

北京建筑
Architecture in Beijing
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标准营造——建造中
standardarchitecture – In Construction



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建筑与都市
中文版 09:08
Architecture and Urbanism
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北京建筑·标准营造——建造中

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5

最新信息：扎哈·哈迪德设计北京朝阳门SOHO三期 / 曼谷腾升：奥雷·舍人（OMA）设计的MahaNakhon即将动工 / GDC Awards全球公开征集现已启动

专辑一：北京建筑

9

论文：北京进行时：社会政治语境下开发商与建筑师的动态
范凌 / 克雷西卡·布雷泽 / 林达

16

齐欣建筑

似合院

24

SAKO建筑设计工社

北京冲击

30

非常建筑

用友软件园I号研发中心

34

直向建筑

华润置地广安门生态展廊

38

Thanlab工作室

中国油画院

44

场域建筑

伊比利亚当代艺术中心

48

DnA工作室

小堡驿站

54

对谈：钟中之云——一场关于北京城市肌理的虚构对话

60

印西河设计

瑞士大使馆签证处扩建

64

维思平建筑设计

中信国安会议中心庭院式客房

72

华黎 / UAS普筑设计事务所

UAS普筑设计事务所厂房改造

76

马晓威 / 马斯特优建筑设计事务所

“住在天堂”

80

在场建筑

公寓3E

84

访谈：潘公凯 / 许洋 / 林铭述 / 魏晓平

专辑二：标准营造——建造中

90

座谈：标准营造——建造中

94

雅鲁藏布江小码头

100

南迦巴瓦接待站

106

南迦巴瓦雪山冥想台

108

青城山石头院

114

华润武汉“跳舞的书本”双塔

116

都市后院

120

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5

Currents: Chaoyangmen SOHO III in Beijing by Zaha Hadid / Bangkok Rising: Construction to Begin on MahaNakhon by Ole Scheeren (OMA) / A Global Call for GDC Awards

Feature 1: Architecture in Beijing

9

Essay: Becoming Beijing: Developer-Architect Dynamics in Socio-Political Context

Ling Fan / Cressica Brazier / Tat Lam

16

QiXin Architects and Engineers

Somehow Courtyard

24

SAKO Architects

BUMPS in Beijing

30

Atelier FCJZ

Ufida R&D Center

34

Vector Architects

CR Land Guanganmen Green Technology Showroom

38

Thanlab Office

Chinese Academy of Oil Painting

44

Approach Architecture Studio

Iberia Center for Contemporary Art

48

DnA_Design and Architecture

Xiaopu Culture Center

54

Conversation: The Cloud in the Clock – A Fabricated Dialogue on Beijing

60

EXH design

Embassy of Switzerland, Extension of Visa Section

64

WSP Architects

Courtyard Suites of Spring Valley Resort

72

Li Hua / Universal Architecture Studio

UAS Architect's Office – Refurbishment of a Warehouse

76

Xiao Wei Ma / MASAA

“Living in Heaven”

80

SPACEWORK Architects

Apartment 3E

84

Interview: Gongkai Pan / Yang Xu / Mingshu Lin / Xiaoping Wei

Feature 2: standardarchitecture – In Construction

90

Conversation: standardarchitecture – In Construction

94

Yarlung Zangbo Boat Terminal

100

Namchabawa Visitor Center

106

Namchabawa Contemplation

108

Qingcheng Mountain Stone Courtyard

114

“Dancing Books” Towers, CR Land Wuhan

116

Urban Backyard

120

Vanke “An” Club House



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Chaoyangmen SOHO III in Beijing by Zaha Hadid

扎哈·哈迪德设计北京朝阳门SOHO三期

Zaha Hadid was invited to design Chaoyangmen SOHO III project in Beijing, China, and the design plan was announced to the public recently. Located on the westside of East 2nd Ring Road in Chaoyang area, the building complex with a total area of 334,000 m² consists of 4 blocks, including offices, business facilities, a linear park, a central court and surrounding greens. Zaha Hadid strategically creates a spectacular complex by integrating individual buildings. Each building has its atriums and communication core which are united at different layers, forming a flowing space and outdoor terraces. A central street run through the complex from north to south links phase I and II of the Chaoyangmen SOHO project in the back. It not only guides the visitors go through the site, but also maintain the penetration of the site from west to east. Zaha Hadid said that this complex presents the new architectural form of the 21st century which is also a new interpretation of Beijing by the world.

扎哈·哈迪德应邀设计位于北京的朝阳门SOHO三期项目, 设计方案于日前公布。这一庞大的建筑群位于朝阳门区域东二环路西侧, 总建筑面积为334,000m², 由四个流动体块组成, 包括写字楼、商业设施、一个线形公园、周边绿地和中央庭院。

在建筑设计上, 扎哈·哈迪德通过对单体的整合营造出一个壮观的整体, 每栋建筑个体均有它的中庭和交通核心, 且在不同层面上相融合, 创造出流动的空间景致和室外平台。贯穿建筑群南北的中央大道在背面把朝阳门SOHO的一期、二期连接起来, 并引导人流穿越基地, 同时也维

持了对基地东、西两面的渗透性。

扎哈·哈迪德称, 这个建筑群体现了21世纪新的建筑形态, 这种形态也是世界对北京的全新理解。

Bangkok Rising: Construction to Begin on MahaNakhon by Ole Scheeren (OMA)

曼谷腾升: 奥雷·舍人(OMA)设计的MahaNakhon即将动工

Bangkok, Thailand – Beginning in Fall 2009, the city of Bangkok – home to an estimated 15 million people – will start to embrace an unprecedented new architectural manifestation of its extraordinary “inner world” when construction begins on MahaNakhon, a dazzling tower designed by German architect Ole Scheeren, Partner of the Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMA). With MahaNakhon, Scheeren has crafted a gleaming 77-storey skyscraper that will be the tallest building in Thailand’s capital. The design moves beyond the traditional formula of a seamless, inert, glossy totem, and instead actively engages the city: MahaNakhon’s pixilated and carved presence embraces and connects to the surrounding urban fabric rather than overpowering it. The complex, at 150,000m² (approximately 1.6 million squarefeet), to be a lush urban oasis with the Ritz-Carlton residences, public square and five-star Edition Hotel (collaboration with New York’s Ian Schrager) to be completed in 2012.

