城市。石库门分为新旧两种式样。旧式石库门的结构布局是从中国传统低层院落式住宅中的四合院蜕变而来的，整幢房屋为封闭式，高墙厚门给住户以安全感，且适合一个较大家庭居住。石库门发展到后期，为了适应不同经济收入租户的要求，出现了新的式样。为小家庭和收入较低的家庭所准备的，是造价低廉、局部装饰较为简陋的单开间或两间一厢式的小型房屋，而为收入较高的中产阶层准备的则是环境幽雅、卫

生设备齐全的单间房屋，外形则是参照西式洋房，逐渐脱离了四合院的风格。

今天，石库门景观更多的变成了一种符号和概念。最具代表性的就是香港瑞安公司花费18亿人民币完成的新天地项目。包装之后的新天地堪称一个有着石库门外表的时髦别致的游乐场。相较于每平方米造价已经达到了2万人民币，发展商对租户提出了“概念”要求，并且要求每个租户的装修造价不得低于200万人民币，每一个路灯都是旧式却簇新的。在石库门的门面里有星巴克咖啡、米其林餐厅、意大利维纳斯冰淇淋店、Xavier服饰店、沙宣美发沙龙等等，各种时髦元素都被镶嵌进狭长而古老的弄堂，旧与新，传统与潮流，怀旧与流行在此地得到了完美的交融。非常符合现代上海人的审美心理，精致得足够使人产生一种淡淡的疏离感，它不能够真正温暖人心，尽管它成功地拉动了商业与旅游。也许，这个略带怀旧的新建筑恰恰体现了这样一个事实:怀旧是文化卖点，同时也是文化缺乏活力的表现——这里已经没有更多的文化可展示了。

中间层面-市民文化与城市性格

居住环境、生活方式与世界影响中间有一个链接点，中间层。当不同层面的东西都在变化，那么不变的链接点是什么？我想应该是一种接受本土居住环境、舶来生活方式以及中国传统思想共同熏染的，被称之为文化的部分。而这个部分蕴含在方方面面城市生活与形形色色市民秉性之中 。

许多外地人认为，上海人勤奋且做事仔细认真，思想开放并善于接纳新事物，并且认为这些性格特点是上海经济腾飞的一个因素。然而还有人认为上海人崇洋媚外、抠门小气、自持清高、对中国其他地区的居民缺乏文化认同感等。这些特质都可以从这座城市的形态、生活方式、以及与西方文明难以分割的历史中找到原因。

与职业空间和交际场所极度扩大形成对比，上海人的居住空间小得可怜。除了少数有钱人享受着花园洋房、新式里弄公寓的宽敞舒适外，更多的上海职员租住在拥挤的石库门房子里，生活中私密的空间的缺失使得上海人不得不变的精明与实惠。

中国著名女作家张爱玲曾说上海人是“传统的中国人加上近代高压生活的磨炼”的结果，“有一种奇异的智慧”。在大都市的高压下，依然谨守着小市民的快活，大约就是这种智慧的运用。旧时期的物质匮乏不仅不能埋没人们发掘快乐的天性，恰恰相反，却带给上海人独特的享受，这种苦中作乐的精神在上

海饮食文化之中可见一斑。

油条是一种家喻户晓的廉价中式早饭。经过油炸之后，这种面粉制作的食物蓬松中空。恰恰有那么一道地道的上海菜叫做“海鲜炒油条”：精明的上海人发现海鲜与油条一起烹饪可使菜肴美观可口，更重要的是看起来分量十足。同样的道理，“螃蟹炒年糕”也如出一辙。像这种粗粮细作，从简单食材提炼最大快乐的例子不胜枚举。幸福并不是必须建立在巨大的金钱与物质基础至上，这个道理放在景观上同样说得通。绝大多数上海人幸福的印记都深藏在浦西狭窄拥挤的石库门弄堂里。而这部分景观恰恰需要跟浦东所代表的对于更高、更快、更新的建设逻辑分开保管。

上海有着中国最大的快餐业市场，从麦当劳到种类丰富的中式快餐。尽管看起来有些不文明，但是你总能看到人们一边赶去上班或上学一边吃早饭，无论在路上、地铁上还是公交车上。在所有的中国城市之中，上海最能体现快速，上至城市建设速度下至市民生活节奏。当我在上海上学的那几年，闲来无事会数一下自己的步伐。只要一到上海，我发现自己会不由自主的加快脚步，融入到街上川流不息的人流里。只要不赶上堵车，出租车司机恨不得把车开得飞起来，让我总是怀疑这些桑塔纳2000是不是都改装转过动力系统。在上海，对高效率的追求是其他中国城市难以望其项背的。

就像亚洲其他有过殖民历史的城市一样，这里的市民普遍比较“洋气”。如果你登门拜访一个上海“老克拉”，主人可能先会问你喝茶还是咖啡。如果你选择咖啡，他大概会马上问你“土耳其式的还是英式的？”。弄堂里面不起眼的老头也许可以告诉你西装的哪粒扣子是不应该扣上的。大部分上海人会有个英文名字，用于聚会和职场。他们重视生活的细节并强调自身品味——好的品味往往与西式脱不了干系，总之这一切都应该追溯到半殖民地时期。但是，一个事实永远难以被否认，尽管上海人热爱星巴克，但他们骨子里离不开“海鲜油条”。这种介于中西之间的夹层在上海的方方面面都能找得到。很难去评判文化融合究竟以什么样的速度推进是最完美的，但是保留城市特色至少是无害的。对于中国，高速发展前的理性、思辨的论证是尤为重要的。

每一座城市都有自己的灵魂。如果北京像是一个热情豪爽并带有些许乡土气息的大汉的话，上海可以被比喻为一个成熟智慧的女性，优雅美丽有品位，精明并且善变。如果一个老外想借助一趟旅行尽可能多的了解整个中国，上海也许不能算

是一个好的选择。但是不管怎样，作为一个非典型性中国城市，上海是研究当代都市东西方融合的最好案例。

URBAN LANDSCAPE STUDIES
EUPHORIGENIC LANDSCAPES

HANGZHOU
30°15′N 120°10′E

SIZE	16,847 KM^2
POPULATION	8,700,400
DENSITY	516/KM^2
ELEVATION	18 M
TIME ZONE	CHINA STANDARD (UTC+8)

XIXI LANDSCAPE, HANGZHOU

Yuanyuan Gu

Saying as “Paradise in Heaven; Suzhou and Hangzhou on earth” is a cultural Chinese sentence without exaggerate descriptions. And a movie called If You Are The One [非诚勿扰] attracted considerable public attention of Hangzhou by the end of 2008. , the Xixi Wetland, South Yangtze club, the teahouse exemplified the unique relaxed lifestyle of Hangzhou, landscaped backdrop, simple and elegant, tranquil environment. A boat hanging a lantern rowed slowly upstream, and the soft light reflected calm water. Standing on the head of the boat, the helmsman rowed rhythmically and gently. The actress leaned close to the actor, listened to the water quietly. At that moment, Xixi became the first choice of romantic love among the youth and new presentation of water towns south of the Yangtze River after the public show.

THE MORPHOLOGY LAYER AND EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

There are two major river systems in the south of the Yangtze River, Yangtze River and Qiantang River [钱塘江] which are connected with each other through the Great Canal. There are also rivers and numerous lakes spread all over the area which can flow to each other by the construction of a large number of water conservancy in the long-term development process. Xixi Wetland locates at the southern wing of the Yangtze River Delta, between south-western hill-valley area and north-eastern stream-plain area of Zhejiang province. Stream Dongshao [东苕溪]as the boundary, the western hilly valley, formed 130 million years ago, are the eastern foot of Tian Mu Mountain [天目山] and ranges of Qianli Hillock [千里岗]. The eastern plain formed by the Stream shao [苕溪] distributes at the mouth of the valley. The northeast water network plain, mainly in the Beijing-Hangzhou Grand Canal Basin, has flat land and dense ponds. The southeast beach plain mainly is marine accumulation, alluvial and lacustrine formation of auxiliary conditions, flat terrain with a bit high-pitched and deep soil.Generally, Xixi [west stream 西溪] starts from Town Xianlin [闲林镇], throughout several estuaries, flow to the River Yuhangtang [余杭塘河] which is a branch of Stream Dongshao on the north. Xixi as one of the backbones forms a complex water-net system together with the River Yuhangtang.

According to the literature, the first influence of human activities on Xixi Wetland happened around the Eastern Han Dynasty. Mayor of Yu-Hang or-

ganized one hundred thousand labours on water conservancy at 173 A.D... They dredged river, excavated lakes and built dam, reduced the amount of water into the Xixi gradually. Water facilities and land formation began to attract pioneers gathered in Xixi to do agriculture and fisheries activities. After Jin Dynasty, to be accompanied with Buddhism being introduced to China, a large number of Buddhist temples and other religious buildings were site selected here based on the lots of original wetland scenery; but the scale of construction at this time had little visual impact, on the contrary became landscape elements. Southern Song Dynasty establishing the capital in Hangzhou accelerated economic development and population was denser correspondingly. The original streams, lakes and mud areas had extensively converted into the rivers and ports for transportation and ponds for fish-farming. Xixi Wetland formed a "mulberry fish pond" landscape pattern which is the mass of attraction nowadays during this period.

From 173 A.D to the late Tang Dynasty, the ancestors dwelled in Xixi Area constantly transformed nature, to create better conditions for agriculture. Firstly, they built the dams to prevent the flood from southwest.

Beyond millennium artificial transformation, Xixi Wetland emerges a unique scaly texture by crisscross river net and dense basins which is totally different from the original morphology. The Song Dynasty government formally establishing Xixi town at 988 AD. Xixi has a variety of landscape forms, the densely populated traditional towns, view-open agricultural landscape, as well as sparsely populated secondary wetland landscape. Meanwhile, the most famous one is abundant resource of waterfront landscape. Almost the whole region was composed by the farmland - fish ponds - pond shore - islet - stream system. And the space structure is well arranged with both winding rustic charm and grand open enlightened.

THE DAILY LIFE LAYER AND THE SOUTH OF YANGTZE RIVER CULTURE IMAGINES

Economic and cultural centre of China shifted to the south of the Yangtze River thoroughly after Tang and Song Dynasty, and 'Hangzhou - Suzhou' north-south axis was set eventually. The old saying "the ripe of Suzhou and Hangzhou makes the whole country adequate" witnessed the wealth of this region. After 150 years' development as the capital of the south China, Hangzhou presented as "the world's most beautiful and luxurious city" when the famous Italian traveller Marco Polo vis-

ited at Yuan Dynasty.

The south of the Yangtze River stands in the transition from the subtropical to warm temperate zone. Warm and humid climate with four distinct seasons is very suitable for the growth of various crops and human life. In ancient time, "the south of the Yangtze River" means high-developed education and wealthy riverside scenery, a land flowing with milk and honey is the first image in people's mind. Xixi Wetland Landscape extremely matches Chinese millennium farming cultural heritage which is especially precious in modern society. The cultural landscape like "a small bridge over the flowing stream" and the natural landscape as "breeze and drizzle" breeds the refined scholars' aesthetic culture. And this view just is the ancient Chinese literati ideal of "harmony of the nature, beauty of the community". For example, the "water designing" in the Chinese Classical Garden is a simulation of the natural river morphology of the south of the Yangtze River.

As for the boats, the meaning is self-evident for the people living in this area, no matter going out or fishing even transportation. Before the popularization of modern transportation, water transport was not only inexpensive, but also had a larger capacity than land transport. Thus, people would like to gather to any beneficial port for water transportation and consequently a town was formed. These riverfront towns always show types of strip layout. Due to relatively free river turns, towns usually follow the natural form and are spread on one river side or both sides. The landscape in the whole area demonstrated a harmonious texture between man and nature. In the river-cut south of Yangtze River, many towns and villages were built along the rivers; their patterns depended on the rivers' direction, various shape and changing-width. Random elements like various bridges and white wall with dark roof tile [建筑风格] creates distinctive landscape and the visual impact. When mentioning the south of the Yangtze River, pictures emerge in my mind are rippling water, variety of bridges, black-awning boat, gentle rain, stone road, drops upstream from the roof down, and a lotus or tea picking girl trailing long plaits walking in the narrow alley with an umbrella in the poem "A Lane in the Rain" by Dai Wangshu [《雨巷》戴望舒]. The tissues mentioned above, some such river, boat, bridge, stone road and lane are the "generator" of daily life.

Different with the western solemn churches, the Chinese religious buildings take a more secular function for communication. Generally temples

were built outside of the city, pilgrims can enjoy the scenery along the way; it is a wonderful thing to enjoy well-cooked vegetarian dishes in the temple garden; shopping fun can also be satisfied due to a large number of traders gathering in front of the temple door. In the absence of Square culture, Temples are particularly important in ancient Chinese society, they provide the city living room for communication instead of square functions. Especially for the city's civilians and bound women, and the temple pilgrimage is the rare opportunity to go out of his / her year . They can get close to nature, and deal with people outside the community. Since the Jin Dynasty, the prevalence of Buddhist architecture in Xixi area, and the subsequent construction of Garden Villas of scholars drew the public outing of Hangzhou and the surrounding cities.

Going for a walk together in the country on Tomb-sweeping Day [清明节] in spring and climbing hills on Double Ninth Festival [重阳节] in autumn are typical and important leisure activities for ancient Chinese close to nature. The fun of outdoor party and friends' communication is more interesting than enjoying the landscape. In other words, appreciating fine view or close to nature is more or less a carrier of strengthen the bond of friends and relatives and a place for interpersonal communication.

Europeans like to sit along the square, bath in the sunshine, drink coffee; the very introverted personality of Chinese makes them prefer the indoor leisure, such as sitting near the window in tea houses and enjoy the beautiful scenery or the bustling streets, smell tea perfume. Hear storytelling in restaurant and watch traditional opera in garden are a standing-outside participant mode which are totally different from Europe and America, such as civic participation in the carnival. The close-up shots in "If You Are the One" on Xinyuan teahouse and Pingtan [评弹 storytelling and ballad singing in Suzhou dialect] witnessed that folk arts and tea ceremony had a wide range of mass base , which are the main entertainment form of citizen's street life.

Xixi Wetland was a country park in pre-auto age. For the citizens of that time, around 10km to the city centre means a round trip in one day. It becomes a part of Hangzhou citizen daily life under better transportation. They can experience both farmer or fisherman lifestyle and natural exploration. Chinese traditional festivals like the Dragon Boat Festival [端午节] and Chinese New Year dying away in the city are still particularly ceremonious in Xixi Wetland. Folk customs of local area or Yangtze delta such as kung fu art on the boat [船拳] and blue cloth with design in white

[蓝印花布] technique, boat-wedding, play Shaoxing opera [越剧] recall real Chinese daily life 30 years ago. Some citizens especially those seniors prefer to rent a little wooden boat from the peasant family nearby, and then spend half day on fishing, take a walk around the wandering river, enjoy the trophies as the last program of the happy farming-hour.

Living in the old-fashion wooden structure house, local inhabitants had an intimate neighbourhood but not rich material life ten years ago. That time, families preferred to eat in their courtyard with the doors open, and then moved out bamboo chairs and chatted with each other while enjoying the cool in summer. However, they didn't have any secrets. On the one hand, people used to such open type social communication; on the other hand, due to the building materials and spatial distribution, home affairs, for example couple quarrel, were broadcasted easily. Homesickness and old memory are indeed precious nowadays, living with sewer and privacy may be more attractive.

THE GLOBAL LAYER AND THE QUICK SETUP SYSTEMS UNDER POLITICAL POWER

Before the large-scale development, Xixi area presented a progressive water system structure over than other regions, the land is only a supporting role [与其他地方不同，此地水多土少] in this system. The protogenesis such as River Yuhangtang and Stream Dongshao composed the backbone network; the water conservancy rivers like River Yanshan [沿山河] River Wuchang [五常港] etc. and some big lakes constitute the subordinate system; next is the mulberry-fish pond system. The boat was the main traffic tool in former Xixi, life and production was greatly dependent on water transport. The Lucky Dam and Green Dam as well as towns and houses were just to fill up the remaining of the water system. This system is closely related with the residents' everyday life and transit into the mediating level passage in the years gone by. The modern system in Xixi is in the initial construction phase. There are only several complete highways as follows: Road Wenyi [文一西路], east -west Avenue [东西大道] and regional highway 015, national highway 104, other hard surface is not yet into the system, while a railway across the area.

The main industry doing terrible harm to the environment of Xixi Wetland was pig-raising that is 7 times discharge capacity as much as human beings before renovation project. Local inhabitants kept on filling and occupying water column to build more housing. With the rapid development of industrialization

since late 80's, vast industrial sewage discharged into Xixi Wetland without any treatment due to the absence of cesspipe, so did living waste and sewage. Xixi area came into an important part of main city in Hangzhou Urban Master Planning in 2001 , urban facilities began to planning and construction on Jan 2004. First-phase project of Xixi Wetland Park opened in 2005; in the meantime, the exploitation of real estate around Xixi Wetland Park moved into mass construction and marketing period. Xixi turned into a complex sub-centre, which integrated residence, business, administration, research and vacation with the opening of west part of the park in 2009. From the brief "development" history above, it speaks volumes for the powerful political force of local government.

The strategy of local administration is that utilize the ecology dominance to enhance the urbanization and industrial restructuring, optimize resource allocation, produce the radiation effect to the whole area development by industrial concentration. Undoubtedly, the government concentrates political power and financial resources in a very short-term. Traffic system is in the stage of constant improvement; educational, medical and recreation blocks are under construction or been established, they are Zhejiang University campus which has all kinds of public cultural facilities, a 3600-bed hospital which will be the biggest one in the province, a 98.9 km2 high-tech park composing innovation and industrialization of research findings, a new shopping centre and multi- consume lever hotels. All these new urban systems will both benefit the citizens and authority tremendously. The future structure of the Xixi will present the New York Central Park mode with Wetland Park in the centre and the real estate as well as services industry around.

On the positive perspective, no one can pull off a government-engineered protection action plan. The authority leaded pig-raising transformation into tourism industrial, laid the pipeline, encouraged migration to relieve the population pressure, and speeded up water quality improvement simultaneously. Housing price keeps running under high price level demonstrated the efficient work by the political force in different ways. However, it moves into a new paradox that graceful landscape attracts investment and construction yet artificial buildings stain even destroy landscape quality. Scenery of waterside villages, the literati tradition of Southern Yangtze Delta and the beautiful story about an emperor share Xixi scenery with his people [西溪且留下] are as a business "selling points" for

real estate commercial speculation. The purchasers admire excellent views and splendid culture tradition; simultaneously, they act an unconscious assistant of destroyer in the process of demolishing old dwellings and filling in rivers for more density buildings. "The Xixi daily life" is the emperor's new clothes, to obscure the reality of row upon row of tall buildings in the name of enjoying the high-quality air and environment .

In the era of wrestling between economic development and environmental protection, it might be a smart city management strategy in rapid urbanization China, "fanfare" to protect a wetland Park less than 1 / 10 of the whole area in exchange for a higher price of selling the surrounding land. Although the Xixi Wetland Park is no longer the villages' home but a static and charge park, the development model kept at least part of wetland resources and continued folk culture which is better than those land disappeared in the cranes and dust [解释].

From the perspective of life quality, the conflict between urban population growth and limited land resources, to some extent, forces the administration departments or developer to satisfy fundamental needs first, and then pursue quality. Only when the economy develops to a certain level, people would start to care about things other than food and clothing, such as the pursuit of life quality, environment protection, local traditions and culture continuance, and so on. Liang Congjie [梁从诫] also said that ugly modern buildings could be better than those quaint old houses from the point of view of meeting the needs of life. If it cannot satisfy the residents' pursuit of modern life, if modern living facilities, traffic conditions are conflict with former patterns, it is impossible to keep at last.

THE MEDIATING LAYER AND THE FABRIC OF PRODUCING URBAN LANDSCAPE

As the irresistible pitch of urbanization in China today, Hangzhou always keeps up sprawling, and breaks the boundary of its rural area Xixi.

There were filled with rice field, tea gardens and fish ponds, several villages distributing sporadically. Gradually, urban landscape, wide ablaze with lights and concrete forest, is instead of agriculture imagines; smoke wreathing over the cottage from the kitchen chimney can't be seen any more. Large scale reinforced concrete buildings replace former exquisite wooded houses. The constructions grow higher and higher, from two-storey to dozens of meters, truncated roof also becomes the main trend. Machine-made modern architecture supplants the ancient houses of

civilian homes with white walls, black roof-tiles in three or five years. Xixi is at a rapid development status with demolition, construction plant and dust everywhere; besides, Xixi presents a high-mixed texture which exist both tradition and modern, cottage and tall storey housing, village and factory, static reservation and under construction buildings. A large number of new residents immigrate into Xixi, 5-10 times density of the natives; the indigenous inhabitants, along with their lifestyle, customs and traditions emigrated or replaced by new immigrants.

The manifestation mode of traditional settlement is courtyards on both sides of the street organized by family and kinship ties as a rule [解释]. In recent years Real estate development enlarge the courtyard that originally belonged to the family level into great community which can accommodate a variety of classes and groups due to severe enlarged scale. The concept of equality and freedom in modern society reflected in the physical space is the unity of architectural style and form; it is a very homogeneous state. Small zones split relationship between urban spaces, and in the closed zones are lack of effective ties and necessary public space. The efficient transportation, which meets the requirements of modern society, and the modern community planning theory gradually, move residents' life and activity centre from the street outside the community to the inside. The walls surrounding cut the link of the street and isolated cell, street, the traditional urban public communication space is slowly losing its relevance remaining traffic function.

In the context of rapid social transformation, architects often determine many people's living conditions. First of all, they finish the foundation, and then plan and design; this top-down approach is bound to be mechanical and rational. Maybe someone tries to find back the characteristics of waterfront dwellings and return to some old texture, however, only to enlarge the scale of garden is far from enough in modern residential area. Traditional garden design around Yangtze Delta is for private gardens, landscape architects are very good at showing their talents good in the confusion square. Moreover, the traditional form of living culture incompatible implants living style of modern architecture.

Dominated by political forces of new town construction can but build skeleton - the system level, and developers fill and improve the system, following suit, while the texture of daily life needs time and space of slow growth. With the continuation or conversion of the indigenous residents living habits,

some of the old fabric will restore in the new physical space. With the new residents begin to accommodate to each other and adapt to new environment, new neighbourhood might be mature and stable, immigrations may use the public space provided by architects, or give up using such space instead of developing new space supporting their own life. In many new towns developed more than 10 years, you can find that the fabric growing process can also the conversion process that the system layer led by political power to the middle layer of daily life. For instance, the new footpath along both sides of River Wuchang and River Chaotianmo [朝天莫港], deep into Xixi Wetland. A marina has been set to take boat to the park even to the Giant Canal like former time. These facilities can't have close ties with the inhabitants' daily life immediately. Accompanying the residents settling here, once the pace of life back on track, such space will be bound to the container of everyday life, complete the transformation from system level to the texture layer.

After a hundred years of development, Europe and the United States have entered a relatively stable period of urbanization process; the main stream transferred to Asia and Latin America. The pace of urbanization in developing countries seems more intense, usually they completed in a few decades away for hundreds of years compared to Europe and the United States. In this process, the rapid urbanization means bulldozed of everything of villages accumulated of thousands years, instead exotic matter called the "urban". The subject of the city, civic society usually lags behind the physical space on urbanization. They change the mode of life and thinking to follow the pace of urbanization actively or passively. That is, when the old fabric was erased, the new system can be set up in the short term, while the new texture takes much longer time and grow slowly to fill and complete the system.

Suffered from hundred years of poverty and invasions, now China do not have enough time and patience to wait for a bottom-up urbanization; only drastic reforms and developments make the nation back to the ranks of power. "Modernism" Planning Theory inherited from the European is undoubtedly the most efficient method in the stage of rapid development. The city model that Le Corbusier pinned his praise of the Mechanical Age and the illusion of a better future is become the universal reality in China. The city is been a formal organized together as the mechanical parts. In the initial stage, people work under a well-functioning system. But when society developed to a certain

degree, people would pursue personality development definitely, they also require the city develops various types of space to meet the needs of different groups. Thus, intermediate level will regenerate along with the fabric recovery.

CONCLUSION

"No style" modernism has prevalence in China more than half century. It did not leave much building to stir emotions and memories; the city lost the capacity of cultivating and expressing nature, history and cultures.

As architects, planners and landscape architects, we can focus on the texture of the local traditional structures; try to recover it not only in Xixi but also in other areas or upgrade the indigenous fabric. We can still create new landscape to suit modern society, and strive to fill a lot of blank space left by the System. Besides, we can also continuously adjust the not perfect existing structure function to adapt to the requirements of life.

However, when we use the western theory to analyze China's urban landscape, there is always lack of acclimatization. Westerners spend more leisure time on outdoor activities, so they demand high quality on the landscape. "Resident time-use survey" showed that the Chinese people's leisure time was more for interpersonal, compared with European and American countries. "Watching TV, Internet, dining together, sleeping, playing mah-jong [麻将], banquets are the most frequent things beyond 8 work hours; and those most popular leisure activities in western countries such as sunbathing and sports are not so welcomed among Chinese people." Of course, with the progress of living standards, people will increase recreational demands; but the rigid application of western experience and model is not suitable for China's social development.

