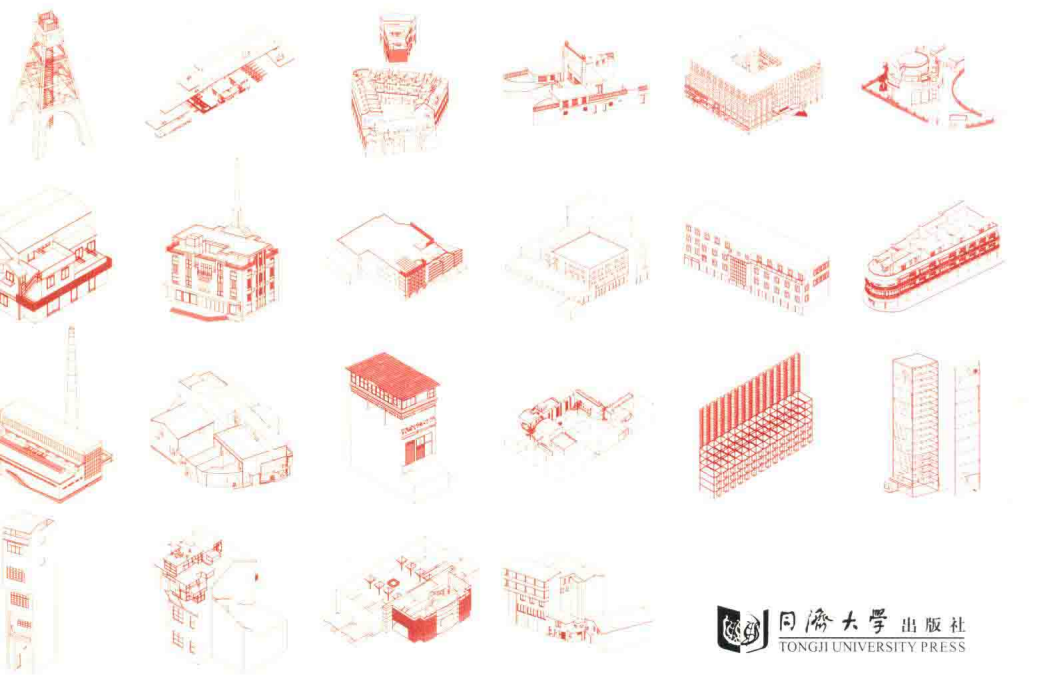


上海制造 MADE IN SHANGHAI

李翔宁 李丹锋 江嘉玮 著
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In collaboration with Yoshiharu Tsukamoto



