



上海人家

Shanghai Living

胡 杨
HU YANG

上海人民美術出版社



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上海人家的“图像乌托邦”

张阅（上海同济大学教授）

相对于摩天大楼和酒绿灯红的商业和娱乐场所而言，上海人的日常家居生活是一个更加隐秘和深藏不露的部分。外部形态的庞大和繁华，在满足外地观光客的视觉欲望的时候，才显出其存在的意义。而对于真正的上海人来说，自己的家却更为重要。上海的这个深藏不露的部分，一般并不轻易示人。懂得上海人性格的人们应该知道，上海人的家居生活有两个十分重要的特征：一是上海人很少会把客人请回家；二是上海人居住的地方从外表看灰头土脸，毫不起眼，室内布置却往往极为整洁舒适，甚至富丽堂皇。室内空间才是上海人家和上海城市性格的内在秘密的孳生地。

事实上，没有一个中国城市像上海这样，对私人空间有着如此强烈的关怀，有时几乎达到神经过敏的程度。上海市民将家居空间看作是“自我”的最小边界，并长期处于高度戒备的状态。正因为如此，才养成了上海人谨小慎微和严格遵循游戏规则的性格。这一点，既可以看作是一种“小市民气质”，但同时也是上海这座城市发育为现代市民社会的相对成熟的条件。另一方面上海又是一个高度发达的身份社会。自半殖民地时代以来形成的社会阶层意识根深蒂固，阶层的“身份认同”最明显的标志就是居住条件、区域和环境。尽管1949年以来的革命一直在努力消除这一阶层差异，但阶层身份已经成为上海文化中最顽固的集体无意识。不同的家居方式和日常生活方式，才是上海人社会身份的真正标记。通过家居生活来识别上海人的社会身份，同样也是上海市民社会的一个深藏不露的文化秘密。

从这个意义上说，上海是一个更加“内在”的城市。因此，唯有深入到这个“内在”的城市深处——上海家庭的内部空间——才能够真正发现上海这座城市的精神秘密。摄影艺术在这一点上应该有所作为。但摄影师们通常把镜头更多地对准那些显而易见的公共文化标记：陆家嘴的摩天大楼，外滩建筑群，新天地石库门，乃至其他标志性空间符号等等。这一切无疑构成了当下流行的上海时尚文化的视觉图像。但那些矫饰、夸张的光电技术制造出来的浮华影像所叙述的，依然是一个外在的大都市。对于上海市民生活的真实而言，所昭示的无非是一些皮相而已。

正是出于揭示上海更为隐秘的真相的意图，摄影家胡杨的《上海人家》系列摄影，才显得如此的不同一般。几年来，胡杨专注于上海人的家居生活，通过对几百个上海家庭内部空间形象的记录，让人们看见了一个空前繁杂和变幻无穷的上海。

将“人家”这一事物抽取出来，组成一个规模庞大的全景式的图像系列，这是一个野心勃勃的计划，它也许不能与巴尔扎克笔下庞大的巴黎写作计划相比，但至少也称得上是一部小型的当代“上海人家的影像文献”。在胡杨的镜头里，“家”可以看作是现代城市的一个“细胞”，是解析上海城市机体的一个基本单位。这就如同由“商品”这一单位建构起资本社会一样，在“家”这个细胞中，包含着现代城市社会的内在秘密。在这一点上，胡杨就像一个“城市生理学家”，他专注于为这个城市的组织

结构拍摄生理切片图，为人们进入到机体内部来观察和了解这座城市，提供高精准度的标本。毫无疑问，城市首先是人类的日常生活的空间，然后才是人类其他社会活动的场所。颠倒这一顺序，所谓“诗意栖居”，只是一句画饼充饥的欺世之谈。

但是，如果简单地把胡杨看作是上海家居生活的影像记录者，显然是远远不够的。年复一年，有多少摄影师都有意无意地记录过上海这座城市的各种各样的家庭，这种以新闻报道或宣传为目的的照片，从其一旦被冲印和刊登出来，它的意义就在消退，尤其是当照片所依附的事件的现场性消失之后，照片的意义就变得暧昧不明。时间将使它褪色、泛黄、消淡，成为历史记忆。

胡杨属于为数不多的拥有自己独特图像话语和摄影理念的摄影家之一。在我看来，胡杨的图像话语是这样一个矛盾体：它以其静止不动来揭示浮华时代生活的激烈变动，以其沉默的彰显来诉说外部世界的喧哗与骚动，以图片的空间性来赢得历史感。当我们注视这些图片的时候，仿佛突然一下子脱离了现实世界的日常喧嚣，沉入个人生活世界的宁静部分，使我们得以反观自己的存在及其价值。镜头记录的画面，昭示了言说与沉默之间的内在矛盾。而借助这一矛盾话语的揭示，胡杨实际上已经将镜头的批判力指向了现实世界。这一点，是仅靠浮光掠影式的光影效果所不能达到的。

