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Tall Versus Old? The Role of Historic Preservation in the Context of Rapid Urban Growth

超高层&老建筑？历史保存在城市发展中的作用



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Sabina Uffer毕业于伦敦经济学院，并获得博士学位。现任标赫公司研究部主管一职，主要侧重于对城市政策法规指引，房地产开发，及交通市政基础设施方面的可持续发展与可适应性规划方面的研究工作。在加入标赫公司之前，就职于伦敦经济学院城市项目发展部，主要研究城市的适应性性与城市形态和治理及政府对地区发展的影响，曾分别以香港、新加坡、纽约、巴黎、伦敦、还有柏林等几个完全不同的城市为例进行比较研究。她的博士论文最终选取了柏林这个城市作为研究课题，主要研究柏林的城市住房供应从政治决策影响到国有住房私有化的发展并将其发展成为房地产私募股权基金。

Abstract | 摘要

As cities aspire to become global metropolises, older low-rise structures are getting torn down to make room for new, often tall, buildings and neighborhoods. What does this mean for preservation? This paper investigates historic preservation in New York, Berlin, and Beijing. All three cities are at a turning point in deciding how their past should be remembered, while capitalizing on tall building technologies that can attract businesses and residents. Beijing is rapidly razing the architecture of its long history. New York developed a complex regulatory framework for a balance between preservation and growth. Berlin is continuing to debate which history is worth preserving. How did historic preservation develop and what ultimately gets preserved? How are buildings and neighborhoods preserved, and how are newer and taller buildings integrated? What is the value of preservation? This paper reflects on these questions and discusses the potential of learning from each city's experience.

Keywords: Beijing, Berlin, Historic Preservation, Landmarks, New York, Tall Buildings

随着城市渴望成为全球大都市，旧的低层建筑逐渐被拆除取而代之的是新的超高层建筑和社区的同时，古迹保护究竟意味着什么呢？本文选取了三个不同的城市纽约、柏林和北京就历史古迹保护等进行剖析和探讨。这三个城市都面临着一个转折点即应该如何记住过去的同时充分利用新的超高层建筑可以吸引更多的企业人才发展地区经济。北京正在迅速的被夷为平地的同时抹去悠久的历史。纽约在指定了一系列复杂的监管框架下围护着保存历史古迹和增长之间的平衡。柏林继续在辩论着历史到底该不该值得保留。历史街区如何发展和保存？如何将新的超高层建筑与历史古迹相融合？保留的价值到底有多少？本文就这些问题，总结分析每个城市的经验教训，进行了深入的学习和探讨。

关键词：北京、柏林、历史保护、历史街区、纽约、高层建筑

Introduction

In the wake of rapid urban growth, historic preservation seems like a luxury that some cities might not be able to afford. Economic and population growth leads to the pressure to replace old, low-rise buildings with economically more efficient buildings that are often much taller. The question is, how can cities embrace these new and iconic tall structures, while retaining historic buildings and neighborhoods and the charm that comes with them? How does this conflict between tall versus old or economic value versus cultural value play out in different cities across the globe?

This paper compares and contrasts the various approaches and experiences to historic preservation in the cities of New York, Beijing, and Berlin. New York City's extensive regulatory and institutional framework continuously tries to strike a balance between historic preservation and growth, creating an eclectic urban fabric that mixes old buildings with increasingly tall structures. Since China's opening to the global economy, Beijing,

简介

随着城市的高速发展，文物保护就像是一个城市可能无法负担得起的奢侈品一样。人口与经济的迅猛增长带来的压力导致老旧低矮的建筑不得不被更多高效率的高层建筑所代替。那么，如何将新的地标性建筑在展现他们的魅力的同时又可与周边建筑更好的融合，既保留其历史建筑风格又能与社区周边建筑交相呼应？如何解决世界各地不同城市间，高层建筑与老旧低矮建筑间的冲突，以及更好的平衡因此而产生的在经济价值与文化价值间的冲突问题？

本文选取了纽约，北京和柏林三个这城市为例，采用比较对比的方式展现每个城市对历史文物是如何进行保护的。纽约采用折中的方式，设立严格的监管法制即发展经济又保护历史文化古迹，善于采用混搭的模式将老建筑与新建筑结构相结合。北京是三个城市中最老的城市，自从改革开放以来，为发展超高层新建筑创造更多的空间北京大部分老旧城区已被夷为平地，虽然如今政府部门和规划部门的专家已经认识到这样大张旗鼓的改造对历史文化的保护极为不利，但在决策过程中城市发展仍然占主导地位。与纽约和北京相比之

the oldest of the three cities discussed in this paper, has razed large parts of its old city to make space for new high-rise developments. While Beijing authorities and planning experts have awakened to the value of historic preservation in recent years, development pressures still dominate the city's decision-making processes. In contrast to New York City and Beijing, Berlin had swaths of land available for development after the destruction it experienced during its turbulent twentieth century. Debate there is less about tall versus old, and more about what parts of that century's history should be preserved.