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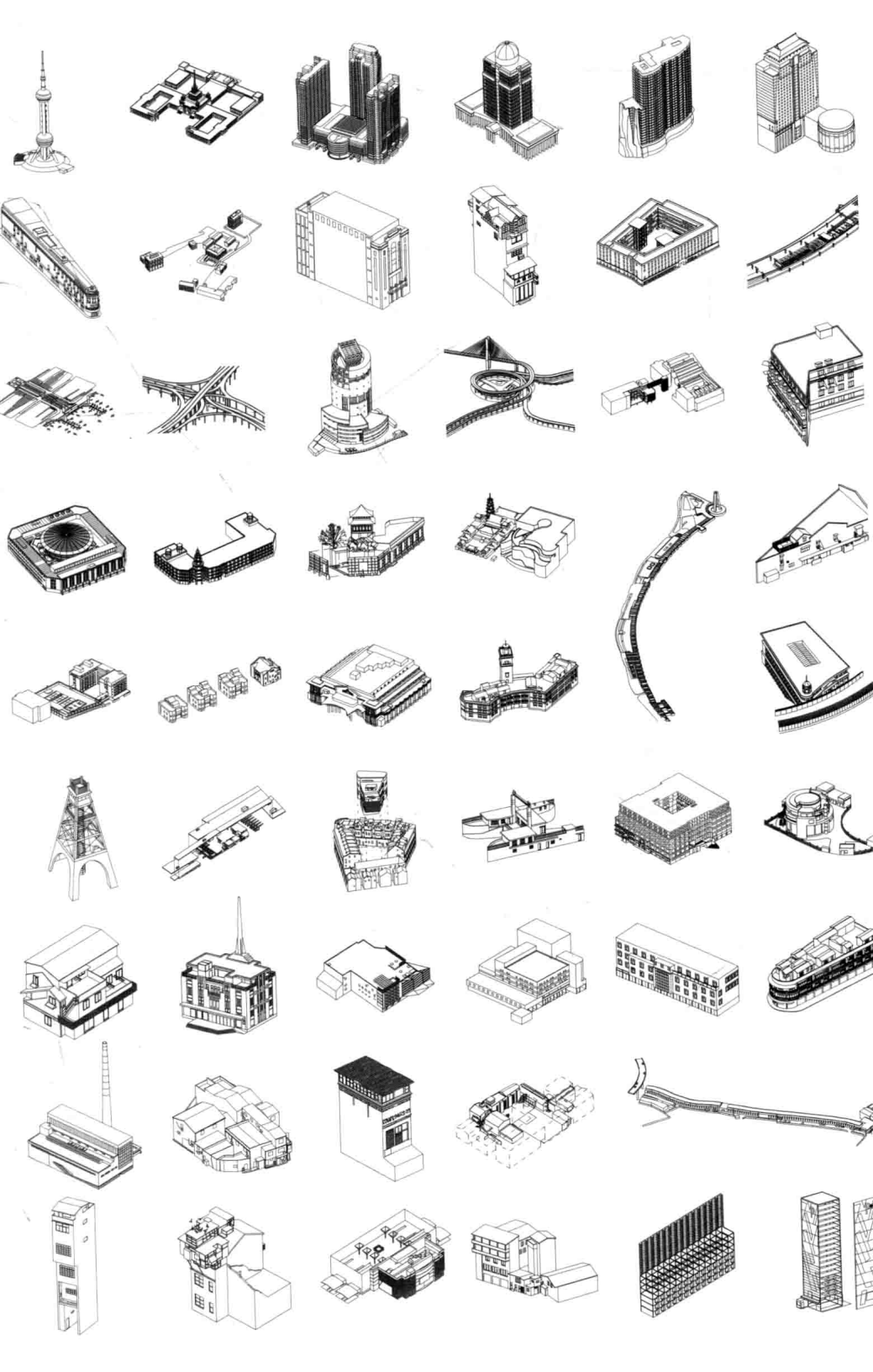
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光 明 城

Luminous City

看见我们的未来



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序一： 让我们来读一本 “魔都”指南

Preface I: A Guide to the “Devilish City”

朱大可
Zhu Dake

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李翔宁等人著的《上海制造》，是城市景观织体的一个远东样本，汇集了上海“非主流建筑美学”的奇观式建筑，其中囊括了城市地标（东方明珠塔）、城市传奇（延安路立交桥龙柱）、城市文脉（大世界和上海一九叁三）、城市违章建筑（鸽舍）和贫民窟（虹镇老街）等各类货色。它是一个杂耍式拼贴的结果，向我们展示出“魔都”景观的奇异特性。

导致都市景观奇异化的原因是多样的，它不仅源于权力意志，炫耀政绩的意志，也缘于权力与资本及宗教结盟，针对空间逼仄的扩张策略，多重场所叠加而引发的空间畸变等。“奇异”是反常发育引发的效应，它不是城市管理的结果，更与城市浪漫主义无关。但它竟然改造了平庸的规划和设计理性，令城市散发出一种畸形、病态和自我分裂的气味。

法国文化批评家居伊·德波（Guy Debord）在其代表作《景观社会》中宣称，世界完成了从“商品的堆积”到“景观的庞大堆聚”的转变，而景观已成为“媒介时代”的本质。哪里有独立的表象，景观就会在哪里重构自己的法则。德波进而指出，明星、休闲旅游和城市化成为当今世界最突出的景观。在我看来，本书提供的全部例证，戏剧性地回应了这些跨时代的论断。

作为一部阐释性的建筑地图，本书试图引导文化旅行者（游客）去观看那些奇异的城市建筑，并对它们的功能和意义进行扼要评述，其中既有辛辣直白的批评，亦有暧昧的中性解读，也有爱不释之的褒扬。对于一个文化旅行者而言，没有比这更有趣的指南了。上海是一个巨大的地理迷津，它需要一本不同寻常的价值指南，以阐释那些有名和无名的奇异建筑，为它们的存在寻找理由。