必须把胡杨的摄影作品当作一个整体来看，才能够领会《上海人家》这一庞大计划背后所隐含的深层意义。由一幅幅单独的图片构成的《上海人家》，从整体上看，却并不只是偶然地对外部世界的直接记录。其中，不同的社会阶层和身份，不同的社会地位和影响力，不同的年龄和容貌，不同的种族和国籍，乃至不同的性别……这千差万别的人群，他们共同居住在胡杨镜头下的“家”中。这一个个或宽敞，或逼仄，或豪华，或简陋，或花里胡哨，或简约舒适的“家”，如同它们的主人一样，构成了上海城市生活的多重形态。在家的内部空间里，人更接近其本来的面目。各种各样的人在家庭内部，会显示出更为本质的一面。我们看到这些人和这些家，他们既是一个个单独的和性格迥异的个体，各自带着鲜明的社会身份标志。然而，在“人”与“家”的关系方面，他们却是一致的。胡杨专注于揭示大都市中“人”与“家”之间的互动关系。人们进入胡杨的镜头，向世界言说其一言难尽的生存状态，并为一个时代真实生活提供见证。

由此可以看出，胡杨的摄影拥有一种特殊的话语建构力。在现实生活中，这些不同的家庭很可能彼此隔绝，毫不相干。但在同一系列照片中，不同的家庭内部图像之间似乎形成了某种隐蔽的对话关系。他们曾经面对过同一个镜头，回答过同样的问题，被同一束光所照亮，也在同一间暗房里被显影。他们居住在不同大小和不同环境的“家”中，而现在，他们则“居住”在同样大小的照片中，以同等的权利呈现出自己的居住状态。图像所指涉的是不同阶层和不同身份人群的生活空间，它们之间有着完全不同的生存状况，但在胡杨所构建起来的图像世界里，每一幅照片都具有同等的价值和话语权利，它们共同构成了一个平等呈现的图像社会。从整个意义上说，胡杨以他的摄影艺术，重构了上海的社会生活关系。

这也许就是胡杨意识中潜在的摄影理想：创造一个由城市不同生存空间建构起来的“图像乌托邦”。被不同的社会身份和生活条件所隔离的“人”都是胡杨的“图像乌托邦”中的公民。现实中占有更多空间的“家”与那些现实中逼仄、狭小的“家”，同样都是数寸见方的一张照片。他们在胡杨所制造出来的“图像乌托邦”中，分享着平等的公民权利，尽管这只是通过图像符号以象征性的方式才得以实现的。在这里，胡杨的摄影彰显出了一种“平民主义、写实主义”的艺术理想。

Image Utopia

Zhang Hong (Professor of Tongji University)

Compared with modern high-rises and busy commercial and amusement buildings, places where Shanghai people live tell more about their daily life. Exterior grandness and prosperity please visitors' eyes while coziness and warmth are what Shanghai people really need. Homes are very private places for Shanghainese: they seldom invite people to visit them at home; and they always make home a tidy and cozy place, sometimes even resplendent and magnificent, though very often it may look shabby outside. Homes are interior secret spaces where Shanghainese lead their lives and Shanghai builds its characters.

In fact, no city in China could be more concerned about and more sensitive to the concept of private space than Shanghai is. Shanghai people regard home as an ego-world that is always on the alert. It helps foster their prissiness and preciseness, which will consequently turn the city into a mature living community and modern metropolis. On the other hand, Shanghai people are well classified by their social status. Class consciousness has been deeply rooted in their minds since China was reduced to a semi-colonial society, and housing conditions, districts and environment are the three most telling symbols of a 'social identity'. Although great efforts have been made since 1949 to eliminate the class differences, class consciousness has taken root among Shanghai people and become their inveterate unconsciousness. Diverse life styles are signs of their social status and indicate different social identities.

Therefore, Shanghai is rather an 'interior' city. Only by plunging deep into the interiority – Shanghai people's homes – can we truly know this city's spiritual life, while photography art helps achieve this. Most photographers take pictures of public cultural signs such as skyscrapers in Lujiazui Finance and Trade Zone, the architecture complex on the Bund, Shikumen houses at Xintiandi and other stylish modern visual images that show not the interior authentic life of Shanghainese but the exterior flashy and superficial cosmopolitanism of Shanghai.

With a view to disclose Shanghai people's authentic daily lives, Hu Yang's *Shanghai Living* distinguishes itself from other photograph works. For several years, he has devoted himself to visiting different Shanghai families and taking pictures of their daily life, through which we can see a multifarious and ever-changing Shanghai.