泰国曼谷, 2009年7月, 由德国建筑师、大都会建筑事务所合伙人奥雷·舍人设计的MahaNakhon大厦即将动工, 曼谷这个容纳了约1,500万人口的城市, 将迎来一个有着丰富内涵的全新建筑形式。

舍人设计了许多地标建筑, 此次他

设计的77层MahaNakhon大厦将成为泰国最高楼, 其设计超越了传统模式的平整、笨重和矫饰, 代之以积极融入城市的态度: 它的出现经过精心组合和研究, 与周边城市景观相互连接融洽而非自成一体。闪闪发亮的叠积表皮、阳台及悬空部分共同营造了一种数码像素的效果, 让人遥想起远古山体地形的不规则形态。在建筑中融入地理学构思, 用于传达泰国社会的活力、高密度和包容性, 同时也预示着曼谷作为真正国际大都会的崛起, 正好应对MahaNakhon一词的泰文寓意“大都会”。

这个建筑综合体设计总面积约为150,000m², 由繁华的都市绿洲、丽思卡尔顿公寓、公共广场以及与纽约伊恩·施拉格公司合作的五星级限量版酒店组成, 工程预计于2012年完工。

A Global Call for GDC Awards

GDC Awards全球公开征集现已启动

This international competition aims to fire the public enthusiasm for design and to improve the entire designing level. It is totally open to designers, students and people interested in design all over the world. It is a complex communication platform including contests, lectures, forums and so on. The jury panel is composed of over 30 designers, curators, critics, educators and chief editors from 16 countries and districts. The entries cover six categories of graphic design, advertising design, interactive design, product design, spatial design and synthesized design. All anticipants can enter the website for direct on-line registration. More information to see: gdc.sgda.cc

这是一个完全开放的国际设计竞赛, 面向全球学生、设计师和爱好设计的普通大众, 作为复合型交流平台, 它包含竞赛、讲座、论坛、工作营、研讨会等活动, 旨在推动全民对设计的热情, 提高整体设计水平。本次竞赛的评审团由来自全球16个国家和地区的30多位跨界人士组成, 包括设计师、策展人、设计评论家、设计教育者和杂志主编。参赛作品涉及平面、广告、交互、产品、空间以及综合六大类别, 有意者可通过网络报名参赛。

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Below left: Interior image of the central court, Chaoyangmen SOHO III by Zaha Hadid. Image courtesy of SOHO China. Above right: General image of MahaNakhon by Ole Scheeren (OMA). Image courtesy of OMA.

左下: 北京朝阳门SOHO三期建筑群中庭效果图, 扎哈·哈迪德设计; 右上: MahaNakhon大厦全景效果图, 奥雷·舍人(OMA)设计。



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站在辉煌的今日，回首走过的10年，凭借对房地产行业的敏感触觉与远见，CIHAF中国住交会完成了从先驱者到领袖者的华丽转身。2009，下一个10年的起首处，CIHAF中国住交会将以义不容辞的担当行业变革者的历史重任。届时，

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Feature 1:

Architecture in Beijing

专辑一：
北京建筑

Being the political and cultural center of China, and a holding city of the 2008 Olympic Games, Beijing has attracted world attention in a time of fast urbanization in China.

In addition to large-scale projects that attracted much the world's attention during the Olympic Games, many medium and small buildings are being constructed rapidly.

Beijing is not only a stage for international architectural masters, but also an exhibition space for local architects.

Many Chinese architects who received western education on modern architecture convert their comprehension of modern architecture into practical thinking of spaces, details and architectural functions.

This issue will introduce to the readers some completed works of Beijing in recent years; an essay will discuss developer-architect dynamics in socio-political context; a fabricated dialogue on Beijing's urban fabric, joined by participants from various social backgrounds, will arouse a rethink of urban development among the readers.

(a+u)

(Translated from Chinese by Jian Liu)

在中国城市化进程飞速发展的今天，北京作为中国的政治和文化中心，作为2008奥运会的主办城市，其城市发展的巨大变化令全世界都为之瞩目。

除了奥运期间备受关注的大型建筑项目，诸多中小型建筑亦如雨后春笋般蓬勃生长。

这里不仅是世界建筑大师的舞台，也为本土建筑师们提供了施展的空间。众多接收西方现代建筑教育的中国建筑师们，将他们对现代建筑的理解，转换为对空间、细节和建筑功能更为实际的思考。

本期将向读者介绍近几年北京的部分建成作品；一篇论文将就社会政治语境下开发商与建筑师的动态展开论述；一场由各方人士参与的关于北京城市机理的虚构对话也将引发读者对城市发展的反思。

(编者按)

Essay:

Becoming Beijing: Developer-Architect Dynamics in Socio-Political Context

Ling Fan / Cressica Brazier / Tat Lam

论文:

北京进行时: 社会政治语境下开发商与建筑师的动态

范凌 / 克雷西卡·布雷泽 / 林达

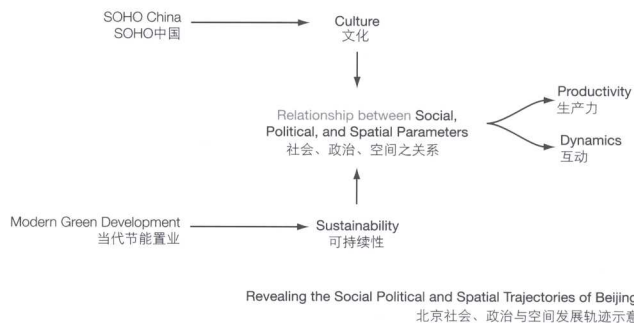
Introduce

The role of the architect has been transformed from craftsman in traditional China, to anonymous architect in Mao's collectivistic age, to individual architect with a strong sense of authorship from the Opening and Reform period until the present. These evolving positions are responses to the socio-political contexts of successive eras. The current era of rapid real estate development, from the late 90s to the new millennium, has further redefined the role of the architect: as with the interaction between architects and developers throughout the world, architectural practice is generally considered a service that adds value to real estate products. While architects must act passively to incorporate their ideas into the large-scale construction process, or innovate only with small-scale projects, the superblock planning strategy has empowered developers to construct their mini-cities within the city, or even mini-societies within the urban system. Real estate development is no longer simply a trade that supplies housing, but also a trade that constructs society and culture.