杭州西溪风景

顾媛媛

“上有天堂，下有苏杭”，历史上的杭州曾是闻名全国的经济和文化中心城市之一，大词人柳永称赞其“东南形胜，三吴都会，钱塘自古繁华”，皇帝宋仁宗也在诗中赞扬杭州“地有湖山美，东南第一洲”。2008年底，伴随电影《非诚勿扰》的热映，大家的目光再次聚集到杭州，而西溪一跃成为江南水乡的新代表。电影的镜头下，西溪湿地、江南会和心缘茶楼展示出杭州悠久的人文积淀和平静优雅的城市氛围。一艘挂着灯笼的摇橹船缓缓地溯流而上，柔和的光映出西溪的静谧。　船头，艄公有节奏摇着橹。　舒淇靠在方中信的肩头……瞬间，柔和静谧的西溪也成为年轻人心目中首选的浪漫爱情之地。

地形层次及演化过程

江南地区主要有两大水系，长江水系和钱塘江水系，两者之间通过京杭大运河相连。在长期的水利治理过程中，江南地区形成了河网密布且相互连通的独特地貌。西溪湿地位于长江三角洲南翼，浙西南丘陵河谷和浙东北水网平原的交界带。以东苕溪为界，西部山地丘陵河谷，形成于1.3亿年前，属天目山东麓和千里岗山脉之余脉。东部因苕溪而成的河谷平原分布在苕谷口。东北部为水网平原，主要分布在京杭大运河流域，土地平整、池塘密布。东南部为滩涂平原，是在海积作用为主，冲积、湖积作用为辅条件下形成的，地势略高亢平坦、土层深厚。西溪通常从闲林镇算起，沿途通过五常港、蒋村港、紫金港、莲花港、冯家港等河流，交汇于北部的东苕溪支流余杭塘河，构成以西溪和余杭塘河为主干河的复杂水网体系。

据历史记载，西溪地区第一次大规模的人工改造发生在东汉年间。余杭县令组织十万余劳工疏通河道，挖渠筑坝。水源便利、土地平整且开阔开始吸引先人集聚在西溪地区从事农业和渔业生产活动。晋代后，佛教传入中国，基于当时西溪还保留大量原始湿地形态，风景优美，大量佛寺庙堂等宗教类建筑选择建在此地；但此时的建设规模对于西溪景观影响甚微，甚至成为景观元素之一。宋室南迁后定都杭州，加速杭州的经济发展，人口相应更加稠密。整个区域几乎都被改造成通航和渔业的河港、池塘，今日普遍所见的“桑基鱼塘”的景象即始于那段时期。

从公元173年起至唐末，定居于此的先民从未停止对自然的改造步伐，来创造更适宜的农耕条件。在政府的组织下，他们先建造大坝阻止来自西南的洪水，然后排干积水，露

出土地，按照农业灌溉的需求重新建立水系，最后将分给每个家庭。超越千年人工改造，彻底的改变了原生的地形地貌。公元988年，宋朝正式建置西溪镇。西溪有多种景观形态，人口密集的传统市镇景观、视线开阔的农业景观，以及人烟罕至的次生湿地景观。其中水域景观资源最为独特，河、湖、塘、渚与农田、农舍交错拼接而成，空间层次分明、开合有序，既有曲径通幽的野趣横生，也有豁然开朗的舒展壮阔。

日常生活层次与江南文化意象

唐宋之后，中国的经济和文化中心渐渐向南方江浙一带转移，最终形成了“苏杭”轴线。古语“苏杭熟，天下足”见证了这个地区的富庶。经过150年南宋都城的发展，杭州呈现出马可波罗笔下“世界上最美丽和奢华的城市”形象。

江南地区位于亚热带向暖温带转换的地区。温暖湿润的气候非常适合各种农作物生产以及人类生活。在古代，江南往往代表着繁荣发达的文化教育和美丽富庶的水乡景象，江南农耕地区称为“鱼米之乡”。江南的小桥流水人文景观和柔风细雨自然景观滋生了士大夫文人园林景观。江南地区植被种类丰富，河网纵横交错，形成了和谐温情的江南园林，特别是水景的利用，这与中国古代士大夫文人所追求的“美妙和谐的自然社会”理想一致。中国古典文人园林所追求的是宁静淡泊，与世无争，这是中华民族农耕文化时期典型的安居理念。

在江南地区，舟楫的意义不言而喻，不管是外出还是捕鱼抑或交通运输。在现代交通方式普及之前，水路运输不仅廉价而且运输量也远超陆路运输。因此，人们向便于运输的港口聚集，于是形成市镇。滨水小镇往往呈线状布局，根据河流形态、流向、宽度的不同，分布在河的一侧或两侧。整个区域的景观展现出一种人与自然和谐共处的肌理。遍布在河道上的一座座千姿百态的小桥和粉墙黛瓦的随机组合形成独特的水系景观和视觉冲击。当提及江南印象是，浮现在脑海中的便是斜风细雨、小桥流水、乌篷船、石板路以及戴望舒《雨巷》中撑着油纸伞彷徨在寂寥的雨巷中的丁香姑娘。河流、小船、桥、石板路、巷等肌理都是日常生活的“发生器”。

与西方庄严肃穆的教堂不同，中国宗教空间承担了更多世俗交往的职能。寺庙一般建在城外，进香途中可以欣赏沿途风光；在寺庙的园林里享用僧人精心烹制的斋菜，乃一大美事；寺庙的门口聚集了大量的商贩，这样购物也可以满足。在没有广场传统的中国古代社会，寺庙尤为重要，它代替广场提供交往空间的城市客厅职能。尤其对于城市

的平民以及受约束的女性而言，寺庙进香是他/她们一年中难得的外出机会，他们可以亲近自然、与社区外的人交往。自晋代起西溪地区佛教建筑的盛行，以及随之而来的文人园林别业的建设，使之成为杭州及周边地区市民郊游首选地。
清明时节结伴踏青，重阳节登高望远是古代中国人重要的亲近自然的休闲活动。在这样的节日里，呼朋引伴，人际交往的乐趣更胜于赏景本身。可以说，欣赏风景、亲近自然更多的是加强亲朋好友间纽带的载体。

欧洲人喜欢坐在广场边，沐浴在明媚的阳光下，悠闲的喝咖啡；中国人相当内敛的性格使得大家偏爱室内休闲方式，例如坐在茶室靠窗的位置，欣赏美丽的风景或者热闹的街市，品着茶香。或是坐在茶馆里听说书，戏院里看戏，这是一种置身事外的欣赏，不同于欧美全民参与的狂欢节。《非诚勿扰》中，导演对心缘茶楼和评弹的特写从另一个角度证明了曲艺和茶艺的广泛群众基础，他们是中国人从古至今主要的娱乐方式。

西溪距离城市中心约10公里，在前汽车时代是一个郊野型的风景胜地。在更加发达的交通条件下，更成为杭州人日常生活的一部分。一日之间便可来回，一半的农家风情，一半的自然野趣，充分满足人们休闲放松的心境。端午节水花飞溅的龙舟赛会,农历年的传统民俗，观看船拳表演，体验蓝印花布的加工听听越剧，回味30年前传统中国人的日常生活；到水乡的农民家租一条小木船钓上半天鱼，再吃一顿农家饭；野水漾洄的湿地景观是本地人周末尤其是退休老人们的独特乐趣。

十年前的居民，住在老式的木结构住宅里，虽然物质生活不丰富，但邻里关系极其亲近。家家户户敞开门，晚饭摆在天井或院子里吃，吃完了搬出竹凳竹椅来乘凉。但私密性很差，一方面是因为人们习惯性的敞开式交往，另一方面则是木结构为主的建筑形态所致，因为当时材料和空间布局等原因，人家大多是没什么秘密可言的。乡愁与回忆依然值得回味，也许城市生活的舒适性更值得向往。

全球层次和政治力下的快速建构的系统

不同于其他地区，在大规模开发之前，西溪地区呈现的由水构筑的逐级系统，陆地在此系统中仅充当配角。由东苕溪和余杭塘河原生水系构成的主干水网；下一级便是经由水利改造后形成的沿山河、顾家桥港、五常港、严家港、蒋村港、紫金港等河港和较大的湖泊组成的次一级水网系统；再次一级便是大小不一的养育植桑的人工池塘。旧时

西溪地区的主要交通工具是舟楫，生活、生产、运输都极大地依赖水运交通。而福堤、绿堤这样的道路或者堤坝以及市镇、民居仅仅是填充这个水系统下剩余的空白。这个系统与居民的生活息息相关，在时光的流逝中转变成中间层次。目前西溪的现代系统处于初步构建阶段，完整的且贯通的公路只有文一西路、东西大道和S015、G104，其他硬质路面尚不成体系，另有一条铁路穿越基地。

在湿地改造前，西溪湿地区内以养猪为主业，养殖业的污染量是生活污染的7倍；并且伴随人口的增加，居民填埋湿地、侵占水体新建住房，使得西溪水系的遭受更严重的破坏。工业迅速发展起来，大量工业污水无法纳入到城市污水排放系统，也是西溪水系主要的污染源。自2001年起，杭州城市总体规划开始把西溪地区视为杭州主城区的重要组成部分，市政设施开始规划建设；2005年，西溪湿地公园首期工程正式向游客开放，与此同时，西溪湿地旁的住宅开发进入大规模建设期和销售期；2009年，伴随公园西区正式开放，西溪向一个集居住、商务、行政、科研和度假功能于一体的生态型城市副中心演变。这段简略的西溪“发展”史，充分展示了政策力量的强大。

杭州的发展策略是利用西溪湿地的生态优势来推进城市化发展和产业结构调整，优化资源要素配置，发挥产业集聚和对全区经济社会发展的辐射效应。在政府强力推动下，大量资源在短期内将向该区域集中。车行交通网络日趋完善；教育、医疗和娱乐配套设施也在跟进，例如：拥有多种公共文化设施的大学校园；拥有3600张床位的浙江最大的医疗中心正在筹备建设中；98.9平方公里的高科技开发区、商业中心和酒店群也在建设中。这些新城市功能的驻入，将极大的发展当地经济水平，改善当地居民的生活条件，增加政府的财政收入。未来西溪的结构将呈现出以湿地公园为中心，房地产业和服务业开发围绕周围的纽约中央的模式。

从积极角度看，政府主导的西溪湿地保护开发行动强势且有效：引导农民讲养猪业转向发展旅游业；铺设污水管网；动员居民外迁，减轻西溪人口压力；水质改善工程也同时进行。杭州城西房价近年来持续高价，从侧面展示了西溪湿地公园保护工作的成效。但这又陷入一个新的悖论，优秀的景观吸引资金投资建设，建设却不断的降低甚至破坏原有的景观质量。西溪的河网交织的水乡意向，渔樵耕读的人文传统，“西溪且留下”的故事——作为商业卖点吸引开发商前仆后继的推翻地表原有构筑物、填平河道、建造现代化的住宅；而购买者在仰慕传统西溪的美景同时无形中成为西溪景观的破坏者之一。“住在西溪”如同皇帝的新装，以享受优质

空气和自然环境的名义掩盖鳞次栉比的高楼大厦的现实。

在经济发展和环境保护互相角力的时代，“大张旗鼓”地保护面积仅占1/10的湿地公园，换取周边土地更高的售价，这样的做法也许在当今城市化高速发展的中国来说是一个高明的城市经营策略。尽管西溪湿地公园不再是原先村民生活的家园，而是一个静态的、收费的公园，这样的开发模式至少保留一部分湿地资源，延续了一部分民俗文化，总胜过那些湮没在起重机和尘土中的其他土地。
从居民生活角度来说，现在城市人口增长和土地资源有限的矛盾，相当程度上迫使政府或者开发商先解决数量问题，再追求品质。只有当经济发展到一定程度，居民才会去关心温饱之外的事情，例如追求生活品质、保护环境、延续地域传统和文化等等。梁从诫也曾说过，再难看的现代楼房，从满足老百姓生活需要的角度讲，可能也比那些古色古香的老房子要好。如果不能够满足广大居民对现代化生活的追求；如果现代化的生活设施、交通条件和城镇格局相冲突，即使想保住估计最后也是不可能的。

中间层次和正在生成的都市景观肌理

如同当今中国不可阻挡的城市化步伐，杭州的城市范围也在一直扩张中，目前已经开始侵蚀传统农村地区——西溪。
十年前的西溪，到处都是稻田、茶园和鱼塘，几个小村庄，零星散落其间。渐渐地，景观开始变化，从炊烟渺渺、阡陌纵横的农业景观渐渐被灯火通明、高楼林立的都市意向；精巧细致的砖木结构、传统坡顶转变成大尺度钢筋混凝土结构的高层建筑；千百年积攒和沉淀的粉墙黛瓦被三五年内大批量设计建成千篇一律的住宅取代。西溪正处于一个高速发展的状态，旧的建筑被推倒，遍地是工地和尘土飞扬；一种传统与现代，村庄农舍与工厂、新住宅，静态式的保留地以及建设中工地的高度混合肌理。随着房地产的开发，大量新的居民以5-10倍于原先的密度迁进西溪，而原居民连同他们的生活方式、传统习惯一起外迁或者被新移民取代。
传统聚落基本上是在街道两边形成一个个以家庭与血缘为纽带组织起来的院落。而近几年的房地产开发，由于尺度的剧烈放大，把原本属于大家族那种层次的院子放大成为容纳各种阶层、各种人群的一个大的社区。现代社会平等自由的观念，体现在物质空间上就是建筑风格与建筑形式的统一。这是一个非常均质的状态。城市的空间关系被一个个的小区割裂了，而在封闭的小区内，缺乏有效的纽带和应有的公共空间。而今符合现代社会高效率的要求交通方式以及现代小区规划的理论方式将居民的生活、活

动中心也逐步由社区外的街道移向社区中心。小区四周的墙隔绝了与街道的联系，街道的功能只剩余交通，这个传统的城市公共交往空间正在慢慢失去其现实意义。

在社会急速发展的背景下，一个建筑师往往决定着很多人的生活状态。他们先统一填平水面，整理地基，然后规划设计，这种至上而下的建设方式注定是机械和理性的。尽管他们尝试寻找水乡的特色，回归某些原有肌理，但仅仅放大园林景观的尺度以适应现代建筑的空间感和体量感是远远不够的。因为，江南地区传统的造园传统是私家园林，他们擅长在方寸之间大显身手。而且，传统的居住形态居住文化和植入式的现代建筑格格不入。

这种由政治力主导的新城建设注定只能搭建骨架——系统层，而开发商尾随其后，填充、完善这个系统，而供日常生活的肌理需要慢慢的生长的时间和空间。随着原居民生活惯性的延续或者转换，在新的物质空间上恢复部分旧的肌理；随着新迁入居民的彼此迁就和开始适应新环境，新的邻里关系的成熟稳定，他们可能使用建筑师们提供的公共空间，也许放弃转而发展容纳他们自己生活方式的空间。在很多开发超过10年的新城中，可以看到这样肌理成长的过程，也可以看到政治力主导的系统层向日常生活的中间层转换的过程。例如，沿着五常港与朝天莫港两边的步道，一点点深入到西溪深处的滨河景观，五常港河边滨河公园内的市政游船码头，从这里乘船可以一直通达湿地公园或是京杭大运河，目前看来，这些还没有和居民的日常生活发生紧密的联系。随着居民定居于此，生活节奏步入正轨，这样的空间必定会成为日常生活的容器，完成从系统层向肌理层的转化。

经过百多年的发展，欧美国家的城市化进程已经进入相对稳定的时期；城市化的主体转移至亚洲、拉美地区。相对欧美国家来说，发展中国家城市化的步伐更加激烈，通常在几十年里完成几百年的路程。在此过程中，急剧的城市化意味着推平乡村积累千年的一切，取而代之名为“城市”的舶来物。新城市的主体——人的城市化通常滞后于物质空间的城市化，他们主动或者被动的改变生活方式、思想观念以跟随城市化的步伐。也就是说，当旧的肌理被抹去时，新的系统可以在短期架构，而新的肌理却需要更长的时间慢慢成长，填充完善系统。

经历了百年的贫穷和被侵略的历史，现在的中国没有时间和耐心等待自下而上的城市化，只能大刀阔斧的进行改革和发展，重新回到强国的行列。沿袭自欧洲“现代主义”规划理论在快速发展的阶段，无疑是最有效率的规则方法。这个寄托了柯布西埃对机械时代的讴歌和对未来社会美好的幻想的城市模

型在中国成为普遍的现实。城市各部分如同机械般被严谨的组织在一起，在初始阶段，人们在运作良好的系统下工作。但毕竟不同于零件，社会发展到一定程度后，人们必将追求个性发展，他们需要城市相应提供各种不同类型的空间以满足不同人群的使用。于是，中间层次随之复苏或者重新生成了。

结论

半个世纪以来，“无风格”的现代主义在中国的盛行，并没有留下太多可激起情感和回忆的建筑。在高速发展的背景下，城市失去了许多培育和表达崇尚地方、自然、历史和文化的能力。

作为建筑师、规划师和景观建筑师，我们可以着力于研究当地传统的肌理结构，尝试在西溪以及其他地区恢复或者升级传统的中间层次；或者创造适合现代社会的新型景观空间，努力填补结构系统下大量的留白空间；也可以对现有的不完美的功能结构持续不断的调整，以适应生活的要求。

然而，当我们用西方的理论来分析中国的景观来，总会有些水土不服。西方人的闲暇时间更多的花费在户外活动，因此他们对景观品质的要求很高；而《居民时间利用调查结果》发现，与欧美国家相比，中国人的闲暇时间更多的用于人际交往。“看电视、上网、聚餐、睡觉、打麻将、宴请等成为大家工作8小时之外最常做的事情，而像晒太阳、运动这些最受西方国家人们欢迎的休闲活动，中国人却极少问津。”当然，随着生活水平的进步，人们对休闲娱乐的要求随着增高，但生搬硬套西方的经验和模式并不适合中国社会的发展。

URBAN LANDSCAPE STUDIES
EUPHORIGENIC LANDSCAPES

VALENCIA
39°28'N 0°23'W

SIZE	134.65 KM^2
POPULATION	809,267
DENSITY	6,000/KM^2
ELEVATION	15 M
TIME ZONE	CET/CEST (UTC+1/2)

VALENCIA — LEARNING FROM LA VEGA

Daniel Czechowski

October 13th, 1957. That day Valencia suffered from torrential rainfall. The level of the River Turia that flowed peacefully the previous day rose threateningly until it flooded the entire city centre. Nearly hundred people were killed in the floods and Valencia experienced the worst flooding in its history. The next day, streets and entire neighbourhoods were under water and residents wading through knee-deep, muddy water in lonely streets. As the river had previously overflowed its banks several times, the discussion cropped up again of diverting the river to the south of Valencia, in order to avoid finally the city centre's flooding. After ten years of construction, the relocation of the River Turia was carried out in 1973 and the river was directed into a wide concrete corset on the southern outskirts. Initial plans had envisaged the use of the former river bed as a freeway, but a citizens' movement fought for a green river bed. In October 1981, the Catalan architect Ricardo Bofill received the order for the master plan of a new large park in the former riverbed. Leaning today over a railing of a bridge which once spanned the river, one sees palm trees, flower beds, cyclists and joggers. Stretching over about twelve kilometres and lying four meters below, the Turia Park [Jardín del Turia] crosses Valencia from west to east like a green ribbon.

SHAPED BY WATER — THE NATURAL MORPHOLOGIES

The relocation of the river was one of the major interventions in the urban fabric, whose surroundings were for a long time mainly influenced by dynamics of the river. Due to erosion and sedimentation the coastline was carried farther and farther out. These processes were only restricted when the first irrigation channels were created and the river could no longer flow freely. The constant changes in the shoreline by depositing and flooding have prevented the emergence of a natural harbour. Valencia is therefore an example of a large Mediterranean city which does not develop out of a port site. The area between harbour and town, about six kilometres, remained for a long time in agricultural use.

Furthermore the morphology is dominated by the major geological structures of the Iberian Peninsula, which is located in an active geological boundary zone between northwest Africa and western Europe. Spain is dominated by two mountain ranges up to 3,000 me-

ters high. The Pyrenean-Basque-Cantabrian Mountains in the north and the Betic Cordillera in the south, reaching up to Valencia. As the mountain ranges usually reach out into the sea, there are few extensive coastal plains in the area of river mouths. Valencia is located in one of these plains, bordering the Mediterranean Sea in the east. In the west, north and south, the semi-circular vast plain of the River Turia is bounded by hills and mountain ranges. They protect the plain against strong winds and cold spells. These thermal advantages enable an agricultural production of two to three crops per year on the same plot. However, the precarious water availability, especially in summer, requires intensive irrigation. The water comes from the River Turia. The entire environment of Valencia, known as Huerta or Vega de Valencia, has been irrigated for centuries by the river through an elaborate irrigation system. The intensive irrigation leads to salinization because the evaporating water leaves the dissolved salts in the soil. By impairment and decline in plant cover, wind and water are continuously removing fertile soil. The cultural landscape shaped by centuries-old farming techniques (terracing, irrigation, etc.) expires and erosion progresses. In the district of Valencia alone, almost half of the land is affected by erosion. The rural migration intensifies these processes and can lead to further desertification.
Another dominant element of the natural morphology is a lagoon. L' Albufera is situated 16 km south of Valencia, a freshwater lagoon separated from the sea by a strip of sand dunes and pine forests. It has developed over the time between the rivers Turia and Júcar which flow into the sea 30 kilometres apart. The sediments from the mountains, deposited by the two rivers at the coastal area, formed a narrow separation with the help of ocean currents. Canals and reed beds crisscross the area, for centuries rice has been cultivated in the swampy banks of the lagoon.
Water is the central element of the natural morphologies. In its various guises, water has shaped the landscape of Valencia.

DEPENDENT FROM WATER — THE EVERYDAY LIFE

Valencia has always had a special, if not ambivalent relationship to the water. There were times when the sea for the Valencians meant a lot, the natural access to economy, politics, culture. Later, the sea lost its importance, and only the land and agriculture remained. More than 1000 years ago, its inhabitants created a system of irrigation canals that are still used today. The Huertas, the

fertile, extensive arable fields and vegetable gardens, separate Valencia from its port. Another reason why Valencia has unlike Barcelona no direct sight to the sea. For a long time, Valencia considered itself a town on the river, and showed no particular interest in the sea, an indifference that is reflected in mild and windless days of January, when the sea is calm and smooth during the so called Calmas de enero. Recently, Valencia turned its focus towards the sea: To host the 32nd America's Cup, a new port was built and plans for further urban development along the coast were created.

Valencians are descendants of traders and farmers, which gave the city a rural-provincial character. The foundation for Valencias livelihood and early prosperity were the Huertas, which explains some of Valencia's most distinctive features. [1]
The country life was arduous and always dominated by water. The vegetable farmers in the Huerta would depend on the allocation from the irrigation canals, while fishermen and rice farmers on the lagoon were dependent of changing water levels and often lived "like an amphibian in a land of reeds and mud when man from childhood on buries itself in a barge, these eternal coffin, without which one can not move".

"Ceaseless returning people were punting tiny black boats - the horses of these farmers - with which every member of the aquatic tribe from an early age knew how to use. It was indispensable to the work in the fields, for a visit to the neighbour, for the recovery of the daily bread." [2]
The superposition of many cultures, especially Roman, Moorish, Catalan, and Castilian, allowed the Valencians to keep their traditional values, but also be open to new ideas, which is reflected in the many churches of different architects [3]. There is little pomp architecture, Valencia's buildings tend to show that they are useful. Valencia's old town has largely retained the Moorish character which is visible with a dense and irregular street grid, many small squares and markets. If you get lost in the old town, it is said, then ask someone who shows you the way to the river. The former river bed of the Turia, which meanders around the old town, has become a kind of reference point within the city. After the devastating floods a park emerged with orange trees, tennis courts and soccer fields. Whether the new park in the old river bed can replace the lost qualities and meanings of an urban river, is questionable. In any case, the park has become an integral part of everyday life.

Today, especially compared to Madrid and Barcelona, Valencia wants to be bigger, more important and attractive. It wants to be seen as a third competitor in a contest that so far was dominated by two instead of three cities. But Valencians are accustomed to this imbalance, and as part of their everyday identity, they bear it with a mixture of bravery, injured pride, and resignation. Valencia has never been very good at celebrating the own as valuable, but at the best defended it against competition. For example, the own language, Valenciano, is much less present compared to Catalan in Barcelona.[4] In the search for identity and self-affirmation, Valencia looks to other cities and not so much on its own specificity.

It began to view at Barcelona and Madrid after the Reconquista[5] of the city by the Christians and the end of the Moorish rule. With the concentration of economic relations to Catalonia rather than to Andalusia, the geographical orientation of Valencia also changed from south to north.[6] The following expansion of connections to Barcelona and Madrid finally embedded the city into national systems with the opening of a new, shorter rail line to Madrid in 1948 – which made Valencia's port the nearest to the capital.

EMANCIPATED FROM WATER — THE GLOBAL AND AUTONOMOUS SYSTEMS

Not only the infrastructure systems of the motorway and rail networks led to spatial variations, but especially the integration into the international systems of agriculture. Competitive situations and marketing problems led to a loss of value of traditional agricultural products and a decline in agricultural land. The continuous balance between urban development and the development of the agricultural plain has been interrupted since then. Urban development has since been perceptible only at the level of systems. It began with the relocation of the River Turia about 40 years ago. A part of the natural morphology was destroyed and a system created elsewhere that technically solved the flooding problem, but could not replace the lost qualities of a river at the outskirts. The new channel cut a wide artificial path into the plain that ignores the fine structures of the surrounding countryside and forms a sharp divide between the city and the Huerta, which did not exist before. What reinforces this effect, are highways running on both sides of the channel. Has Valencia ever discussed to keep the river in the old town and build a kind of bypass instead that can temporarily be flooded at high tide, and otherwise serve as a use-

ful element of the cultural landscape? No. Instead Valencia focused on larger projects: Between 1991 and 2006, the City of Arts and Sciences [Ciudad de las Artes y de las Ciencias] was built by the architect Santiago Calatrava, an ensemble of white, biomorphic buildings with concert and opera house, 3D cinema and a planetarium, a science museum and an aquarium. Like prehistoric skeletons the buildings rise abruptly from the river plain at the end of the Jardines del Turia. The staircases and platforms along the buildings are closed, though they are meant to be available as public space for all Valencians. Locals rarely get lost here. The clean, futuristic image is more suitable for marketing events from car companies. The linear pools of the City of Arts and Sciences are always held in an accurate condition. They only serve to mirror the architecture, but show no relation to the river or in general to the history of water. The only relation between the everyday and cultural landscape is created by a small mobile shop selling horchata, a popular drink made from tiger nut, which comes from the nearby Huerta and is normally offered in special cafes [Horchateria] in the city.

The City of Arts and Sciences was created out of a political will to put a magnificent landmark. Its contribution to public life is doubtful; it remains but a city within the city.

Furthermore, two of the biggest and most expensive sporting events in the world came to the city. Valencia was host to the 2007 America's Cup, the most famous sailing regatta, which was held back in Europe for the first time after the original race off the Isle of Wight in the UK. The America's Cup was taken as an opportunity to start the reconstruction of the port. The international star architect David Chipperfield was charged with designing the main administrative building pavilion Veles e Vents (Sails and Winds) as a widely visible sign.

Since 2008, Valencia organises a street circuit for Formula 1 Grand Prix races. The European Grand Prix is held at the newly built racetrack at the port. With approximately 320 km/h the 5.4 kilometer circuit is traversed in about 1:37 minutes. A speed synonymous with the rapid development of Valencia. As another new system the Formula 1 course represents a fragment between the city and the sea in the area of the mouth of the old river Turia.

There are many cities full of contradictions and contrasts, but rarely the intersections are as visible as in Valencia. A narrow coastal strip with a port, the City of Arts and Sciences, the old city, the suburbs are fragments of the urban landscape of Valencia. These fragments,

whether installed systems or historically evolved elements, provide no connection either to the natural morphology nor the everyday worlds. This can only be reached by a linking texture that brings together city and country in the plain.

EMERGED FROM WATER – THE FABRIC OF THE CITY AND THE PALIMPSEST OF THE LANDSCAPE

The basic structure of the cultural landscape is formed by an irrigation system, fed from the River Turia, that Moorish settlers created more than 1000 years in the plain of Valencia [Vega de Valencia]. This fertile, irrigated plain consists of a variety of vegetable gardens and orange groves. Seven main channels distribute the water in a wide range of ditches that run through the plain like a net. An eighth channel is used for irrigation of urban gardens and flushes the wastewater out of the city. The Water Court [Tribunal de las aguas] determines and depends primarily on the distribution of the river water abstracted. There is no parent - royal or governmental - institution, but a separate instance of the "irrigators".
The eight judges are farmers who are democratically elected by farmers and who judge farmers. Everyone has a right of water, but no one can call it his own, the community decides on the distribution of water. Thus, everyone is part of the whole. Besides the canals and ditches, the appearance of the Huertas is characterised by a particular architecture. Water mills along the canals were often the starting points of new settlements. The Alquerias distributed in the whole plain were mostly enclosed gardens and villas of the rich farmers and wealthy classes. The huts [baracas] represent the typical dwelling of the small-scale farmers in the irrigated areas. The simple design of air-dried mud bricks, pointed gables and thatched roofs is completely adapted to the landscape of reeds and mud [cañas y barro]. In the course of centuries, the Huerta has always been changing. Initially farmers got rich with onions, later they grew tomatoes, eggplants and melons.