Hu Yang's panoramic image series consisting of different 'Shanghai families' may not be men-

tioned in the same breath with Balzac's *La Comdie Humaine*, it deserves the name of a present image documentary of Shanghai. In Hu Yang's eyes, 'families' are cells that constitute this modern city and units into which we dissect this society. Just like commodities constructed the capitalist society, families compose a modern city life. Hu Yang is just like a 'city physiologist' who took physiological sections of this city's histological structure by which we can get into the inner world of this society. His work is a precise sample of Shanghai people's daily life. A city is first where people live, then where people carry on different activities. So-called 'poetic dwelling' is just feeding on illusions.

However, Hu Yang is not just a recorder of Shanghai people's daily life. All through the years, many photographers either intentionally or unintentionally have taken pictures of diverse families in Shanghai for newspapers or reports, whose significance fades away with the time.

Hu Yang is one of the few photographers who have unique image language and photography concepts. His pictures are contradictions: stillness reveals a drastically changing vanity fair; silence tells the hurly-burly and restlessness of the exterior world; and spatial extensity reflects the history. His pictures can help us break away from the actual uproaring society and calm down into quiet inner world for autocriticism. Pictures declare internal conflicts of verbal and visual images. With these pictures, Hu Yang critically calls in question the present world, which can not be achieved by cursory shade and shadow technology.

Only by regarding Hu Yang's pictures as a whole can we comprehend what they actually imply. Diverse Shanghai families are not direct records of the exterior world, people with different social status, age and feature, race, nationality and gender live in Hu's camera world. Either capacious or narrow, either luxurious or simple, either magnificent or cozy, these families compose the multiplicity of Shanghai's city life. Various families display diverse innate characters and essential aspects that help to compose this distinctive society. Hu focused on the interactive relation between 'people' and 'families' of this metropolis. Through Hu's camera, people relate their living conditions and testify the life style of an age.

Therefore, Hu Yang has a special power in connecting isolated families into serial images that are seemingly talking to each other. All these families once confronted the same camera and answered the same questions, and their pictures were developed in the same darkroom. No matter which family they come from, they are now presented in pictures of the same size. In Hu Yang's image world, people from different social classes are equally treated and valued. With his photography art, Hu Yang reconstructed Shanghai's social relations.

This might be Hu Yang's subconscious photography ideal: to create an 'Image Utopia' of Shanghai. People with different social identities become citizens of his Utopian world where they can enjoy equal rights. With these symbolic images, Hu Yang reveals his art ideal of equality and realism.

从镜头语言解读胡杨的《上海人家》

林 路（上海师范大学教授）

历经14个月的辛苦奔波，胡杨的《上海人家》终于画上了一个阶段性的句号。500户人家的照片所凝聚成的视觉空间，赢得了不同层面的评价和关注。无论从社会学的角度，还是文化学的范畴，人们都可以对这一独特的视觉空间加上一些有价值的批注。然而在我的这篇评述中，仅仅从摄影镜头的描述语言出发，找到胡杨在“惨淡经营”过程中，究竟说出了什么值得我们留恋的视觉“故事”。

我曾在照片展览的序中说过，胡杨的这组画面至少有两种解读的可能：上海人家和胡杨看到的“上海人家”。首先这些照片的确构成了21世纪初上海人家的真实写照：从最为豪华的生活设施到一地鸡毛的琐碎空间，从自足自乐的神态到无可奈何的注视镜头，生活在上海屋檐下的芸芸众生在这里集体亮相——多看几眼就会令人百感交集。正如胡杨所说，从历史的角度而言，是一份当今“上海人家”的影像文献。这些图像打开了一扇门，从这里进去，走入客厅，绕过书房，进入卧室，或者就是直接面对一片狭小空间，我们都能看到上海人家的丰富多彩，看到上海人独有的生存智慧。其实每一个家都是一个独立的天地，都有一段或荡气回肠、或愁肠百结的故事。静静地面面对画面你可以读出其中的一些情节，然后加上想像力，完成对上海人家的解读。海纳百川向来是上海兼容并包的“海派”胸怀，读完这些照片，也许就会对上海有更为刻骨铭心的认识。

然而这是一位摄影家看到的上海，是胡杨带给你的“上海人家”，因此必定带有摄影家独特的视角。正如美国著名的社会学家苏珊·桑塔格所说：“在这个社会里，摄影师的实践是一种外来的侵入：摄影师只能是一个观察者。”胡杨在他踏入每一个家庭的刹那，就已经开始用他的目光为这些照片做出了定位。因此我们在胡杨的“上海人家”中，还可以读出一位关注上海人生存状况的摄影家的心态。也正如胡杨所说：这批照片从社会学角度而言，是对当今“上海人家”的解读和描述。是胡杨通过他的中画幅相机和传统的彩色负片，以精确的视点在