This paper will analyze these approaches and experiences through the lens of four questions. First, the paper looks at the historical development of preservation and asks how, during the twentieth century, each city approached the urban fabric constructed in previous eras. Without going into the regulatory details of each city, the three examples show that the political ideology that reigned in these cities during the twentieth century had a significant influence on their respective approaches to historic preservation – an influence that continues today. Second, the paper asks which, and how, buildings and neighborhoods are being preserved. Are landmarks and historic districts frozen in time or do regulatory frameworks allow for a balance between historic preservation and economic growth, through the modernization and adaptive reuses of buildings or the integration of newer and taller structures into neighborhoods?

Historic preservation is always also a question of value. Is the economic value of a potential development on a plot of land higher than the cultural and economic value of the preserved urban fabric? Additionally, how has preservation changed the value of these neighborhoods? Often the charm of historic districts creates some of the most valuable patches in a city, which, as a result, may render them no longer affordable to those that once kept them alive. Finally, if preservation leads to higher property values in the historic districts, this paper asks if preserving the urban fabric is enough or if there is a need to protect the social fabric – the types of businesses and people that are in danger of being displaced by increasing property values. After looking at each of the cities individually, these four questions are revisited in a comparative way to draw lessons for cities grappling with similar issues.



Figure 1. Several supertall buildings, such as the pictured 111 West 57th Street tower built in the courtyard of the iconic Steinway building, are rising in Midtown Manhattan, as the area is not designated as a historic district; thus, an eclectic mixture of old and new buildings is created. (Source: JDS)

图1. 虽然某些区域并不属于历史街区，但是由于一些超高层建筑成为地标性建筑后却大大提升了该区域的升值价值，如图所示曼哈顿区西第57街111号高塔。(来源: JDS)

New York City – Creating an Eclectic Mix of Old and New

For New York City, 2016 is the year of supertall buildings. In recent years, the city has seen several tall buildings rising, including One World Trade Center. However, this year's construction of six buildings of 300-plus-meters nearly doubles the total number of such buildings from seven to thirteen. Most of these new buildings have replaced Midtown Manhattan's low-rise, 19th-century structures, despite preservationists' concerns that Midtown will soon reach "a tipping point in which the architectural mix of old and new is lost to a wash of sparkly glass" (Kaysen 2015: 2). Indeed, the battle over preservation versus development in Midtown is only the most recent example of a fifty-year-long battle between the two (Figure 1).

The development of New York City has always been based on the maxim of transformation in the name of growth and capital accumulation. The only constant is change. Some areas of the city, especially those parts along the waterfront where the city continually expanded, have been reinvented five or more times in the last 300 years (Tung 2001). Historic preservation, however, is relatively new. In 1956, New York State passed a law to enable designation of historic landmarks and districts. It took the much-regretted demolition of Penn Station in 1963 for New York City to pass its own legislation and establish the Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC). Since then, the Commission, appointed by the Mayor, has held extensive power in designating individual landmarks or entire districts,

下，柏林在经历了动荡的二十世纪后拥有了大量的可供开发的土地资源，他们的冲突不在于对新与老建筑的争论，而是对于那个时期的历史到底要不要保留的问题。

本文将通过4个视角进行剖析。首先，本文着眼于如何就历史发展的进行历史文化的保护，在二十世纪每个城市建设发展都主要追溯于以往的时代。无需进入每个管制城市的细节，以3个城市为例，看这些城市二十世纪在各自不同的政治意识形态的笼罩下，如何采取措施进行历史保护，有的甚至延续至今。其次，哪些建筑物或社区需要被保护。是保留原有的旧的带有历史性的地标性建筑物或街区，还是允许在监管的框架下，通过现代化技术让老旧建筑重新被利用，或者通过整合新的高层建筑结构与之更好的融入历史保护区整体风格，使经济发展与历史保护相平衡？

对于历史性的保护归根结底是价值问题。到底为了保留历史文化而保护建筑本身的价值大，还是土地商业化后拆除原有建筑在该地皮上重新规划新的超高层建筑带来的经济发展价值更大呢？而该如何改变这些街区的保存价值？一般说来，历史文化古迹所体现的价值魅力将给这个城市带来更宝贵的东西，一旦被保存下来其价值远远超乎想象。最后，本文设想：如果在保存历史街区的同时将一些非物质文化遗产等一起保留下来，如一些古老的社会结构形式像人们传统的生活方式及如何进行通商的，保存了这些可能远比房屋所带来的价值更具深远意义。纵观城市发展，每个城市都有着其自身的特点及文化体现，对每一个城市来说应吸取经验教训，本文将从这4个视角加以分析比较。



Figure 2. The transformation of a Tobacco Warehouse, keeping its original brickwork and scenic archways, into the state of the art, flexible St. Ann's theatre space. (Source: Dustin Nelson)
图2. 圣安仓库原址为一个烟草仓库，经过改造后外部结构仍然采用之前的砌砖和拱形门窗结构，改造为圣安灵活多样的艺术画廊兼戏剧殿堂。（来源：Dustin Nelson）

representing a special historical, cultural, or aesthetic value to the city, state, or nation. Once a building or district is designated, its owners are required to seek approval from the Commission for any alteration, construction, or demolition they desire to make on-site and the Commission must consider if these would destroy the site's protected values (Mason 2009). In addition to the City's Landmarks Preservation Commission are State and National Historic Preservation Commissions that recognize buildings and areas with historic merits. In contrast to the City's designation status, such designations do not restrict changes, but provide financial incentives such as tax abatements and grants for their preservation. These incentives have helped further the adaptive reuse of historical buildings, such as the transformation of abandoned warehouse buildings into residential lofts or cultural spaces (Figure 2).