Today, there are primarily grown tiger nuts or oranges. The variety of agricultural uses and agricultural practices led to a diverse landscape. The Huerta formed an order of irrigation canals, roads and plots, linked buildings, open spaces and landscape, and combined living and working.
Since the 1960s, agriculture is displaced primarily by industrial and urban sprawl. In addition to the on-going building process, infrastructure development leads to fragmentation in the

plain. Especially for the small farms, the cultivation is hardly worth. The farmers migrate to the cities to earn money, so that today many of the Huertas lie fallow. Many farmers have sold their land so it can be built on. Today, the channels and ditches often run for miles beneath houses and streets. Many of the channels decay, get dirty, and the water quality is getting worse, so that the entire irrigation system is increasingly ineffective.

In the sum, all these factors lead slowly to the disappearance of agricultural land in the plain.

The development of Valencia has always been closely linked to the development of the Huerta. The boundaries of the city in terms of the municipal administration as well as the influence of land use and irrigation corresponded to the spatial limitation of the Huerta. A decision for the city was always a decision for the cultural landscape.

The commitment and enthusiasm in dealing with the drained riverbed and its restoration to a substantial part of the urban fabric has not been shown in the use of the systems. Where on the one hand Valencia was open to new ideas, it has missed on the other hand to reinterpretate traditions, in order to use the cultural landscape fabric for the further development of the city.

The daily identity cannot be satisfied in an accumulation of systems. With the rejection of the "arduous life", the life with water, the everyday life separated from the cultural landscape. The basic elements of the landscape in the plain were no longer part of the urban development: Gardens and irrigation canals were destroyed, the river was sealed off and the lagoon "frozen" as a natural reserve.

THE CONFLATING PLAIN

It is time that Valencia accepts its identity as a *city of water* and thus as a *city in the plain*, and neither as a *city of the sea* nor as a *city of the river*. This is only possible if the supporting element of water in all its forms will again play a role in Valencia's everyday life. One opportunity is the land reclamation which once built the basis of Valencia's existence and growth. This cannot be achieved by young hipsters growing vegetables on roof gardens, but as a true urban agriculture based on a structure of canals and orchards as part of the urban fabric. The key is always a combination of water and the urban fabric with shorelines, riverside walks, paths, and accesses as public spaces.

The plain provides the best conditions: a coherent structure, which brings together the major forms of the natural

morphologies, the city and the settlements. The principles of the Huerta: the network, diversely used open spaces, and especially the common element of water and its public waterfronts can form the basis of a connecting, permeable fabric of Valencia's urban landscape.

"A view, the extent of which does not permit a detailed examination but which altogether presents a mixture of settlements and cultivated lands, of houses and villages rising in the middle of a verdant carpet. The town of Valencia is seen at the end of this plain; all the habitations which surround it seem as if they were part of it and we imagine that we see the largest town in the world." [7]

ENDNOTES

[1] Ingendaay, P. (2007) Ackern und feiern, Merian, Valencia und die Costa Blanca, Nr. 05/2007 (in German)

[2] Vicente Blasco Ibanez (1867-1928) describes in his novels "Reeds and Mud" [Cañas y barro] and "The Hut" [La Baracca] the arduous life of farmers and fishermen in the lagoon and the Huerta near Valencia

[3] Dieterich, A. (1970). Überschäumende Phantasie, Merian, Valencia. Costa Blanca, Nr. 07/1970 (in German)

[4] Ceballos Betancur, K. (2007). Die Cupstadt, http://www.zeit.de/2007/17/Die_Cupstadt (in German)

[5] Recapturing, a centuries-long period in the Middle Ages in which several Christian kingdoms succeeded in reconquering the Iberian Peninsula from the Islamic kingdoms

[6] Houston, J.M. (1949) Urban Geography of Valencia, The Regional Development of a Huerta City.

[7] Alexander de Laborde, A view of Spain, 1809, in: Houston, J.M. (1949) Urban Geography of Valencia, The Regional Development of a Huerta City.

URBAN LANDSCAPE STUDIES
EUPHORIGENIC LANDSCAPES

SHENZHEN
22°33'N 114°06'E

SIZE	2,050 KM^2
POPULATION	10,357,938
DENSITY	5,100/KM^2
ELEVATION	12 M
TIME ZONE	CHINA STANDARD (UTC+8)

THE DREAM CITY OR NOT? THE URBAN REVOLUTION OF SHENZHEN

Yuting Xie

If you want to interpret the modern history of urban revolution in China, Shenzhen is a must be read city. It is the window to view the adventurous exploration and continuous self-reflection in building what kind of city form that really meet the status quo of China. It is a unique city, while controversial; it is a dynamic "dream city", while some risks still exist.

THE LEVEL OF NATURAL MORPHOLOGY AND CITY HISTORY

Shenzhen is a metropolis in south coastline of China, belonging to Guangdong Province and bordering Hong Kong to the south. Human habitation in Shenzhen dates back to the Neolithic Era; however, as a city, it has a history of only 32 years. In August 1980, Shenzhen, used to be known as Bao'an Country, was formally nominated as "China's first-and one of the most successful-Special Economic Zones" (Wikipedia) due to its geographic location and the policy of "Reform and Opening Up".

Geographically, Shenzhen is surrounded by mountains and faces the open sea on the south side with breathtaking natural beauty; however, since established as a special economic zone, Shenzhen has witnessed a drastic change in landscape during the process of rapid urbanization over 30 years. Through deforestation and land reclamation, the once mountain-to-sea spatial pattern of Shenzhen no longer exists. The original hilly agriculture landscape is now replaced mostly by flat cityscape in downtown areas, and there are only Lianhua Hill, Bijia Mountain and Wutong Mountain that still have fluctuant landforms. Meanwhile, the rural areas also have experienced high-density urbanization, only leaving the southeast coastline area still in a primitive stage with unexplored mountains, vegetation, rivers and other green infrastructure. Although some parts of these mountainous coastline areas have been developed as seaside resorts, most villages among them retain the original lifestyle, residing at traditional settlements and living on fishing, which carry the residual city memories.

"Shenzhen", in local dialect, literally means "deep drains" as this area was once "crisscrossed by rivers and streams - and still is, today - with deep drains in the paddy fields" (Shenzhen Government Online). The river system of Shenzhen now has rare main streams but a large quantity of small rivers, which are widely distributed in the city.

The small amount of runoff and poor water storage have driven Shenzhen to build more than 240 reservoirs since late 1950s responding to limited natural fresh water resources, which fulfill the ever-growing urban water consumption and also supply Hong Kong with fresh water via dedicated pipelines (Wikipedia). The integral water system remains basically unchanged during the urban revolution, while it faces the decrease of water quantity, deterioration of water quality, outdated water management and other issues, and furthermore most rivers within this region go across the built-up areas, which result in severe flood threats[1].

As for the climate, Shenzhen, in a transitional region from the tropics to subtropics, has a monsoon-influenced subtropical marine climate with plentiful sunshine and rainfall all year round. All the seasons are pleasant except summer months when the city experiences very hot, humid weather. For this reason, vegetation coverage and shady places are of the utmost importance in urban life.

Shenzhen has rich vegetation resources and biodiversity as its special transitional climate is suitable for the growth of both tropical and subtropical plants. But recent studies show that the rapid urbanization has significant impact on the local vegetation coverage degradation, especially in platforms and terraces. The main causes are the invasion of urbanized areas to farmlands, forests and orchards, and usual shortage of green lands in new built-up areas[2]. Responding to this, Shenzhen focus on strengthening the protection and restoration of remnant forests and consolidating the greenbelt construction inside the built-up areas. Now, Shenzhen has the largest number of parks among Chinese cities and the urban green coverage rate reaches 45%, which makes Shenzhen a livable city.

THE LEVEL OF EVERYDAY LIFE IN DREAM CITY

Shenzhen culture is actually a diverse immigrant culture, which is the embodiment of Shenzhen people's lifestyles and values, inclusive, yet unique. It is the biggest immigrant city in China, with only 25% local residents of total population (Guangdong Statistical Yearbook 2011). In the 1980s, Shenzhen meant a new open world with freedom providing equal opportunities for prosperity and success when the whole Chinese society remained in a state of self-seclusion. Thousands of immigrants streamed into Shenzhen with the "Shenzhen Dream" (just like the "American Dream") at that time.

Shenzhen is a young city that benefits from "Demographic Dividend" with a

spindle-shaped population structure. At present, the average age in Shenzhen is around 30 (2010 Sixth National Population Census Data Gazette). Young means vivid, innovative and everything is possible. Indeed, the immigrant influx does contribute to the advanced industry, prosperous culture and social democracy.

As economic basis determines social ideology, the lifestyle of Shenzhen people has gone through a revolution. In 1980s, the public was interested in expensive indoor entertainments. While in 1990s, economic growth promoted the public's taste for high-end indoor and outdoor combined activities, such as a tourist to theme parks. When stepping into the new century, the popularity of low cost, demotic and diverse outdoor activities were accompanied by the modern urban park movement [3].

There used to be no "Open Space" or "Urban Park" concept in Chinese urban planning history. The introduction of western planning concepts and practices to the Shenzhen's urban planning has undergone a process from alienation to integration. The planned open space was rare to be used in the very beginning, and then tuned to be mass used. With the adjustment in design and improvement of management, the open space has been efficiently used and fulfilled the functions of modern city, which injects vigor into urban life in the end.

The urban open space in Shenzhen is mainly made up of urban parks based on remnant mountain landscapes of Lianhua Hill, Bijia Mountain and Wutong Mountain and theme parks in flat urbanized area. The Window of the World, Chinese Folk Culture Village, Happy Valley, and Splendid China in Overseas Chinese Town were the most famous Chinese theme parks. They not only developed abundant entertainment facilities and reasonable layouts, but also incorporated both local culture and international ideas to start over an entertainment revolution in China[4]. And these theme parks were the windows to see the world for inexperienced people in last century. The suburban open space consists of forest parks in west Phoenix Mountain and Yangtai Mountain, besides beach resorts in the southeast coastline, like the Dameisha Promenade and Xiaomeisha Beach Resort.

Nevertheless, despite glorious appearance, Shenzhen faces many problems in everyday life level. The social class of emigrants polarizes into two opposing extremes: intellectual class with a high level of education, and migrant worker class with poor education. With widely different incomes, the social segregation is serious between these two

groups. Intellectuals hold all advantageous resources of the global system in the "dream city". They live in well-planned residential areas and enjoy the convenience of urban life, such as diverse public services and accessible open space. On the contrary, migrant workers fight in the relatively weak local system and are poorly integrated in urban life. They always live in factory dormitories or rent in "Urban Villages" (low living standard neighborhoods that lag behind the high-speed urbanization in Chinese cities) which are overcrowded and lack of municipal facilities. Intensive works and continued lifestyles of hometown basically confine their social life and leisure activities within the surroundings of narrow living space. The local system and global system run parallel in this city, and the life circles of both groups are rare to meet.

Ironically, both groups in Shenzhen have a low sense of belonging. They are just passers in the "dream city", fighting for a bright future and taking the fortune back to hometown to share with their families; thus, Shenzhen is a city without roots.

THE LEVEL OF FRAGMENTED GLOBAL SYSTEM

Shenzhen, one of thousand "Generic Cites" (Rem Koolhaas) in the world, has an exotic and fragmented global system. It is the experimental plot to text what kind of city form that really meets the status quo of China. All kinds of avant-garde and revolutionary planning or design theories along with practices worldwide have been imported to shape the urban space of Shenzhen. But this strategy leads to fragmented land use and utterly different space features of these fragments. It seems splendid as a whole, while superficial and less of identity by checking each fragment.

REGIONAL SCALE

Shenzhen is one of the leading cities in Pearl River Delta region. Since 1979, this region has become "one of the most vibrant and promising areas" in China due to its rapid socio-economic development, while the promotion was accompanied by some long-standing issues, including chaotic urban sprawl, degradation of regional green lands and weak regional cooperation 5. In face of these issues, Guangdong Provincial Government started up the project-"Pearl River Delta Greenway Network" in 2010, and planned to finish the construction of six regional greenways (a total length of 1690km) within three years[6].

The regional greenway network under Shenzhen's jurisdiction consists of

linear green open spaces, connecting main urban parks, nature reserves and scenic spots in mountain areas, west to east coastline corridor and some residential areas for pedestrians and cyclists. It is supposed to protect the local natural environment and cultural heritage and provide residents with sufficient recreation and interaction space. But under the construction period, it raised controversial debate on stripping the natural layer to build new artificial landscapes with unnecessary expanse. Its functionality and accessibility for residents in everyday life are to be examined when the project will be finished in 2012.

CITY SCALE

As for city scale, in the "1986 Overall Urban Planning", Shenzhen was established as multi-center and conglomeration structured city to avoid endless urban sprawl. Besides, the planning placed greenbelts, urban parks, nature reserves and agricultural lands between each conglomeration, which dissolved the whole city in green infrastructures. It is well know that the urban planning is always difficult to be implemented. Although Shenzhen manages well in land use control in city scale, it fails to build livable spatial pattern in district or community scale. Actually, the urban image of Shenzhen turns out to be like any other American style metropolitan, full of skyscrapers, large-scale districts and broad motorways with traffic congestion.

NEIGHBORHOOD SCALE

Turning to neighborhood scale, the city comprises many fragments that are dynamic and easy to operate. And these fragments present the rethinking accompanied by practices in different periods of city history.

Chinese residential areas typically are enclosing and have gated boundaries, and their expansion results in the segregation of urban space and absence of public open space[7]. In recent years, along with the wave of globalization, a variety of exotic residential areas have been chased by Shenzhen people. When the superficial exoticism is no longer fresh, people begin to recall the regionality and are in favor of "new Chinese style" residences characterized by Chinese symbols, with Wanke Fifth Garden as a milestone; however, neither exoticism nor Chinese symbols can restore the traditional lifestyle of local settlements.

The Overseas Chinese Town is a special case, bringing in the European lifestyle to build a town scale community. It was once located in part of an industrial zone, and flourished after the establishment of theme parks in this area. The

sudden emergence of prosper-ous tourism industry drove the development of tertiary industry and real estate. Then, under a continuous dynamic planning, The Overseas Chinese Town grew organically, and finally a mature community with compact layout and mixed functions came into shape[8]. The community emphasized on the open system that connected the internal open space with surrounding urban space, and constructed both pedestrian and bicycle systems throughout the whole area. Meanwhile, the community maximized the reserve of green infrastructure, and used native shady plants and low mainte-nance materials to build artificial landscapes

THE MEDIATING LEVEL, BETWEEN THE PARALLEL LOCAL AND GLOBAL SYSTEM

Shenzhen, as a Generic City, has the "free style" as the definition of its aesthetics[9]. The generic cityscape is a collage of local system and global system, which run parallel in this city, conflicting and without integration. The overly regular urban sections, standing for the global level now, came into being at the early stage of urban development when the political power was omnipotent. Meanwhile, the local system driven by natural morphology level and everyday life level just self-destructs and renews, with increasingly free style layouts everywhere. So, if there is a mediating level that could reconcile and intersect these two systems.

Primarily, a focus on the "Urban Village", the product of contradiction and conflict between these two systems, is requisite. These villages were originally located in the suburb, but afterwards the government expropri-ated all or most of farmlands and converted them into built-up lands during the urban expansion, whereas the house sites of former villages retained due to the high compensation (Wikipedia). Soon after the transformation, the villages tend to be surrounded by rising skyscrapers, transportation and other modern urban infrastructure of the global system, just like mosaics collaged in well planned, regular urban sections. Most of them are heavily populated, lack of infrastructure and associated with poor public security.

Nevertheless, urban villages are not essentially equivalent to slums of western cities. In terms of social formation, urban villages are traditional agricultural society overlayed by temporary immigrant society[10]. Economically, they are actually chaotic low living cost neighborhoods, inhabited by the poor and newcomers who started their dreams in Shenzhen as a buffer area. And for spatial formation, they are newly built

high-density villages in rectangular layout while some still preserve cultural landscapes like ancestral temples and historic districts.

Urban villages are regarded as the "cancer" of city and cannot be rapidly removed due to negative social ef-fects and instability; however, they are also the liveliest areas in city carrying with regional characters and city memories. Therefore, well transformed urban villages have the potential to be a link between global level and everyday life level.

As the once mountain-to-sea spatial pattern of Shenzhen no longer exists, then, how to link the remnant natural morphology level with the other levels? The ongoing greenway network could be a precise hit, which itself belongs to the global level. The linear green open space will not merely connect main urban parks, nature reserves, scenic spots and coastline corridor in natural morphology level, but also cover some residential areas for everyday life. The pity is that the green-way network only covers the splendid urban sections of global system, while ignoring the urban villages in local system; it only works for the intellectuals who possess advantageous recourses, while excluding the everyday life of vulnerable immigrant workers.

Thus an assumption could be made: an extended greenway network covering fragments of urban villages will in deed function well as a mediating level. And it will be a link in substantial space, also in social ideology, which will carry the residual city memories and local culture, as well as provide those city passers with a sense of belonging. Until then, instead of economic benefits as the only reason, people will take root here, for a better quality of urban life.

CONCLUSION

The current loss of mediating level, in fact, results from the compressed urban revolution of Shenzhen city. From the perspective of Henri Lefèbvre, the urban rev-olution will normally undergo a process of "Political City", "Mercantile City", "Industry City" and finally to "Urban City" in space-time axis through centuries[11]. While, Shenzhen shifted from a fishing village to an international urban city within only 32 years' growth of special economic zone. There are always negative effects when human beings go against the laws of natural revolution; therefore, it is necessary to figure out the driving forces that shape the city in each period and utilize them to build Shenzhen a real "dream city".

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深圳的城市变革

谢雨婷

如果你想要解译现代中国城市的变革史，深圳值得一读。它向世人开启了一个窗口，可以窥探中国在各个时期对城市形态如何适应社会现状所进行的不断探索和反思。深圳是一个独一无二的城市，然而充满争议；它也是一个充满活力的“梦之城”，然而存在许多潜在的风险。

1 城市历史与自然形态层次

深圳是中国南部海岸线上的一个国际大都市，隶属于广东省，城市边界与香港接壤。早在新石器时代中期就有人类在那里繁衍生息，而作为一个城市，深圳仅拥有32年的短暂历史。在1980年8月，深圳（前宝安县）因其特殊的地理位置以及“改革开放”政策，正式被确立为中国的第一个经济特区（维基百科）。

基于地理特征优势，深圳原本可成为一座枕山面海，风光优美的海滨城市。然而，自1980年建立经济特区以来，深圳的景观在快速城市化的30年间经历了翻天覆地的变化。在城市建设中，毁林开荒和挖山填海等做法使得深圳原本的山海空间格局不复存在。原本群山环绕中的农业景观现在大部分被平地而起的城市景观取而代之，从卫星图上俯瞰，城市中心区只有莲花山、笔架山以及梧桐山保留了一定的高差。与此同时，深圳的郊区也经历了高密度的城市化，只有东南部的海岸线地区还处于比较原始的状态，保留了原生的山体、植被、河流等绿色基础设施。尽管一部分海岸线地区被开辟为滨海度假胜地，但整个区域内的大部分村落延续了原本的生活方式，当地居民在传统聚落中居住，以渔业为生，承载着深圳残留的城市记忆。

在当地的方言里，“深圳”的字面意思为“深水沟”，因其过去水泽密布，稻田里水沟纵横交错而得名（深圳政府在线）。深圳市的水系分布较广，但干流稀少，而支流众多，由于其径流量普遍较小及积水能力差，天然淡水资源短缺。为此，深圳从上世纪50年代末开始共兴建了240多座水库，解决城市自身用水问题，并通过专用管道向香港供水（维基百科）。在城市变革中，虽然水系的整体格局基本保持不变，但面临着诸如水量逐年减少、水质日益恶化、综合规划滞后等问题，此外区域内的河流多从建成区穿过，存在着严峻的防洪形势[1]。

从气候角度看，深圳处于亚热带向热带过渡的区域，属受季风影响的亚热带海洋性气候，全年阳光充足，降水丰富。深圳四季宜人，除了在夏季，城市会经历炎热潮湿的天气，暴雨、雷暴、台风等灾害性天气频繁发生。因此，植被覆盖以

及遮阴就成为城市生活至关重要的方面。

由于处于气候过渡带，深圳同时适宜于热带和亚热带植物的生长，植被资源及生物多样性丰富。但相关研究发现，快速城市化导致了当地植被的显著退化，特别是在平原及台地，建设用地侵占了大量的农田、林地及园地，而新的建成区内绿地面积往往过少[2]。为应对上述问题，深圳开始加强对剩余森林的保护并在城市建成区内推行绿带的建设。现在，深圳拥有最多的城市公园以及45%的绿化覆盖率，成为了一个宜居城市。

2 “梦之城”的日常生活层次

深圳文化事实上是一种多元的移民文化，兼容并包又不失个性，它是深圳人的生活方式和价值观的体现。作为中国最大的移民城市，深圳总人口中本地居民只占了25%（广东省统计年鉴2011）。在上世纪80年代初期，当整个中国社会还处于相对封闭的状态时，深圳象征着一个自由开放的新世界，在那里每个人都有平等的机会，只要经过坚持不懈的奋斗便能获得理想的生活。成千上万的移民带着这样的“深圳梦”（如同“美国梦”）涌入深圳。

同时，深圳是一座“年轻”的城市，处于旺盛的“人口红利”期。人口年龄结构呈现“两头小、中间大”的枣核型结构，全市人口平均年龄为30岁左右(深圳市2010年第六次全国人口普查主要数据公报)。年轻意味着创新，充满活力以及一切皆有可能，而事实上，大量的移民确实为深圳发达的工业、繁荣的文化以及民主的社会做出了巨大贡献。

经济基础决定社会意识形态，在过去30年间，深圳人的生活方式也经历了一系列变革。上世纪80年代，公众的目光聚焦于高消费的室内休闲娱乐活动；到了90年代，经济的增长促使公众的品味转向高端的室内外相结合的活动，世界之窗等主题公园风靡一时；而迈入新世纪，低消费、大众化和多样化的户外活动成为主流，并伴随着现代城市公园运动的开展[3]。

在中国城市规划史中，并没有“开放空间”和“城市公园”的概念。深圳在引入这些西方城市规划的概念和实践时，经历了一个从疏离隔阂到相互融合的过程。起初，城市中规划的开放空间无人问津，后来则发展到过度使用的另一极端。但经过设计调整和优化管理，现在这些开放空间被有效利用，满足了现代城市的功能需求，为城市生活注入了活力。

深圳市区的开放空间主要由基于莲花山、笔架山以及梧桐山山体景观建设的城市公园以及位于城市建成区的主题公园组成。位于市区西部华侨城景区的世界之窗、中国民俗文化村、欢乐谷和锦绣中华等是中

国最著名的本土主题公园。它们既发掘了本土文化又融合了国际理念，拥有丰富的游乐设施及合理的规划布局，在中国掀起了休闲娱乐方式的变革4。在那个闭塞的时代，这些主题公园是缺少阅历的人们瞭望世界的窗口。深圳郊区的开放空间则主要包括在西部的凤凰山、羊台山森林公园，以及在东南部海岸线的大梅沙、小梅沙滨海度假区等。

然而，除却光鲜华丽的外表，深圳在日常生活层次还面临着许多问题。深圳的移民由两个极端的社会阶层组成：高学历的知识分子阶层和文化水平较低的外来务工人员阶层。悬殊的收入差距加剧了两个阶层之间的社会隔离现象。知识分子阶层占据着深圳全球系统中的所有优势资源：他们居住在精心规划的住宅区，使用着多样化的公共服务设施与可达性较高的开放空间，享受着城市生活的便利。相对地，外来务工人员阶层则在相对弱势的本土系统里摸爬滚打。他们通常居住在工厂附属的员工宿舍或者租住在附近的城中村（中国城市中滞后于快速城市化、生活水平低下的居民区），生活空间过度拥挤并缺乏市政设施。他们虽然生活在城市中，却延续着家乡传统的生活方式和消费观念，高强度的工作将他们的社交及休闲娱乐活动局限在生活空间附近的小范围内。从这一点来讲，他们对于城市生活的融入程度是较低的。本土系统和全球系统在这个城市里平行运行，生活于其中的两个阶层，生活轨迹没有交集。

而讽刺的是，无论知识分子阶层还是外来务工人员阶层都对深圳缺少归属感。他们只是这个“梦之城”中的过客，来来往往，为美好的未来而拼搏，却只愿带着财富重返家乡。由此可见，深圳是一个没有“根”的城市。

3 片段式的全球系统层次

同世界上的千万个“广普城市”（雷姆·库哈斯）一样，深圳有一个充满异国情调、片段式的全球系统。它是探索符合中国现状的城市形态的试验地，来自全世界最前沿的规划设计理念与实践在这里交汇，塑造着深圳的城市空间。然而，这些导致了土地利用的破碎化，各个地块有着截然不同的空间特征。从整体看，城市空间光鲜亮丽，而当你审视各个片段时，会发现它们既表面化又缺少可识别性。

3.1 区域尺度

深圳是珠江三角洲都市圈的核心城市。自1979年起，珠江三角洲区域的社会经济迅速发展，一跃成为了中国最具潜力的地区之一，然而，在这个崛起的过程中，伴随着一些长期困扰的问题，例如无秩序的城市扩张、区域绿地的退化以及区域协作的缺失等[5]。为应对这些问题，广东省政府决定，从2010年起历时

三年，在珠江三角洲区域建设全长1690公里的六条区域绿道，共同构建“珠江三角洲绿道网络”[6]。
位于深圳辖区的区域绿道由一系列线性绿色开放空间构成，它们连接了主要的城市公园、自然保护区、风景名胜区、东西走向的海岸线廊道以及部分居住区等，为步行者和骑车者提供了景观游憩线路。绿道网络的建设旨在保护当地自然生态环境和历史文化遗产，并为深圳居民提供充足的游憩场所和交往空间。但是在部分区段的施工阶段，破坏原本的自然景观而花更高代价去新建人工景观的做法引发了居民的不满与抗议。绿道网络项目将于2012年完工，其在居民日常生活中的功能性和可达性都有待检验。

3.2 城市尺度
在1986年版的城市总体规划中，深圳选择了多核心的组团式空间结构，以限制城市的无限扩张，并在各组团之间为绿化隔离带、城市公园、自然保护区与农业保护用地等绿色基础设施预留了空间。城市规划项目难以实施早已众所周知，深圳虽然在宏观的土地利用控制方面取得了一些成效，但是落到街区、社区等微观尺度，在建立宜居的空间格局方面收效甚微。事实上，深圳的城市意象跟任何美国风格的大都市没有区别，充斥着摩天大楼，超级街区和大马路。

3.3 社区尺度
从社区尺度看，城市由许多更容易操作、更具活力的片段组成。这些片段集合了各个时期深圳对于人居环境的思考和实践。
中国的住宅区通常是封闭式的，其快速扩张造成了城市空间的断裂和公共开放空间的缺失[7]。近年来，伴随着全球化的浪潮，各种充满异国情调的住宅区受到深圳居民追捧。当表面化的异国情调不再新鲜，人们开始反思地域性，转而青睐带有中国符号的“新中式”住宅，“万科第五园”就是在这股风潮下应运而生的案例。但无论是异国情调，还是中国符号，都流于表面，始终不能还原当地聚落的传统生活形态。
华侨城是一个特例，它不仅建造了欧洲城镇尺度的社区空间，并引入了欧洲的生活方式。华侨城所在位置原属于工业区，它的兴起始于区域中世界之窗等主题公园的建设。旅游业的异军突起，带动了第三产业和房地产开发，华侨城在不断的动态规划中有机生长，最后形成了布局紧凑、功能混合的成熟社区[8]。社区强调了开放性的规划与设计，内部的开放空间与城市空间相连接，并兴建了步行和自行车系统。同时，社区最大程度地保留了区域内的绿色生态基础设施，并在人工景观的营造中运用了本土树种和低维护的材料。