数十分之一秒快门的凝视中，找到了一个介于真实与想像之间的契合点。尽管他也明白，一张照片仅仅是一个独立的瞬间，它不可能承载太多的道德文章——但是这样的努力还是取得了不小的收获。尤其是画面中丰富得令人眼花缭乱的细节一旦被主人的一个眼神或是一个动作串联起来，上海人的生活也就有了不同凡响的意义。

胡杨在完成这组画面时所选择的镜头语言，究竟对上海人家的描述有着什么样的意义，他和其他摄影家的镜头视角又有什么样的区别？

比如我们十分熟悉的河南摄影家姜健，他从黑白的《场景》转向彩色的《主人》，也是以纪实的“笔调”，以环境的陪衬，详尽地描述了河南农村的父老乡亲。画面现场光的色彩感和《上海人家》十分相似，然而其最重要的区别，不仅仅是一个充满了乡土的气息，另一个融入了大都市的氛围——关键在于，姜健的作品选择了几乎平面的单一形态，抹去了三维立体造型，加上特定的一个（或一组）人的直面相对，间离了观众与被摄者之间的距离，在看似冷漠的注视中，为纪实的镜头语言加上了超现实主义的色彩，将内心的激情涌动，变成了色彩后的潜流。然而胡杨不同，他的画面空间视角更广，并且有意在造型力量上强化了三维的穿透力，从而力图让观众走入画面，强化人与人之间的亲切感。也许这是胡杨所需要的，他想以更为平和的方式，说出他对上海人家的理解，同时也给读者留下看似平淡却挥之不去的挂念。

又比如在第四届平遥国际摄影大展中，胡杨的作品恰巧和现居巴黎的荷兰摄影家罗伯特·凡·德·休斯特的《古巴人家》放在同一个展厅里。人们第一眼就会被罗伯特作品中精准的色彩感所迷惑——他在古巴人家中所运用的色彩语言，以华丽却不失沉稳的风格，将平凡的古巴人生活状态和精神力量极其巧妙地融合在一起，甚至带上了不可回避的画意色彩。然而胡杨的追求却有所不同，他对色彩的把握完

全是放在了一种现场的原生态的基础上完成的，这也就是他没有选择反转片或是数码技术的原因——他固执地使用彩色负片，力图将他对生活现场的体验，用最为微妙的色彩转换出来。因此，你可以说他的画面色彩并不十分“准确”，甚至有出人意料之外的“偏差”。但是这样的“偏差”，恰恰准确地展现了现场的原生状态的魅力。同时，这也是摄影家情感色彩的凸现。他试图通过色彩与情感关系的敏感转换，找到一种更为准确的叙述语言，从而还原生活本该应有的多样性和复杂性。如果说上面这些镜头语言的运用，还不是最重要的话，那么我们不妨再从摄影家的视觉心理角度，作一番揣摩。首先我们得承认，拍摄上海人家这样一个主题，一二幅照片是不行的，十幅八幅作品也是不够的，只有形成一个宏大的叙事规模，照片的纪实力量才可能渐渐呈现出来，然后在一种巨大的重压之下，让观众承认世界原本应该是什么样子的。但是在这样的一个过程中，其实摄影家是很“痛苦”的——500幅作品既要有一种相对统一的风格样式出现，才可能形成一个完整的系列。但是500幅作品又必须有一种视觉上的变化，这种变化不仅仅是现场环境的不同，更重要的是摄影家的心理把握的不同，这样画面才不至于看上去感觉厌烦。如果一不小心，整个拍摄很可能就会落入苏珊·桑塔格在30多年前就已经指出的悖论之中：“一张照片的产生正好证明了拍摄者的没有亲身经历，又往往助长了懒惰的看客不去亲身经历；当所有的事件都跃然纸上，原子弹爆炸和蚂蚁搬家确实是没有什么区别了，一张照片而已，在这一意义上说，摄影的确拉平了所有事件的意义。”

为了不使所有的事件都被同一种镜头语言所“拉平”，胡杨在他每一次拍摄的紧张思考中，都试图进行一次又一次的“突围”。胡杨一边与上海人家的主人闲聊，一边紧张地注视可能发生的一切，并且寻找可能的拍摄角度。有时候他会出奇不意地按下快门，有时候则会循循诱导画面的主人进入最为默契的瞬间——这是他们生活状态中最可能进入心灵深处的瞬间。他想在这些画面中讲述尽可能精彩的故事——让哪怕是一处家居的细节，一抹散乱的光影，一个眼神或姿势，都传递出更多的信息，为上海人家的最新版本，注入厚实的文化魅力。