With some of the most extensive legislation on historical preservation in the country, New York City has over 1,300 individual landmarks and 114 historic districts. In Manhattan alone, 27 percent of buildings are either in an historic district or have landmark status (New York Times 2015). While many New Yorkers complain that preservation has

taken a back seat to economic development pressures and affordable housing provision, property owners and developers balk at the high costs imposed by the preservation rules. By and large, however, the regulatory and institutional framework has provided a workable balance between the need to preserve the city's great architecture and its need to grow and evolve.

New York City's interesting mixture of new, often tall, buildings and low-rise historic buildings has to do with the particular mechanism of air rights transfers. These represent a compromise between the interest in preserving the historic structure and the constitutional right that ensures that property owners are not denied a return on their investment (Tung 2001). This mechanism allows property owners of historic landmarks to sell the unused development potential (as defined in zoning laws) to adjacent or nearby plots. The transfer of these so-called air rights (based on the volume able to be built above a landmarked property) creates New York City's unique mixture of new, high-rise and old, low-rise buildings and helped save structures such as Grand Central Terminal and, more recently, the elevated railroad that was turned into the new High Line park. (Figure 3)

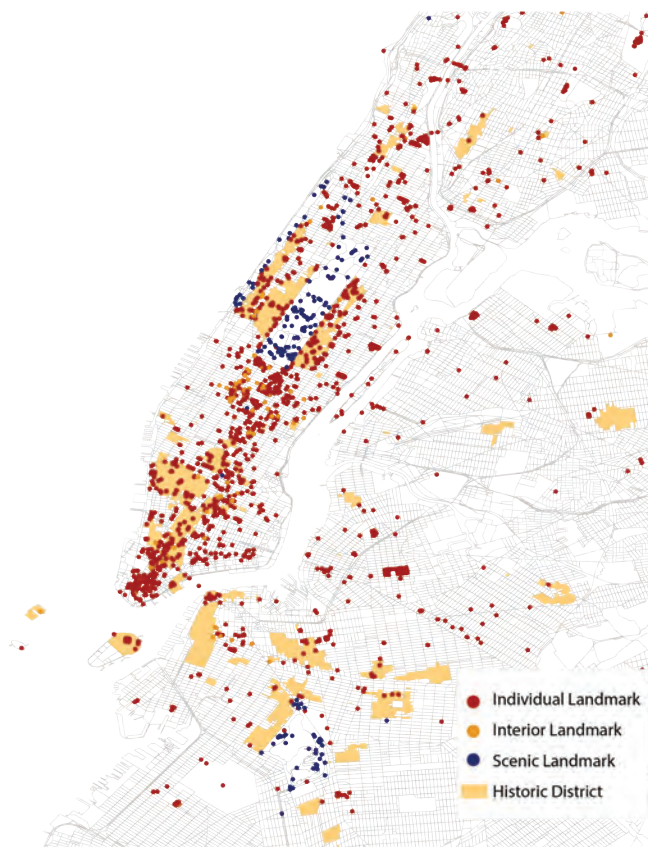


Figure 3. Both the buildings of a historic district and the individual landmarked structures are regulated the same way, except that individual landmarks outside of historic districts can sell the air rights to buildings. (Source: BuroHappold)
图3. 建筑在历史街区和纪念性地标的监管方式都是一样的，除了地标性建筑和历史街区以外的其他区域可以适当的开发建筑空间所有权。（来源：BuroHappold）

纽约：创造不拘一格的建筑混搭派

2016对于纽约来说是超高层的一年。近几年来，超高层在城市中迅速崛起，这其中包括新世贸中心大厦的建成。这一年里300米以上的建筑就新增了6个，数量成倍增长从之前的7座一下子达到了13座之多。如曼哈顿市，原19世纪低矮型的老旧建筑就被越来越多的超高层所取代了，尽管地方保护主义者非常担心这样发展下去，“老旧建筑将会逐渐迷失在高新闪亮的玻璃幕墙下” (Kaysen 2015: 2)。最近50年里地方历史文物保护派与开发派之间的战争愈演愈烈（图1）。

纽约市的发展始终以“增长和资本积累”为信条，以不变应万变。在城市的一些区域，特别是那些沿河区域，随着城市不断扩张，300年来已经历了五次改造，有的甚至经历了更多次改造(Tung 2001)。然而，对于历史性保护的理念的提出相对较新。1956年纽约州通过了一项法律关于对历史古迹和纪念性标志性建筑的规定。纽约市更为了宾州车站拆迁一事在1963年通过立法机构并特意成立了地标建筑保护委员会(LPC)。自此由市长任命的委员会，拥有广泛的权力，可以根据地标或地区的特殊历史性，文化性，还是审美价值性而确定其是否具有保护性。如果一个建筑物或社区的业主主要进行改造或拆迁等，必

Despite the frequent complaints of developers and property owners that preservation costs are stifling economic growth, research has shown that historic preservation not only has cultural value, but also has economic value in New York City. Uplifts in property value and neighborhood desirability more than offset the costly effort to restore and retain historical structures (New York City Independent Budget Office 2003). Designated historic districts such as Greenwich Village, Soho, or parts of Tribeca are now some of the most expensive areas in the city.