Within the phenomenon of rapid development, however, there are indications of alternative modes of practice, which enlarge the capacity of architects in the socio-spatial construction process. SOHO China and Modern Green Development are two very different development firms that have recently constructed some of the most influential projects in China, focusing on lifestyle branding and sustainability. The developer-architect dynamics, and the potential for architecture's agency within urban-scale production, can be understood by re-examining the transformation of these two developers and their products over the last decade. Each developer began as a conventional participant in Beijing's large-scale planning system, but both have been transformed through their interaction with designers, and have subsequently produced a significant influence on the urban fabric of Beijing. The image-oriented Olympics environment was a critical driver of this moment of development, both catalyzing and complicating the socio-political landscape within which the developers and architects were operating.

MOMA and SOHO beginnings: Pre-Olympic social and political contexts of development

Over the last decade, Beijing's model of rapid development has been dominated by production of image and capacity for the Olympics, but many social problems and much political friction have been introduced by this event-oriented process of development. Within this context, both SOHO and MOMA took their first steps, with increasing intentionality, towards engaging



This page: Current situation of a residential area in Beijing. p.11: View of the Linked Hybrid's courtyard (Grand MOMA), designed by Steven Holl. All photos on pp.9-11 by Cressica Brazier and Tat Lam.

本页: 北京某居住区现状。
11 页: “联接复合体”(当代 MOMA) 内部庭院, 斯蒂文·霍尔设计。

architectural design as the medium and object of the negotiation process between development and the capital's socio-political issues.

Since its first land acquisition outside Dongzhimen in 2000, the Modern Green Development has undergone a remarkable transformation from conventional developer to a recognized leader in sustainable real estate, in concert with the firm's negotiations with world-renowned architects of multiple construction phases. Then named the Modern Development Company, the firm purchased the land of the Beijing First Paper Mill factory for 8 billion RMB and started the first phase of Wanguocheng MOMA (Mega Hall MOMA). Historically, a river and a railway penetrated the site for industrial use, separating the factory into two parts, the southern and northern zones. The train tracks provided the path for the new airport highway connection, thus positioning the site as a prominent gateway to the city.

In the decade in which SOHO China has crafted its unique formula, developing "golden parcels" for immediate sale under the "Small Office - Home Office" brand and modern lifestyle image, international and domestic architects have become willing participants. SOHO China's first development project, "New Town" in the Beijing CBD, initiated their strategy of development-for-sale of mixed-use commercial and residential spaces. The architecture and concept both challenged the perceptions of investors, but have now been assimilated into the ethos of the pre-Olympics CBD development: "The residential project did not sell well at first. Pan's sales team struggled with the dual function concept of commercial and residential use. The unique features of SOHO New Town, including its colorful appearance, the spacious floor plans, and an open community design, were new and trendy for China. Eventually the project caught on among the public."¹

MOMA and SOHO becoming: Architects as catalysts of change

The four phases of the Wanguocheng project represent successive periods of China's rapid urban development over the last decade. Even in the first phase at Mega Hall, the developer attempted to incorporate energy-saving technology and the idea of an open community. The second and third phases (Pop MOMA, and MOMA Guojiyusuo) further emphasized energy efficiency in their marketing. These newly-integrated technologies included slab heating and cooling, air-exchange ventilation systems, self-maintaining façades and a solar shading system. The performance of the buildings not only exceeds other modern architecture in China, but also the state's standard. Also in Pop MOMA, the program is slowly hybridizing from purely residential to mixed-use functions. The developer began inviting western architects to lend to MOMA's market edge in the second phase: Pop MOMA (phases II and III) was designed by the Austrian architect Eberle, and Steven Holl created the "Linked Hybrid"² (Grand MOMA, phase IV), with construction beginning in 2003 and completion in 2009.

Holl was retained by the developer after a competition garnered conventional and unsatisfactory results in the call for "green architecture". Notably, the architect's schematic design remained effectively unchanged throughout the design development and construction process. Five different types of sustainable technologies are employed: constant interior humidity and slab-

引言

建筑师的身份回应了时代变迁过程中特定的社会与政治语境：从传统工匠到毛泽东时代集体主义的无名氏，随之演化为改革开放至今的强烈个人著述意识。过去二十年中国房地产业的迅猛发展进一步重新定义了建筑师的职业角色：经济利益驱使下的建筑师与开发商互动中，设计依然是为房地产产品增加附加值的服务性行业。大型项目中，建筑师仅能从设计概念上被动地做一些装饰性介入；大多更积极、更本质的设计策略仅可能存在于小型项目中。反之，经济和政治操作下房地产开发商所采用的大型街区开发规划策略，使开发商有能力在城市之中建造空间上的“微型城市”，甚至在现有社会体系下植入“微型社会”。从这个角度而言，房地产开发不再是单纯协调住房供给的交易，更有可能成为能够构筑社会、文化秩序的“事业”。

快速开发浪潮并不意味着单一的建筑实践模式，激烈的竞争和一系列非常规的实践增加了建筑师参与社会空间构筑的可能性。SOHO中国和当代节能置业是两家各具特色的北京房地产开发公司，分别倡导了生活方式品牌化和可持续居住，两者近年来都打造了中国最具影响力的开发项目。通过观察过去十年两家房地产开发公司本身的策略及其开发产品的演变，我们试图解读开发商与建筑师角色所发生的动态演变，以及建筑作为产生更广泛城市效应（形成“微观城市”和形成“微观社会”）触媒的潜力。任何开发商介入北京大规模开发系统的初始角色都是传统的参与者，正是与建筑师的互动而使其成为对北京城市肌理产生重大影响的促因。以视觉为导向的奥运会大环境恰恰是形成这一开发现象的促因——既催发了社会政治面貌的形成，又使这一进程更加错综复杂。

MOMA 和 SOHO 的开始：奥运前房地产开发的社会和经济语境

过去十年间，北京的快速开发模式迅速形成了与奥运相符的形象和实力，但是以重大事件为导向的开发进程本身存在着大量社会问题和政治摩擦。在这一语境下，SOHO中国和当代节能置业各自迈出了自身发展的第一步，越来越有意识地以“设计介入”作为调解开发过程和社会政治关系的媒介。