4 媒介层，平行的本土系统与全球系统之间

“自由风格”是广普城市最好的美学定义[9]。深圳的城市景观由平行运行的本土系统和全球系统拼贴而成，两者相互矛盾、冲突并且没有交融。在早期城市开发阶段，由于政治权力无所不能而产生的规则性城市区域代表着现今的全球层次。而自然形态层次和日常生活层次驱动下产生的本土系统，在城市演变中自我消融，自我更新，并无处不在地穿插自由布局的片段。那么，在这两个系统之间是否存在着一个媒介层，调解两者的冲突甚至使之相互融合呢？

首先，让我们聚焦本土系统和全球系统冲突下的产物——城中村。这些村落原本位于城市郊区，但在城市扩张的过程中，全部或大部分耕地被政府征用作为城市建设用地，然而高昂的赔偿金使得村落的宅基地被保留下来（维基百科）。在转型之后，这些纳入城市版图的村落迅速被高楼大厦，公路等城市基础设施包围，像马赛克一样镶嵌在各个城市区块中。大多数城中村人口密度极高，在没有城市规划介入的情况下，那里的居住环境较差，基础设施匮乏并且存在严重的社会治安问题。

尽管如此，城中村在本质上并不等同于西方城市中的贫民窟。从社会形态来看，它们是由“本地村民的传统农业社会”逐渐演变成“本地的原村民社会”和“外来务工者暂住型移民社会”在空间上的叠加[10]。从经济学角度看，它们事实上是一种城市中无秩序的低成本生活区。大多数在深圳开始逐梦之旅的人都住过城中村，那是一个走向光鲜城市生活的缓冲区。而从空间形态看，城中村是由村民自发建设的，具有规则平面布局的新型高密度村落，局部区域还保留了宗祠、历史街区等文化景观。

城中村被认为是困扰城市发展的“痼疾”，它们不会马上消失，因为全面拆迁会造成负面的社会影响。然而，它们又是城市中最具活力的街区，并承载了深圳的地域文化以及城市记忆。因此，成功转型的城中村具有成为媒介层的潜力，连接全球系统层次和日常生活层次。

鉴于深圳原本的山海空间格局不复存在，那么，怎样才能将现状的自然形态层次与其他层次连系起来？正在建设中的绿道网络最具潜力，它本身属于全球系统层次，作为由线性开放空间组成的网络，它不仅串联了深圳的城市公园、自然保护区、风景名胜区和海岸线廊道等自然形态层次的组成部分，还串联了部分城市住宅区，将居民的日常生活涵盖在内。但遗憾的是，深圳的绿道网络只覆盖了城市中属于全球系统的规则性区域，而忽略了本土系统下衍生的城中村。它仅仅为拥有优势资源的知识分子阶层服务，

为他们的城市生活锦上添花，而将那些处于劣势的外来务工人员的日常生活排除在外。
那么，不妨做一个假设：覆盖城中村片段的绿道网络将成为真正的媒介层，起到连接各个层次的作用。这不仅是物质空间层面上的连系，同时也可以上升到社会意识形态层面。拓展的绿道网络将串起残留的城市记忆，失落的场所精神与地域文化，继而为那些城市里的过客带来归属感。到那时，经济利益将不再是唯一的驱使，人们为了更优质的城市生活，在这里扎根。

结论

深圳高度压缩的城市变革史，导致了目前媒介层的缺失。Henri Lefebvre认为，城市变革通常需要在时空轴上经历多个世纪，从“政治城市”，“商业城市”，到“工业城市”，最终走向“城市化城市”[11]。然而，深圳在经济特区建设的32年间，完成了从小渔村到国际大都市的跃变。违背城市发展的自然规律总是会产生一些负面影响，因此，我们需要解析各个时期塑造城市形态的驱动力和背后的影响机制，从而合理利用，去建设一个真正的“梦之城”。

URBAN LANDSCAPE STUDIES
EUPHORIGENIC LANDSCAPES

RANDSTAD
51°55'51"N 4°28'45"E

SIZE	8,287 KM^2
POPULATION	7,100,000
DENSITY	1,500/KM^2
ELEVATION	-6,7/69 M
TIME ZONE	CET/CEST (UTC+1/2)

RANDSTAD — URBAN DELTA LANDSCAPE

Andreas René Dittrich

PROLOGUE — EUPHORIA OF CAPABILITY

In former days of the Netherlands there were great masters living. Their skills in engineering within the constant struggle for ground really made them to creators of land where water once was. In their euphoria they used these skills very uninhibitedly, almost equal to *Terraforming*[1] but also as a community, in a social consensus, against their common enemy, the water. Inch by inch, polder by polder[2], along with the acquired space, the cultural dimension of the Dutch land reclamation was growing. In between this *Blue* of the ditches and canals on the one side and this *Green* of the polders on the other side, Dutch cultural landscape took shape.

In present days the sea level is rising on the one hand. On the other hand, the uninhibited draining continuously causes the land to sag. Trying to mediate by mere pumping, consumes in some places already more energy than money can be earned in fields and greenhouses. Nowadays, progressive urban sprawl as well as traffic arteries and distribution nodes of globalisation increasingly come to the fore of scenic. In the Netherlands, particularly the Randstad is more and more determined by this new *Grey*. Here, also the old masters have become modern. They are no longer creating the land, but consuming it by sealing the Green with Grey and disconnecting it from the Blue. Their Grey of concrete fixes now one single spatial condition statically, as private property or public infrastructure, and at the same time temporally, as cemented decades. With-out this basically inherent flexibility of landscape, these pumps will have to keep on running further and faster, forever.

In future days of the Randstad, demands of society towards landscape will probably be others. To define them at present resembles a weather forecast. As many attempts of Dutch spatial planning show, these demands can only be planned vaguely for upon this uncertain foundation. But certainly future demands will not remain static, taking into account social dynamics and climate change alone. Yet an *intermediate level* can be temporally permanent for the Randstad. It is a spatially unique tissue between former days and present days that gives structure to the landscape and remains permanent and thus strong enough to provide space for new *Euphoria of Capability*, even in future days, again and again, perpetually.

THE LAYER OF MANMADE NON-MORPHOLOGY

The Netherlands are framed in the north and west by the North Sea, on the south by Belgium and to the east by Germany. With a population almost reaching 17 million, the population density is today at about 400 inhabitants per square kilometre. At state level, we are talking about one of the highest population densities in the world.

As a depiction of space the Netherlands emerged once in relation to the Habsburg Upper and Lower Rhine regions of the late Middle Ages. The former "Upper Landing", located in present-day Austria, and the Lake Constance area, today conceptually and territorially no longer exists.

The altitude of the Netherlands now ranges from -7 meters north-east of Rotterdam to only 321 meters up on the Vaalserberg in the south-east. An expres-sion of this flat land can also be found linguistically. The Dutch themselves describe their landscape as deep or low.

The citizens do not live evenly distributed in their country. In the provinces of North Holland and South Holland about half the population urges on a fifth of the territory. Caused as well by this reason, the colloquial language term "Holland" for the whole of the Netherlands is derived from these provinces. Here can also be found the area known as "Randstad Holland" – a city square with Amsterdam, Utrecht, Rotterdam and, The Hague.

Taken as a whole, the Netherlands – following the course towards the North Sea – morphologically appears like a slightly bent *Mega Plain*. Only very occasionally topographic elevations like the Vaalsberg appear. This gentle relief still reflects the favourable location as a border space between in-land and sea, and is one of the morphological origins of this landscape. During the Euphoria of Capability the landscape for centuries has repeatedly been reshaped and standardized comprehensively. Originally, the morphology was dominated by glacial swamp basins as well as gravel and sand areas. Typical upon these were oak-hornbeam forests, marshes or peat- and alluvial forests. Within natural and small-scale elevation changes, low-nutrient and nutrient-rich areas, land and water or sweet water and salt water milieus took turn.

The second morphological origin of the Dutch landscape is also related to water. On the home straight towards the North Sea, the rivers Rhine, Meuse and Scheldt formed the Rhine-Meuse delta in the west of the Netherlands. With its alluvium and river banks, this *Alluvium Delta* was the greatest Dutch landscape with laminar flow deposits for more

than 6000 years. Formerly natural dynamics in the delta morphology, such as transportation of materials, floods or tides, were constantly fixed through engineering in the Euphoria of Capability and are now almost frozen into one single status. Even minimal material handling, just a twitch of former dynamism, is now just seen as siltation of waterways.

Along the third morphological origin of marshes and tidal coast – once a natural *Costal Gradient* between water and land – nowadays more than 3000 km of dike constructions protect against storm surges from the North Sea and in the inland against floods of the rivers. Without this achievement of engineering, about 40% of the land today would be flooded. Large parts of the dikes against the North Sea were built as part of the Delta Plan and after the flood of 1953[3]. Upcoming groundwater today also has to be constantly pumped out of the landscape.

All three morphological origins of the Dutch landscape: – *Mega Plain, Alluvium Delta* and *Coastal Gradient* – are nowadays reshaped simultaneously in a cultural and a constructional way. Solely in the east near Utrecht and in the south-west near The Hague are located sand ridges and sand dunes which are elevated by several meters. Coming into existence partly after the last ice age, they formed the first settlement centres on original topographic elevation. Naturally existing flood protection in this case preserved from manmade deformation to non-morphology.

These morphological origins are perhaps still latently visible in the landscape, for the experienced observer perhaps even permanently. But why –at the level of Dutch Everyday Landscape – they are no longer alive and thus turned into this nothing?

THE LAYER OF ONCE TOTAL EVERYDAY LANDSCAPE

Particularly older settlements of the Netherlands showed clear orientation on the various morpho-logical origins. Without engineering knowledge wide areas of the Netherlands were not habitable at that time. So cities like Utrecht in the south-east developed upon the highest natural elevations of the Netherlands, as well as Ammersfoort and Hilversum evolved on the Pleistocene sandy areas in the east. The Hague in contrast was founded in the waterproofed sand dunes landscape with a view to-wards the North Sea.

However centuries before the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, the year of birth of the present-day Netherlands and state autonomy, the constant struggle between the Masters and the water began.

New land was reclaimed in polders, drained with channels, pumped empty with windmills and dewatered into the sea and the rivers. Many flowing waters were thereby dammed from the active river system and served to drain the polder landscape. In the beginning of the *Euphoria of Capability*, due to technical reasons, the water could only be pumped up around one meter higher. Laboriously, several windmills were set in a row so as to overcome at least in stages the difference in height to the highest channel or river. Later on, in the course of technical development, a sophisticated system of moats and channels of towing was connecting all the cities and ports together so efficiently that a transport system with a fixed time cycle was born. First steam-driven pumps appeared in place of a drainage powered by windmills. As a result, efficiency, predictability and stable water levels occur instead of wind dynamics as unpredictable whim of nature.
In the polders itself, the *Euphoria of Capability* invented vegetation sequences of rush, reed, rape and various crops to dry the ground and to make the landscape arable for the following farming. Endless peat forests were laid dry, the wood was built in and the peat was fired. Peat depletion and the marsh body sagging caused by the efficient drainage system resulted soon into a reversal of the relief in the landscape. The river sediments of the alluvium were now relatively higher and thus preferred for settlements in the following period. So the port city of Rotterdam and Amsterdam were founded in the now embanked alluvium of the Rhine delta and on levees along the diked watercourses. The rivers Rotte and Amstel became their namesake.
Already the original *Mega Plain* was an expression of favoured natural spatial position as a border space between sea and inland. The *Euphoria of Capability* transformed it into a favoured economic position. Situated between the North Sea as the gateway to Asia and later on to America and the inland of Europe, the Rhine was converted into the main artery of goods transportation into the continent. Up to the 17th century, the Netherlands developed into a trading force, and favoured spatial position became economic prosperity of cities, citizens and merchants this way.

This era of Dutch history is also referred to as the Golden Age[4] in which social welfare only served as the cradle for an overall social change. The emergence of humanism created a climate of tolerance towards religion, freedom of speech, the liberal arts, and especially towards the natural sciences. As a result, the rate of urbanisation main-

ly due to immigration from abroad was far advanced during the Golden Age. A dynamic range of labour and know-how developed and the newly reclaimed land between the trading centres and transport systems became the fertile hinterland of this era. In turn, the economic boom and population growth further boosted the *Euphoria of Capability.* Once seemingly impregnable morphologies, such as re-mains of deep marsh sinks or whole bays were inte-grated into the network of canals, ditches and dikes. They became accessible by paths and roads and their spaces were finally assimilated as plot structures and field plots of the *Dutch Everyday Landscape.*

So, favoured natural spatial position, euphoric art of engineering and humanism were the origin of the *Dutch Everyday Landscape.* However, designing lineally and thereby in the language of the time was only feasible by a social consensus. All of them, workers, farmers, citizens, merchants, engineers and officialdom, formed theirs space as a culture over a period of 500 years. A limited, fertile hinterland of course had to be optimally cultivated and drained for an increasing population. Culturally lineal however means to subdue (water) nature and to superimpose its natural morphologies and processes with new, *Secure Everyday Landscape*.
This Terraforming on earth was multiple within the space of time, massive and comprehensive and therefore entire and total in the Netherlands.
When their day's work of centuries was done, their *Euphoria of Capability* perfectly shaped, a feeling of sublimity pervaded them. The achievement embodied the spirit of their time so beautifully, that the Dutch landscape itself became subject of its own De Gouden Eeuw[4] in painting and art. For the first time ever, landscape moved to the centre of painting. What the painters saw, was a figured nature, this Green tamed now lineally behind this Blue of a *Total Everyday Landscape*.

What they painted was Dutch cultural landscape.

But at the beginning of the 19th century the *Euphoria of Capability* seemed to vanish suddenly. Economic stagnation diminished the need for a fertile hinterland. The few remaining natural rags could not be dried out with the state of engineering at that time and thus not made arable. Ultimately, the Netherlands were also forced to send many soldiers to the Grande Armée[5]. Their helping hands lacked the land keeping the dikes up and the polders permanently dry. As a result, dike failures and

flooding appeared constantly. At that time it was even seriously considered to fully abandon large parts of the polders. The nation had become too weak to keep the land dry.

Ironically the old enemy, the water, sparked new hope. First hesitantly, then massively steam engines took over the work of many hands. The pumping stations powered by wind were replaced since the second half of the 19th and in the 20th century by motorized pumping stations, which were steam-powered in the beginning, then driven by diesel and eventually electrically. Especially the pumping dry of new polders was now possible in unprecedented dimensions. This technical progress, but above all the growth impulses provided by the spatial connection with the Ruhr region[6] along the Rhine generated a new wave of euphoria and re-sulted in still the most powerful stage of the Dutch land creation. Flevoland in the IJsselmeer was created and even deep marshes like the Haarlemmermeer near Amsterdam, today´s location of the airport Schiphol, could be drained. The Dutch encountered the devastating disaster of the great flood of 1953 with the last Euphoria of Capability to date: The implementation of the Delta Plan.

THE LAYER OF THE GLOBAL AND AUTONOMIC RANDSTAD

The conceptual birth of the Randstad convenes with the great wave of suburbanisation after World War II. At that time, all its centres had in the end been able to transfer their once diverse response to morphological circumstances by urban spatial and functional characteristics. So it is correct, to under-stand the Randstad really as a polycentric metropolitan area. It is not one city, but a collection of differently figured ones, not one of which reaches the million size. At the same time, the Randstad represents 8000 km2 of space with nearly 8 million people, 40 % of the Dutch population.

The first centre of the metropolitan area is Amsterdam in the north-east. With its grown annular structure of transport- and drainage channels and the large drainage area of the Haarlemmermeer, it is the capital and an important financial and cultural centre of the Netherlands.

Rotterdam is the second centre. Although the original structure was almost completely destroyed in World War II, it flourished again as an engineering and drainage work of art, lying sometimes several meters below sea level and, as the waterfront of the Netherlands, it has a high-rise skyline, a post-modern face of a city on the

water. Its function as an industrial and transport centre is still being expanded constantly.

The Hague is the third centre. With only a few drainage channels but many former sinks of old dune landscape, it is the seat of government and home to many international institutions such as the International Criminal Court.

Utrecht in the south-east finally is the fourth centre. Once built, due to the natural flood protection without comprehensive drainage structure, its function as a transport hub along the waterways to Amsterdam and Rotterdam has been complemented with a motorway turnstile and now extended with exhibition and conference centres.

After World War II, the suburbanisation of the Randstad was no longer orientated along morphological or structural characteristics but only followed, as often observed, transport infrastructure and administrative boundaries. New roads were mostly laid ribbon-like around the four centres of the Randstad and Almere in the north-east, newly created in the 1970s on the drawing board. As a re-sult, urbanisation completes the pictures of a ring shaped agglomeration. Unlike centrally structured cities such as London, Paris or Berlin, the Randstad does not build an "administrative unit" but consists of 20 municipalities and four provinces. This mosaic of management is again reflected spatially in the process of urbanisation.

Apart from lacking administrative coordination a fundamental change of the Dutch became apparent, especially from the middle of last century. The reason for the faceless urbanisation of the Randstad was a change of the *Euphoria of Capability*, of a "land creation" into a mentality of land consumption, the mere use of space. Global nodes and autonomous structures were placed upon the once Total Everyday Landscape. Today, the dense road and rail system, supplemented mainly by the waterway Rhine in the south of the Randstad, build up new, global arteries. Besides the ports of Amsterdam and Europoort Rotterdam especially the inter-national airport Schiphol causes fractures with the once created Total Everyday Landscape. So it is not surprising rather significant, that Albert Plesman, founder of the Dutch airline KLM, named the region Randstad at the beginning of the 1940s, when sitting in an airplane he discovered that the expanding cities approximately formed a hem.

The Dutch landscape has always been space of trade and exchange with the world. The resulting new systems of global freight and passenger traffic, however, are no longer seeking for con-

nection between everyday (trade) systems, city and hinterland such as in the Golden Age. Today their high frequency appears along with the autonomy and density of the new global arteries and notes. As comparable with Austria, the Netherlands have now become a global transit space. From inland the pipelines run through the country to the global air-and seaports.

The Randstad has therefore now become a functional part of the Blue Banana [7]. Outwardly, on this global European level, the Randstad appears as a functional unit and well networked. Inwardly, the Randstad is structured into nine individual city-regions that on the residential level only cooperate with each other to a limited extend, despite differing emphasis in administration, commerce, culture and transport. Inhabitants of these regions, for example, make their purchases almost exclusively in their own centre and three quarters of the employees work in the city in which they live. On the other hand, companies have primarily external connections with companies in other parts of the Netherlands or abroad and therewith cause the major part of frequentations on the pipelines between the centres through their global flow of goods. Commuting and individual traffic mainly occur in another direction. Since in the course of suburbanisation living and working in the Randstad have often been separated spatially, employees frequently commute between their residence and the centre. Yet, space- and traffic-intensive businesses in recent decades often moved to the outskirts and thus generate commuter traffic with the centre.

Especially on the weekends, however, crowds of people move much further on in one direction – To the centre of the Randstad. Perhaps for this reason, the Randstad is almost never referred to without this inside, its alleged centre, the Green Heart.

In this regard and at his time Plesman spoke of this space simply as "central area". This inner space of the Randstad only became known as the "Groene Hart" through the Dutch land use planning of the 1960s. It owes its existence to former natural conditions and at the same time it explains the origin of the hemline figure of the Randstad.

As in the post-glacial the sea level raised, an extensive swamp- lagoon- and marsh- landscape emerged in the Green Heart, consistently below sea level. At that time, the Euphoria of Capability technically was still in its infancy. Reclamation of this space was not yet feasible and its colonisation still completely excluded. The settlements of Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam and Utrecht were therefore at a respect-

ful distance hemline to this inhospitable landscape, located upon a natural flood protection, or in areas that were closer to the sea and thus easier to dewater. Only at the peak of the Golden Age until the mid-19th century the masters here, too, succeeded defeating the (water) nature. But even afterwards the area was sparsely populated and as "the new land" it was a play of colours from green and blue. Over time and due to the rapid growth of the different cities along the hem the metropolis Randstad developed decidedly around this space of "non-city".

For a long time, however, from the perspective of spatial planning, this was neither spatial quality nor spatial potential but rather a kind of "green reserve" for the exorbitant population increase expected some day in the Randstad. Only in the 1980's when it became more and more obvious that economic and population growths were more likely to stag-nate, this attitude changed. At that point, the planning intention was to resurrect these reserves and "backyards" of the global arteries and note system as a National Landscape of the Netherlands[8]. Holistically an area of cities, villages, landscapes, natural and cultural history should be preserved and developed further. However, the spatial planning created functions like the "green lung", recreational area and nature reserve, or "green buffer area". Roads, canals, lakes, forests, dunes, green-houses and tulip fields, corridors and peat meadow areas, river areas, mudflats and marshes of this inner space were only understood as functional units, which were simply to limit, to protect or to expand.

Even until today the term Randstad alone does not describe any spatial quality.

It originates from a time of global economic growth and still connotes a functional economic area, for a hem of national and international arteries and nodes within the global system of the Megalopolis Blue Banana. The spatial and temporal coherence between "before" and "after" thus also remains functional. No space quality can arise.

Without that coherence, as well, the term Green Heart degenerates into an empty metaphor.

THE MEDIATING TISSUE OF URBAN DELTA LANDSCAPE

The Randstad today is neither one single city nor a bare accumulation of many small towns. Nor it is a lost region, only covered by arteries and nodes of global, autonomous systems. Even the Grey of sub-urbanisation didn't change the old range of colours everywhere. Today its centre is no longer only a "non-city", a

mere hinterland only dominated by the Blue and Green of the former Total Everyday Landscape.
Many functional levels, individual and societal interests, but also temporal and spatial layers are adding up to this space today. It has become very complex, versatile as the demands towards it and very colourful. Now, it is Urban Landscape. Like so many landscapes of this kind, this one is also fighting within all the complexity and compromises not to lose its spatial quality and after all become colourless in the end.
The attempt to consider now a "polycentric metropolitan area Randstad, with its green heart" just as a "Urban Delta Landscape" in the Netherlands, is a first step to maintain spatial quality. Initially this approach is an appeal to rediscover the basic essence of every landscape, its geomorphology which alone really has greatness and power to spatially grasp all the complexity, social demands and societal colours.

An Urban Delta landscape is able to deploy this morphological force when its water may become the law again.

Ever since the Dutch live along with and against water. During the Euphoria of Capability they learned as engineers and as a community to create land where water once was and ultimately to deformate it to non-morphology. But it is unnatural to fixate a landscape of water in one spatial and temporal condition. To preserve it today is already costly and perhaps in the future in this form and dimension impossible, due to climate change.
Instead of pumping further and faster forever, the character of a delta landscape can be rediscovered instead. Simply allowing water dynamics, leaving space for not fixable or glacial sediments and accepting unpredictable water levels may help to mediate between rising sea levels, inland flooding and sinking soils. At the same time, it could mean to partly rediscover the morphology and give it some space, again.
Natural sinks such as in the vicinity of Rotterdam, relic areas of peat- and marsh forests or manmade lakes caused by peat depletion like Reeuwijkse Plassen near Gouda or Westeinderplassen south-west of Amsterdam could be spaces for this water dynamics. Equally, sunken polder areas, sagged by intensive land use and hyper-efficient dewatering or the natural water course of the Rhine-Meuse delta offer this possibility. All in all, they outline possible structures for a *permanent tissue of water* composed of fresh and salt water environments of future delta morphology.
But to define this space as *Urban Delta Landscape* does not just mean to break

a lineally Blue and release dynamics. What differs from former natural delta landscape and what can make it unique within the ranking among other cultural landscapes and metropolitan regions, is more.

To develop permanent spatial quality, a *tissue of Urban Delta Landscape*, three limitations of cultural landscape have to be overcome: functional, spatial and temporal separation of structures.

Functional separation: The Dutch spatial planning in dealing with the Randstad and the Green Heart shows, how functions of space can be described accurately but only in a functional way. Housing, recreation, work and nature should definitely become connected by the organising principle of water. Besides, the 5th Planning Report for a National Landscape Green Heart names seven criteria of quality: spatial diversity, economic and social functions, cultural diversity, social justice, sustainability, attractiveness and human dimension. But how these spatial qualities are to be designed, remains vague. Separation of functions can neither fulfil these criteria as well. Only in the functional coherence, considered as landscape structures altogether, there is an opportunity for quality of space.

Spatial separation: The visible spatial separation between city and country was characteristic for the development of the Netherlands for centuries. Even today, the Regional Planning tries with red and green contours to maintain this condition as far as possible and to restrain or guide the development of settlements. Transitional areas in between are rarely designated in terms of colour and space. Large parts of the Green Heart are already part of this suburban space. There are almost no specific functional descriptions for it or even qualitative development goals. Its development continues thus largely inadequate and thus less appropriate. At the same time about nearly 700,000 of the 7 million inhabitants of the Randstad live in the once rural area of the Green Heart. Here the population density is already Dutch average. In total, the space has long since become Urban Landscape - city and country can no longer be separated within it. The qualification of this *spatial coherence*, a mediation between town and countryside, can only be achieved through a further development of the suburban structures of the Randstad.

Temporal separation: More than 700 years of Dutch history of land creation have generated a network of temporal and spatial structures. Once it was Total Everyday Landscape. Today these structures can be found as a palimpsest[9] or still under active land use. The landscape is characterised by a pixel mosaic

of plots within the polders, ranging between strictly squared and narrow rectangular shape and in the dimensions of a few hundred square meters to several hectares, connected with various crops and cultivation methods. Plots of same shape and size are bundled into units – landscape modules. This phenomenon can be seen clearly in comparison, for example, between the surroundings of Gouda and Almeere. The bundles can be traced back to various periods in the development of land reclamation.
The drainage technology of the polders determines the alignment and orientation of the plot figures in the polders. It follows the artificially and naturally existing slope towards the North Sea or inland waters. Differentiations in ditch- and channel width or lifting height and pumping power are further signs of periods of development. The precisely drawn perpendicular drainage ditches show even today a once made division of the polders. Sometimes the drainage ditches were also aligned to landmarks such as church spires. Naturally, drainage and plot figures follow each other. They form a tissue that has synchronously been developed over the centuries. Access roads and regional roads, now often part of the Dutch cycling network, complement this tissue. Alleys and windbreak hedges follow them, interrupted by linear settlements, also known as band settlements or street villages.
These structural levels are complemented by offcut spaces of homogeneous surfaces. Several lakes, like Langeraarse Plassen or Braassemermeer, generated by the peat depletion, have been preserved and now serve as fresh water storages and for recreational uses. Remaining stocks of natural marshes complement these offcut spaces. In the heart of the Randstad there are no more vast woodland or forests, like for example in Germany or in the South-East of the Netherlands. The formerly dominant spatial impact by extensive wetlands or peat- and marsh forests has been dissolved to a pixel mosaic of plot structures in the course of deformation to the Total Everyday Landscape. All of these are spatial signs and characteristics of the Dutch cultural landscape. Within a *temporal coherence* these become signs of time. Then these are the levels of the development of the *Euphoria of Capability*.