Beijing – Saving the Historic Core

Beijing has experienced same rate of development that New York City has experienced over the course of a century, in just under a decade. Perhaps not surprisingly, the replacement of low-rise structures with tall buildings has spurred historic preservation concerns. Beijing's approach to historic preservation in the twentieth century was first influenced by the planning doctrines of the Soviet Union, which were fundamentally anti-conservationist. This allowed for the gradual erosion of city wall, the destruction of numerous historic assets, as well as zoning for high-rise development along the broad avenues. Traditional archways along the city's roads and the great gateways to the city were destroyed to enlarge road networks (Tung 2001). Following the political break with the Soviet Union, Mao's Cultural Revolution during the 1960s and 1970s led to the mass destruction of historical artifacts – and human lives – and hindered any reform to support historic preservation.

One could, however, argue that market forces, in the absence of a communist state, might have destroyed much more of the historic fabric much earlier (Abrahamson 2007). Traditional courtyard houses – known as “hutongs” – could be adapted to the needs of the communist proletariat, and therefore survived. Relatively modest houses were organized around a single courtyard and traditionally occupied by merchants or doctors. Likewise, houses organized around several courtyards were reserved for the aristocracy. During the communist era, hutongs could be easily adapted for mass housing, creating dense communities where several families shared one courtyard (Tung 2001) (Figures 4 and 5).

In the 1980s, when China recognized Beijing as a center for culture and tourism, appreciation for some historical structures was developed and landmark conservation laws were instituted – at least on paper. This meant height regulations for the Old City of Beijing, designations of cultural assets such

须要提交保护委员会，委员会必须审核评估该建筑物或地区的历史保存性(Mason 2009)。除了标志性建筑保护委员会是国家和国家历史保护委员会承认建筑和地区历史性的优点，各州或地区可以根据城市设计的现状，提供相应的经济激励措施，如税收减免或相应的补助措施。这些激励措施有助于将历史建筑的被再次利用，如将废弃的仓库建筑改造为住宅阁楼或文化空间（图2）。

随着一些在建筑保护方面的立法相继出台后，纽约市已经有1300幢房屋成为地标性建筑以及114个历史文化街区受到保护。仅曼哈顿地区，27%的建筑具有保存价值或是成为地标性建筑（纽约时报2015）。虽然许多的纽约人在抱怨说，建筑保护政策法规将会带来经济的发展滞后及房屋供应的压力，还会增加业主和开发商的更高的投资围护等成本。但总的来说，在地方严格的监管制度框架下既要保证经济增长的需要还要做到城市建设的保护，使其二者平衡发展。

纽约更关心如何使高层建筑与低矮的历史性地标建筑之间的相互融合，为了确保财产房屋物业的所有者的投资回报率不被剥夺，利用合理的特殊机制在房屋的空间所有权上进行一些转换，这是一种代表着历史文化与宪法权利利益之间的妥协（Tung 2001）。该机制允许业主可以将具有保存价值的建筑周边不具有保留价值的空间进行开发利用（如法律中定义的相邻区域或空间等）。这种所谓的空间所有权的转换（基于在地标性建筑空间上的利用）创造了纽约独特的混合新派建筑风格，不仅融合了高层建筑同时又使老旧低矮的建筑结构得以保留，其中最具代表性的如美国曼哈顿区的高线公园改造，将原有废弃的中央车站及高架铁路专线改造成了一个具有时代感的空中花园（图3）。



Figure 4. The Hutong neighborhood of Old Beijing. (Source: Geoffrey McKim, flickr)

图4. 老北京胡同街道。（来源：Geoffrey McKim, flickr）

尽管开发商和业主的投诉频繁，保护成本正在扼杀经济增长，研究表明，对于悠久历史的保护不仅具有文化价值，更具有经济价值。相比于对于历史文化结构的保护所花费的成本与开发物业本身所产生的价值相比，其物业自身性及区域性均有所提升（纽约市独立预算办公室2003）。被认定为历史古迹的有格林威治村，SoHo区，或特里贝克部分地区现在城市中一些最昂贵的地区。