于是我们看到了环境中的主人完全进入“状态”的自然空间，在摆拍和抓拍之间几乎不留一点痕迹；我们看到了平凡人生中令人感动的尊严，一些简单却让人说不出的激动；不管是作为一种典型的生存

状态的“小资情调”，还是幸福中难以掩饰的些许孤独，都为上海人家的故事找到了不同角度的叙述“版本”，从而一点一点让人相信，你走进的是真实的上海人家，不是摄影家和画面的主人一起精心导演的“话剧”。你可以有足够的理由鼓起勇气和他们对话，或者说到底，和你自己的内心来一次彻底的交流。

然而无可讳言的是，这样多的画面中难免会有重复，反复的叙述过程中镜头语言也会有“疲惫”的时候。好在摄影家的实践还在不断地深入过程中，正如文中一开始我所说的，这一组画面只是一个阶段性的句号，新的“章节”正在紧张的酝酿和付诸实施。那天在秋日的阳光下，胡杨在桌前充满信心地对我说，他的镜头会更深入、更细腻地走入上海人家的内心深处，完成新一轮的视觉对话。我想，我们应该有足够的理由期待！

Interpreting Hu Yang's *Shanghai Living* in Camera Language

Lin Lu (Professor of Shanghai Normal University)

Hu Yang's *Shanghai Living* came to a phasic full stop after 14 months' hard efforts. Pictures of 500 families compose a visual space that wins commentaries and attention from all levels of the society. From either the sociological or the cultural perspective, people can have their own interpretations to this unique series of work. And in this commentary, I'm interpreting Hu Yang's work by painstaking efforts only in camera language, trying to figure out what kind of visual stories he wants to tell us.

In the preface of the exhibition, I once said there are at least two inter pretations for his work: Shanghai families and Shanghai families in Hu Yang's eyes. First, these pictures do constitute an authentic portrait of the Shanghai families in the 21st century – from the most luxury to the shabby dwelling, the satisfied to the anguished expressions – all strike a pose in this im age world. Going through the pictures, I feel all kinds of feelings welling up in my heart. Just as Hu Yang put it, his torically speaking these pictures com pose an image documentary of Shang hai families. They open a door through which we can enter the living rooms, cut through the studies, go into the bedrooms and face the spaces where Shanghai people lead their diverse lives and build their unique characters. Each family is an isolated world where an ei-ther heartrending or soul-stirring story takes place. Reading these pictures silently, you can have your own interpretations for Shang-hai families. Shanghai has always been a city absorbing all from nature, and these pictures may help you know more about its cos-mopolitanism.

Second, these are pictures in a photographer's eyes, which,

without fail, will carry his personal elucidation. American sociolo-gist Susan Sontag once said that in this society, a photographer's practice is an external inroad; and a photographer could only be an observer. On stepping into each family, Hu Yang has already started his evaluation with his eyes. Therefore, we can read through the pictures a photographer's concern for the life in Shanghai. Hu Yang believes his work is a description and interpretation of Shang-hai families from the sociological perspective. With a Contax 645N camera and color negative film, he pressed his shutter and got images between reality and imagination. Although he understands quite well that these instantaneous pictures can't bear too much moral or ethical connotations, they are still a great achievement, especially when the dazzling details in the pictures are presented with the people inside.

But what's the significance of Hu Yang's work to Shanghai families? And what's the difference between his camera language and other photographers'?

Take Jiang Jian (famous photographer of He'nan) for example. His work changes from black and white to multicolor and tells the lives of people living in He'nan's villages. He adopted similar color and light to the ones Hu Yang used in his *Shanghai Living*, and instead of presenting a cosmopolitan city, reflected an authentic local environment. However, their crucial difference is that Jiang Jian chose planar pictures in which people (or a person) directly and indifferently stared at the camera, hiding their inner emotions behind the colors. The audience has been alienated from the people in the pictures, which are coated with superrealism; while Hu Yang

adopted three-dimensional pictures which have wider visual angles and are more intimate with the audience. This might be what Hu Yang seeks after and his peaceful interpretation of Shanghai families, which leaves the audience a faint but hovering impression.