To establish functionally, spatially and temporally a *permanent tissue* of the *Urban Delta Landscape* of the Randstad therefore means:
. To design functions of space only in coherence, and thus to develop them as a basis for spatial qualities of the landscape.

. To overcome restrictions of Urban Landscape through spatial coherence, so that suburban space can be a mediator between city and country.
. To produce a temporal coherence between former days, present days and future days, without denying temporal fractures.

This tissue stretches from the cores of the centres, towns and villages with their harbours, canals, districts, squares, parks and streets consciously via the structures of the suburban space, with its retention facilities, boat channels, piers, parking lots, residential, commercial and access roads to the depicted structural levels and homogeneous offcut spaces of the once Total Everyday Landscape in the Groene Hart.
The water, the Blue, is always the organising principle and linkage between the Green and the Grey. Finally, a metropolitan public transport network makes the entire space of the Delta landscape accessible along this tissue. At its ends, elements of new water dynamics may be, standing for a rediscovery of landscape quality of an Alluvium Delta or a Costal Gradient. New functions of space such as greenhouse- tulips- or recreational landscapes, floating residential landscapes, aquacultures or Climate Forests[10] fit in as landscape values and economical values between the permanent structures of the tissue, as well as global systems and new infrastructures.
They all connect without reserve, if we design them within a temporal coherence, as part of the development of an Urban Delta Landscape. It is natural then, to structure them as part of this *Tissue of Water*. Water has suddenly become law again.
The next *Euphoria of Capability* is the one of creating water. The painters of tomorrow, they will see it, this *Urban Delta Landscape*.

They will be longing to paint it again.

ENDNOTES

[1] Terraforming: Refers to the future shaping of planets like Mars or Venus to a habitable environment for humans. Parameters such as temperature, oxygen content or the availability of water are to be adjusted to human needs mainly through technical measures.

[2] Polder: Terrain in the vicinity of water, which is lower than the surrounding water table and is permanently separated by dikes. Ground and rain water is collected through a system of canals (Dutch: Slooten) and in the case of low-lying polders divert-ed at low tide with support of pumping systems.

[3] The Delta Plan and the flood of 1953: The Delta Plan is a protection system against floods and storm surges with permanent levees and temporarily lockable areas. Its implementation began in 1958. It comprises the regions of Zeeland, South Holland and North Brabant. The Dutch coastline to the North Sea was shortened by technical structures (Deltawerken), such as locks, weirs and dams from 355 km to 60 km. The flood in 1953 was the catalyst for the development of the Delta Plan. It was the largest flood in recent Dutch history with more than 1,800 casualties. The combination of a spring tide and a severe storm over the North Sea caused the level to rise by several meters. Widespread flooding, especially in the province of Zeeland, south of Rotterdam, was the result. It took ten month until the last dikes were repaired.

[4] The Golden Age of the Netherlands: (Dutch: de Gouden Eeuw) Around one hundred year lasting economic, cultural and political heyday of the Netherlands. It included about the 17th Century and had a fundamental impact on art and painting, especially on landscape painting.

[5] Grande Armée: Name of the Imperial French Army between 1805 and 1815 under the Emperor Napoleon 1st.

[6] Ruhr region: Spatial landscape designation for the Ruhr area in Germany.

[7] Blue Banana: Megalopolis or agglomeration of cities and metropolitan regions in Northwest Europe. It ranges straplike between the Irish Sea and the Mediterranean Sea and is one of the most important concentrations in Europe in terms of popu-lation, economy, science, culture, capital, media, transport, infrastructure and settlement.

[8] National Landscape of the Netherlands: Conceptual circumscription of the spatial planning of the Neth-erlands. Comprises and describes coherent and characteristic landscapes and natural areas for the Netherlands.

[9] Palimpsest: Designates a landscaped tissue of actions and relationships but also historical enrolments. (André Corboz)

[10] Climate Forests: Denote the idea of a redesign of functionally intact and spatially adjusted peat and alluvial forests that can store greenhouse gases simultaneously in their biomass and in theirs soils.

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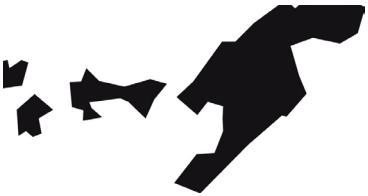
URBAN LANDSCAPE STUDIES
EUPHORIGENIC LANDSCAPES



GORIZIA I NOVA GORICA
45°58'N 13°39'E

SIZE	41 I 309 KM²
POPULATION	35,980 I 32,763
DENSITY	880 I 110/KM²
ELEVATION	84 I 61 M
TIME ZONE	CET/CEST (UTC+1/2)

THE TWIN CITY GORIZIA/ NOVA GORICA BETWEEN HISTORICAL LEGACY AND INTEGRATED FUTURE

Ario de Marco

INTRODUCTION

The question why people have preferences for some landscapes rather than others has been raised from different perspectives and the belief that we like what has been evolutionary relevant had a strong influence in the theories elaborated in the recent past.[1] An implicit consequence of these theories is that preferences, because are innate, are also universal and, therefore, it was meaningful to identify and weight the contribution of the constitutive elements to the entire landscape. Only recently, the experimental data correlating specific preferences to people background (such as training, profession, childhood environment or age) confirmed previous intuitions that the cultural influence is the crucial factor in determining the attractiveness of landscapes[2]. Consequently, the interest has moved from the identification of the factors for reconstituting an ideal landscape to the characterization of landscape opportunities able to match the needs of a differentiated public. As detailed contributions indicated lately, there is no universal ideal landscape, but the request for a space that could answer to a variety of parallel needs [3]. Given the elevated concentration of the human population in a restricted number of large settlements, the design of a balanced organization of the urban landscape represents a relevant challenge the interest of which goes beyond the identification of clever technical solutions. Physical inactivity and stress-induced diseases being the two major causes of death in the developed world, it becomes clear that the appreciation of the surrounding landscape is not merely an esthetic matter, as well documented by the correlation existing between the environment and human health. Therefore, landscape shapes that can induce positive feelings (euphorigenic landscapes) are to be thought, since their presence will bring benefits that a modern society cannot afford to neglect. This conclusion can seem obvious to the public opinion, but it still represents a minority approach in the world-wide praxis of planners. Urban landscapes are still largely featured according to the modernist ideology that denies the relevance of the morphological and historical levels and compresses the individual and social needs claiming the supremacy

of an abstract functionality. The consequence is sprawling, a development model that advantages the interests of developers and does not consider the structural levels at which citizens' life should flourish.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The methodological analysis used in this essay follows the semiotic model and the theory formulated by Henri Lefèbvre that describes landscape as the physical space in which different structural levels and cultural interests are combined [4]. Following his conception, for reading and interpreting the landscapes it is necessary to recognize the physical constraints (the morphology), the level constituted by the structures in which the daily life takes place (the texture), the level established by the large infrastructures (the systems), and stewardship elements with symbolic meaning. The comprehension of the symbols will be facilitated by a short "thick description" [5] of the milieu, conceptualized as the resultant of embedded cultural, historical and social experiences.

For the identification of the euphorigenic conditions, we shall also consider the functional description of the psychological combinations that correspond to perceived sensory dimensions and induce in the beholder specific perceptions and expectations.

As a study model, the urban area of the twin city Gorizia/Nova Gorica (formerly: Görz) was chosen, a 70,000 people agglomerate situated in a relatively rural environment at the Italien-Slovenian border and that experienced a traumatic political separation after the Second World War the signs of which are still recognizable on the territory.

ANALYSIS

Is a hilly landscape in which a small urban settlement is confined between a river and the forest euphorigenic? According to the subjective theory, the answer is that there are different perceived landscapes, as many as the beholders that observe using the perspective of their different cultural and psychological background. The euphorigenic dimension will be enjoyed by single observers for which the landscape is readable, understandable, suggestive, and emotionally likeable. However, an analytical dissection and evaluation of the constitutive elements may be useful to identify factors that are crucial for interpreting the landscape, understanding our (subjective) preference, and even identifying proposals for smoothing the dissonances and improving the overall quality.

AVAILABLE ELEMENTS:
THE MORPHOLOGIES

Topographic elements such as hills, rivers, lakes, and their combinations with respective spatial distributions introduce suggestiveness and diversity to the landscape, although they are differently perceived. In terms of dimensions, wooded hills can be associated with the sense of mystery and/or curiosity, since they may be seen either as a screen inviting to observe beyond them or as a barrier that prevents further appreciation of part of the landscape and repulse because of their dense aspect. Slopes constantly modify the observation perspectives and, therefore, may offer a large variety of views. Finally, hill steepness makes them physically not available to complete rationalization and they conserve—more easily than flat areas—some original features and "leftover" surfaces that contribute to landscape variety by introducing greenness and geometric ruptures. Therefore, hills strongly contribute to contrast feelings of boredom and introduce elements that catch the beholder's attention. In combination with water surfaces, they represent dynamic elements and areas that are, in average, more preserved from a natural point of view. Because of this, they can strongly contribute to dimensions such as Serene, Space, Refuge, Rich in species, and Nature, depending on the element combinations.

Flat areas are easily urbanized and devoted to rational agriculture. Consequently, they are more ordered and greenness is compressed by the competition for alternative land allocation. In practice, planned woodlands in the neighborhood of the town are rare whilst most of the surface has been occupied by either crops or buildings.

The twin towns (Gorizia on the western side, Nova Gorica on the eastern side) appear differently organized. Gorizia has a sprawling structure and embraces both flat and partially hilly areas, Nova Gorica seems to develop through a more defined, top-down, coherent city master plan in the flat corridor between hill chains.

The river Isonzo/Soča runs at the town edge and represents, although not planned as such, a valuable greenway at least in terms of an ecological corridor. It still constitutes a valid conservation resource, whereas minor creek watersheds have been either paved over or set-aside, becoming a hidden and unappreciated resource. On the contrary, the river's ecological quality has been preserved because of its marginality for the urban life,

since only a recreational water sports area on the Slovenian side and a minor project along a short bank trait on the Italian side make the watershed available for public fruition, although these are interesting for catalyzing social and recreational activities (prospect dimension). At present, the access to the river is difficult because the banks lay until 50 meters below the town level and the few steep paths along the slopes cross private estates. The result is that a relevant green area remains inaccessible for and unappreciated by the citizens.

THE TEXTURE

There are two main macro-orientation lines that are immediately visible and serve as reference for the urban structure. Gorizia is built as a progressive and random expansion from a central ax, whilst Nova Gorica follows a regular development of semicircles, a sort of amphitheatre with the flat side corresponding to the railway line that is coincident with the national border. Few centrifugal streets start from the railway station and indicate the expansion directions of the town. The different history of the twin towns can easily explain the difference, as Gorizia originated from a slow development of a middle-age settlement built around the castle, whereas Nova Gorica was designed in the fifties of the last century as a new town that grew up on empty fields to substitute the territory reference town that remained on the other side of the state border demarcation limit. Apart from the city parks and the sport/playground facilities, the major green areas directly connected to the urban network correspond to the hilly woodland of the Kostanjevica-Panovec and of the castle, the amateur airport, and the agricultural fields close to the river. Here, structural differences distinguish between the small and disordered allotments divided by tree hedges typical of the private orchards on the one hand and the rational structure of the single large farm on the other.

The town organization apparently shapes the social aggregation. In Gorizia it is concentrated on the main street, whereas the historical center below the castle has been progressively deserted. In Nova Gorica the social activity has been traditionally more diffuse and recently strongly influenced by the development of the resorts related to its casinos. Both towns try to increase the dimension of their pedestrian downtown areas the establishment of which has supported the development of coffee shops with outdoor tables. However,

their presence as meeting points is, at least in the case of Gorizia, detrimental to the survival of external more traditional aggregation places. Such a process has been accelerated by the building of commercial centers that dried out the economical sources for the borrow shops that progressively disappeared.
Both towns are seats of university departments, but in both cases no remarkable activities or life styles seem to have been influenced or stimulated by this presence that still remains an unexploited potential.

THE SYSTEMS
The railway and the associated border represent an important urban element for the structure of Nova Gorica and for the overall panorama because they separate one intensively built area from the agricultural landscape on the other side of the border. This is the only capturing infrastructure feature in a landscape otherwise characterized by low density industrial settlements and residential urban development. The border, although in the meanwhile it became only a mere administrative concept, is still determinant in shaping the territory since it is recognizable as an element of fracture.

Another element at the systems level is the highway. It is invisible and runs relatively far away from the towns, but its recent construction together with the abolishment of the border restrictions strongly contributed to the modification of the objective development potentialities of the two twin towns. Nova Gorica is now efficiently linked to the rest of Slovenia and more easily accessible from outside (for instance, for the casino tourists), whilst Gorizia lost its importance as a hub for the trades with the European South-East and has been set aside with respect to the traffic fluxes.
A final remark is that the elimination of the checkpoints at the border has modified the preferential routes for the car traffic. Because it is faster, some solutions became popular which consider crossing the border in more points to follow a straight line through some town areas instead of following the longer alternative along the non-linear and less densely populated border strip. The consequence, however, is that former streets with texture characteristic changed into roads with system features that disaggregate the town coherence. It can be also observed that the increased traffic flux did not result in economic advantages but rather drained out resources from the old town to the

advantage of other, more peripheral, realities or even distant alternatives (malls, neighboring towns).

THE SCENERIES

From the chosen viewpoint, a 700 m high hill equally shared by the two municipalities, it is not possible to appreciate the highway running beyond the airport and most of the existing railway and car bridges. Although this represents the only viewpoint for the complete appreciation of the panorama, only a few difficult and long paths reach the hilltop. This reality discourages the visit to a place that enables to enjoy a wide and diversified landscape spanning from the sea to the mountains.

The other hills surrounding the towns allow only for a partial view, although many details become more distinct due to the shorter distance. 6 Stewardship elements such as the castle and the monastery placed on the top of low hills are very useful for providing a visual orientation when the observation point is low enough to highlight the contrast between their level and the town plan. Two new towers built recently in Nova Gorica cannot offer a scenic alternative to those historical buildings.

THE SYMBOLS

The symbols become more and more gray and corroded by the rain and the sun, bushes grow around them and they will be eventually forgotten in years or centuries to come. However, stones are there to remind and warn, and can be used for any political ideology, either to support a more collaborative future or to call for revenge and separation. Thus, symbols represent the irrational level of the soul and are ambivalent since they can propose the reasons of the peace as well as of new conflicts. Some of them are clearly visible: a border stone, a bunker, and the memorial cemetery of Oslavia/Oslavje. They tell the story from the recent past (the border that divided the community and the military confrontation) to the beginning of the XX century, when Italy occupied the region after the conclusion of the First World War. Another symbolic element is more diffused and, probably, has better reached its original ideological meaning by its mimicry quality: the introduction of exotic tree species, such as cypresses and Mediterranean pines, used for defining squares and avenues, for shaping the Gorizia landscape and making it resemble and remind of some popular Italian hilly landscapes.

DISCUSSION:
USE OF THE ELEMENTS

The availability of elements such as extensions, vegetal cover, or recreational structures does not, by itself, guarantee that useful sensorial dimensions and efficient land enjoyment will occur. For obtaining this result, it is necessary to conceive a comprehensive aesthetic idea and to design a strategy for realizing it. In the case of the urban settlement of Gorizia/Nova Gorica, a clear design of landscape management does not seem evident. Although the territory still maintains large green areas both inside the town and at the town fringes, their qualitative valorization is to a large extent underdeveloped. At least, Nova Gorica shows a more homogeneous layout and has preserved the hilly woodland of Panovec for multiple uses. The area has relevant ecological/conservational value and a number of pedestrian/running/mountain bike paths have been marked out. Furthermore, a didactic tree path and a progressive reconversion of the wood species aimed at the recovery of the original plant population mix testify the attention to ecological equilibrium and active enjoyment. On the other hand, a surface diversification in terms of sensory dimensions is still missing and some relevant elements, such as large open spaces and get-together places for social activities (bonfires, playgrounds, shelters), have not been introduced so far.

On the Italian side, only a very limited spot along one river bank has been organized for facilitating the public access but, isolated as it is, it may only represent a nucleus for further development, since its present surface is probably not sufficient for satisfying any sensory dimension. In summary, the towns have a common problem of insufficient diversification of the available resources, namely it requests a concept that highlights needs and identifies means to implement long-term solutions for fulfilling the user's expectations (euphorigenic achievement) instead of running after episodic and economically unsustainable projects such as the building of a light train connection to reach the castle.

Finally, the valorization of the river sheds as greenways conceptualized according to the contemporary standards, namely a multidimensional occasion for conservation, recreation, and alternative transportation (Bryant, 2006) remains a missed occasion. If used adequately, these areas would also represent an opportunity to connect the two towns through two continuous corridors, one formed by the main river (Isonzo/Soča) and the oth-

er by the Corno/Koren creek. This initial frame could be easily integrated into a larger network comprising the green areas covering and surrounding urban and sub-urban hills. The development of a park emerging from the areas close to the border would provide an opportunity to overcome the separation of the two communities by offering a common texture on which to build a shared life and an increasingly more integrated system of services. Furthermore, it would have a strong symbolic value for connecting two communities using the same elements that formerly separated them. At the moment, the visual separation still indicates the discontinuity and that the two entities do not grow together. The town being a physical point in which system and texture levels merge, the development of a uniquely designed urban landscape would be an advantage for both fractions. Gorizia would be reintegrated in the larger geographical context that progressively moved to Nova Gorica, whereas this entity would provide a chance for the recovery of the now abandoned old center of Gorizia that could become again the symbolic reference for the overall territory. A common urban and economic development would also embody an opportunity to use the texture and systems levels for healing the "wounds" present at the symbolic level.

The old Austrian town was a tolerant center in which the citizens spoke, or at least understood sufficiently, several languages, but the situation drastically changed at the end of the First World War when its territory passed under the rule of Italy. Only Italian was allowed and ethnical discrimination was systematically introduced. At the same time, the nationalist rhetoric and the cult of the war were pursued. In this frame, the edification of monumental cemeteries to honor the Italian soldiers died on the Karst and Isonzo/Soča fronts was used for patriotic aims. The limes, symbols of the community in the Slovenian culture, were substituted in the squares by the exotic, but ideologically suitable, Mediterranean Pinus maritima. Cupressus trees were planted in the countryside for shaping the landscape according to Toscana aesthetic models. This symbolic transformation was undertaken to eradicate the memory of one community and to substitute it with an artificial nationalist aesthetic concept. This politics reminds of other examples of landscape rearrangement for representing new orders as timeless and natural [7]. The discrimination of the Slovenians was a determining factor for their massive

support of the partisan movement during the Second World War and it was the Yugoslavian army to free the town and to claim it as an integral part of the new federation. The international conflict was concluded with a compromise for which the old town remained in Italy whereas the surrounding territory became part of Yugoslavia. The two nations faced each other as enemies and this split also cut deep at the level of the local community. A strongly defended border separated what grew together for centuries. Nowadays, the wounds of the last century seem forgotten in both the daily life and on the official political agenda, but they remain latent in the deep consciousness of everybody who emotionally experienced the past and, therefore, the present time absolutely needs itself symbolic structures for substituting the historical legacy. That is why the old border should become not only the site for experiencing an always more intensive texture integration by interconnecting the services, but also a place for building a "merged landscape" capable of changing the visual perception at the symbolic level by substituting the fracture with a bridging perspective. An urban park designed to answer different public needs could be the integration symbol the community is waiting for. It would be not intrusive, but could smoothly lead to convergence by merging the daily life levels of the two towns.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Public open spaces acquire evident functionality when they become dimensions capable of answering to public requests and being integrated in a larger urban context. It means that the responsible landscape planners should limit the contrasts that morphology and system levels evidence and operate to improve the quality of the texture level. This can also be obtained by providing the correct balance between dense and open areas, spots for socializing and peaceful refugees, by showing attention for view points and suggested perspectives, and by trying to maintain the ecological sustainability of the whole project. It is also important that accessibility to the public open spaces and green areas is facilitated by offering bicycle/pedestrian paths, since an euphorigenic landscape is not a passive experience that the beholder simply observes, but an active interaction perceivable by moving in and around. In the case of Gorizia/Nova Gorica, all these aims could be achieved by the institution of a park insisting on the areas alongside the border, a reali-

zation of great symbolic impact.
Adapting the existing resources for precise needs would allow their optimal valorization given the existing constraints such as absolute surfaces and topographic location. Top-down approaches can have the advantages of determining the texture by optimally planning the systems, but also textures can give clear indications for building suitable systems since they reflect the daily reality and its actual needs. The aim of this dialectic interaction is, in either case, the maximization of the diffuse beauty perceptible in the texture, rather than the edification of spots of concentrate beauty that remain, however, physically and emotionally distinct from the daily life [8]. Furthermore, the designer should always keep in mind that his/her proposals should be openly discussed to avoid the danger of the self-reference, namely the formulation of master plans that respond to the specialist expectations but not to the public wishes.
The euphoric experience should not be a passive appreciation of the sublime (a wild natural landscape, difficult to find in industrial countries), but a participation in the active transformation of the real context to reach a useful result in which the diffuse beauty of the texture may improve everybody's life. The euphoric feeling may be related to the expectations that a landscape can suggest in terms of improvement of physical and mental health, but also of socialization stimulus. In this context, a park with the declared function of a multispecific urban open space linking the two half-towns would be the ideal space for meeting and exchanging in a harmonic context. It should provide environments that are searched for by different groups, such as open spaces for playing football or frisbee, barbecue places and tracks for runners. It would represent the texture for a natural convergence obtained by sorting people according to their interests rather than their nationality. Healing the wounds of the past would be pursued by exploiting the treasure of the morphology and using it for designing an ideal place for daily life. The heritage of painful symbols that divided would be substituted by the calm praxis of sharing.

ENDNOTES

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URBAN LANDSCAPE STUDIES
EUPHORIGENIC LANDSCAPES

SUZHOU
31°18′N 120°36′E

SIZE	8,488.42 KM^2
POPULATION	10,465,994
DENSITY	1,200/KM^2
ELEVATION	10 M
TIME ZONE	CHINA STANDARD (UTC+8)

THE SUZHOU LANDSCAPE

Xiaoyu Shen

Suzhou has been the econimical and cultural center in southeast part in China ever since the middle and late feudal era. The economical center has moved to Shanghai just after the opium war[1]. Currently, it could be one of the major cities in economy, foreign trade, industrial, commercial and logistics center in Yangtze Delta region. Over thousands of years influence from Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism, the farming civilization and Wu culture in this area has been embodied in the urban landscape, neighborhood patterns, and flourishing modern day civilization, having stayed in shade for 70 years and undergone rapid development for 30 years, City of Suzhou stands tall today, raised from the ancient Helv metropolis which thrived under Wu Kings ruling. Currently, Suzhou has already entered into an era of a big city, meanwhile it continues to transform from the "canal era" to the "Lake era." Especially during the last 30 years of reform and opening-up, a new scene of city pattern has been formed, which coexistenced of the "Old Suzhou", "New Suzhou, "Foreign Suzhou". How the city features evolution during the process of urban space and time changing and how to grasp the essence meaning and external manifestations have been the hot topic of Suzhou urban construction.

THE LAYER OF NATURAL MORPHOLOGIES AND REGIONAL CULTURES

The hilly area in western part of Suzhou presents the traditional chinese landscape, which consists of the 100-300 meters high mountain and islands. the rest parts are the reclamationed plains, which are belonging to the Yangtze alluvial plain and the water network plain of Taihu lake. The whole plain landform presents a gradually sloping from west to east with 3-4 meters above the sea level, meanwhile, it also forms a complete river net system with about 2 million channels. The complete water system has been playing an important role in transport function before the motorized transport advent. In addition, the convenience irrigation as a necessary condition for Suzhou to develop the agriculture, that's why the region could become the main economic and cultural center. The houses which are built in this river system not only enhance the limitation of the river system, but also create a coordinated dynamic channel-scale space, that's the "Low bridge, running stream,

cottages"[2] [小桥-流水-人家]. The spatial structure and scale somehow promote the development of classical gardens in Suzhou.

Suzhou is a gathering place for the literati in the history, their chant objects are the"Low bridge, running stream, cottages"[2] [小桥-流水-人家], which accumulated from the historical culture , wealth and elegant classical gardens, then this kind of landscape ideology is spread through out the country. The most widely spread old saying is "There is heaven, there are Suzhou and Hangzhou", it refers not only the beauty, prosperity and Wealthy, but also points out their yearning for the city. Nowadays, as a major tourist cities in China, Suzhou has been more and more well-known to the tourists from all over the world. Marco Polo called the city as "East Venice of the World" in 1276.

THE LAYER OF CHANGING EVERYDAY WORLD AND REGIONAL HABITUS

The topography in ancient city of Suzhou appears very flat and common, there is no ideal beautiful landscape, the only salient point is the Gratitude Temple Tower, which lies on the north intersection of north-south axis, this is the best place for overlooking the whole ancient city. The biggest different from other cities is that the intensive canals are managed 2000 years ago, and the poetic lifes which developed on basis of the structure. Along with the reforming and opening-up, Suzhou has a rapid econimic development, on one hand, people living around the suburban are flocking to the city area, on the other hand, these houses which are built along the river couldn't satisfy the rapid life style that caused by the fast increasingly population and industrialization, therefore, large quantity of multi-storey residential buildings are developed and built on both sides of Grand Canal to the west part of ancient city. This kind of new building could be the symbol of new life which consist of the spacious and full implementation of running-water system and sanitary conditions. The running water is so easy that many former outside activities such as washing, laundry are disappeared. There are no traders selling on boat when the water street lost the popularity, instead they gathered in the various living entrance by driving a motor. From then, the new generation of Suzhou residents are getting away from the traditional waterstreet. The left are only the elderly and migrant workers, they are unable to maintain these traditional houses. The original harmony neighbourhood structure is

seriously destroyed by a large number of out-coming people, it is difficult for these tenants to establish the harmonious neighbourhood because of the very frequently changed and the big difference between their culture and other factors. This serious situation makes these old water streets space seem to be decline and shrink. Although later some of street spaces are fixed to retain, the poetic life in this shell was lost forever, instead, coming the noisy tourists .

The majority of multi-layer and several independent houses appear on the outside of these residential areas, and all these residential districts are surrounded by high walls. Corresponding quality and quantity of public green space are existing in the different greens of residentical open space, but these greens are not very popular to people because of the fragmented management. They prefer cycling or walking to a nearby city park to enjoy, but these parks are more or less as a larger version of the original Suzhou garden, there are always high walls around, people couldn't get the feelings when they walking in the street. These are not the city open space which on basis of definition of the Landscape Urbanism. Perhaps the cultural awareness of the private gardens have been strongly influenced in both planning designers and citizens, the designers take the classical gardens as their highest professional pursuit, meanwhile the general public would be happy to enjoy the industrialized classical gardens.

On the farmland around Jinji lake stands a new city, which lies to the east part of ancient city and is full of waterways. Suzhou industrial park presents the modern urban life style and offers leisure and enjoyment of public space to residents around. In addition to the avenue, which is formed by an average daily flow of 5 million people, the city square and the outside Water platform are also regarded as highlights to attract people. It has become a good place for the new couples for their weddings.