北京：拯救历史为核心

北京在不到10年的发展历程相当于纽约历经了一个多世纪的发展历程。也许这并不奇怪，高层建筑替代低矮建筑结构激发了对历史文化保护。北京对于文物保护方面，主要是受到了20世纪苏联的城市规划理论的影响，坚决从根本上反对老旧思想文化，这意味着环绕老北京城池的护城河城墙相继被拆除，无数的历史古迹遭到破坏，同时提倡增宽道路并且发展沿路高层建筑。为了增强城市道路管网建设拓宽道路，以至于传统的城楼及护城墙被拆除（Tung 2001）。之后在政治上又与苏联在关系上破裂，及在1960年代及70年代发生的文化大革命的影响，导致大规模的历史文物古迹遭到破坏，而且还对很多对支持保护历史古迹的人士进行了迫害。

在一个缺乏市场导向的共产主义国家，更多的历史文化被摧毁了。（Abrahamson 2007）。北京传统的四合院，众所周知的胡同，也许恰逢满足了当时共产主义无产阶级的需要，因此幸免于难。受封建制度的影响四合院的布局基本上是由一些房间围绕一个主要庭院，有的周围还布有分院落。到了共产主义时代，胡同四合院非常适合于当时人民群众对住房的需要，几个家庭可以同时入住一个院落（Tung 2001）（图4、5）。



Figure 5. Stores in the Hutong neighborhood of Old Beijing. (Source: Geoffrey McKim, flickr)

图5. 老北京胡同内的店铺。（来源：Geoffrey McKim, flickr）

as the Forbidden City, the protection of neighborhood characteristics where intact, and a mandate to ensure new buildings integrated with the historic assets and neighborhoods (Tung 2001). In practice, however, historic preservation has taken a backseat to Beijing's focus on development.

Despite some of these early historic preservation regulations, hutong neighborhoods began to disappear in the 1990s, when China's new open-door policy started to gain momentum and real estate speculators saw the potential profit in redevelopment. This wave of destruction accelerated in the run-up to the Olympic Games in 2008 (Krajewska 2009). As urban land became more valuable, inner-city neighborhoods were razed entirely and relocated to suburban greenfield sites, and in their place, high-rise buildings were constructed. This had aesthetic consequences in disrupting the low-rise profile, and also social ones. As entire hutong neighborhoods were destroyed, residents were moved to new buildings at the outskirts of the city, often breaking up social ties between neighbors. As living standards for relocated families have usually improved, residents were not primarily concerned with the destruction of the hutongs per se, but with the relocation to new communities in districts outside of the Second Ring Road, such as Shunyi, Daxing, or Chaoyang, which meant much longer commute times.

By 2005, nearly half of the city's 3,000 hutongs were demolished. It was during this time that popular criticism became louder and the government grew more sensitive towards it (Jacobs 2005). The government issued a plan designating 25 protected historic zones in the city center. While some violations still occur, the pace of demolition has slowed (Ouroussof 2008). The protection of hutongs remains controversial, however, as many of them have been targeted for luxurious interior renovations that left little of the original interiors (e.g., western interiors including hot tubs, bars, garages). Further, in those neighborhoods where the traditional architectural features of the courtyard houses were kept, a tendency toward "museumification" has taken place. Dongcheng, northeast of the Forbidden City, is one such example – where a once vibrant neighborhood of courtyard houses and storefronts has turned into rows of storefronts with shops exclusively catering to tourists (Jacobs 2005).

While the preservation of these traditional houses as valuable reflections on Chinese

culture and society has received increasing attention, the demolition of socialist-style housing from the 1950s and 1960s has taken place without much controversy or debate. These four- and five-story apartment blocks are a mixture of the modernist housing seen in other communist countries and the traditional hutongs, as they are also arranged around a courtyard (Jacobs 2005). In recent years, they have been increasingly replaced by high-rises, raising the question of which history is worth preservation. While Beijing does not seem to have an open debate about the protection of its more recent history, the issue of "historical censorship" (Ouroussof 2008) is omnipresent in Berlin's approach to historic preservation.

Berlin – Preserving Socio-Political History

In contrast to New York City and Beijing, preservation in Berlin is not a clash between historical buildings and the new skyscrapers that provide a higher return on investment. This is because of Berlin's turbulent history during the twentieth century. After World War II and the retaliation against the Nazi regime, Berlin was characterized by its rubble – "about twenty percent of Berlin's buildings were beyond salvage, seventy percent required varying degrees of rehabilitation, and large parts of central Berlin were reduced to skeletal ruins" (Tung 2001: 397). The division of the city into two zones, one dominated by the Soviet Union and the other by the Western Allies during the Cold War, led to two different approaches to urban development, also creating a no-man's land in the form of the Wall and a large security zone to the eastern side of it. After the fall of the Wall, large patches of land became available for development. The Potsdamer Platz, for example, was once the core of the city and a vibrant urban intersection. Destroyed during the war and divided by the Wall, it provided the opportunity for building a contemporary version of an urban hub surrounded by high-rise development (Figure 6). This does not mean that high-rise developments are entirely spared of controversy in Berlin, but at least – until very recently – they rarely had to confront preservationists.