On the 4th Pingyao International Photograph Exhibition, Hu Yang's work happened to be displayed in the same hall with Netherlandish photographer Robert Van-der Hilst's *Cuba Families*, which, with precise colors and an audacious but firm style, combined perfectly Cuban people's daily life with their spiritual power and immediately caught the eyes of the audience. However, Hu Yang pursues different things. Instead of reversal film or digital camera, he used color negative film, which is very sensitive to color temperature, to reflect authentic life in Shanghai. Therefore, the colors in his pictures are not precisely 'accurate'; some even 'deviate' from the original ones. However, these deviations represent not only the charm of natural scenes but the photographer's feelings as well. The subtle transition between colors and feelings are his exact language to tell the multiplicity and complexity of life. If you think the camera interpretations are not crucial enough, we might as well make conjectures about the photographer's inner world. First we should accept that a theme like *Shanghai Living* is a grand narrative project that needs more than just several pictures. Only a huge amount of pictures can cause heartquake and tell the audience what the world looks like. In such a process, the photographer must have been under great pressure and made painstaking efforts to produce 500 works of the same style. Although a complete series, these 500 pictures reflect visual changes which could be recognized not only in the pictures but in the photographer's inner world. Any imprudence could have led the work into a paradox pointed out by Susan Sontag more than 30 years ago.

In order not to tell all the families in the same language, Hu Yang tried his best for 'breakout' and new perspectives. He talked

with the families while taking their pictures, trying to catch special moments. Sometimes he pressed the shutter abruptly; sometimes he patiently led the people calming down and into their deep hearts. Through the pictures, he wants to tell the most brilliant stories of these Shanghai families, either it's a decoration detail, a scattered shade and shadow, an eye expression, or a posture.

And then we see people in the pictures present themselves naturally and without any affectation. We see affecting dignity, simple happiness, longings for high quality life and apparent loneliness, all telling vivid stories happened in Shanghai families. Little by little, you will enter these families and find that the lives there are not dramas directed by the photographer with the people in the pictures. You will have enough reasons to talk thoroughly with them, or, to be exact, with your inner self.

Of course it's hard to avoid repetitions among the pictures, which put the camera to a frazzle in its narration. Luckily the photographer keeps his efforts in practicing and just as what I said at the beginning, this is a full stop for just a phase. More new 'chapters' are drastically incubating in the photographer's mind. The other day in the autumn sunshine, Hu Yang confidently told me that with the camera he will go deeper into Shanghai families and finish a new round visual conversation with them. I believe we have enough reasons to expect.

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上海人家的“图像乌托邦”

张阅（上海同济大学教授）

相对于摩天大楼和酒绿灯红的商业和娱乐场所而言，上海人的日常家居生活是一个更加隐秘和深藏不露的部分。外部形态的庞大和繁华，在满足外地观光客的视觉欲望的时候，才显出其存在的意义。而对于真正的上海人来说，自己的家却更为重要。上海的这个深藏不露的部分，一般并不轻易示人。懂得上海人性格的人们应该知道，上海人的家居生活有两个十分重要的特征：一是上海人很少会把客人请回家；二是上海人居住的地方从外表看灰头土脸，毫不起眼，室内布置却往往极为整洁舒适，甚至富丽堂皇。室内空间才是上海人家和上海城市性格的内在秘密的孳生地。

事实上，没有一个中国城市像上海这样，对私人空间有着如此强烈的关怀，有时几乎达到神经过敏的程度。上海市民将家居空间看作是“自我”的最小边界，并长期处于高度戒备的状态。正因为如此，才养成了上海人谨小慎微和严格遵循游戏规则的性格。这一点，既可以看作是一种“小市民气质”，但同时也是上海这座城市发育为现代市民社会的相对成熟的条件。另一方面上海又是一个高度发达的身份社会。自半殖民地时代以来形成的社会阶层意识根深蒂固，阶层的“身份认同”最明显的标志就是居住条件、区域和环境。尽管1949年以来的革命一直在努力消除这一阶层差异，但阶层身份已经成为上海文化中最顽固的集体无意识。不同的家居方式和日常生活方式，才是上海人社会身份的真正标记。通过家居生活来识别上海人的社会身份，同样也是上海市民社会的一个深藏不露的文化秘密。

从这个意义上说，上海是一个更加“内在”的城市。因此，唯有深入到这个“内在”的城市深处——上海家庭的内部空间——才能够真正发现上海这座城市的精神秘密。摄影艺术在这一点上应该有所作为。但摄影师们通常把镜头更多地对准那些显而易见的公共文化标记：陆家嘴的摩天大楼，外滩建筑群，新天地石库门，乃至其他标志性空间符号等等。这一切无疑构成了当下流行的上海时尚文化的视觉图像。但那些矫饰、夸张的光电技术制造出来的浮华影像所叙述的，依然是一个外在的大都市。对于上海市民生活的真实而言，所昭示的无非是一些皮相而已。

