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「地景敘事體」的詮釋與建構

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中文摘要

本計畫由文化地景的討論出發，嘗試建立一關於地景的理論性架構，以「地景敘事體」的概念整合地景閱讀、地景研究、與地景書寫的多元論述，進而探索以此銜接地景規劃設計（地景建築）發展的可行性。「地景敘事體」是一個跨地景研究及敘事理論的提議，其中還涉及人文地理、文化研究、文學理論等相關領域，因此，以敘事結構串連不同「故事」與「論述」，再現地景主題，乃是本計畫理論藉由操作方法模擬之具體實踐。

論述發展先以理論研究為主軸，一方面建構地景理論及敘事理論的關係，另一方面由文本內容分析切入，由不同「再現」媒介或形式，解讀地景意涵及敘事結構，探究文本交相指涉、解構、後設觀點所開展的敘事形式對「地景敘事體」建構可能的啟發；據以延伸一般地景研究的理論向度，或在傳統地景規劃設計的基地分析流程中，深化概念發展與地景內涵的互動。

研究計畫再以一文化地景真實案例的空間實踐檢驗前階段方法論的內涵。基地選擇台北公館新店溪旁的寶藏巖聚落，主要因其特殊地景形式與文脈，在近年聚落保存與都市計畫拆除違建的角力下，不斷被不同「作者」詮釋、書寫，又因其社會邊緣處境，引發了影像藝術及藝術村規劃的聯想，空間過程充滿敘事張力。而在 2003 年的實驗性藝術行動 GAPP 中，眾多外來藝術個人及團隊就寶藏巖聚落特質提出藝術計畫，透過有意識的行動介入，與聚落社區及地景開展對話。其中關於文化主體與地方認同在地景敘事中的辯證，跳脫了過去社區營造口號下的理所當然，對地景意義生產的過程誘生了多層次的思辯，也在原空間脈絡下重構了地景文本。這些不同的地景敘事體打開了詮釋的邊界與結構性的結局，成為部分地景意義的載體，對未來有意識的規劃設計干預和文化地景與都市地景的閱讀都將有所啟發。

Keywords: cultural landscape, narrative, narrative theory, human geography, cultural studies, literary theory, deconstruction, representation, landscape architecture

Abstract

Starting with an array of discourses on cultural landscape, this project attempts to establish a theoretic framework about landscape, and adopts the concept of ‘landscape narrative’ to integrate a great diversity of discourses from academic landscape studies, landscape writing, and landscape interpretation; then further explores the feasibility of linking it with the conceptualizing process of landscape planning and design. Landscape narrative is a cross-disciplinary proposal based largely on landscape studies and narrative theory, and inevitably involving the fields of human geography, cultural studies, and literary theory; therefore, plotting an effective narrative structure to connect different ‘stories’ and ‘discourses’ and to represent the landscape subject is itself an embodiment of theoretic praxis.

The first part of the thesis is focused on theoretic researches, which structuralize the relationship between landscape theory and narrative theory on one hand; while on the other hand, apply the method of content analysis to decode landscape meaning and narrative structure of various media and forms of representation, and further probe into the studies of ‘intertextuality,’ ‘deconstruction,’ and ‘meta-narrative’ as experimental concepts for structuring landscape narratives. On such grounding, the theoretic dimension of general landscape studies can be expanded, and the interaction between landscape content and conceptualization of landscape planning and design is also reinforced.

The second half of the thesis employs spatial practices of a physical landscape to evaluate the established theory of landscape narrative as well as to re-interpret the landscape meaning of the site according to such a perspective. The Treasure Hill settlement, located at the edge of Taipei city, is chosen due to her isolated status and particular landscape form and context – especially her marginal condition of mixing various periods of rural immigrants and social underclass attracts many associated imaginations from cinema directors and artists. The Treasure Hill narrative has been re-written by different authors in recent years under the struggle between landscape conservation and squatter demolition policies. Her spatial processes are high-strung with narrative tension. And in the experimental GAPP (Global Artivists Participation Project) of 2003, many individuals and teams bring up activist proposals according to the landscape characteristics of Treasure Hill, and engage in serious dialogues with the community and landscape via spatial interventions of conscious acts. The dialectics about cultural subjects and place identity in the landscape narratives break away from the much taken-for-granted slogan

of community renaissance, hence induce multi-layers of retrospection on the production of landscape meanings and reconstruct landscape texts within the extant spatial context. These landscape narratives open up the boundaries and structural ends of interpretations, and become the containers of local landscape meanings. These discourses augment perceivable dimensions to future planning and design and will hopefully inspire further reading of cultural and urban landscape.