Instead, Berlin's debate over historic preservation is focused around what history to preserve. Berlin reflects the different "isms" that dominated the last century. In the early twentieth century, Berlin was host to the last Prussian ruler, who abdicated after losing the Great War. After a failed new republic, Berlin became the center of Nazism, causing terror throughout Europe and unleashing

在20世纪80年代，北京作为中国的文化和旅游中心，因此对于一些具有时代意义的历史建筑文物古迹等的开发和保护被大家所重视并列入到相应的法律法规加以保护实施。这意味着北京旧城的文化遗产的保护进入了新的篇章，其中包括对故宫，及周边地区作为历史文化街区进行完整的保护，确保合理利用整合历史文物古迹历史街区的资产保护(Tung2001)。尤其将对历史文化保护作为北京地区发展的重点。

虽然早期有一些关于历史文化保护方面的法规，上个世纪90年代初期中国内陆开始改革开放，一些投资商看到潜在的商机开始大肆开发房地产业，胡同文化自此开始逐步消失。为了备战2008年北京奥运会更加剧了旧城改造胡同拆迁的进程，胡同社区文化消失的越来越快(Krajewska 2009)。随着城市土地价值的飙升，胡同拆迁步伐的加快，市中心大部分的胡同社区被夷为平地，原有居民被安置到郊区地段。空出的平地被划分出若干的小地块，在上面迅速建起了高楼大厦。原有低矮的建筑格局一下子被忽高忽低的高层建筑打破，整个城市也失去了原有的审美，社会格局也随着被改变了。居民被纷纷安置于不同的郊区新建社区里，原有的胡同街道文化渐渐消失，打破了多年相处下来的邻里关系。拆迁居民由原有的二环内搬到了二环以外的朝阳、顺义、大兴等郊区生活，由于拆迁补偿的获得使他们在生活水平上有了明显提高，他们根本不关心胡同文化本身被破坏，他们更关心的是如何更便捷的通勤的设施的发展。

到2005年近一半的城市被夷为平地，3000个胡同被拆除了。正是在这段时间，来自拆除派与保留派两个势力的声音越来越多，且政府态度亦越来越趋于敏感。最后政府部门决定对市中心25个历史文化保护区作为重点保护区，同时在拆迁过程中也发生了一些暴力事件，导致区域拆迁的步伐不得不放缓脚步(Ouroussof 2008)。对于胡同文化的保护仍然存在着相当激烈的争议，一些人对很多四合院进行了改造并对房屋内部进行了装修甚至达到了豪华奢侈的程度(室内不仅有西方的热水浴室，还有酒吧间，车库等)。此外，有些四合院虽然被保留下来，但却在朝着“博物馆化”的趋势发展。如东城区故宫东北角，临近道路两边的四合院虽然被作为历史文化保留下来，但是被改造成若干小的联排店铺招揽游客生意(Jacobs 2005)。

虽然对中国传统房屋的保护有价值的反思中国文化和受到越来越多的关注,社会主义风格的住房的格局兴起于1960年代和1950年代。四或五层高的公寓楼与传统的胡同四合院混建在一起(Jacobs 2005)。近年来,他们也有被高楼大厦所取代。这就提出了一个问题:历史值得保存。对于中国的近代史的历史保护问题,中国政府似乎并没有采取一个开放的态度进行过多的讨



Figure 6. Once Berlin's urban core, Potsdamer Platz, destroyed during World War II and divided by the Wall, provided Berlin with development opportunities that did not have to confront historical buildings. (Source (from left to right): Waldemar Titzenthaler, Robert Fenstermacher, Michael J. Zirbes)

图6. 波茨坦广场，曾经柏林的市中心，二战期间被格林墙所霸占，德国统一后，再次得到发展的机会成为柏林的城市亮点不必再面对历史的建筑。(来源（从左到右）：Waldemar Titzenthaler, Robert Fenstermacher, Michael J. Zirbes)



Figure 7. From the Prussian City Palace to the Palace of the Republic, back to a partial reconstruction of the City Palace. (Source (from left to right): unknown author, Istvan, flickr, Szczecinolog)

图7. 从普鲁士宫到共和国宫再到现在的城市宫殿部分重建。(来源（从左至右）：未知, Istvan, flickr, Szczecinolog)

retribution in the form of devastation (Ladd 1998). During the Cold War, Berlin was at the forefront of the ideological clash between capitalism and communism. This clash had deep consequences for the way historic preservation was approached and remains a controversial topic to this day. After reunification, references to the communist regime of East Germany, such as statues of Lenin, were rapidly removed from the urban fabric and many former East Berliners felt that their contribution to the city was increasingly erased by "arrogant Wessies [West Germans] acting in the manner of a conquering power" (Mairshofer 1998: 2).

This clash between the West and the East is most pronounced in the debate around Berlin's City Palace. Once the winter residence of the Kings of Prussia, it was heavily damaged by the Allied bombing in World War II. Rather than restore it, it was demolished in 1950 by German Democratic authorities. On its site, the Communist regime built the Palace of the Republic, which for many East Berliners, is an important historic symbol of growing up in East Berlin. After reunification, asbestos was detected on the site, and while Berlin's city government completed a lengthy process of removing it, the federal government decided in 2003 to just demolish the building and leave the site as parkland. After a long-running debate, a group of private lobbyists led by

an aristocrat and businessman gained the legislative support of the federal government to undertake a partial rebuilding of the Prussian Palace. The privately funded project is currently under construction (Figure 7).