The hills from west part of the ancient city to Taihu lake shows the most outstanding natural scenery in the whole region of Suzhou, one can get the panorama of Taihu lake by standing on top of the highest hill of Qionglong mountain, then appear the vast lake, fishing boats combined with so many peaks. This landscape also is regarded as the seclusion place for the literatis, therefor, there are plenty of cultural heritages left for the futures. Along with the convenient traffic more and more people are coming here for sightseeing. These landscape

are not only famous for their beauty, but also rich in agricultural products, such as bayberry, loquat, biluochun tea in Dongting mountain and the crabs in Taihu lake. All these products are very famous in the whole country. Eating has always been the most important thing in the Chinese awareness, so this place will attract a lot of residents and tourists to drive here in picking seasons; what a beautiful thing when you enjoy the landscape while eating.

The biggest influence between every day life and geographical relations is the traffic system change, which is caused by the industrialization. From then, the very closed original poetic life went more far away.

THE LAYER OF GLOBALIZATION, POLITICS AND INFRASTRUCTURE SYSTEMS

The ancient city of Suzhou is not a product with a natural development process just from village, town to city, it generated by the powerful feudal political force in the beginning. In 514 BC, during the Spring and Autumn period, Wuzixu, the prime minister of king Helu, supervised the construction of Wu in the plain to the east part of Taihu lake. The layout marked the beginning of today's city is the original form of a" double chess board ". It obviously shows from the Pingjiang plan that there are mainly six vertical and fourteen horizontal rivers, this number and density is difficult for other cities to match. A more structured chess board which seems like a water network was formed by these channel linears. Because the streets and canals are in paralleled existing, an effective and lively city transport system was formed by these two superposed structures. Also, the defense here is different from other cities because of the dual system: The land gates and water gates are adjacent existing, meanwhile, around the walls there is a moat which belongs to the canal system and flows to the surrounding villages. It can be said that the relative natural dual system in surrounding villages could be the original imitation object of a double chess board. During the past 2500 years, the unique system of the "double chess board" has never been changed. Some buildings which attached to the system changed a little just along with the social structure, particular, because the opening of the Suitang Grand Canal, the economic center moved to south part, Suzhou became the regional economic and cultural center in the middle and late feudal era. Wealth concentration and cultural development make

a big influence on urban landscape changing, some landscape structures such as "Low bridge, running stream, cottages"have reproduced the whole city, then evolved into the thriving private garden. The ancient city of Suzhou is still well preserved under the double promotion of commercial interests and cultural responsibility, especially in the Pingjiang and Shantang areas, they are intact repair and remained very well. Standing on the bridge, scattered old house and passing vessels are all in your panoramic view. The different thing is that there are a lot of tourists on board besides the bussinessman.

The new district lies to the west part of the ancient city. The development and construction follows the spirit of the state council: "protect the style of the ancient city, speed up the new district" which was executived in 1990. In 1994, the state council issued the "approval of development and construction the industrial park Suzhou" item to develop the Suzhou industrial park. There is a traffic artery named Ganjiang road which acrosses directly between the two new major road system and the whole ancient city. This is the direct confrontations not only between the ancient and modern transport systems, agriculture and industry, but also the standoff between poetry and machine life. Fortunately, there is no more serious damaging road appears because of the protection policy. But the original street space which exists outside the city has been almost removed, and most of the rivers have been cut off and even landfill because of the new road. So far, the old villages are banned, as "compensation", the detached residence are forced to move into the "living machine".

Different development models and management structures led to two different kinds of landscape. It obviously shows the development in the east part of industrial park is more successful, it is more attractive to investors, workers and visitors. The planning, design, and management is generated by the mutual consultation of China and Singapore. The overall planning and landscape design of Jinji lake is completed by the company of EDAW, one highlight point which is providing the high quality and open leisure space for free. These aboves are coming from the globalization, which led to the development of industrialization and urbanization in Suzhou industrial park at the same time. In my opinion, the early development of the western area only is a rational industrial, in the area center, there is a large commercial amuse-

ment park named Suzhou paradise, which is built next to Lion mountain. One should charge the high price tickets then could be allowed to enter the park , which is surrounded by walls. In addition to the global factors, one main reason for these differences is the lack of insufficient funds at the beginning.

Taihu overhead road and light rail systems would narrow the distance between city areas and Taihu lake, at the same time accelerate the new district from "Canal era" to "Taihu lake era", it also means, form the industrial to the urbanization. Directly presenting the "shanshui" [3] [山水] landscape resources from western to the public to improve the quality of living environment.

The new transportation systems have been developed quite well in the five country-level cities around, they greatly reduce the time and space distance between the villages. Therefore, in 2003, the administrative divisions were re-adjusted by the government, the small towns are combined into the large towns, thus the greater resources of the region can be highly uniformed and improved, it is also a preparing work for the industrial production which is coming form the city later. But this change has some impacts to the rural character, for example, some towns attempt to build a new center between the merger towns, however, it didn't form due to the strong traditional sense of community and the traditional social structure, in fact, it hindered the development and expansion of the traditional center. The only advantage is to bring new infrastructure to the original suburban areas.

The rapid development and improvement of new transport systems result a connection between the build-up area in the city and surrounding towns, directly or indirectly led to the old traffic dual system malaise. At the same time the cultural landscape structure of the water-village system will be disappeared.

THE MEDIATING LAYER, THE FABRIC OF THE CITY AND THE PALIMPSEST OF THE LANDSCAPE

According to the view of Henri Lefebvre, the media layer could be regarded as a middle layer between the every day life and the layer of global and autonomous systems. The middle layer could be not only a city , but also the landscape, it is an organized area of daily life in living, working and leisure areas. This fabric is the space or landscape where people can join in freely. Therefore, it should be the outer contour of the building in the

city, such as streets, squares; meanwhile could be the country road in the countryside.

Suzhou has experienced a long cultivation of 2,500 years, except the western mountain area still remain the natural landscape, the rest parts are all farmland. All these farmlands and villages consist of the the two-systems organization which is made of canals and streets. The basic model is: all houses are built along the dual system, between the houses and farmland exist a village public space, which is consisting of open spaces in front of each house. Every one can go to the farmland by crossing the perpendicular ridge. Since a large number of urban public green spaces are in great demand on trees, farmers can earn more money through planting trees. In addition, they have more flexible time to spend on " Made in China". Thus part of the farmland has been occupied by the dense forest. Similar to the streets of the town, the original ridge and the country roads have become the enclosed space, since there is a lack of popular cohesion of urban street space, there will be a big security risk during the night.
Almost all roads in Suzhou are planted with trees and corresponding hedges, these rows of the measures often affect people's perception of the regional landscape features, for example, one standing in suburbs but couldn't feel the idyllic scenery. The Green Belt boundary of the ancient city moat continued the elegant style in planning and design, and it should play the role in integrating the public space around, especially for this actual function-missing ancient city canal system, rather than a ring or linear development structure of their own. The same effect also appears in the urban green spaces, for example the West District ought to be a resources shortage of urban public space because of the originally gated communities, but still placed quantities of massive hedge flowers to occupy the activities of public space. The effectiveness of classical gardens has largely increased the fragmentation of public space. Just several nodes of public green spaces have been improved, which exist outside the overhead road in the ancient city: these four greens provide not only the high life quality of local residents, but also take part in the integration of the canal space around. However, the closed residential area around still could be the stumbling block to integration of urban public space. The most popular and successful city open space is the Suzhou industrial park which

lies in east part of Jinji Lake. It offers many different levels of public spaces for all residents and the access, such as square, lake avenue, public buildings and a variety of theme parks. It also creates a variety of functions and structural diversity of a public open space system. Around this open space, the low-density luxury residential and the residential or office construction are built increasingly.

Globalization and politicts have a very large impact on Chinese cities. We could say that the chinese cities have such a fast and efficient development also benefit from this level. Therefore, the influence on every day life and the urban landscape of Suzhou is much bigger than the in European cities, even both of them are caused by layers — landscape of globalization and the infrastructure systems. Then this situation led to a non-uniformed Suzhou: white wall, black tiles, water bridges combined together and formed a quaint old city. West metro seems to be a legacy of the ancient city — commonly known as "the New Suzhou", the western part of New district could be the only natural landscape area in Suzhou. East part of the city which lies around the lake, presents us a vibrant international city of the face — known as "Foreign Suzhou". The canal-street dual system could be found as the common factor in the urban landscape between different districts. The function missing dual system should be a new landscape, which could bear the modern functions and organize the new urban life. Using some interdisciplinary projects, such as the river trainning and water management in Taihu lake and ancient city of Suzhou. When the four new cities around the ancient have been developed, it will reduce the pressure of the ancient city and bring new opportunities to transform the city's public space also.

CONCLUSION

The dual system of land and water was the comprehensive and effective infrastructure before the car appeared, it was the artificially constructed which was composed of traffic, flood control and drainage defense, and the poetic landscape of everyday life are formed on it. However, the dual system lost the productive functions completely in automotive rampant, meanwhile, the productive life functions are disappeared. The restructuring of Suzhou industries will inevitably lead to the change of lifestyle. Also a series of problems caused by high-rise residential buildings, such as in different neighborhoods, some health problems caused by environmental

degradation and more free time be obtained by the post-industrial transformation of the city. All these factors will make the residents in a "living machines" to eager for the urban public space. It is a new opportunity for the dual system to enhance the self-improvement. The designer should transform the "second nature" which combined with the city development and demand and make sure it can organize the daily life and revitalization of the past vitalisty. According to the perspective of Henri Lefebvre and John Brinckerhoff Jackson, in Suzhou, it will cause us to be more comprehensive and objective when we analyzing the complex urban landscape and guiding people to live a new life.
More and more rivers are transformed into a high-quality urban open space in the worldwide. With the promotion of ecological concept and the enhancing importance of urban open space, the closed road urban river are excavated once again. such as Qingxichuan (South Korea) and Liugong Duct (Taipei). In addition, the city of Valencia has transformed the original river converted into a continuous urban open space, which could link the original partition cities and give more green space to the city. After transformation, the river plays the ecological, recreational and aesthetic functions and many other effects. The particular dual system in Suzhou is a network of rivers and roads by the myriad of different sizes, the scope of the ecological potential of this network could be larger than other rivers in the city. It is a great potential of healthy and sustainable development for the city when the dual system enhanced like other river road. Water system will help to strengthen the self-cleaning function and play important role in flood controlling. While it connects all the city open spaces, such as parks, classical gardens, sights, and extends to every corner of the city, it becomes a medium which could organize peoples' everyday life. Residents can use the integrated landscape conveniently in the future and the disappeared poetic life will return.

ENDNOTES

[1] The Opium Wars, also known as the Anglo-Chinese Wars, divided into the First Opium War from 1839 to 1842 and the Second Opium War from 1856 to 1860. These were the climax of disputes over trade and diplomatic relations between China under the Qing Dynasty and the British Empire.

[2] "Low bridge, running stream, cottages": Suzhou is China's well-known "city of garden", which tops all others in both the number and the artistry of gardens. These gardens have their own characteristics in layout, structure and style. Especially, "Low bridge, running stream, cottages" could be the typical elements for garden city.

[3] The Chinese ideogram for landscape—Shan Shui—is a compound of the symbols for mountain and water. Even in contemporary Chinese art, which seems so dominated by the figure, there are numerous references to these elements.

李兆熙，张政军，贾涛。苏州高新区和苏州工业园区的开发运营模式比较。《海峡科技与产业》2007年第05期
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苏州风景

沈校宇

1 引言

苏州从封建时代的中后期开始一直处于东南地区的经济文化中心，这一地位的丧失从鸦片战争[1]后经济中心东移至上海开始至今，但现如今它还是以江苏省的经济、对外贸易、工商业和物流中心成为长江三角洲重要的中心城市之一。

历经千年的农耕文明和吴文化根基，熏陶于千年的佛道教文化，积淀于千百年的（唐宋）城市格局、街坊风貌及（明清的）盛世文明，伴随70年的沉寂和30年的高速发展，当年的阖闾大城最终演变成现今苏州城的一部分。如今的苏州已真正迈入了“大城时代”，并不断从“运河时代”走向了“太湖时代”。特别是改革开放这30年来，城市面貌更是出现了“老苏州、新苏州、洋苏州”多种格局同时并存的场面。其城市特色在城市空间和时代变迁中如何在演进，其本质意义和外在表现又应当如何把握,是苏州城市建设中一直被热议的主题。

2层—自然地貌和地域文化

苏州西部100-300米高的山区为低山丘陵地带，与太湖诸岛一起呈现出传统的中国山水风景，其余都是被开垦了的平原，隶属于长江冲积平原区和太湖水网平原区。整个平原地貌以3-4米的海拔高度自西向东慢慢倾斜，其间穿插大小河道2万余条之多，构成了一个完整的河网湖荡系统。这个完整发达的河网湖荡系统在机动交通出现之前一直承担着主要的物资运输功能。此外，它带来的便利的灌溉系统使苏州成为农业发达地区，也是该区成为经济文化中心的主要因素。枕河而建的民居加强河网系统空间限定的同时，创造了一个尺度协调的生机勃勃的河道空间——“小桥-流水-人家”[2]。这个空间结构和尺度在一定程度上促进了苏州古典园林的发展。

苏州历来是文人雅客聚集之地。悠久的历史文化和“鱼米之乡”的富庶在这水网纵横交错的平原上积淀出来的“小桥-流水-人家”和雅致的苏州古典园林成为他们咏唱的对象。这种唯美的风景意识形态通过诗歌传播到全国各地，而最为广泛流传的便是那句“上有天堂，下有苏杭”，引起无数人对苏州的向往。而早在1276年，马可波罗便赋予了苏州“东方威尼斯”的美称。时光荏苒，沧海桑田，而今的苏州，已是中国重点风景旅游城市，更是世界各地游客游览中国时必不可少的一站。

3 层—改变中的日常生活和地域特征

苏州古城在地形特征上显得平淡无奇,缺乏中国人理想中风景秀丽的湖光山色。她拥有的最异于其他城市

的特色是这2000多年前理水得来的密集的河道，和在此结构上发展起来的“小桥-流水-人家”的诗意生活。但是自改革开放以来，苏州经济快速发展,城市周边人口大量涌向市区，沿河而建的民居已满足不了急剧增长的人口的需求和工业化带来的快节奏生活方式的需要，因此大批量的多层住宅小区开始在古城以西的京杭大运河两岸建造起来。这种相对宽敞亮堂和水电等各种实施齐全的新住宅在当时象征着一种全新的生活方式。原先人们在河边台阶一起洗菜、洗衣服、取水等活动都被通到家家户户的便利的自来水给消灭。河边水街人气的流失导致小商贩撑船叫卖变为开着机动车聚集在各个小区门口。从此，新一代苏州市民逐渐脱离水巷街区的生活，留守在水乡街区的只有老人和外来打工者。老人们无力维护这些传统民居，大量陌生人口的嵌入严重更摧毁了原先和谐亲密的邻里空间，而租客的更换频繁和当地人的文化差异等因素使其很难建立起和睦的邻里关系。这些老街区在急剧缺乏安全感的状态下逐步走向萎缩破败。虽然部分水街区被修复并得以保留，但是空有其壳，“壳子”里蕴涵的诗意生活却永远消失了。

新一代苏州市民所居之地位于古城外围，这些居住区大多以多层或者小高层的形式出现,也有少量为独立住宅，所有的住宅都被各区高高的围墙所围绕。不同档次的住宅区围墙内空地上都有相应的质和量的公共绿地，但是这些绿地由于缺乏管理且稀疏零碎而不受居民欢迎，他们更喜欢骑车或者散步去附近的城市公园。这些公园基本上都是苏州园林的放大版本：围墙环绕，私密良好，人们走在马路上完全感觉不到此处是公园。因此我认为这些并不是景观都市学意义上的城市开放空间。或许这些公园的规划设计者和苏州的市民一样都受到苏州私家园林文化意识的强大影响，设计者把古城内的古典园林作为他们最高的职业追求，而普通市民也很乐意享受这被工业化了的古典园林。

在古城以东嵌满水道的农田上围绕着金鸡湖拔地而起的新城——苏州工业园区则有着更为现代的都市生活。环湖带都是供居民休闲享受的公共空间，除了林荫道构成的日均流量在5万人次左右的湖滨大道外，还有很多城市广场和亲水平台以及相应的娱乐项目吸引着广大的市民。而在节假日，这里更是成了新人们拍婚纱照的基地。

古城以西至太湖的丘陵地带一直是整个苏州区自然风光最为突出的地域。站在最高的穹窿山上可远眺太湖美景：烟波浩渺，渔帆点点，七十二峰恍若出没云际。这片山水也是历来名儒雅士的隐居之所，遗留下许多文物古迹供后人瞻仰。随着

交通的不断便捷，来这里观光的苏州市民也越来越多。再加上这里还盛产闻名全国的农产品,如洞庭两山的杨梅、枇杷、碧螺春和太湖的大闸蟹，在采摘季节总会吸引大量苏州市民和游客驾车而来。既览湖光山色，又有美食可餐，人之所求，莫过于此。

由此可见，影响这些日常生活和地域风貌之间相互关系的最大因素还是工业化带来的交通系统的改变，使原先近在咫尺的诗意生活在空间上越走越远。

4层—全球化、政治及基础设施系统

苏州古城并不是由村庄、乡镇、城市这样自然过程发展而来的，她一开始便是一个强大的封建政治力量的产物。公元前514年，吴王阖闾命大臣伍子胥“相土尝水，象天法地”，在太湖以东的开阔水网平原上建造了吴国都城。建造之初便根据场地的情况规划了两套交通系统，即水路“双棋盘”格局。从《平江图》上可以清晰的看到，古城中较大的河道纵六横十四。这种数量和密度是其他城市无法比拟的。这些线性的河道组成了一个比较规整的棋盘状水网。由于道路和河道是平行的，因此这两个系统相互叠加构成了有效而生动的古城交通系统。古城的防御工事也因这个双系统有别与其他城市：陆路城门和水路城门相邻。且这环绕城墙的护城河并非死水，它跟马路一样延伸至周边地区的村落。可以说周边村落的这个相对自然的河道马路双系统应该是古城“双棋盘”当初规划时模仿的对象。这一独特“双棋盘”格局历经2500年不变，唯有依附于它的建筑跟随着社会变化而变化。特别是隋朝京杭大运河开通以后，全国经济重心逐渐南移，促使封建社会中后期苏州成为经济文化中心地区。财富的集中和文化的发展推动了城市景观的变化。“小桥-流水-人家”这样的景观结构繁衍至整个城区，进而演变成兴盛的私家园林。在商业利益和文化保护责任的双重推动下，苏州古城风貌保存完好，特别是平江区和山塘街这两条街区被完整的修复保留。站在石桥上，两岸高低错落、粉墙黛瓦的旧宅和穿行于其中的船只尽收眼底，和此前不同的是，船上除生意人之外还有大量游客。

古城以西的苏州高新区是按照国务院批文“保护古城风貌，加快新区建设”的精神下于1990年开发建设的。1994年国务院又下达了关于《开发建设苏州工业园区有关问题的批复》的指示，古城以东，苏州政府和新加坡相关设计单位合作开发了苏州工业园区。连接这两个新城区的最主要的交通大动脉——干将路直接横穿了整个古城。这是古今两套交通系统的直接对峙，是农业与工业、诗意与机械的对峙。所

幸的是，在古城内由于古城保护政策，没有出现比干将路破坏性更为严重的马路。但是在古城外原先的街道空间几乎全部被铲除，新马路所到之处大部分河道被截断甚至填埋。旧村落被取缔，作为“补偿”失去独门独户的村民被迫搬进“居住机器”。

不同的开发模式和管理架构导致这两个新城区呈现出截然不同的城市面貌。在和新加坡共同开发之下的东部的工业园区更为成功，更吸引投资者、工作者和游客。它的规划设计和管理模式都是中新双方共同协商下产生的，城区的中心金鸡湖的总体规划和景观设计是由美国易道公司完成的，提供了免费开放的高质量城市休闲空间。这些都是全球化带来的统一，促使苏州工业园区能够工业化和都市化同步进行。而西部新区初期的开发在笔者看来只是一个理性的工业区。它的中心是一个依托狮子山建造的大型商业性游乐园——苏州乐园，而且是一个需要购买价格不菲的门票后才能进入的被围墙环绕的游乐园。当然除了全球化因素之外，新区在开发初期资金不足也是造成这些差异的一个主因。

新区太湖大道高架等各项快速通道的落成和苏州轻轨系统的即将建成，会进一步拉近市区与太湖的距离，加速新区从“运河时代”奔向“太湖时代”的步伐，即从工业化走向都市化的步伐。西部丰富的山水[3]资源将直接呈现给市民，以提高其生活环境质量。

新的交通系统在市区周边的五个县级市的发展也是极为迅速，大大缩短了各个乡村之间的时空距离。因此政府在2003年对行政区划进行了重新调整，把小乡镇合并成大乡镇。更大范围的资源可以进行高度统一的配置和提高行政效率，从而为今后接收从市区搬迁出来的生产性工业做好准备。这一变动对乡镇风貌也有一定的影响，有些乡镇在合并以后试图在两个旧镇之间建一个新的中心，但是由于稳固的传统社区观念，新中心并未形成，反而还阻碍了传统中心发展壮大的可能性。

苏州的新交通系统的快速发展和完善使得苏州市区的建设区和周边乡镇的建设区已经相连，这直接或者间接导致了乡镇及村落的旧的交通双系统走向萎缩，同时水系村落结构这一文化景观也会因此逐渐消失。

5媒介层—城市组织和易变的风景

根据列斐伏尔（Henri Lefebvre）的观点，这个媒介层是在层—日常生活和层—全球化和基础设施系统之间的一个中间层。这个中间层既是城市也是风景，它组织着居住、

工作和休闲等日常生活的场所。这个组织便是公共的可以自由穿梭的空间或者风景。因此在城市里它应该是建筑的外轮廓，比如街道，广场；在乡村则是乡间小路。

苏州经历了2500多年的开垦，因此在未建设区域除了西部山区有自然风景外，其余全部都是农田。这些农田和村庄之间都是由河道和路这个双系统组织的。基本模型是：民居沿着双系统而建，民居和农田之间是由各家的屋前空地组成的村落公共空间，各户都可以通过垂直于屋前空地的田埂走向农田。随着市区公共空间对树木需求量的不断增长，农民既可以从中获得更多的经济利益，同时有了更多的剩余时间可以投入到工业化生产中。因此部分农田已经被茂密的树林给占据，原先空旷的田埂和乡间小路都变成了类似于城镇的街道那样的封闭空间，但是它没有城镇街道空间那种人气凝聚力，而且在夜间也会有很大的安全隐患。

在苏州几乎所有的道路两旁都植有行道树和相应的绿篱，这一措施往往会影响行人们对所处地域景观面貌的感知，比如到了郊区还感觉不到开阔的田园风光。古城的边界护城河绿带的规划设计延续了古城典雅的风格，但在功能上它应该起到整合周边城市公共空间的作用，特别是这个已经失去了实际功能的古城河网系统，而不是自身发展一个环线或者线性结构。同样的效果也出现在城区的街头绿地，比如在西部新区原本就因为封闭式小区和封闭式公园的规划使得城市公共空间资源稀少，还摆放了一些华而不实的块状绿篱花带来占据可以自由活动的公共空间。这些古典园林的遗风很大程度上加剧了城市公共空间的破碎化。有所改善的是古城外围环城高架几个节点下的公共绿地，这四快街头绿地的出现为当地居民提供了高质量生活空间的同时也对周边地区的河道空间起到了一定的整合作用。但是其周围全封闭的住宅区始终还是整合城市公共空间的绊脚石。最受欢迎和成功的当属东部工业园区的金鸡湖城市开放空间。沿湖带提供了不同层次居民享用的公共空间，比如广场、湖滨大道、公共建筑以及各类主题公园，创造了一个具有多种功能、多种结构的多样化公共开放空间系统。

全球化对中国城市的发展起到了巨大的推动作用，同时也得益于政治的影响，中国城市才有如此惊人的发展速度。正因为此，苏州的日常生活和城市风景受到“层—全球化和基础设施系统”的影响要远比欧洲城市大的多，由此形成了这样一个“不统一”的苏州：中部的古城粉墙黛瓦、古香古色；西部新城存有古城的遗风—俗称“新苏州”，同时新区西部靠太湖地区也是苏州

唯一的山水风光；东部围湖规划的工业园区，俨然一副生机勃勃的国际化大都市化的面貌—俗称“洋苏州”。如此异质的不同城区在城市总体公共空间这个系统里能够找到的共同拥有的元素就是这水陆双系统。这个失去了功能的双系统能否作为一个承载更多的新时代功能的城市风景来组织苏州市民的新都市生活？这值得我们做更多的专业研讨和学术探索，来寻找可行的实现办法。例如，河道空间的改善可以借助苏州古城河道治理和太湖水治理这些跨学科项目。另外古城周边四个新城区日后发展成熟，必将会分担古城压力，从而带来新的机会来改造古城沿河道的公共空间。

6 结语

这个水陆双系统在汽车出现之前一直是苏州人工建造的集交通、防洪排涝、防御为一体的最为综合有效的基础设施，并在此基础上产生了真正组织人们日常生活的诗意景观。然而，这个双系统，却在汽车横行的当下完全失去了生产性功能，其生活功能亦在逐步消失。随着苏州产业转型的步伐不断加快，势必会改变居民的生活方式。高层住宅带来的冷漠邻里关系、环境恶化导致的健康问题以及城市产业转型后获得更多的剩余时间都会促使生活在“住宅机器”中的他们对城市公共空间的渴望。这是水陆双系统加强生活性和自我提升的新机遇。设计师应该结合城市发展新需求对这一“第二自然”进行改造，使其能更好的组织日常生活，恢复往日活力。而借用列斐伏尔（Henri Lefebvre）和约翰·布林克霍夫·杰克逊(Jackson,John Brinckerhoff)的观点来看苏州，或许会让我们分析这复杂城市景观时更加的全面、系统，从而预见并引导居民开启新的健康休闲生活。

全球范围内越来越多的城市河道被改造成了高质量的城市开放空间。随着生态理念的推广和对城市开放空间的重视度的提升，曾经加盖封闭为道路的城市河道被再次挖掘。例如韩国的清溪川、台北的瑠公圳。此外，瓦伦西亚将原来的河道改建为连续的城市开放空间，在将原来分割的城市连接起来的同时也给予了城市也别需要的绿色空间。改造后的河道发挥出生态、休闲娱乐和美学功能等多方面效应。苏州的这个特殊的双系统是由无数条大小不同的河流和道路组成的网络，这个网络的影响范围与生态潜力显然大于其他城市中的河流。如果这个双系统能像城市河道一样得到整体提升改造，必将给城市的健康、可持续发展带来巨大的潜力！由它打通并串联起来的水系有利于加强水生态自净功能和更好地发挥其防洪排涝功能。它能连接起城市所有的开放空间、公园、古典园林、风

景区，并延伸到城市的各个角落，成为组织城市日常生活的媒介。居民在未来可以自由、方便的使用这一综合性景观，消逝的水乡诗意生活也将再现。

URBAN LANDSCAPE STUDIES
EUPHORIGENIC LANDSCAPES

TAIPEI
25°02′N 121°38′E

SIZE	271.80 KM^2
POPULATION	2,618,772
DENSITY	9,600/KM^2
ELEVATION	10 M
TIME ZONE	CHINA STANDARD (UTC+8)

TAIPEI LANDSCAPE

Yulang Zeng

Taipei is the "pre-eminent district" of Taiwan, with the dream of being an "international metropolis". Since the 1970s, Taipei has changed a lot due to its fast economic growth and urban construction. The old image of a "watertown" with alleys and channels disappeared, while filled in "urban forest" with many concrete buildings. In Chinese, the traditional phrase "Morality as noble as water" is used to praise the best personality since water has the character to favour all without caring about fame and fortune. This phrase expresses the respect for water. A city with water is always regarded to be livable, whereas Taipei undergoes a process of abandoning this quality and its connection with water. The urbanization "has changed the watertown into dry land, pouring down the last fleet water off the basin" （舒国治，2010）. Compared with the central and southern regions, nowadays Taipei is always complained about its ruthless competition and tremendous pressure in urban life. Although having the common disadvantages of modern cities such as traffic congestion, high housing prices and air pollution, it is still attractive for youths in Taiwan and tourists from the mainland of China. The city is a mixture of modernity and tradition. The construction of the city is always going on and new history of urban life is being overwritten, supporting its users with convenient and fast changing images of urban life, and this means there is no "eternal" here（舒国治，2010）.