正是出于揭示上海更为隐秘的真相的意图，摄影家胡杨的《上海人家》系列摄影，才显得如此的不同一般。几年来，胡杨专注于上海人的家居生活，通过对几百个上海家庭内部空间形象的记录，让人们看见了一个空前繁杂和变幻无穷的上海。

将“人家”这一事物抽取出来，组成一个规模庞大的全景式的图像系列，这是一个野心勃勃的计划，它也许不能与巴尔扎克笔下庞大的巴黎写作计划相比，但至少也称得上是一部小型的当代“上海人家的影像文献”。在胡杨的镜头里，“家”可以看作是现代城市的一个“细胞”，是解析上海城市机体的一个基本单位。这就如同由“商品”这一单位建构起资本社会一样，在“家”这个细胞中，包含着现代城市社会的内在秘密。在这一点上，胡杨就像一个“城市生理学家”，他专注于为这个城市的组织

结构拍摄生理切片图，为人们进入到机体内部来观察和了解这座城市，提供高精准度的标本。毫无疑问，城市首先是人类的日常生活的空间，然后才是人类其他社会活动的场所。颠倒这一顺序，所谓“诗意栖居”，只是一句画饼充饥的欺世之谈。

但是，如果简单地把胡杨看作是上海家居生活的影像记录者，显然是远远不够的。年复一年，有多少摄影师都有意无意地记录过上海这座城市的各种各样的家庭，这种以新闻报道或宣传为目的的照片，从其一旦被冲印和刊登出来，它的意义就在消退，尤其是当照片所依附的事件的现场性消失之后，照片的意义就变得暧昧不明。时间将使它褪色、泛黄、消淡，成为历史记忆。

胡杨属于为数不多的拥有自己独特图像话语和摄影理念的摄影家之一。在我看来，胡杨的图像话语是这样一个矛盾体：它以其静止不动来揭示浮华时代生活的激烈变动，以其沉默的彰显来诉说外部世界的喧哗与骚动，以图片的空间性来赢得历史感。当我们注视这些图片的时候，仿佛突然一下子脱离了现实世界的日常喧嚣，沉入个人生活世界的宁静部分，使我们得以反观自己的存在及其价值。镜头记录的画面，昭示了言说与沉默之间的内在矛盾。而借助这一矛盾话语的揭示，胡杨实际上已经将镜头的批判力指向了现实世界。这一点，是仅靠浮光掠影式的光影效果所不能达到的。

必须把胡杨的摄影作品当作一个整体来看，才能够领会《上海人家》这一庞大计划背后所隐含的深层意义。由一幅幅单独的图片构成的《上海人家》，从整体上看，却并不只是偶然地对外部世界的直接记录。其中，不同的社会阶层和身份，不同的社会地位和影响力，不同的年龄和容貌，不同的种族和国籍，乃至不同的性别……这千差万别的人群，他们共同居住在胡杨镜头下的“家”中。这一个个或宽敞，或逼仄，或豪华，或简陋，或花里胡哨，或简约舒适的“家”，如同它们的主人一样，构成了上海城市生活的多重形态。在家的内部空间里，人更接近其本来的面目。各种各样的人在家庭内部，会显示出更为本质的一面。我们看到这些人和这些家，他们既是一个个单独的和性格迥异的个体，各自带着鲜明的社会身份标志。然而，在“人”与“家”的关系方面，他们却是一致的。胡杨专注于揭示大都市中“人”与“家”之间的互动关系。人们进入胡杨的镜头，向世界言说其一言难尽的生存状态，并为一个时代真实生活提供见证。

由此可以看出，胡杨的摄影拥有一种特殊的话语建构力。在现实生活中，这些不同的家庭很可能彼此隔绝，毫不相干。但在同一系列照片中，不同的家庭内部图像之间似乎形成了某种隐蔽的对话关系。他们曾经面对过同一个镜头，回答过同样的问题，被同一束光所照亮，也在同一间暗房里被显影。他们居住在不同大小和不同环境的“家”中，而现在，他们则“居住”在同样大小的照片中，以同等的权利呈现出自己的居住状态。图像所指涉的是不同阶层和不同身份人群的生活空间，它们之间有着完全不同的生存状况，但在胡杨所构建起来的图像世界里，每一幅照片都具有同等的价值和话语权利，它们共同构成了一个平等呈现的图像社会。从整个意义上说，胡杨以他的摄影艺术，重构了上海的社会生活关系。

这也许就是胡杨意识中潜在的摄影理想：创造一个由城市不同生存空间建构起来的“图像乌托邦”。被不同的社会身份和生活条件所隔离的“人”都是胡杨的“图像乌托邦”中的公民。现实中占有更多空间的“家”与那些现实中逼仄、狭小的“家”，同样都是数寸见方的一张照片。他们在胡杨所制造出来的“图像乌托邦”中，分享着平等的公民权利，尽管这只是通过图像符号以象征性的方式才得以实现的。在这里，胡杨的摄影彰显出了一种“平民主义、写实主义”的艺术理想。