Berlin has a complex framework for historic preservation, and as the example of the City Palace shows, it is not always solely controlled by the city government. Landmarks are designated, researched, and inventoried by the city's historic preservation agency that also provides funding for the restoration and modernization of designated buildings, gardens, and ground (in Berlin, much history is called out on the ground, the ruins of fortifications for example). Agencies at the district level adjudicate, in collaboration with the city's historic preservation agency, applications for changes to any landmarks. In contrast to New York City, historic districts are not protected the same way as individual or ensembles of landmarks. Instead, property owners in designated historic districts receive subsidies from a federally- and city-sponsored program to modernize and retain historical districts instead of demolishing them.

When the program was launched in 1991, it predominantly focused on the renovation of 19th century tenement houses in East

论, "历史审查" 的问题(Ouroussof 2008) 在柏林的历史保存方法随处可见。

柏林：保留社会政治历史

与纽约和北京相比，柏林的冲突不是来自于历史古迹建筑和带来超投资回报新的摩天大楼之间的问题，而是纠结于柏林在二十世纪那段动荡时期所留下的历史产物。再经历了二战盟军对德国纳粹主义地毯式的轰炸报复后，柏林基本上已经被瓦砾所掩埋——“约20%的建筑物被救助之外，剩下70%需要进行不同程度的修复，柏林市中心的大部分地区都成了骨骼废墟” (Tung 2001: 397)。城市被划分成两半，一半由前苏联统治被称为东柏林另一半由其他西方盟友统治被称为西柏林，在冷战期间柏林受到两种不同的统治以至于城市发展显现出两种完全不同的社会形态，为了达到完全的封锁，东德开始沿边界修建柏林墙，设置围栏障碍甚至清理出一个巨大的无人区域断绝两边来往。两德统一后，柏林墙被推倒，空出了大片可以开发的土地。曾经是欧洲最繁华的商业广场和交通枢纽的波茨坦广场，在二战期间彻底被轰炸后，导致了这里更加的荒芜，冷战期间又被柏林墙所占据，随着柏林墙的拆除，再次开发后超高层建筑的林立使得该区域再次成为闪耀的新的核心区域(图6)。这并不意味着高层发展的争议完全幸免于柏林，但至少，目前为止，他们也不得不面对保护主义者。



Figure 8. Chamissoplatz: 19th century buildings that have been modernized with state-subsidies to create vibrant urban neighborhoods. (Source: Sabina Uffer)

图8. Chamissoplatz: 19世纪建筑受到国家补贴资助使其变得更加现代化给周围的社区带来了新的活力。(来源: Sabina Uffer)

Berlin, which were deemed from a capitalist era and therefore left to decay during the communist regime. In West Berlin, earlier programs allowed property owners to renovate and modernize their houses before reunification. Today, the program focuses less on the maintenance of the historic urban fabric, but on the provision of social infrastructure and a good public realm. While the program provided minimal oversight of the renovation (developers did not have to undergo a strict planning application process), it generally helped protect neighborhoods that have a significant historical character (Figure 8). These properties are now the most valuable and highly sought after residential buildings in the city, similar to the historic districts in New York.

As in New York City, the renovation of these historic neighborhoods has in many cases led to gentrification, and consequently, these properties are becoming increasingly unaffordable for many Berliners. While Berlin's extensive rent regulation has prevented some of the social displacement seen in other cities, the city has put further mechanisms in place to allow locally-based authorities to designate districts as "milieu protection areas" whereas developers are required to apply for planning permission for any modernization of buildings. This gave districts some power to moderate any unnecessary luxurious upgrading of buildings and, with it, the displacement of existing communities.

Lessons Learned: The Compatibility of Preservation and Development

The approach to historic preservation in each of the three cities discussed here is worth a paper of its own, if not an entire book. Nevertheless, the short overview of historic preservation in the wake of development pressures in each city provides a few lessons that might be of interest to cities and developers that try to strike a balance between preservation and development.

Most people agree that the preservation of buildings, monuments, and districts that have significant historical and cultural value is worthwhile. The charm of old neighborhoods and historical artifacts significantly contribute to a city's attraction – for tourists and residents alike. Beyond the cultural and historical value, it becomes increasingly apparent that historic preservation also creates economic value. Not only can property owners of designated buildings generally charge their tenants higher rents, it also increases tourism and the indirect economic benefit that comes with it. In all three cities, this has put pressures on lower-income residents and shop-owners that are not able to keep up with the increasing rents. In the wake of affordable housing shortages in these cities, it is worthwhile to also think of mechanisms which can protect those tenants.