THE LEVEL OF REGIONAL CULTURES AND NATURAL MORPHOLOGIES — A CITY ON DISSIMILAR LANDFORM

Taipei, as the name implies, is the city located in the north of Taiwan ["pei" means "north" in Chinese]. Due to the reclaiming of Han Chinese and the tea trading business on Danshui River, this region became the third important commercial region in Taiwan from the 18th to 19th century. There is a local proverb that says "first Tannan, second Lugang, third Monga"[1][一府二鹿三艋舺] to describe the city status by the end of Qing dynasty, Monga representing Taipei. Since the end of the 19th century, with the ad-vantage of being a political centre, Taipei has become the most prosperous region in Taiwan and this condition continues till today.

Due to its highly developed commerce and prosperous culture, Taipei gets great attention from the Chinese society. Now over 80 percent of the population is engaged in the service industry. The city is willing to accept

and transmit the latest technology and lifestyle from Europe, America and Japan. Lately, the government pays great attention to construct a "livable city" which expresses itself as a multicultural metropolis. The well-served public facilities and social welfare ensure the convenience of living. The lifestyle of "LOHAS" [乐活] and "sustainable" have become the newest label of Taipei, although they are not the unique ideas from the island. Here, both the urban form and the attitude of life are always changing.

Taipei is a basin surrounded by mountains and rivers, and the natural landscape shows great spatial-temporal difference[2]. The contrasting geographical features arise from the appearance of the island: Taiwan was formed by one tectonic plate sliding under the other, so it owns undulating mountain ranges in south-north direction and an endless coastline. The geological structure of Taiwan is young and active, it is a continuous formation process of new terrain till today. This means that, comparing with other nations who live in the stable continental plates, the residents on this island will experience more earthquakes, landslides and other disasters during their life.

The main parts of the Datun volcano range, which are located in the north of Taipei Basin, are under the management of the Yangmingshan National Park. Compared to its highest peak over 1000 meters and volcanic steam underground, the low-lying hilly terrains bordering the Taipei Basin in east and south direction appear tender and more mild. Danshui River flows on the western side of the Taipei Basin, it is also the natural borderline of the administrative division between cities. The earliest two flourishing settlements, Monga and Dadaocheng, were located on the right side of the river. Keelung River goes through the north of the basin with many curves, and other smaller rivers which also originate from the surrounding mountains have a closer intertwining with land. After going across the edge of the basin or flowing through a small district, they run into Danshui River or Keelung River, and finally flow into the Taiwan Strait at the northern tip of the island.

Geological movements shaped the surrounding mountains of Taipei, while rivers formed the basin plain. Finally, the actions of human being reshape the morphologies of the land in every possible area.

THE LEVEL OF EVERYDAY LIFE – LOVE AND HATE FOR CONVENIENT URBAN LIFE

Taipei often appears in movies. Through the artist's lens, the true city feature and

the impressionistic everyday life are represented. Participators in the city and spectators from the outside are able to feel the coexisting beauty and cruelty of the city.

There are enough work opportunities with challenge in Taipei, that's why youths both love and hate the city. In 2008, the movie "Cape No. 7" became one of the top-grossing films in Taiwan's cinematic history. In the opening scene, the leading actor fails in his music career in Taipei. Unwillingly, he has to go back to his hometown, a small village located in the south coast, on his motorcycle. Before leaving, he just breaks his guitar into pieces while hardly cursing Taipei. Here, the city is depicted as a dreaming place, where this young man pursues his future, but turns out to be a nightmare in the end. This crowded city has the temptation of opportunity and the despair of failure together.

But if one forgets the troubles in working during the daytime for subsistence, one will find the fun of living in Taipei which is always full of people and wherethe liveliness lasts until the early morning. The movie "Au Revoir Taipei" illustrates the great dissimilarities between two urban locations: the bookstore and the night market. In the warmly illuminated Eslite Bookstore [诚品书店] with elegant atmosphere, the main actor focuses on his French study solely, as if there is nothing else important in the whole world; while under neon lights in the loud and crowded night market he shares delicious and cheap snacks with his best friend, enjoying daily life together. Meeting demands of both spiritu-al needs and tasteable appetites, nightlife in Taipei is the charm of the city.

An overview of Taipei Basin via Google Maps demonstratesthe contrast. The high-density urban area is totally different from the surrounding mountains which are covered by evergreen trees. In the city area, the urban blocks are divided by different road sys-tems, turning the neighbourhoods into irregular shape. The arrangement of modernist building boxes with different heights follows the direction of surrounding roads and streets. Different colours of the retrofitting roofs first eliminate the overall order and then create a texture of collage. The firebreak alleys inside the blocks are narrow and always full of illegal rooms and temporarily parking motorcycles, so for citizens who live here it is hard to find a place to enjoy landscape nearby. The crowded states of city residence are serious in many regions of the basin that have been developed for a long time. The overcrowded city residences are a serious problem in many regions of the basin …

However, walking on a normal street or

alley in Taipei, one can feel the interesting atmosphere of city life immediately. The grocery stores and restaurants are operating along the streets, working well on meeting most needs of residents' daily life. Sign-boards, awnings, sunshades, and neon signs are designed and manufactured by local businessmen. Coupled with motorcycles which are almost everywhere, they work together to form the streetscape of Taipei. Motorcycling serves the daily traffic life of local people well. In "Au Revoir Taipei", the image of the main actor driving his motorcycle through the streets at night appears again and again, proving that the motorcycle is just a common tool for locals. The parking spaces provided by the government cannot support the large number of users, therefore streets directly work as parking space. Streets and alleys painted white designate parking spaces, yellow marks forbidden areas , thus Taipei becomes a huge motorcycle parking lot.

Nature has created the primary landscape and topography of Taipei and continues to show its power. Till today, by means of the annual typhoon and frequent earthquakes, natural power demonstrates its impact on citizens' live. The perennial struggle and co-existence with the forces of nature has formed a special type of habit. Local people have a calm manner when facing natural disasters and accustomed to repairing the city continuously. After the experience of the large earthquake in 1999, the Taipei citizens hardly pay attention to minor earth shakes. However, they are enough to make international tourists from the European continent feel uneasy, and the accustomed attitude of local people makes them even more astonished. The typhoon usually makes landfall from July to September every year. The heavy rain and strong wind temporarily disturb the regular routine of inhabitants' work and study, but daily life never stops. Instead, the typhoon seasons create opportunities for the citizens to stay at home and rest or even go outside. The special rainy climate has formed a lot of arcades along the streets in the traditional neighbourhoods of Taipei. The arcades are good at keeping the pedestrians out of sun exposure and downpour, and only belong to the walkers. At the same time the streets of the city get two levels of façade.

During the past hundred years, Taipei has changed from an agricultural plain to a concrete jungle, and artificial constructions made everyday life and landscape in a condition of isolation. But please do not forget that it is a place with unique geographical location and abundant landscape morphologies.

THE LEVEL OF GLOBAL POWER AND AUTONOMOUS SYSTEMS – THE "TOP-DOWN" CITY CONSTRUCTION DRIVEN BY POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL INTERESTS

The city morphology of Taipei was first influenced by political power when it was chosen to be the new prefectural capital by the end of Qing dynasty. There are great differences among the three main settlements: Taipei walled city, Monga and Dadaocheng. Monga and Dadaocheng were earlier townships established for business and having grown by themselves, while the new inner city was designed regularly and only served the governor. These three main districts were located along Danshui River and coexisted as the most prosperous western area in old days.

With the people assembling, the area of urbanization in Taipei sprawled rapidly over the past half century. As a result, for some Taipei residents the administrative district of Taipei means almost half of the whole island. Under the political encouragement and commercial power, the urban space expanded from west to east, till the foothills and the border of the mountains where construction is difficult. Prosperous business districts also move along the city developing route. It first located in Ximenting [西门町] who presents the old shopping district in Monga. Then the Eastern Districts[东区] of the city became the new downtown, where a lot of department stores were operated. And in recent years the Xinyi Planning District[信义计划区] which works as the second centre of the city and is the most popular urban space in Taipei.

The Xinyi Planning District was once called "Taipei Prairie" to criticize the government's disability in development. Maybe before the process of urbanization, there really was prairie landscape at the foot of the surrounding mountains, but now it is changing to the most expensive urban function district in Taiwan. Regular road grids, large construction land, and huge volumes of buildings are all emphasizing the modernity of this site. Although the main purpose of constructing this district is to establish a new commercial and financial centre, the Xinyi Planning District now serves more as a synthesis of exclusive residential district, large-scale amusement and entertainment centres and big shopping malls. It is a new consumer space in the city. At the beginning of development, the government insisted on strict rules of planning and urban design, so the city texture here is completely different from other areas of the city. Simulating Manhattan, it succeeds in getting an image of an "international metropolis", while contemporaneously it shows a lack of

local context and identity. Taipei 101 is decorated with the traditional symbol of Ruyi [如意] on its façade to emphasize its location, but still it is an outstanding modernistic super skyscraper whose top floors always submerge in the clouds.

With the hope of "bringing Taipei to the world", Taipei 101 ranked officially as the world's tallest skyscraper for five years. This manmade mega-structure helps the local Taipei residents accomplish a great confidence. Attracting worldwide attention and confirmation is kind of exciting on the one hand, and a feeling of satisfaction for fighting against the elements and conquering nature on the other hand. Standing on the flat Taipei plain, Taipei 101 seems lonely, even in the Xinyi Planning District where are more high buildings than in other districts. It can only match with Shin Kong Mitsukoshi3, which is located in the old western district, with a height less than half of Taipei 101. These two skyscrapers shape the skyline of Taipei. Tourists from abroad are willing to go to the observatory of Taipei 101 to get an overview of the city, with the main scenery of roofs in different colour and size. They can receive a lot of information about urban fabric and landmarks, and can see the surrounding mountains far away on sunny days. Although approbating this new landmark a lot, the local residents rarely buy the ticket which equals the price of four lunchboxes, and prefer to use the shopping malls at the bottom of the building. On the last day of 2010, the new year's firework lasting for about three hundred seconds attracted nearly 70 million people in the Xinyi Planning District. The show made the skyscraper look like a big firecracker, and this big party demonstrates the old tradition of setting firecrackers which dates back over 2000 years. The collective carnival imitates the western way of celebration. At this moment, political power and everyday life are combined in Taipei.

The change of highest prices for real estate shows the trace of urban development and reflects the shift of value for landscape. Yangmingshan was used to represent a rich area for wealthy people, since there was also located the palace of the president. It is aplace close to natural beauty and far away from the bustling city. The development in the Xinyi Planning District led to a greater density of exclusive resident buildings than in other areas of the city. During the urbanization process, the citizens' aspiration for convenient modern lifepredominates the interest in ecology and landscape. The latest news shows that the housing price along Keelung River rises rapidly, due to the new riverside park and landscape. People who can-

not afford a house in Yangmingshan also could hold landscape, although the ownership means to overlook the landscape far from a window instead of staying inside the riverside park. The orientation of taste for landscape changes from natural to artifical, and then man-made natural. It suggests that the value of landscape in citizens' daily life is confirmed again.

The infrastructure systems set up by the political power are used for the city's form and regular operation. The construction of railway and road systems that started by the end of Qing dynasty marks the beginning of Taipei's modernization. The following Japanese rulers and Chinese Nationalist Party governor did a lot to accomplish the infrastructure systems, in order to meet the transportation needs for passengers and goods.

On the south of Keelung River, the flat topography made the city a white paper and easy to construct. The infrastructure systems were established rapidly and well without considering too much the natural landform. The city road network with Baroque style was planned in the Japanese colonial period, and is responsible for inner city traffic. Some of the roads just covered the Liugongjun[4] [瑠公圳], which used to work as the irrigation system in the agricultural society. Freeways lay along the rivers and the express-ways are overhead, working together to satisfy the needs of crossing the city rapidly. Rail and high-speed rail systems link Taipei with other cities on the island. The construction of the Taipei Rapid Transit System (MRT) eases traffic congestion on the ground, and it offers convenient inner city traffic to the urban residents. At the beginning, the construc-tion has been subject to a lot of criticism, but now local people are proud of its cleanness and efficiency. On the north side of Keelung River, the topography is more varying because it is close to the foothill of Yangmingshan district. The city fabric there follows the order of mountains and rivers, presenting an intertextural configuration with natural land-form. There, the Hi-tech Promotion Center in Neihu, Guandu Nature Park and Beitou district organize its surrounding area separately with their own development planning.

The infrastructure systems reorganize the structure of the city with its own operating rule, at the same time they separate the original living space. For example, the over-bridge of express-ways and MRT made the open space of the inner city more fragmented, meanwhile the grey spaces under the overhead undermine the quality of city life because of its darkness and danger, and then they are asked to redesign and reconstruction. The flower and jade mar-

kets under Jianguo Road are good examples that use the daily life to improve the space quality under the overheads. But mostly, the big shadow of the overhead and the resting taxi drivers just make the walkers go faster.

Henri Lefèvbre worried about modern cities formed by great political power lacking the connection with everyday life and then losing their local cultural context, while the persons living in these cities are under invisible control, tending to be devoid of freedom. The urbanization of Taipei is a process of abandon and of losing its own character. But the broad building mode with the mixed use of residence and commerce makes sure that human activities can appear anytime at every corner of the city. This phenomenon makes the city residents believe in their own liberty and the vitality of the city. In the Eastern Districts and the Xinyi Planning District, groups of youths who are preparing to enter anightclub even emerge at midnight. The night markets located separately in the city are always bustling and crowded. Whereas the office area in the Hi-tech Promotion Center in Neihu on the north of Keelung River seems to be a dead city with so many empty streets and roads at night and at weekends.

Up to now, Taipei is still in the process of top-down construction and redevelopment, in order to offer a better city environment, and then improve its competition ability in the world market. Every customer space in the city is full of people. However, citizens are relatively alienated from landscape.

THE MEDIATING LEVEL – LIFESTYLE CONSISTS OF LAND, WATER, MOUNTAINS AND HUMANS

As the mediating level, city and landscape are expected to connect the everyday life and global power, and to reduce the social contradictions emerging in cities because of modernization and industrialization. For Taipei, the mediating level supported by a special landform and landscape has another two roles. One is searching future orientation for the region, the other is releasing the impact from natural power to urban everyday life. The fabric of streets, green space and water makes up the mediating level inside the city, the surrounding mountains constitute it outside.

With its warm and humid climate, the streets of Taipei are almost all lined with shady trees. Except the sunny summer days and rainy typhoon days, it is good to walk on the streets. The variety shops along the streets increase the fun of walking. The arcade is a complementary space of open street, especially on bad weather days. But the fast speed of

city life makes the residents prefer taking the motorcyce, car and MRT to walking. The tourists love the experience of walking in the streets of Taipei, and the writer could offer a list of "snacks, alleys and old books" in Taipei for sightseeing（舒国治，2010）. In contrast, local residents who are always busy on working days only want to escape this crowded city and drive to Yilan or other surrounding suburbs on weekends.

There are two boulevards going across the city. Renai Road in the horizontal direction goes across the main prosperous region of the city and connects the Presidential Office Building in the west of the basin and Taipei City Hall in the east part; while in the vertical direction, Dunhua North and South Road work as the central axes of the city, separating the past busy district of Ximenting and the current developing area of the Xinyi Planning District. The two axes are not visually strong on maps, but for local residents they are traditional green axes. The boulevards are cool and comfortable in summer time, but the utilization of the tree-lined walking paths inside is limited by the nearby motor vehicles. There are not as many people in Taipei as in Europe who jog in the city during the day time. Compared to walking in the natural shadowed paths, citizens prefer to use the commercial streets with shops. These shops with air-condition offer cold wind and beautiful things. As a type of landscape in urban environment, the boulevard road system acts more in visual experience. So if the boulevard road system wants to work better in the mediating level, more connection with everyday life is needed.

The urban parks, green areas attached to huge public buildings and parkways work together as a kind of fabric overlapping everyday life in the crowded city, and they offer the residents who find it inconvenient to enter the mountain area a comfortable space to enjoy leisure. These years, the government pays great attention to construct bicycle paths along the riverside and streets. The bicycle paths cover the two boulevards mentioned above, Daan park, Xinyi Planning District and National Taiwan University. These regions are urban open space with a higher rate of green and good traffic conditions, easy for the citizens to use. Interestingly, although there are a lot of good natural landscape resources around the city, the highest number of visitors appears in two political spaces: Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall and National Dr. Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall. The good usage condition of these two areas indicates that once forgotten the purpose of showing political power, the urban open space with good traffic conditions

and land-scape can be the mediating level in city. The local citizens love to fly a kite, bask, and enjoy the city life here, even surrounded by high-rise buildings.

However, the water system seems not so easy to control. The straightened project of Keelung River offered the city new land resources, but also caused urban waterlog in large areas during the typhoon season, and finally, a new flood diversion channel was built to drain the heavy rainwater. The landscape of riverside parks along Keelung River is well designed with many bicycle paths, with the hope of attracting more residents to use the water system. The dams along the river imply the riverside parks which are also potential flood plains during the typhoon season. The landscape space here in fact works as a buffer area. It mitigates the great impact from natural damage power to everyday life. Liugongjun was a man-made irrigation system covering great areas on the plain. During the urbanization of Taipei, the canals were changed into sanitary sewers and almost covered by roads or streets, so the old system became latent. Lately, there is a tendency to reestablish the waterscape of Liugongjun in certain areas, in order to reconnect the human beings and the water system. This change responds to the public's desire of landscape in high density urban areas. It is a way of using the existing infrastructure as landscape element and expanding its ecological function. The case of Keelung River is the failure of man-made effect on natural sources, and the new design mind in Liugongjun shows the change from admiring artificial constructions to thinking about how to coexist with environment harmoniously.

The administration district of Taipei includes the mountains and hills around the basin, but the central basin areas are busier and more recognizable. The surrounding mountains just wait peacefully to connect with human life. The Yangmingshan region on the north of the basin is an extremely good viewpoint to observe Taipei. The texture of the city is drawn clearly by the lighting at night during the whole year. The students love to drive a motorcycle while the workers may prefer the car to got to the mountain area in darkness. It is a common and popular kind of relaxation. In contrast to the bustling noise in the city, the mountains are quiet and stable. In the same site, the blossom viewing in spring offers the city residents, who spend most of their time in the city "concrete jungle", an opportunity to feel and get in contact with nature. Large numbers of citizens would like to gather around the bamboo lake on holidays to enjoy the harvest time once

every year. Although located in a natural landscape park, the calla fields in the bamboo lake are planned and planted artificially. The tours during the calla viewing are often coupled with boring waiting in line since there are too many visitors. But the attraction of natural blossom viewing will never decrease.

Since the 1970s, a lot of sightseeing footpaths have been established in the mountains and hills around the basin, so that the citizens can make good use of the natural resources. Mountain trails were used by the local inhabitants as the route of trading with citizens in old days, but now they offer the opportunities for citizens to go into nature. The government encourages the residents to climb the mountains on holidays, since citizens can get the opportunity to experience the change of earth surface from flat plain to hilly mountains during the tour, and improve physical fitness. Simultaneously, they go through a kind of lifestyle that is close to nature, and the direct experience with a butterfly, firefly, waterfall, or volcano jet hole offers the visitors fun and completely different landscape experiences compared to the urban artificial environment.

Maokong Gondola [猫空缆车, Crystal Cabin telpher system in Maokong district] is an example that infrastructure in the the global power level promotes the connection between everyday life and landscape. Maokong district is a good place for leisure with drinking tea and eating chicken food. After the set up of the gondola lift system, there are more visitors going to this district for rest and enjoying the natural landscape. Although with a potential security risk of debris flow, the basements of several pillars are not totally stable, still a great number of Taipei residents came to visit the Maokong Gondola after it was restored. In such condition, the landscape experience is overlapped with the use of a new transportation system, they stimulate the local everyday life to behave against the enormous energy of nature.

In Taipei, city and landscape connect the gap between the everyday life level and the global power level. Meanwhile, they also mitigate the impact of natural forces on urban life. After the rapid urbanization process which copies the model of the Western world, Taipei needs to think about how to support and develop the city. The future prosperity should have a closer relationship with landscape.

CONCLUSION: A CONSTANTLY CHANGING CITY

The rapid changes of urban spatial structures and life in Taipei can be seen as a local living strategy in a land where frequent natural disasters happen.

Here, the emergence of new concepts and high-tech products in the mall and delicious food in the restaurants and night markets, work together to stimulate the daily consumption of urban residents, and they rapidly love the new and loathe the old. This kind of change constitutes the vitality of life in Taipei. But the emerging new way of lifestyle made people dizzy, so they are not bent on feeling the unique peace and special beauty of landscape. Compared with the direct lure and easily obtainable satisfaction of creature comforts in the city consumer space, the mediating level should expand its territory to be more important in the citizens' value system.
Although the disadvantages of the Western modern urban planning methods have been reviewed and reflected, the bad memory of backwardness in technology and culture during the past century, and the spell of external powers made Taiwan accept the foreign values largely without any reservations in the past. If it is possible to be involved in the global value system, then the copying and imitation of Western lifestyle is not bad. So Xinyi Planning District and Taipei 101 became the city images, because in this land, the happiness of being accepted by the global power can overcome the fear of being bounded. In the movie "Au Revoir Taipei" appear a lot of street scenes, they are the best representation of the marketplace atmosphere for local Taiwan culture. However, they are evaluated as "very European " because of their "petit-bourgeois"[5][小资] character. It denies the value of local landscape.

Taipei used to accept the western scientific knowledge and design concept in an earlier age, but now it is facing the replacement of the emerging cities in mainland China. The temporary advantages give the city still time to think about the developing pattern for the future. It is impossible for the city to copy the experience of advanced countries totally again, so the deep development and revival of local natural resources become a viable option, and this requires a more close relationship between everyday life and the mediating level. The surrounding mountains are important landscape resources who are never neglected. And the boulevards, water ways and urban open space should play more important roles in the city, although over the past 40 years they have already been changed a lot.
In this rapid changing city, no matter good or bad, everything disappears quickly. And maybe this state of constant change is another face of the "eternal" Taipei.

ENDNOTES

[1].舒国治(2010)，水城台北，皇冠文化，台北

[1] A Taiwan proverb describes the top three harbour cities along the coastline and responses to the reclamation history of Taiwan from south to north. Third Monga here means Taipei.

[2] The total land area of Taiwan is about 36,000 square kilometers. There are more than 100 mountains over 3000 meters, while the island is surrounded by sea, so it takes less than one hour to experience the landscape changes from mountains to sea.

[3] It is a department store sited in a skyscraper. The skyscraper was built in 1993 with a height of 244 meters.

[4] Liugongjun is the irrigation waterway system constructed in Qing dynasty, and it is the presentation of waterscape in Taipei till the 1970s. Now the old waterways are mostly covered or filled in for urban roads.

[5] Petit-bourgeois is a lifestyle of urban white-collar who are chasing modern taste, living standards, and arts.