Image Utopia

Zhang Hong (Professor of Tongji University)

Compared with modern high-rises and busy commercial and amusement buildings, places where Shanghai people live tell more about their daily life. Exterior grandness and prosperity please visitors' eyes while coziness and warmth are what Shanghai people really need. Homes are very private places for Shanghainese: they seldom invite people to visit them at home; and they always make home a tidy and cozy place, sometimes even resplendent and magnificent, though very often it may look shabby outside. Homes are interior secret spaces where Shanghainese lead their lives and Shanghai builds its characters.

In fact, no city in China could be more concerned about and more sensitive to the concept of private space than Shanghai is. Shanghai people regard home as an ego-world that is always on the alert. It helps foster their prissiness and preciseness, which will consequently turn the city into a mature living community and modern metropolis. On the other hand, Shanghai people are well classified by their social status. Class consciousness has been deeply rooted in their minds since China was reduced to a semi-colonial society, and housing conditions, districts and environment are the three most telling symbols of a 'social identity'. Although great efforts have been made since 1949 to eliminate the class differences, class consciousness has taken root among Shanghai people and become their inveterate unconsciousness. Diverse life styles are signs of their social status and indicate different social identities.

Therefore, Shanghai is rather an 'interior' city. Only by plunging deep into the interiority – Shanghai people's homes – can we truly know this city's spiritual life, while photography art helps achieve this. Most photographers take pictures of public cultural signs such as skyscrapers in Lujiazui Finance and Trade Zone, the architecture complex on the Bund, Shikumen houses at Xintiandi and other stylish modern visual images that show not the interior authentic life of Shanghainese but the exterior flashy and superficial cosmopolitanism of Shanghai.

With a view to disclose Shanghai people's authentic daily lives, Hu Yang's *Shanghai Living* distinguishes itself from other photograph works. For several years, he has devoted himself to visiting different Shanghai families and taking pictures of their daily life, through which we can see a multifarious and ever-changing Shanghai.

Hu Yang's panoramic image series consisting of different 'Shanghai families' may not be men-

tioned in the same breath with Balzac's *La Comdie Humaine*, it deserves the name of a present image documentary of Shanghai. In Hu Yang's eyes, 'families' are cells that constitute this modern city and units into which we dissect this society. Just like commodities constructed the capitalist society, families compose a modern city life. Hu Yang is just like a 'city physiologist' who took physiological sections of this city's histological structure by which we can get into the inner world of this society. His work is a precise sample of Shanghai people's daily life. A city is first where people live, then where people carry on different activities. So-called 'poetic dwelling' is just feeding on illusions.

However, Hu Yang is not just a recorder of Shanghai people's daily life. All through the years, many photographers either intentionally or unintentionally have taken pictures of diverse families in Shanghai for newspapers or reports, whose significance fades away with the time.

Hu Yang is one of the few photographers who have unique image language and photography concepts. His pictures are contradictions: stillness reveals a drastically changing vanity fair; silence tells the hurly-burly and restlessness of the exterior world; and spatial extensity reflects the history. His pictures can help us break away from the actual uproaring society and calm down into quiet inner world for autocriticism. Pictures declare internal conflicts of verbal and visual images. With these pictures, Hu Yang critically calls in question the present world, which can not be achieved by cursory shade and shadow technology.

Only by regarding Hu Yang's pictures as a whole can we comprehend what they actually imply. Diverse Shanghai families are not direct records of the exterior world, people with different social status, age and feature, race, nationality and gender live in Hu's camera world. Either capacious or narrow, either luxurious or simple, either magnificent or cozy, these families compose the multiplicity of Shanghai's city life. Various families display diverse innate characters and essential aspects that help to compose this distinctive society. Hu focused on the interactive relation between 'people' and 'families' of this metropolis. Through Hu's camera, people relate their living conditions and testify the life style of an age.

Therefore, Hu Yang has a special power in connecting isolated families into serial images that are seemingly talking to each other. All these families once confronted the same camera and answered the same questions, and their pictures were developed in the same darkroom. No matter which family they come from, they are now presented in pictures of the same size. In Hu Yang's image world, people from different social classes are equally treated and valued. With his photography art, Hu Yang reconstructed Shanghai's social relations.

This might be Hu Yang's subconscious photography ideal: to create an 'Image Utopia' of Shanghai. People with different social identities become citizens of his Utopian world where they can enjoy equal rights. With these symbolic images, Hu Yang reveals his art ideal of equality and realism.