Historic preservation does, however, need to be flexible enough to allow for growth. A city cannot be fixed in time, otherwise it becomes a museum where nobody wants to work or live. Neighborhoods need to be

相反,柏林的历史保存的争论集中在什么才需要历史保存。柏林反映了上世纪不同的“主义”。二十世纪初,柏林是主要是受普鲁士王国的统治,由于战争失败而退位。新共和国失败后,柏林成为纳粹主义的中心,导致整个欧洲被纳粹控制并遭到各种形式的破坏(Ladd 1998)。冷战期间,柏林表现为最前沿的资本主义和共产主义意识形态的冲突。这个冲突直至今日仍然存在争议。德国统一后,东德的共产主义政权(以列宁主义为代表的)迅速瓦解很多前东柏林的人觉得他们对城市的贡献越来越被“傲慢的”Wessies”[西德]表演的方式所征服”(Maiershofer 1998:2)

这种东西方的辩论中的最明显的冲突表现在柏林的城市宫殿。曾经是普鲁士国王的冬季行宫,后来在第二次世界大战盟军轰炸中受到严重破坏沦为废墟,尽管可以修缮而恢复原样,1950年民主德国统治当局认定为普鲁士军国主义的象征而将其拆除后,在原址上建造了代表共产党主义政权的共和宫,成为许多东柏林人心目中是一个重要历史的象征。两德统一后,共和国宫被发现含有石棉污染,2003年所有的石棉与内外装潢都已经清楚完毕,德国联邦议院仍决议拆除共和国宫,并将原址改为公园。经过长期的辩论,不少德国人主张重建,但也有不少德国人反对。一群以贵族和商人为主的人士获得联邦政府的立法支持对普鲁士宫殿进行部分的重建,以私人资助的形式目前在部分重建(图7)。

柏林经历了一个复杂的历史演变过程后,就像柏林城市宫殿的命运一样,并非总是由城市政府控制。城市历史保护机构提供基金对被认定的地标性建筑进行研究,登记注册及清理后将其修复修缮后变成现代感十足的建筑,花园,绿地(在柏林,很多空地代表着历史,例如防御工事的废墟)。保护机构通过地方机关裁决并与城市历史保护机构合作,修缮保护任何具有历史上的标志物。与纽约相比对历史性的地区的保护方式不同,而是以个人或社团的名义。相反,在指定历史街区的业主从联邦政府和市主办的现代化计划和保留历史街区领取补贴而不是毁坏他们。

1991年发布了一项关于公寓住宅的改造计划,主要集中在柏林东部的第十九世纪的公寓房子装修:他们认为从资本主义时代,因此任其腐烂在共产主义政权(在西柏林,较早的程序允许业主改造和现代化的房屋前统一)。如今,该项目的重点是维护城市结构的历史,但在提供社会基础设施和良好的公共领域。虽然该计划提供了最小的装修监督(开发人员没有接受严格的规划应用程序),既有助于保护区又突出了历史特点(图8)。这些城市中早期的住宅建筑现在成为最有价值的,类似于纽约最有价值的历史街区。

able to evolve to remain vibrant, and this often includes mixing the old urban fabric with newer and sometimes taller buildings. Regulatory frameworks that include “a carrot and stick” approach can help strike the balance between preservation and development. The renovation of historical buildings can be costly, so property owners should be incentivized to renovate old, and in some cases, decaying buildings. At the same time, the regulatory oversight of an expert committee helps ensure that the character of a building or neighborhood remains intact. Rules, however, need to be clear and transparent – and not able to be twisted by vested interests. This also means that any approach to historic preservation requires openness to debate about what to preserve – including newer, taller structures.

经验教训告诉我们：保护与发展的兼容性

简短的论述不能全面的更好的概括出三个城市对于历史保护所采取的措施的意义，然而作为经验教训却是可以为城市的发展和开发与历史文化古迹保护提供一点点的参考价值，更像是一本历史教科书需要我们更好更仔细的探讨和研究。

多数人都赞同对重大历史文化价值的建筑物、古迹和地区的保护是值得的观点。旧街区和历史文物的魅力对一个城市的吸引力—对于游客和居民都是一样的有着显著的贡献。超越文化和历史价值变得越来越明显，历史悠久的保护也创造了经济价值。对于被认定为保护区的业主普遍带来丰厚的租金，增加了旅游业和由此带来的间接经济效益。然而对于这三个城市里的低收入居民和不能够继续增加租金的商店老板带来了压力。会造成这些城市的经济适用房短缺，如何保证业主们的利益是值得思考的。

历史需要保护同时需要有足够的灵活性来适应社会的发展。一个城市如果不能及时更新和修复，它将会成为一个博物馆，没有人愿意工作或生活在博物馆一样的世界里。社区需要向前不断的发展，这往往就需要代表时代气息的新的（像超高层结构的）建筑的诞生，他们的诞生就像给城市融入了新生力量增加了更多的色彩。在使用胡萝卜(安抚)或大棒(强权、高压)的政策监管框架下，可以帮助平衡保护主义和发展主义之间的平衡。对于历史建筑的围护往往需要昂贵的费用，保护委员会可以在监管体质指导下督促某些业主及时对破败的房屋建筑进行修复和翻新，有助于建筑物保护和维持历史街区保持不变。然而监管制度需要清晰明确和透明，不得受某些利益驱使。这也意味着任何历史性保护的方法需要一个开放性的讨论，也需要讨论到底什么才是值得保护的—这其中也包括具有里程碑意义的新的地标性建筑。

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