耗资 27 亿元建造的平安金融大厦，一个罗马万神庙和现代矩形大厦的混合物，被一大堆的罗马柱所环绕，在其顶部安置一个体量过小的瓜皮帽式的穹顶，是神学景观和资本景观的一次低劣拼贴，成为上海式媚俗的一个典范之作。本书的解

读，揭示了此类建筑的文化本性。

这种古怪的拼贴，正是上海建筑景观的一个基本特征。位于延安路高架与南北高架交接处的“龙柱”，是钢筋混凝土立柱和龙纹浮雕的古怪拼贴，常德路的“山景房”，用大型假山实体覆盖在公寓楼的侧面，形成恶俗的虚构性拼贴；而土黄色的古庙静安寺，则跟一侧的巨幅身体广告牌，形成了更具讽刺性的拼贴。正是这种畸形的视觉组合，制造了类似“迪士尼乐园”的卡通效应。

但有一种拼贴似乎是我们能够容忍并予以期待的，它属于时间而非空间。延安东路和西藏南路交界处的“大世界”，一个旧历史和新时代的拼贴，至今依然矗立在迅速变化的都市中心。它因权利归属问题而被长期悬置，找不到重启的契机，却成为一个殖民地时期的建筑神话，与娱乐、流氓、戏子和妓女的传奇相混合，犹如一张立体的月份牌绘画，镶嵌于都市的深处，向我们提示关于殖民地的历史记忆。正如书中所描述的，这座上海昔日最大的室内游乐场，以游艺、杂耍和南北戏剧、曲艺为特色，是最具代表性的娱乐建筑，并最终成为上海景观的一个隐秘象征——原有的娱乐功能投射到整座城市，令其到处都散发着戏谑化、稚拙化和丑角化的文化气味。

另一个相似的例证，是位于虹口区沙泾路上的“上海一九叁三”。这座造型诡异的建筑，曾经是远东最大的屠宰场，“神秘幽深的光线”照亮了“错综复杂的走道”，在被钢和玻璃进行现代性改造之后，它保留了残留在墙体上的各种岁月印痕，犹如那些牲畜亡灵的喘息。华丽的表皮装饰，却难以掩饰其哥特式的阴郁风格。这是一种恒久的气息，深刻地渗入建筑物的骨架。而就在不远处，一座砖混结构的鸽舍，出现于老房子的顶部。屋主为每只鸽子搭建了专门的场所。但鸽舍所在的场地属于政府拆迁范围，估计该房彻底消失的日子不会太远。这是鸽舍、养鸽者和鸽子的共同命运。但它跟其他“违章搭建”的民居一起，成了都市景观中最卑贱、丑陋而富有生气的部分。

迄今为止，我还没有读到过此类反面的建筑导读，它的手指，不但指向那些奇异的地标，而且指向那些反常、畸形和速朽的事物，甚至指向被城市管理者所斥责的部分。但正是这些在逼仄空间里营造出来的怪屋，喊出了这座城市的居住本质。尽管城市的容量在急剧扩张，但市中心的空间张力，却仍在持续地强化之中。它逼迫怪屋生长，犹如怒放在职场官员梦境里的“恶之花”。对这些异化的建筑体的描述，与其说是一场充满戏谑性的导游，不如说是一些事先张扬的悼词，宣告着它们在未来的死亡，进而以平面印刷物的形态，预藏起这些古怪的都市遗产。

上海之所以被网民叫做“魔都”，无疑是基于它的城市景观特色。上海建筑具有中国任何城市都缺乏的魔幻性。只要你站在一个合适的地点加以观察，就不难发现，在阳光和雾霾的共同笼罩下，以黄浦江为中轴线，大多数建筑的外立面造型，都露出诡异神秘的哥特式面容。浦东完全继承了浦西的这种气质，它扩展了魔都的领地，将其径直推向大陆与海洋的分界线。“魔都”的魔幻风格，就是上海的魅力所在。它发出了女妖塞壬般的歌声，不倦地引诱着后现代游客的脆弱灵魂。

浦东张江
2013年11月28日

Made in Shanghai, under the general editorship of Li Xiangning, is a sample of urban landscape in the Far East. It collects grotesque buildings of "non-mainstream architectural aesthetics" in Shanghai, including city landmarks (the Oriental Pearl TV Tower), city legends (Dragon-pillared overpass on Yan'an Road), cultural sites (the Great World and Shanghai 1933), the unapproved construction projects (pigeon houses) and slums (Hongzhen Old Street) and others. It is a vaudeville-style collage, which presents the uniqueness of the landscape of a "devilish city".