自2000年在东直门外首次拿地以来，当代节能置业与国际知名建筑师在项目开发的不同阶段都进行了合作，此设计协作经验明显改变了公司的发展进程——从传统的开发商一跃成为可持续生态住宅开发的领军者。当时的当代房地产公司以八十亿元人民币购入北京造纸一厂的地块，开始了万国城 MOMA 第一期的建设。地块原是工业用地，河流和铁路穿越其中，将工厂分为南北两区；现在，铁轨成为新建的机场高速公路，该地块也随之成为北京对外的重要门户形象。

最近十年 SOHO 中国逐渐形成了独特的商业模式：在“黄金地块”开发“小型办公，家庭办公”（SOHO 模式：商住混合的当代生活模式形象）的项目并迅速销售套现，每一个项目都邀请国内外著名建筑师参与设计。SOHO 中国的第一个开发项目——位于 CBD 的“SOHO 现代城”开启了商住两用空间的开发销售操作模式。当时无论是建筑设计还是销售理念都挑战着投资者的常规认知，现在此方式却同化了前奥运时代 CBD 的开发：“一开始，住宅的销售业绩并不理想，潘石屹的销售团队在商住混合双重功能的概念之中挣扎不已。SOHO 现代城有着独一无二的特色，鲜亮的外表，宽敞的平面还有开放社区的设计对于中国而言是全新的、时髦的。最终，项目在公众间大受欢迎。”¹

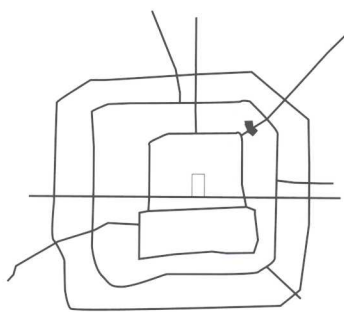
embedded temperature control systems, air exchangers, exterior walls with thermal mass, geothermal wells, and a greywater treatment system. The first two building technologies had already appeared in the previous phases of the development, but the last three systems were introduced by Holl. Through this process, the developer's perception of green architecture was transformed from simple energy-saving techniques to more holistic sustainable systems. This transformation of insight also changed the firm's image and differentiated it from conventional developers. In 2005, the company even reformed its internal structure and changed its name from Modern Development Co. Ltd. to Modern Green Development Co. Ltd. This process has been recognised by Ke Jin, an architect at Modern Green Development: "If you look at our projects, there are changes from Phase I to the present. The changes are about the transformation of our products. And we also changed from a general developer, to the leading developer of sustainable development and architectural design."

The branding of the project has also changed from an "international artistic community" to an "artistic endeavour heralding sustainability". "Technology builds wonderful life" became the slogan of the developer's latest internal publication, *Modern people*. While the development concepts have been transforming, the ideas of the architect have also been disseminated through and impacted the developer's production process. Speaking from one of the Linked Hybrid's bridge during a conference, the director of the technological research department, Wang Zhengyu, introduced the firm's ten production lines. The primary line is generated by Grand MOMA (Linked Hybrid): an experiment in mega-scale housing development, new ecological technologies, and new communities and lifestyles. The hybrid community model of the last line of production has also been taken up as a unique line of research for the developer. Thus, the architects within this process introduced new ideas to challenge the perceptions of the developer. Some of these ideas ultimately have been passed over by both developer and residents in favor of convention, but some of them generated a major impact on the future projects and even the strategic directions of the developer.

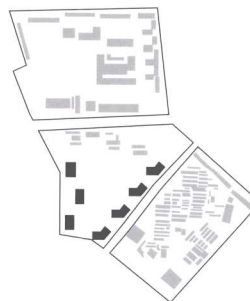
Although Jianwai SOHO followed the same fundamental mixed-use strategy as New Town, the architectural composition and clarity contributed by Riken Yamamoto to this second generation of mixed-use development raised the challenge of the "open community" concept. By creating a successful product with "70-year housing sitting atop retail with only 40 years of land use rights,"³ SOHO China contradicted the government planning strategy, but gained long-term support for its formula that made "open community" development viable via the conversion of commercially-zoned land to mixed use. Successive SOHO projects can be read as derivatives of this trend: SOHO Shangdu, Guanghua Road SOHO, Chaowai SOHO, SOHO Gongguan, SOHO Sanlitun. On this proliferation of the SOHO image, Bert de Muynck aptly observes that "SOHO China sells a dream... Some claim that the acronym also could stand for Starchitects Ornament Harmonious Operations."⁴

MOMA and SOHO transforming: Olympic era social and political challenges

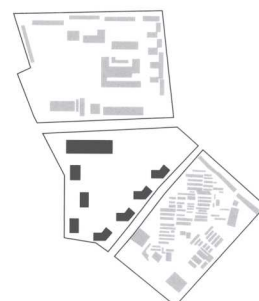
The new airport expressway, constructed in 2007 to bisect MOMA's second and third phases, raised the development to an international level of exposure during the Olympics period. The developer could maximize the visibility of its product as



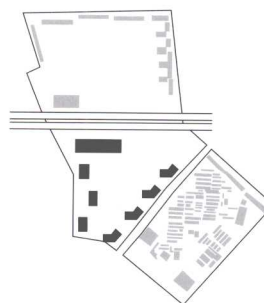
01/2001
北京造纸一厂
Beijing First Paper Mill



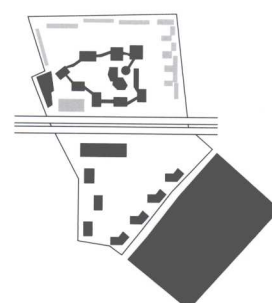
09/2003
万国城MOMA
Wanguocheng MOMA



01/2005
POP MOMA



02/2007
Airport expressway



08/2008
当代MOMA
Grand MOMA
南宿舍区拆迁
Demolition of south housing area



MOMA 与 SOHO 进行时：建筑师成为变革的催化剂

万国城 MOMA 的四期建造跨越了中国城市快速发展十年的不同阶段。从万国城项目第一期 (Mega Hall MOMA) 开始，开发商已经尝试将节能技术与开放社区的概念融入其中。在第二、第三期 (Pop MOMA, MOMA 国际寓所) 的市场营销中则进一步强调了节能技术在居住空间中的重要地位，运用了地板辐射供热制冷、通风换气系统、外墙外保温以及外遮阳系统。这批住宅的性能优于国内其他同类产品，而且超过了国家规范标准。技术更新的同时，当代万国城二期也正逐步实现从纯粹住宅到多功能商住混合的杂糅。开发商通过西方建筑师的参与进一步强化市场优势：万国城 MOMA 第二期和第三期由奥地利建筑师迪特玛·艾柏利设计，而美国著名建筑师斯蒂文·霍尔设计了被称为“联接复合体”² 的万国城 MOMA 第四期（即当代 MOMA），该项目 2003 年开始建造，2009 年正式落成。