台北景观

曾煜朗

1.引言——台北印象

台北，台湾的“首善之区”，怀揣成为“国际大都市”的梦想，经过始于20世纪70年代的经济腾飞和大规模的城市建设，由小巷与水道纵横的“水城”变身为混凝土建筑密布的“都市丛林”。中文里“上善若水”一词用水“泽被万物而不争名利”的特质描述最优秀的品德，表达对水的崇敬。拥有水系的城市常被认为是宜居的，而台北城市化的发展却抛弃了这份与水相连的美好，“由水城变成陆城”，将“盆子里还剩的一泓浅水给倒倒干净”（舒国治，2010）。今日的台北，常被抱怨较岛内中南部区域有更大的竞争与压力。交通拥挤、房价过高、空气污染等现代城市的通病这里都有，却不妨碍它对岛内青年和中国大陆观光客的吸引力。在这个不存在“永恒”（舒国治，2010）的城市里，传统与现代共存，城市生活不断书写新的历史，为川流不息的过客提供转瞬即逝的城市图景。

2.区域文化和自然地理形态层次——悬殊的地形上的城市

台北，顾名思义，台湾之北。18至19世纪汉人的农田开垦和淡水河的茶叶贸易让这片曾经荒芜的土地成长为当时台湾岛内第三大商业区域，台湾谚语“一府二鹿三艋舺”[1]中的“艋舺”即指代清代的台北。自19世纪末，成为政治中心的台北也是岛内最繁荣的地区，并将这种优势延续至今。

在华人社会，台北曾因其经济与文化的高速发展与繁荣而赢得关注。这个当前有超过80%人口从事服务业的城市乐于接受与传播源自欧美与日本的最新科技和生活方式。本地政府近年来有意打造“宜居城市”，宣传台北具有多元文化。相对完善的公共设施与社会福利保证了城市生活的便利，“乐活”与“环保”成了最新但却并非岛内独创的城市标签，在这里，无论是城市形态还是生活态度，都不断改变着。

台北是由山和水围合与界定出的盆地，自然风貌具有很大时空差异性[2]。对比强烈的地貌特征源于岛屿的形成：台湾是受两个板块挤压而浮出海面的岛屿，因而拥有南北向狭长的山脉和绵延的海岸线。台湾岛的地质结构年轻而活跃，时至今日仍持续塑造新的地形地貌。相对在稳定大陆上生活的民族，台湾岛上的居民一生中会经历更多的地震、泥石流等灾害。

台北盆地北侧的大屯火山山系大部分被划入阳明山国家公园，相较其最高1000多米的海拔和地表不时冒出的地热，盆地东侧和南侧的丘陵显得低调而温和。流经盆地西边的

淡水河是台北市西南方向的自然与行政边界，台北最早兴盛的两个聚落，艋舺和大稻埕，就分布在淡水河右侧。基隆河以弯曲变化的姿态横贯盆地北半部，其他发源于周边山脉的水系与土地密切交织，在穿过盆地边缘或者流经局部区域后汇入基隆河或淡水河，最终在岛屿西北端注入台湾海峡。

地质运动塑造了台北周边的山脉，河流的冲刷形成了盆地内的平原，而人类的城市生活，在一切可能的区域内，重复书写着这片土地的面貌。

3.日常生活层次——便利城市生活中的爱与恨

台北常出现在电影中，艺术家透过镜头，描绘与再现真实的城市面貌和写意的日常生活，让城市的参与者与旁观者体会到这里共生的美好与残酷。

充足的工作机会和严格的竞争淘汰让年轻人对台北又爱又恨。2008年台湾本土电影票房冠军《海角七号》的开篇，男主角因个人音乐事业无法在台北崭露头角，一面对着电线杆摔碎了吉他，一面在嘴里咒骂着台北，不甘心的骑摩托车回归位于台湾岛南部的恒春老家。此刻的台北成为年轻人怀揣梦想却失望而归的梦魇。这个拥挤的城市夹杂着机会的诱惑和失败的绝望。

撇开白天基于生存的工作压力，生活在人群熙攘、持续喧闹到深夜的台北，是一桩乐事。电影《一页台北》中两个主要的故事场地，书店和夜市就是对比强烈又各具特色的台北城市生活舞台。在灯光明亮，气氛优雅的诚品书店，男主角独自专心阅读法语教材；在霓虹灯闪烁，人声鼎沸的夜市，则与好朋友分享便宜又美味的小吃。能同时满足汲取知识和口腹之欲的台北夜生活是这个城市的魅力所在。

从谷歌地图俯视台北盆地，密集的城市区域与周边常年绿树覆盖的群山对比强烈。在城市里，不同等级的道路划分了地块，形成形状各异的街区。在街区中，高低错落的现代主义方盒子遵从周围道路的走向排列，色彩各异的加建屋顶在消灭地块整体感的同时创造出一种拼贴的纹理。街区内部的防火巷常被违章建筑和临时停放的摩托车弄的更窄，紧迫的让人仿佛无法呼吸。只要是开发较早的区域，这种拥挤的城市居住状态便十分明显。

但当身处台北某条不知名的街道或小巷，就立刻可以感受到浓郁的生活气氛。沿街开设的各类商铺和餐馆能满足城市居民日常生活的大部分需求。招牌、雨篷、阳伞和霓虹灯箱是店主自己设计的城市风貌，配上无处不在的摩托车，构成了台北的街道景观。摩托车串联着台北人的日常生活，在《一页台北》里，主人公骑车行驶于夜晚街道的场景反复出现，证明了这一交通工具的常用。政府提供的停车位远不

地面上都涂着白色的停车格或者黄色的禁停区标志，台北成了巨大的摩托车停车场。

大自然在完成对台北现有景观与地貌的塑造后，并没有停止展示它的能量，时至今日，仍不时以地震或台风为媒，冲击着城市居民的日常生活。在台湾，这种生命常受到自然力威胁的状况与岛国日本颇为相似，常年与自然的抗争和共存塑造出岛内居民面对灾害时平静的态度与不断修复城市的习惯。在经历了1999年高达7级的“921”大地震后，台北人对日后频繁发生的小地震不以为然，但这些地壳运动足以让去岛内旅行的欧洲友人深感不安，更令他们诧异的是台湾人习以为常的态度。台风固定在每年7至9月登陆，风和雨的降临暂停了城市人规律的工作与学习，但生活不会停止，台风天反而成为居家休息或外出休闲的时刻。台北多雨的气候塑造了传统街区建筑底层大量的骑楼，可以阻挡阳光暴晒和瓢泼大雨的骑楼是专属于步行者的空间，也让城市街道拥有了两个层次的立面。

台北在过去百年间，从农耕平原彻底转变为混凝土森林，人工地貌几乎隔绝了日常生活与景观的联系，但请别忘记这里始终是一片拥有独特地理位置和丰富景观形态的土地。

4.全球和自治系统层次——政治与商业推动自上而下的城市建设

政治力量对台北的塑造始于清末岛内政治中心的转移。新兴的台北府城与既有的艋舺和大稻埕聚落呈现不同的组织形式，后两者是受商业推动而自发生长的定居点；台北城则是规划整齐的政治空间。三者沿淡水河分布，共同构成台北早期繁华的西区。

随着人口的快速聚集，台北的城市化范围在过去半个世纪迅速扩大，以至于某些台北人认为“台北”的概念等于一半的台湾岛。城市空间结构在政治和商业力量的共同推动下自西向东蔓延，直至不再便于城市建设的山区和丘陵地带。随着城市建设的扩展，繁华商业区也在转移：从以西门町为代表的西区移至林立着各大百货公司与商业办公楼的东区，而城市最东侧的信义计划区是近年来台北最引以为傲的城市空间。

信义计划区曾被戏称为“台北草原”，以讽刺政府缓慢的开发速度。也许在城市化之前，那里确实是毗邻山脉的草原景观，而如今已转变为台湾地价最高的城市功能区。网格化的道路、大块规则的城市用地、巨大的建筑体量都在强调这里的现代性。虽然定位为商业与金融中心，但高级住宅、大型娱乐中心和百货公司的进驻构成了城市新的消费空间。详细的规划与设计条例及政策法规塑造出信义计划区

完全不同于市内其他区域的城市肌理，对曼哈顿都市意象的模仿在塑造出“国际大都市”形象的同时丧失了本土的文脉和识别感，台北101用传统的如意符号作为外立面装饰以弥补这个缺憾，但其始终是一个太过突兀以至于顶端时常淹没在云雾中的现代主义超级摩天楼。

带着“将台北带向全世界”的企图心，台北101当了5年的世界第一高楼。高508米的巨型结构帮助本地居民获得了内心的优越感，一方面是被世界关注与认可的兴奋，另一方面则是对自然力的成功抵抗和人定胜天的满足。台北101孤独的伫立在地势平缓的台北平原，在高层建筑林立的信义计划区也是鹤立鸡群的姿态，只能与西区不到它一半高度的新光三越[3]遥相呼应，共同勾勒出城市的天际线。外地游客乐意登上观景台一览城市风光，看到不同尺度屋顶的同时也得到大量关于城市肌理与标志建筑的信息，在阳光明媚的日子甚至可以遥看远处的山脉。本地居民虽然认可这个新地标，却很少有人付4个便当的价格登高望远，他们习惯于使用建筑物下部附属的商业空间。2010年的最后一天，不足300秒的烟火表演吸引将近70万人聚集到信义计划区。火光中的台北101看起来像是一个巨大的爆竹，重新诠释了放鞭炮这个有2000年历史的中国传统民俗活动。集体狂欢是一种对西方庆典方式的模仿，此刻，政治力量和日常生活在台北找到了一个结合点。

台北最昂贵住宅区域的变化同样展现出城市开发的轨迹，以及这一过程中市民景观价值取向的转变。阳明山曾被用来指代富人区，那里是执政者的行宫，也是远离城市喧嚣，亲近自然景观之所；副都心的建设让信义计划区成为新的豪宅集中地，城市化过程中，市民对现代化便捷生活的渴望超越了对生态与景观的青睐；而近期基隆河畔的土地开发和景观改造推动着周边区域房价的快速上升，让住不起阳明山的人有了自己的城市景观，虽然在这里，对景观的拥有更多是在数十米的高空中凭窗遥望河滨公园，而非置身其中。这种由自然到人工再回归自然的审美取向，暗示着景观的价值在都市居民日常生活中被再次推崇。

城市基础设施是政治力量塑造城市并维持其正常运转的工具。始于清末的铁路和道路建设开启了台北的现代化，随后的日本殖民者和国民党政权扩大与完善城市的基础建设，满足日常生活中人和商品的快速运输。

在基隆河南岸，平缓的地貌让城市像便于书写的白纸，快速建立起整套基础设施系统，而无需过多考虑地形地貌。巴洛克风格的城市网状道路源于日治时期的规划，部分道路是对瑠公圳[4]灌溉水系的覆盖，这套系统负责城市内部交通。高速公路沿河布置，和城市内高架的快

求。铁路和高速铁路连接着岛内其他城市。捷运的建设缓解了地面交通的拥挤，保证居民的市内出行。虽然在建设初期曾经饱受争议，但如今其整洁的环境和良好的运行效率已经成为市民的骄傲。基隆河北侧，因为临近阳明山区，地势趋于起伏，城市的组织更多的受到周边山脉地势和基隆河流向的影响，呈现出与自然地形交织的形态。那里的内湖科技园区、关渡平原和北投温泉区结合自身发展规划，组织着周边区域的肌理。

城市基础设施系统建立着符合自身运营规律的城市结构，同时割裂了原有的生活空间。例如，高架的快速道路和捷运轨道使城市开放空间破碎，桥下阴暗与危险的灰色空间破坏着城市的生活品质，被不断要求重新设计与改造。建国假日花市和玉市是利用日常生活重塑高架桥下的空间的典范，但更多的时候，桥下巨大的阴影和休息的出租车司机让行人只想加快脚步。

Henri Lefevbre担心政治力量塑造出的现代城市缺少与日常生活的联系，城市失去原有的地域文脉，生活其间的人则受到无形的控制，缺乏自由。台北的城市化与现代化发展确实是一个逐渐抛弃与失去自身地域特征的过程。以此同时，广泛存在的住商混和发展模式让人随时活动于城市的各个角落，城市居民认为自己是自由的，认可城市是充满活力的。在东区与信义计划区，深夜12点也能见到准备进入夜店的都市男女，散落在城市各区的夜市更是熙来攘往，摩肩接踵。但基隆河北侧办公楼林立的内湖科技园区，每到夜晚和周末，空荡的街道让人感觉是个死城。

当前台北仍然持续推行自上而下的城市建设和旧区更新，以塑造更好的生活环境，提高城市竞争力。城市里的每处消费空间都充满了人，他们与景观的关系相对疏离。

5.媒介层——土地、水、山和人共构的生活

城市和景观作为媒介层，可以连接日常生活和全球系统，缓解城市里伴随现代化与工业化出现的社会矛盾。对于台北，由特殊的地貌与景观支撑起的媒介层还有另外两个作用，一是帮助区域寻求未来的发展方向，二是缓解自然力量对城市日常生活的冲击。媒介层在城中表现为街道、绿地和水系构成的组织，在城外则是周边的山脉。

温暖与湿润的气候塑造出台北城市街道常年绿树成荫的景观，除了暴晒的酷暑日和阴雨连绵的台风天，台北的城市街道很适合步行。沿街开设的各种商铺为步行增加了趣味，骑楼是露天街道的补充，可以应对恶劣的天气。只是步调快速的城市性格让本地市民更常选择摩托车、汽车和捷运而非步行。外地游客颇为青睐在台北的行走体验，作家也能列出一份台北“小吃兼老

巷或旧书之旅”的游览路线（舒国治，2010），但平时里忙碌的本地人却只想在假日逃离这个城市，驱车去宜兰或郊外散心。

在城市内部交叉着两大绿轴，横穿主要繁华区域的仁爱路连接着西侧的总统府和东区的台北市政府；敦化南北路从纵向划分了代表台北过去繁华的西门町区域与当前发展的信义计划区。这两条轴线在城市总平面图上并不明显，但却是市民公认的传统绿轴。林荫道中的步道在夏季凉爽宜人，但两侧的机动车道限制了其利用。台北少有人像欧洲人那样，于白天的城市中奔跑健身。相比于漫步林荫道，市民更喜欢穿梭于商业街道，那里有从店铺吹出来的冷气风和琳琅满目的商品。林荫道路系统作为存在于城市中的景观，更多的是一种视觉体验，而要体现其城市媒介层的作用，需要更好的与日常生活相联系。

城市公园，公共建筑的附属绿地和林荫大道上的植物与高密度建筑中的城市生活相重叠，为不便进入周围山脉的市民提供休闲之所。台北市近年推广的自行车观光路线覆盖了上述两大绿轴、大安森林公园、信义计划区和台湾大学，这些区域是绿地率较高、交通便利的城市开放空间，便于市民的使用。有趣的是，虽然周边拥有良好的自然景观资源，台北市游客人数最高的观光游憩区却是颇具政治意味的中正纪念堂和国父纪念馆。其利用状况表明，当卸去权力的外衣，这些具有良好交通条件和景观资源的城市开放空间构成了城市中的媒介层。在这里，台北市民可以放风筝、晒太阳，享受城市的生活，哪怕周围就是压抑的高楼。

水系却没那么容易被驾驭，对基隆河道的“截弯取直”让城市获得新的土地资源，却同时造成台风季节大范围的城市内涝，以至于要修建分洪道快速排水。基隆河沿岸的河滨公园规划了自行车道，期望吸引更多城市居民靠近与使用水系。但沿河修筑的大坝暗示着河滨公园是台风季时的泛洪平原，那里的景观空间成为降低自然力量对日常生活冲击的缓冲区域。瑠公圳曾是农耕社会灌溉台北平原的人工河渠，在城市化过程中被填埋或者加盖，成为隐藏的城市组织。新近的城市开发倾向于局部恢复这一景观，重建人与水的联系。这一方法直接在城市高密度区域回应市民对景观的渴望，将既有基础设施视作为景观并拓展其生态功能。基隆河的例子是人力对自然改造的失败，而对瑠公圳的新态度则代表了设计思维从崇尚人工建设转向思考如何与环境和谐共处。

虽然台北市的行政范围包括周围的山脉与丘陵，但作为主要场景的平原区域更加热闹，而周围的山则安静地等待人的进入。盆地北侧的阳明山区是眺望台北的极佳视点，夜

晚灯光勾勒出的城市肌理清晰可辨，四季皆宜。学生骑着摩托车，上班族会选择汽车，进入山区夜游是流行的休闲方式。对比城市的喧闹繁华，此刻的山脉显得宁静而沉稳。阳明山的花季为常年深陷混凝土森林的台北人提供感知自然的机会。春天里，大量市民会在假日聚集竹子湖，享受每年一次的收获。位于山区的海芋田为人工规划与种植，采海芋所需的上下山也常因游人过多而陷入无趣的排队等待，但这些都不妨碍来自自然景观的吸引力。

盆地四周的山脉和丘陵，自1970年代开始建设了多条观光登山步道，以期让市民更好的使用山脉资源。从前的步道是山区居民进入城市的贸易通道，如今转而成为城市人口进入自然的途径。政府提倡假日登山休闲，城市居民在登山时经历从平原到山区的地貌变化，强身健体；同时体会与自然的亲近，真实接触到蝴蝶、萤火虫、瀑布、火山喷气孔，收获完全不同于城市人造空间中的景观体验与乐趣。

猫空缆车作为基础设施，促进了日常生活与景观的联系。猫空地区原本就是台北人品茗休闲的好去处，土鸡城也吸引着吃惯了城市菜肴的食客，缆车建成后吸引了更多游客前去观光休闲。虽然架设塔座的基地在泥石流作用下，存在巨大安全隐患，却无法阻止台北市民在缆车恢复运行后积极的前往。此时，景观的体验与新交通方式的利用相叠加，协助市民在生活中对抗自然的力量。

由此可见，在台北，城市与景观一方面连接着日常生活和全球权力这两个层次间的空隙，同时也缓解了原始的自然力量对城市生活的冲击。在完成了复制西方模式的快速城市化之后，台北需要思考如何维持与发展城市。未来的繁荣应该与景观相关。

6.结语——恒变之城

台北城市空间结构与生活的快速变化是本地居民在自然灾害频发的土地上形成的生活策略。在这里，不断涌现的新概念与商场里的高科技产品、餐厅和夜市中的美味食物一起刺激着日常生活消费，城市居民快速的喜新厌旧，这种变化构成了台北生活的活力。但是，层出不穷的新生活方式让人目不暇接，而无法去思考与体味属于景观的那份宁静与独特。相比城市消费空间中物质享乐直接的诱惑与易得的满足，媒介层应该被深入挖掘，以在市民价值体系中变的更加重要。

西方现代城市规划所带来的诸多弊端虽然早已被检讨与反思，但近百年来中国科技与文化的落后及外来政权的控制与轮替让台湾在过去接受西方价值观时显得毫无保留。如果能被纳入全球化的价值体系，复制与模仿西方的生活方式也未尝不可，因此信义计划区和台北101成

了城市形象的代言人，在这片土地上，被全球体系接纳所带来的欣喜大于被束缚的忧虑。《一页台北》中反复出现的台北街头巷尾，本是最具市井气息的台湾本土城市空间，却因为其“小资”[5]气质，而被评价为“很欧洲”，可谓对本土景观价值的一种否定。

身为率先接受西方科学理念与设计思维的台北，如今面临来自中国大陆新兴城市的超越与替代，暂时的领跑让这片土地尚有时间思考要在未来如何运营城市。全盘复制先进国家的经验已经不可能，对本地自然景观资源的深度开发，继而建立与媒介层更加相关的生活方式成为一个可行的选项。周围的山脉是始终不曾轻视的景观资源，而城市中的林荫道、水道和开放空间，显然还可以做的更多，虽然在过去的四十年间他们一直在被改造。

在这个持续快速变化的城市，无论好或坏，都会快速消失。这种始终变化的状态，也许就是另外一种“永恒”的台北。

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注释：
1.台湾谚语，描述清代台湾岛的三大港市，反应台湾由南至北的开垦史，一府为今台南市，二鹿为今彰化县鹿港，三艋舺为今台北万华。
2.台湾岛面积约3.6万平方公里，有超过100座海拔3000米以上的高山，同时四面环海，故从山巅到海边的景观变化常可在一小时内体验。
3.台北百货公司名，其所在的摩天楼建筑高244米，建于1993年。
4.瑠公圳是清代农垦时期人工开凿的灌溉水道系统，直至1970年代都代表着台北的城市河流景观。现多数被加盖填埋为城市道路用地.
5.小资指年轻都市白领追求内心体验、物质和精神享受的生活态度。

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EUPHORIGENIC LANDSCAPES

ACCRA
5° 33′00″N 0° 12′00″W

SIZE	894 KM^2
POPULATION	2,291,352
DENSITY	9,589.2/KM^2
ELEVATION	61 M
TIME ZONE	GMT (UTC)

THE HUMAN DIMENSION TO URBAN SPACE IN GHANA

Joel B. K. Asiedu

INTRODUCTION

I am tempted to agree with Stuart Elden who in a discus on some of the writings of Henri Lefèbvre stated that 'a society produces its own space'[1]. In other words the culture and traditions of a society determine and shape the creation of space. Space then becomes a social product. In the city this is a hotly contested social process shaped by human practices and power and has received several descriptions. It is described as green as in green space[2], open[3] or public as in public space[4], communal as in communal space[5]. It can be tasteless or tasteful[6], geographic[7], productive, as you find in the ocean or inland water resources[8] or even parasitic as in parasitic space[9], among others. In actual sense then, space becomes a difficult concept to explain[10] but studying about it is a very important exercise as it unconsciously reveals much about the ideals of the men and women in a community who have shaped it [11].

PUBLIC SPACE

In the Ghanaian context, space is not an entity of the landscape, edifier of an otherwise 'concretized environment', but a piece of land yet to receive the contractor's attention. Thus the Ghanaian urban dwellers' knowledge or appreciation of space is as it relates to financial rewards. The road side small-time petty trader recognizes the value of space as a spot along the road where one can display his ware, or erect a 'store'. The house-help or house-wife and the occasional visitor to the urban area only knows space as a parcel of land yet to be developed which one can use as a place for dumping refuse and other forms of unwanted products, even as a temporal urinary. The family member who is privy to the ownership of the 'space' consider it as a means for a quick gain, while the intrepid entrepreneur sees it as an opportunity for some form of investment. In this way space is valued more for its inherent economic potential as land to be developed [12] than as an integral part of the built environment. This context of space as an integral part of the urban environment however, is a farfetched phenomenon which is not considered among the list of priorities for the society. Yet the governing authorities in Ghana in their bid to introduce some human dimension to the urban environment endeavours to create a few of what will be described as public spaces. A good example of such is the 'lorry

parks' scattered across the city; a very important space for the weary traveller who may have to wait for hours standing on a scorching sun or perched on some improvised seat provided by a sympathetic petty trader for the next bus or 'trotro' to his or her 'perch-out'. Another is the very few water featured and fountains on the city's landscape which never seems to work except when some 'big short(s)' from the international community is in town or even the children's' park, known more for its Christmas 'celebration oriented' use than as an open space for daily public use. Unfortunately even these are circumscribed and are mostly too uncomfortable and boring, or too crowded by pedestrian and vehicular traffic to be appreciated, too distant and isolated to be within reach to the ordinary person, or completely off-limit to the ordinary person. Such space considered off-limit to the public are 'barricaded' by the authorities to protect so-called important monuments of the society, a situation which further alienates the ordinary person on the street.

One may think the situation different in higher institutions of learning (The public universities), but unfortunately, it is not. Apart from the Victorian picturesque modern style inherited from our colonial masters, nothing unique has been added. To put it lightly, recent attempts to develop open spaces in some of the public universities have fared even worse. A good example is in the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in the city of Kumasi, one of five public Universities in Ghana, where an attempt has been made to put 'extra value' on a previously tree filled, garden-seat-spotted, pedestrian-trekked open space between the University library, the Queen Elizabeth II and Republic halls of residence. A few years ago when I was a student, this space was very important to students. It was used during hall week celebrations where students organised parades and durbar and also for the periodic 'by-the-fire-side' programmes, an open air story telling event which was usually sponsored and received television coverage. The space was popular also because of its central location, open access and good views to parts of the university campus. The presence of the closed canopy trees enclosing an open area always ensured a cool and windy atmosphere for relaxation on concrete garden seats spotted across the area for students while an open treeless centre provided the space for parade and durbar activities. It was always a welcome place for respite from the stresses of student life or a place to relax after hard walking

in a hot scotching sun either from the central lecture theatres or the commercial area. What has happened to this 'venerated symbol' for students could be considered a complete 'defilement' of the space as the designer sort to impose an alien form of picturesque[13].

SOCIAL EVENTS

Social events are very important in Ghana and this could range from funeral rights for the departed, birthday celebrations, out-dooring and baby naming ceremonies, marriage ceremonies, religious festivities, to political party activity. However space to allow for such exuberant display of culture in urban areas is almost non-existent. One either has to hire a room or hall into which the public and invited quests may have to squeeze-in or for those who are daring enough, commandeer a section of a street, erect the necessary structures to provide some comfort from the blazing sun or rain for the many sympathizers and mount the necessary gadgets. This usually includes loud speakers blasting away loud music to announce the progress of the programme to the community and neatly arrange seats on the road pavement. This phenomenon has become a weekly cycle which revolves between Thursdays and Sundays and the inconvenience this form of imposition creates to pedestrians, motorists and unwilling members of the community cannot be over-emphasized. Why planning and design of urban space to accommodate these fruitful social events which forms a very important part of the culture of urban dwellers and a tourist attraction to the urban centre has not been given the needed attention by the city authorities can only be explained in the light of Henri Lefèbvre's statement that 'a society produces its own space'. And so, the youth who cannot afford space at a designated stadium will have to contend with the neighbourhood on the use of abandoned building sites or yet-to-be-developed parcels of land as a communing point to exercise their stressed muscles. Likewise the sports field for school pupils, which is transformed into a venue for all sorts of social and religious events with its negative repercussions on the value of the facility for sports and learning. The emergence of political pluralism in Ghana has also created space for the youth who through their political mentors may acquire or commandeer a piece of land by the road side to create a niche for a particular political party in the form of small sheltered holdings; a common feature in almost every low income neighbourhood in

the urban area. This niche for political activism could be as small as 3 m × 5 m or larger and is usually paved, bounded by a rail, painted in party colours, decorated with party paraphernalia and garnished with a Ghana flag. It may have seats and a roof over it or may not. Such space attracts both the young and old party activists who meet to while away time, relax, enjoy the latest models of cars over rather mundane road side scenery and trade the latest stories on their political opponents.

DEVELOPMENT OF SPACE

The development and creation of space is a fundamental social right which governments must provide and protect for the good of their society. In fact it is not a waste of precious space and resource as the ordinary person on the street, or a less informed person will take it to be but can be developed in a community to help establish lasting relationships[14]; a place to release the tensions and stresses of the teaming population, a paradise on earth[15]. In traditional African societies, as you will find in most communities in Ghana, the chiefs who serve as custodians of the traditions of the people foresaw the importance of space and thus created the 'plaza'. The 'Plaza' is an open usually paved area located close to the chief's palace and used to host social events including traditional festivals, serving as a place for public assembly as well. In the urban area such space is highly politicized, limited in number and size and thus not easily available to the ordinary person. Such places thus tend to be used by only the wealthy, socially important members of the community, influential members of the royal family or political parties for their rallies.

A causerie assessment of the spaces that has been created in urban Ghana suggests very little understanding of its use and what it really stands for. As if they were left there as an afterthought; left-over space whose ownership is either being contested or cannot be used for anything of significance or left there for a future expansion of sort (as one sees with road construction). This may be the reason why ordinary people find little use for the few available, which interestingly is made use of by a very specialized group of the urban populace; the lunatic and criminal few. For a city of over 1.8million inhabitants the question of space cannot be overemphasized, even more importantly as its quality is a direct indicator of the quality of life enjoyed by the inhabitants[16]. It may be sufficient to note as observed by[17] that

space can be given a distinct character and that the characteristics and character of space is what will make the difference in the experience it creates. This distinct character according to Condon could be experienced as a void that can either overwhelm, entice, envelop or even create a liberating effect for the one experiencing it; either with or without an enclosure. In this way, it can be used for winding down and to enjoy peace and quiet within the chaos of the metropolis; serving as a refuge [18]. It could thus serve as a good place for contemplation, reflection, interrogation and to entertain doubt on the usefulness of such amenities[19]. The use of a combination of elements of the landscape such as trees to provide shelter from the blazing sun and to amplify wind; water features and the sea to create a cool and soothing atmosphere, an open expanse of a gently undulating terrain, the proper placement and balance between trees and shrubs combined with lawns to 'receive' the setting of the sun, limited paving and various concrete structures rightly placed to give permanence are some of the features which could be used to give a distinct character to space. But unless these very critical entity called 'space' in our urban setting are put to such dynamic use; an indicator of the extent of sophistication in a society, the society will continue to ignore it as irrelevant, and suffer for it.

CONCLUSION

The above descriptors paint a rather gloomy picture of space in Urban Ghana and the question one will want to ask is whether such a categorical description is fair. If it is, then how and what should define space in an urban settings in a developing city like Accra? Could it also be that the Ghanaian society is not sufficiently structured and sophisticated to appreciate the essence of space in an increasingly cosmopolitan world? I believe the unique landscape setting of Accra metropolis offer several qualities that can be used to enhance the quality of life of the city dwellers. Accra, the capital city of Ghana is in a tropical region and enjoys a lot of very sunny days, ranging between 7-12hours a day throughout the year at average daily temperatures of between 25-32°C. Any space developed that provides 'shelter' from the sun or the heat generated from built up areas by taking advantage of the cool breeze provided by the sea and various water bodies in the metropolis, tree and shrub vegetation used in combination with other elements to create beauty and to expose the sublime, will make a great difference. Although water is a very simple and unique element

with an amazing effect, it is very little used in the landscape. Perhaps it is not so appreciated. But given the unique climate of the city, an abundance of water in public spaces coupled with the development of natural water features like lakes, rivers, streams, lagoons most of which are a sad reflection of their former glory, will be one sure way to 'tame' the increasingly hot ambient temperature, welcome and calm the weary pedestrian and to say thank you to the many blessings nature has bestowed. Interestingly the giving of water to a stranger, a cultural phenomenon in Ghana, is meant to achieve these very effects.

'Lorry parks' or bus terminals have become very important symbols on the cityscape. These usually occupy a lot of 'room' and provide avenue for a number of business and social activities. It is a place for lovers, friends and family and the business minded who may have to wait in a queue for hours waiting for the next bus. But the current design which celebrates concrete, asphalt and other forms of hard paving together with wood and metal cannot provide for the type of welcome space needed after working for hours in a hot, sunny humid environment. I believe a complete evaluation of the design concept guiding lorry parks in urban Ghana should take place to take into account its multi-functional nature; as a place for recreation, business, socialization, and ultimately to board the next bus to your destination. And there will be no lack of use of such space.

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城市景观研究

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