There are many reasons that contribute to a bizarre city landscape. It derives not only from the will of those in power to parade its political achievements, but also from an alliance between power and money as well as religion, an expansion strategy for narrow space, a distortion of space induced by an overlap of multiple places. "Grotesque" is a result of abnormal growth, not a result of city management, and has nothing to do with urban romanticism. But it managed to change the mediocre planning and design rationality and make the city smell of deformity, morbid state, self-splitting.

Guy Debord, the French cultural critic, once professed in his best-known book—*Society of the Spectacle*, that the world had transformed completely from an "accumulation of commodities" to an "immense accumulation of spectacles" and that spectacles have become the essence of "media age". Where there is an independent spectacle, there will be laws rebuilt. Debord

pointed out further that celebrities, recreation and tourism and urbanization had become the most prominent spectacles of this world. From my point of view, all the examples that appear in this book responded to these judgments in a dramatic way.

As an explanatory map of architecture, this book intends to lead the cultural travelers (tourists) to tour around the grotesque urban architecture and meanwhile give them a brief commentary on the functions and meaning. These comments can be bitter and direct criticism, neutral interpretation, and heartfelt praise. For a cultural traveler, this is the most interesting guide. Shanghai is a giant geographical maze and it needs an unusually valuable guide book to explain these known and unknown grotesque buildings for a justification of their existence.

The Ping'an Finance Mansion, a result of a 2.7 billion RMB investment, mixes the style of the Roman Pantheon and a modern rectangular building. Surrounded by a pile of Roman pillars and capped with a far too small Chinaman's hat-like dome at the top, it is a low-quality collage of theological spectacle and money. It is a masterpiece of Shanghai-style kitsch. And this book reveals the cultural nature of buildings of this sort.

This kind of odd collage, is a basic feature of Shanghai architecture. The "dragon pillar" at the intersection of Yan'an elevated road and North-South elevated road is an odd piece of collage made of reinforced concrete and dragon-

patterned sculptural relief. The "Housing of Mountainscape" on Changde road, which applies a gigantic artificial hill on the side face of a residential building, forms a tacky and made-up collage. And the earthy yellow ancient temple – Jing'an temple casting a stark contrast to the huge body billboard next to it is a more ironic kind of collage. It is this abnormal visual combination that creates the "Disneyland"- like cartoon effect.

There is one kind collage which seems to be tolerable to us. It is a collage in the sense of time not in space. The Great World at the crossroad of Yan'an road and South Xizang road, is a collage of the old and new times. It still sits firmly in the center of a fast-changing city. Due to a jurisdiction problem, it hasn't been used for a long time. It just couldn't find an opportunity to be re-opened. Then it becomes a myth coming out of the colonial times, mixed with legends of entertainment, hooligans, actors, actresses and prostitutes. It is like a stereoscopic painting on the calendar, sitting deeply in the city center and gives us hints of the history of colonial times. As described in the book, this former indoor amusement arcade in Shanghai, featuring vaudeville, south-north traditional opera and Chinese folk art forms, is a most representative entertainment building. It will finally become a secret symbol of Shanghai landscape as it will cast its original entertainment functions to the entire city and let it smell of a teasing, naïve and clowning culture everywhere.

Another similar example is the Shanghai 1933 on Shajing road, Hongkou district. This grotesque building was once the biggest slaughter house in the Far East. Its "secretive and deep" rays shed light on complex paths. After being modernized using steel and glass, it keeps the marks of the times on the wall, like the breath uttered by those dead animals. But under its beautiful exterior decoration, its gothic gloom can't be concealed. It is a lasting smell, deeply penetrated in the bones and structures of the architecture. While not far away, a pigeon house made of bricks and cement sits on the top of an old building. The owner of the old building prepared space for each pigeon.

But the place where the pigeon house sits on is meant to be dismantled by the government so it won't be long before the pigeon house disappears. It is the common fate of the pigeon house, pigeon owner and the pigeon. But the pigeon house,

together with other unapproved construction objects become the lowest, ugliest and most lively part of the city.