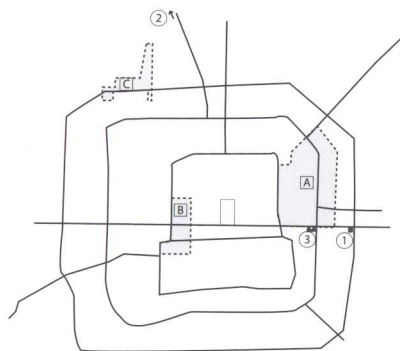
开发商在确定霍尔的方案之前，曾经组织过生态主题的方案投标，设计结果却都显得差强人意。开发商对可持续性的主动诉求使霍尔的设计从设计深化到实施建造都得到了最大程度的尊重。设计中采用了五种不同的节能技术：室内恒湿与楼板内置温控系统、换气系统、外墙外保温、地热井温和中水回收系统。前两项技术已经在前几期中应用，另外三项则由霍尔引进。在实现的过程中，开发商对于可持续性建筑的认识也在发生转变——体系化节能系统代替了之前单项或多项节能技术的简单应用。这种观念上的转换改变了当代房地产公司的形象，也使其从传统开发商中脱颖而出。2005 年，当代集团进行内部结构性重组，把公司更名为“当代节能置业股份有限公司”。当代节能置业的建筑师柯谨说：“回顾我们的项目可以发现从第一期到现在发生了一些变化。这些变化是产品上的变化，而我们也从一般的开发商提升成为可持续开发与可持续设计的领先企业。”

这个项目的品牌也由“国际艺术社区”变成为“以艺术创造可持续性的先驱”。“科技建设美好生活”的最新口号出现在了开发商内部刊物《当代人》上。开发商开发理念的变化，代表着建筑师设计思维的传播，影响着开发商的生产过程。在当代 MOMA 的空中公共连廊上举行的一次会议中，当代集团的技术研究部主管王增焜介绍了其公司的十条产品线。而其中最主要的生产线就是由万国城 MOMA 的“联接复合体”衍生而成的，它是大规模住宅区开发、生态新技术、社区新理念和生活方式的全面实验和实践。混合型社区模式开始成为开发商独特的研发路线。在这个过程中，建筑师的空间和社会思考挑战了开发商的固有观念，虽然大多数还并没有被开发商或住户所关注，然而还是对开发商未来的项目和策略发展方向产生了重大的影响。

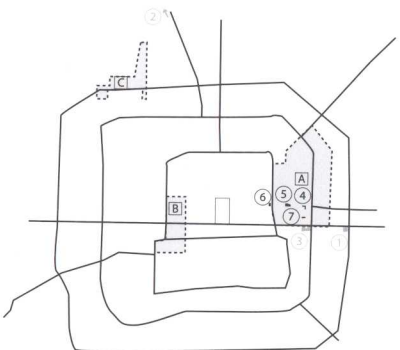
“建外 SOHO”延续了“SOHO 现代城”所采用的商住混合开发模式，但是山本理显的设计所体现的建筑集群性和清晰性却为 SOHO 中国的第二代商住两用开发赋予了具有挑战性的“开放社区”概念。SOHO 中国成功地在“使用年限为 40 年的商业用地上叠加使用年限为 70 年的住宅功能”³。虽然打了政府的规划政策的擦边球，但 SOHO 中国却通过从商业用地到商住混合用地的转换，实现了“开放社区”理念。随后一系列的 SOHO 项目可以被理解为是这一趋势的延续和变异：SOHO 尚都、光华路 SOHO、朝外 SOHO、SOHO 北京公馆、三里屯 SOHO 等。城市研究学者伯特·德·穆恩特在这些蔓延的 SOHO 背后所观察到的是：“SOHO 中国在出售一个梦，有人更将 SOHO 的英文

- A 中央商业区 CBD
- B 金融街 Financial Street
- C 中关村 Zhongguancun

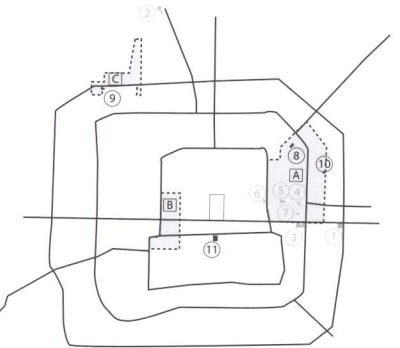
- ① SOHO 现代城 SOHO New Town (1999)
 - ② 长城脚下的公社 Commune by the Great Wall (2001)
 - ③ 建外 SOHO Jianwai SOHO (2002)
 - ④ SOHO 尚都 SOHO Shangdu (2005)
 - ⑤ 朝外 SOHO Chaowai SOHO (2006)
 - ⑥ 朝阳门 SOHO Chaoyangmen SOHO (2006)
 - ⑦ 光华路 SOHO Guanghualu SOHO (2007)
 - ⑧ SOHO 北京公馆 Beijing SOHO Residences
 - ⑨ 中关村 SOHO Zhongguancun SOHO (2008)
 - ⑩ 三里屯 SOHO Sanlitun SOHO (2009)
 - ⑪ 前门 SOHO Qianmen SOHO (2009)
- 年份以开发项目开盘时间为准



SOHO 中国：1999年至2002年发展项目
SOHO China: Development projects from 1999 to 2002



SOHO 中国：2003年至2006年发展项目
SOHO China: Development projects from 2003 to 2006



SOHO 中国：2007年至今发展项目
SOHO China: Development projects from 2007 to present

the gateway to the city, but the visibility also brought social challenges to the area's residents. This story epitomizes the sensitivity of developments to that moment's socio-political context: while driving through on the expressway, a government official discovered the surrounding slum-like housing areas, and was immediately determined to demolish this single-story row housing of the old paper mill, to avoid such a visibly embarrassing entrance to the city for Olympics attendees. The demolition notice was released in October 2007, requiring the factory to complete the demolition process within two months, and allowing enough time to reconstruct the area as a green park. Due to the increased publicity surrounding the internationally-known MOMA project and the politically-sensitive Olympics redevelopment, the 170 relocated families received unprecedented compensation rates. Some families were paid over 1 million RMB for their rooms, leading the factory workers' community to describe them as "overnight millionaires of the factory". The demolition was described as "harmonious and generally without conflicts" by the housing manager of the factory, but the regional social dynamics were changed dramatically after the eradication of the row house community.

Qianmen is a highly political project: the way of life of historical Beijing had left a shadow on this area, but at the same time it represents a new double image of urban renewal and long-standing history. It is precisely this image that Olympic Beijing needed to show to the world audience. The Olympics triggered the renewal and redevelopment of the Qianmen historical district, and provided the project necessary global attention, awareness and financial resources. But the constant revision of the opening date, and the repeatedly questioned development strategy, are reflections of the conflicts of interest between the government and the developers.

The core of the project, on both sides of Qianmen Street, was scheduled for completion before the Olympics, with all stores open for business. As the Olympic torch relay was set to pass through Qianmen Street, the opening deadline was even earlier than planned. But even under normal circumstances, the delays caused by myriad negotiations between the developers and government already prevented completion of the project, especially due to the stalemate of the review process. Although the street was opened briefly for the torch, it was quickly closed afterwards, then opened again during the Games. Because there was no way to carry out construction before and during the Olympics, the whole project remained stagnant for an extended period. The official opening has been repeatedly delayed, with the latest date now set for National Day in 2009.

The "Golden Parcel" of Qianmen Street marks a shift in the developmental strategy of SOHO China. The project has continuously mystified industry observers, especially due to the political complications surrounding the Olympics. Originally, the development was bought into by Pan Shiyi, who "went into the project hoping to save the old district."⁵ When SOHO China set its IPO in Hong Kong, the "Qianmen Street project, as the most unique among parcels listed in the prospectus, was also considered to be the company's most important capital asset. However, after the successful market entry, SOHO China and its shareholders had to face the embarrassment and risk that the government would not approve related transactions."⁶ Thus the Qianmen project suffered many difficulties, mainly relating to SOHO China's foreign investors and listings on foreign exchanges. In view of Qianmen as a highly visible

缩写翻译为明星建筑师装饰下的和谐操作。”⁴

MOMA 与 SOHO 的转变进行时：奥运时期的社会政治挑战

2007 年新建的机场高速公路从万国城 MOMA 第二、第三期地块中穿过，为这个项目在奥运期间带来了广泛的国际关注。开发商可以利用城市门户的优势获得极大的曝光率，但同时也会引起相关的问题：政府发现万国城周围有一块破落区域，是老造纸厂留下的一层住宅，极大影响奥运期间北京的城市形象，因此立即决定予以拆除。拆除公告于 2007 年 10 月发布，要求在两个月内完成拆迁，从而为大型公共绿地建设留下足够的时间。由于万国城的国际知名度和奥运前敏感的政治形势，170 多户居民在获得史无前例的高额补偿后和谐地搬迁，一部分家庭甚至得到了超过一百万元人民币的拆迁费，被称为“一夜暴富的工厂百万富翁”。据厂区物业经理所说，拆迁的过程“很和谐，而且大致上没矛盾”。但是在拆迁之后，区域内的社会关系却发生了巨大的改变。

前门改造同样是奥运前高度“政治化”的开发项目：前门有强烈的老北京生活遗风，改造本身代表了首都北京的“旧貌新颜”——这正是奥运会需要向世人展现的形象。奥运会触发了前门的更新改造与再开发计划，也给予了项目足够的国际关注度、影响力和财政支持。然而，开街日期的一再更改、拖延和不断遭受质疑的商业开发方式和策略反映了政府与开发商之间的利益博弈。

前门大街两侧改造是该项目的核心内容，原计划于奥运会开幕前完成，所有商铺开放营业。后由于奥运会火炬接力需要，开放日期又提前了。可是，即使按照原计划，开发商和政府间无休止的协调，尤其是审核过程的僵局，也会延误最终的时间表。最终，前门大街在奥运火炬接力期间和奥运会期间分别象征性的开门迎客。奥运期间的施工限制使项目长时间停滞，加之奥运后 SOHO 中国和政府就开发和经营权的谈判，也导致正式开街时间一改再改，最新的日期定在 2009 年的国庆。

“黄金地段”前门大街的商业模式是 SOHO 中国开发策略的特例。奥运前后的复杂政治气候使该项目一直扑朔迷离。最早，潘石屹称从政府背景的“天街公司”收购前门项目是“希望拯救老街区”⁵。当 SOHO 中国在香港挂牌上市时，前门被称为“地段独一无二……被认为是公司融资最重要的资产载体”。但是，在上市成功后，“SOHO 中国与全体股东却不得不面对相关股权交易无法如期获得政府批准的尴尬和风险。”⁶ 前门项目困难重重的官方原因主要是由于 SOHO 中国的外资背景和国外上市方式，鉴于该项目属于旧城改造，政府对将股权出售给外资公司心存顾虑。从提倡保护的角度来看又是另一个版本：SOHO 中国的股权转让被“北京市政府永远叫停是因为有触犯保护法规的嫌疑，正在接受调查。”⁷ 但不论哪一种版本，潘石屹都坚称其一贯的“开发销售”的商业模式在前门项目中不再行得通。

前门改造项目与 SOHO 中国一贯的品牌市场策略不同，并没有针对建筑师个体的任何宣传。从其他的媒介中，可以发现三位在各个阶段颇具代表性的建筑师：国家历史文化名城保护专家委员会委员王世仁，现被崇文区政府聘为前门大街历史文化风貌保护顾问，他提出了前门大街改造的基本原则并具有最终方案的专家审批权；北京建工建筑设计研究院副院长边志杰，是前门大街改造规划的主要建筑师，由崇文区政府聘请；以及 SOHO 中国聘请的著名建筑师张永和。SOHO

cultural project of historical city transformation, the government was especially concerned by the sale of its shares to foreign investors. An alternative view of events, from preservationists, claimed the transfer of the holdings to SOHO China had been “blocked permanently by the Beijing city government, which is investigating the project for violating preservation rules.”⁷ In either case, Shiyi Pan’s stated business model, to “develop and sell”, could not be sustained within the structure of the Qianmen project.