So far, I haven't read anything that speaks ill of such architecture. This book not only points to those grotesque land marks but also those abnormal, deformed and quickly-decaying objects, even those frowned upon by the city's managers. But it is those grotesque houses built in narrow space that screams the nature of this city. Although the city is expanding rapidly, its city center is still strong in its space tension. It forces the strange houses to grow, like a "flower of evil" that's seen as a nightmare for city administrators. The descriptions of those buildings are more like prewritten eulogies lamenting the doom of these buildings, while not so much as a humorous guide. It aims to store up the city's odd heritage in printing form.

The reason why Shanghai is called a "devilish city" by netizens is undoubtedly because of its city landscape. Architecture in Shanghai has a touch of magic that any other city in China lacks. Standing at a right spot and observe, and you will find that covered by sunshine and the fog, buildings on both sides of the Huangpu river, have a mysterious gothic image on their elevations. Pudong inherits this quality from Puxi entirely. It expands the territory of the devilish city and pushes the boundary directly to the dividing line of the land and the sea. The magical style of the "devilish city" is exactly what Shanghai's charm is about. It sends out a siren sound and seduces tirelessly the fragile souls of post-modern tourists.

Zhangjiang, Pudong
28th, November, 2013

序二： 上海制造 Preface II: Made in Shanghai

塚本由晴
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上海是世界上经历过最剧烈变动的城市之一，《上海制造》汇集了能阐明这些空间实践的特殊建筑物们。这项研究在2012年（《东京制造》出版后第12年）开始进行，令我非常高兴，此时的上海正经历着巨大的都市转型。这两项研究从单体建筑物出发，共同见证了我们的城市和社会。

我第一次来上海是在2001年，当时犬吠工作室应邀参加上海双年展。那时候浦东已经开始建设，但还只建成了两三栋摩天楼。在黄浦江另一侧，我们接触到了里弄中街坊们的真实生活：工人们住在他们正在建造的房子里，很多户居民还留在面临拆迁的老房子中。这些难忘的场景让我记住了这座城市的宏大力量。2013年是我最近一次来上海，此时相距2010年世博会已有三年。这座城市现已布满各种耀眼的摩天楼，变得整齐划一，但同时也趋向与其他大城市雷同。然而，无须为此惋惜，因为仍有许多见证了这座城市和这个社会变迁的建筑物存在。

上海最让我感兴趣的是，从这些建筑中能观察到多样的政治和文化背景。这正是这批建筑物的特点，同时也是“上海制造”研究的核心思想。最有名的一些案例位于前租界或外滩，它们叙述着上海在那个年代作为世界上最大国际港口的故事。甚至那些不知名的建筑物也向我们诉说着无数故事，比如共产党的诞生，新中国的住房政策，对“大跃进”的反思，有中国特色的社会主义，亚洲被卷入全球化，等等。上海在过去的若干十年里经历了许多不同的思潮与意识形态，这一直是上海的一部分。而保留下来的这些建筑物，也都成为当中的见证者。

Made in Shanghai is the collection of the peculiar buildings which illustrate the practice of space in one of the most changing city in the world. I am very happy that this research was executed in 2012, 12 years after the publication of *Made in Tokyo*, in the middle of drastic urban transformation in Shanghai. These two researches share the spirit of the "witness" of the city and society through the buildings in the place.

My first visit to Shanghai was in 2001 when we, Atelier Bow-Wow were invited from Shanghai Biennale. The development of Pudong area had been already started but there were just three or four skyscrapers built. On the west side of the river, we encountered real street life of people in the neighborhood of Lilong, workers living in the skeleton of the building in which they are working, families staying in the old house under demolition. These are the unforgettable scenes which remind me the generous power of this city. My latest visit to Shanghai was in 2013, three years from World Expo 2010. The city is now made of many shiny skyscrapers and became clean and gentle in its appearance, but resemble to the other big cities consequently. But there is no need to be disappointed since there are still many buildings remain who witnessed the transformation of the city and the society.

What makes me interested in Shanghai is that the various political, cultural backgrounds are observed in the buildings. This is the peculiarity of the building in Shanghai, and could be the core concept of "Made in Shanghai". The most famous examples are the ones in the concession and the bund, who tell us the story of the world biggest international port at that time. Even anonymous buildings tell us various stories, such as about the birth of communist party, the housing policy of People's Republic of China, the reflection of iron war, capitalism in communism, globalization in Asia, and so on. Shanghai has been exposed against many different ideas, thoughts, ideologies in every few decades. The change has always been part of its nature, and the building witnesses this change if it remains.