Deviating substantially from SOHO’s cultivated branding strategy, the transformation of Qianmen Street has been short on publicity for the architects involved. Three of these architect-actors need to be mentioned: Shiren Wang, a member of the National Expert Committee on the Protection of Historical and Cultural Cities, and now hired by the Chongwen District Government as a consultant to protect the historical appearance of Qianmen Street; Bian Zhijie, the main designer of the Qianmen Street reconstruction plan and the vice president of the Beijing Institute of Architectural Design and Construction; and Yung Ho Chang. After SOHO China took over the design from the Beijing Institute of Architectural Design and Construction, the preliminary plan was completed by the American architects Ben Wood and the South Korean Seung H. Sang. Wood was the designer of the Shanghai and Hangzhou Xintiandi projects, while Seung H. Sang had successfully cooperated with SOHO China on a number of occasions. Later, Tianjin-based Zhou Kai and British architect David Adjaye joined the design team, but the revised plan eventually was not accepted by the Chongwen District Government. At this point, the government encouraged Yung Ho Chang to collaborate with SOHO China, for the second time in the decade since the Commune by the Great Wall project. Chang developed the courtyard as a spatial concept to link commercial functions to tradition; at the same time, due to his academic influence in domestic circles and his family background, Chang himself could serve as the interlocutor between business concerns, government, and preservation experts.

In this highly-politicized development project, the culture and the architect are no longer value-added commercial products; instead they have become the mediators of struggles between commercial and political interests. Courtyard space prototypes and Chang’s cultural status become the means by which the government and business forces are able to balance each other’s expediency.

MOMA, SOHO, and Beijing transformed: unintended consequences of post-Olympics development

The Linked Hybrid, in the remarkable persistence of its integrity from idea to realization, has been recognized as a product of the pre-crisis era. But as Modern Group met significant challenges, it was too young to weather such a financially straining environment; the president, Zhang Lei, even described this period as a “harsh winter”. The completion of the Linked Hybrid was visibly slowed, especially in the hotel and serviced apartment towers, due to the necessity of selling most of the remaining towers and retail to new operators. Following the dispersal of investment interests between multiple operators, the concept of the “open community” finally began to break down. In June and July 2009, gates and walls were constructed around both southern and northern zones of the Wanguocheng development. Security guards began enforcing identification checks for residents. At the Linked Hybrid, the developer claims the closure follows the desires of the current residents, but it is more likely that new retail and hotel management clients

中国接手设计后,最初方案由美国建筑师本·伍德和韩国建筑师承孝相等国外建筑师完成。伍德是设计上海和杭州新天地的建筑师,承孝则与 SOHO 中国有过一系列成功的合作。随后,天津建筑师周恺和英国建筑师戴维·阿德迦耶相继加入。但这些建筑师的当代建筑语言却一直无法通过崇文区政府和专家委员的审批。就在这个僵局时刻,政府建议 SOHO 中国与张永和进行合作,同时保持本土性和国际化。这次合作也是张永和与 SOHO 中国在“长城脚下的公社”项目十年之后的第二次合作。他在设计中将中国传统的“庭院”语言作为核心空间的设计概念,融合了当代商业空间与传统建筑空间形成“走街串院”的新商业体验。另外,他的国际学术影响力和家庭背景使他一方面能够协调当代建筑语言与传统空间意象之间的关系,另一个方面也能在开发商商业利益、政府形象需求与保护专家之间建立积极的对话。

SOHO 中国惯用的文化性和明星建筑师策略在这个高度政治化的开发项目中无法提供更多的商业价值,但却转化为斡旋于商业与政治利益之间的协调者。庭院空间原型和张永和的文化作用最终成为在政府与开发商之间获得平衡的权宜之计。

MOMA, SOHO 和北京转型:后奥运时代开发的非预期结果

不论从设计概念还是具体实施,万国城 MOMA 项目在经济危机之前是成功的。危机来临后,当代集团也同样面临着重大挑战,集团主席张雷将这段时期形容为“严冬”。MOMA 项目的完成速度明显减慢,尤其是酒店和服务公寓部分,主要由于桥型公共空间的出售遭遇困境。同时,经营者之间的利益冲突使“开放社区”的空间理想渐渐土崩瓦解。2009 年 6、7 月间终于在南北两侧筑起大门与围墙,保安开始对住户身份进行强制性检查。开发商宣称社区重新封闭源于住户要求,但似乎更是由于新进驻的零售与酒店客户需要更多的监控。无论是“围墙”还是“桥”都承载着自己的象征意义。当代集团的副主席陈音明确提出:“‘围墙’代表边界与防卫,‘桥’则象征着连接与开放。”原设计中所强调的开放连廊作为公共资源,在市场的强势下成为泡影。中国的社区/聚落向来是封闭的系统,建筑单体也常常具有中国传统风格。当代 MOMA 的外部围墙也十分荒谬地被设计为传统的“明式”,这与原设计的空间和视觉初衷完全相悖,“联接复合体”也成为传统围墙之内的一块“飞地”。最终,开发商与物业管理公司还是无法理解没有围墙的潜在价值,住户也因自己居住的小区对周边开放而缺乏安全感。

2008 年房地产市场节奏放缓之前,SOHO 过度饱和的市场和高速的开发销售迅速耗空了 CBD 的土地资源。过快消耗所产生的土地增值导致连潘石屹本人也无法承受,SOHO 陷入了“有钱,却没有项目”的窘境。前门项目也需要策略转向:潘石屹最终放弃使用一贯的开发销售模式,而选择以出租的方式投资这 54,000m² 的商业用地。SOHO 中国挂牌上市后,面对经济和政策的不确定性,当务之急是固定的经济来源。至少前门得天独厚的地理条件和巨大流量为这笔投资保证了不菲且稳定的租金收入。

2009 年的 5 月到 7 月,房地产市场经历了一段小阳春后,SOHO 中国在朝阳门 SOHO 第三期中再度回归由明星建筑师打造项目形象的方式。这次为 SOHO 描绘未来图景的是英国著名建筑师扎哈·哈迪德。

建筑——开发:涌现的实践

在房地产开发的模式中,社会、政治和经济的共同作用为经营

required the added levels of control. Both the wall and the bridge possessed their own symbolism. Chen Yin, the vice president of Modern group, clearly observed that the wall represents border and defence, and the bridge represents linkage and openness. The original design emphasized the opening of the bridges as a public resource, but market forces rendered this raised public space unrealistic. Community in China has been perceived as closed system, and architecture has been expected to incorporate the Chinese style. Thus the open site of the Linked Hybrid has become an enclave within a newly-constructed wall – in the Ming style. Ultimately, the developer and management office could not perceive the value of a wall-less community, and residents perceived a lack of safety when confronted with access by surrounding communities.

Before the market slowdown in 2008, the overall saturation and accelerated sale of SOHO projects was rapidly consuming all the land resources in the CBD. SOHO found itself with “too much money, but no projects”, by contributing to the appreciation of land prices that became prohibitive even to Shiyi Pan. The Qianmen project also required a shift of strategy: Shiyi Pan finally determined to opt out of the transformation project, instead investing in 54,000 m² of commercial property, not for sale, but only for lease. After its stock market listing, and in the face of financial and regulatory uncertainty, SOHO China required a stable source of income. Such an unreplicable and high-traffic area would at least ensure a high rental income for its portfolio.

From May to July 2009, the real estate market again neared pre-crisis levels. With this recent market shift, and in the face of critique of its pitfalls, SOHO China has become determined to return to starchitect-driven image-making with renewed intensity, in the third phase of Chaoyangmen SOHO. This time, it is Zaha Hadid who has produced SOHO's futuristic image.

Emergent practices of architecture-development

In the typical real estate development model, society, policy, and the economy collectively generate a set of norms and perceptions for the operators, such as developers and end users, to follow. The “open community” of MOMA eventually could not resist the conservative perceptions of the developer and the users. And in practice, the new lifestyle models proposed by SOHO cannot avoid conflict between the interests of the management, the users, and in the case of Qianmen, the government's perceptions and expectations for redevelopment. However, the participation of the architect is expanding the limitations of perception of both developers and users, by providing alternative solutions, which in turn transform the socio-spatial development of Beijing. In the case of MOMA, the developer intentionally learned from the Linked Hybrid concept and disseminated sustainability through its other production lines. For SOHO China, the strong image and branding of the new “open community” model has not only been intentionally replicated in Beijing's CBD to the point of saturation, but it has also been duplicated by other developers in smaller cities, preceding SOHO's expansion outside of Beijing. These reciprocal relationships between the developers, architects, and their operational contexts are continuously generating new concepts of urbanism in Beijing, which also becomes the constantly updated new context for understanding the social-political aspect of Beijing's architectural and urban.

者设定了一套必须跟从的名词和挂念, 开发商、终端用户都在其列。MOMA 所倡导的“开放社区”最终敌不过开发商和用户的传统思维。在实践中, SOHO 引导的新生活方式最终也不可避免管理方, 使用方的矛盾, 在前门项目中, 还有政府的考虑以及再开发的期望。但是建筑师的参与却以提供不同解决方案的方式拓展着开发商和使用者的认知边界, 反过来作用于北京城市空间的开发。在 MOMA 的案例中, 开发商以国际化的视野汲取了“互连建筑综合群”的想法, 并且将可持续发展的理念广泛应用到其他的产品线上。之于 SOHO 中国, 新型“开放社区”浓重的图景和强烈的品牌意识不仅被刻意地复制到北京的 CBD 区域直至饱和, 甚至被其他开发商照搬到其它小型城市, 在北京之外拓展 SOHO 的新领域。开发商、建筑师之间的互惠关系, 还有他们各自的运作方式, 不断地生成北京城市化的新概念, 同时, 也更新着在社会政治大环境下人们对北京城市和建筑的理解。

(周渐佳译)

Note

- 1) Yongqing Ji, “SOHO China and Real Estate Economics 101”, www.cbfeature.com, March 15th, 2009.
- 2) the Chinese translation of “Linked Hybrid” refers to “Linked Hybrid – Steven Holl's L'Unité d'Habitation de Marseille” by Jian Shi, *T+A*, No.2, 2009.
- 3) Jianfeng Zhang, “70-year Land-use Right Results In False Property Right of Private House”, *China Economic Times*, July 20th, 2005.
- 4) Bert de Muynck, “SOHO China's New Futurism”, www.artforum.com.cn, July 10th, 2009.
- 5) Ian Johnson and Jason Leow, “Builder Soho China Stumbles in Beijing”, *Wall Street Journal*, December 24th, 2008.
- 6) SOHO News Center, www.sohochina.com/news, June 10th, 2009.
- 7) Ian Johnson and Jason Leow, “Builder Soho China Stumbles in Beijing”, *Wall Street Journal*, December 24, 2008.

注释

- 1) 冀勇庆著, “SOHO 中国和房地产经济学 101”, www.cbfeature.com, 2009 年 3 月 15 日。
- 2) 本文对 “Linked Hybrid” 的翻译按照史建在《时代建筑》上文章《联接复合体——霍尔的马赛公寓》, 译为 “联接复合体”。
- 3) 章剑锋著, “70 年土地使用权造成私房假产权”, 《中国经济时报》, 2005 年 7 月 20 日。
- 4) 伯特·德·穆恩特著, “SOHO 中国的新未来主义”, www.artforum.com.cn, 2009 年 7 月 10 日。
- 5) 伊恩·约翰逊、贾森·利奥威著, “SOHO 中国的创建者在北京受挫”, 《华尔街日报》, 2008 年 12 月 24 日。
- 6) 引自 SOHO 新闻中心, www.sohochina.com/news, 2009 年 6 月 10 日。
- 7) 伊恩·约翰逊、贾森·利奥威著, “SOHO 中国的创建者在北京受挫”, 《华尔街日报》, 2008 年 12 月 24 日。

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QiXin Architects and Engineers

Somehow Courtyard
Beijing, China 2008

齐欣建筑
似合院
中国, 北京 2008



Aerial night view of Somehow Courtyard. All photos on pp. 16-23 courtesy by QiXin Architects and Engineers.

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