地景敘事體的詮釋與建構

1、地景敘事體的理論背景

A landscape has no fixed meaning, no privileged vantage point. It is only oriented by the itinerary of the passerby.

Paul Virilio, 2000

關於地景研究及地景規劃設計的論述，因長期受到生態概念及造園傳統的影響，經常聚焦於人與自然間的環境關係 或人的干預及發展對自然環境造成的變遷效果(如 McHarg,1969; Spirn,1984; Hough,1995)。另外有研究由歷史的角度檢驗不同文明在土地上留下的痕跡，多數為一線性過程的分析或陳述，並傾向以西方世界發展過程為主軸 (Newton,1971; Jellicoe,1975/1987)。關於現代性及地景建築的關係，因受到現代藝術及現代建築的影響，近來受到較多空間規劃設計領域的關注，部分研究並聚焦於城市建築與戶外空間關係的演變，與都市規劃及都市設計的論述接軌 (Treib,1993; Turner,1996; Zapatka,1995; Relph,1987)。在人文地理論述推助之前，地景建築領域甚少由一政治經濟及社會理論的角度看待地景意義的生產 (少數如 Granz, 1982; Green, 1990 是例外)，但在地理學者藉社會科學的研究理論介入地景詮釋以來，「文化地景」逐漸由一籠統模糊的名詞衍生出豐富的意涵 (Cosgrove & Daniels,1989; Tuan,1974,1977; Hayden,1995; Duncan & Ley,1993)，並由多元的研究方法論讓地景的文化主體顯影。

Meinig(1979)爭論所有地景皆為文化地景，他區分「環境」的概念乃將人視為環境整體所包容的「生物」，而「地景」的概念則意指了人藉由觀看、詮釋、營造等過程定義並介入地景的「文化」角色。文化地景試圖由外顯的地景形式探究其社會建構與文化表徵的深層意義，並觀照不直接顯現於地表的文化地景，如文學、藝術、音像媒介等所再現的文化地景、或地景分析中衍生物質文化與意識型態的政治經濟過程。Cosgrove & Daniels(1988)以「意象詮釋學」(iconography)的概念揭露隱匿於地景表象後的象徵意義，強調地景閱讀中不易察覺的「看的方法」(ways of seeing, Berger,1972)，藉由分析地景中社會形塑與階級自我符號化的過程，嵌合文化地景生產與意識形態生產的相互作用，深化了平面的「景觀」描述。

Hood (1996)明白指出「文化地景是社會生產過程、財富積累、及抗拒不平等積累的實質與象徵場域。文化地景同時是社會變遷的工具及脈絡。」若只強調視覺景觀，不只漠視了地景的主體性及真實形塑出地景的不可見力量，還經常會流於美學形式的玩弄，消融或隱藏了其中權力與衝突的政治意涵，甚至產生以特定族群之特殊品味取代另一族群生活場景的結果(Daniels,1989)。在當今城市多重族群交融、產業疊置的空間情境，地景作為文化的空間顯影，意義上絕非止於自然環境資源的賞析而已。在許多地景研究中，文化被詮釋為「意義地圖」(maps of meaning) 一組「意義」被建構、傳達、及理解的符碼，或一種社會關係被結構的歷程，及空間形式被

經驗、理解、並詮釋的方式(P. Jackson,1989)。文化地景研究由多面向的地景樣貌，追溯地景形塑的動態過程及伴隨的文化主體性，藉由「文化研究」理論檢視地景的空間意義，透過「地景研究」詮釋文化的空間顯影。

相對於學院的地景研究，藉由不同媒介「書寫」地景的作品其實廣度不遑多讓，從旅遊札記到地理雜誌，從地方誌到路街史，乃至許多以地景為主體/主題的文學及藝術創作（Least Heat-Moon,1982; Foster, 2002；楊牧,1982a, 1982b,1996; 連建興，1998,2001），讓地景的樣貌與內涵得以藉由相異的作者觀再現；其中 J. B. Jackson 更是長期由隨筆寫作(essay)的角度，觀察地景，書寫地景，影響地景的論述甚鉅。經由「書寫」，地景以一可閱讀之文本(text)被再現，尤其當影像媒體成為再現地景最直接的工具，並滲入近代文化研究的領域時，探究文化地景的形式與意義，不僅需直接閱讀地景的實質環境本身，同時還可從被「再現」之地景文本中發掘更多地景線索，甚或形成不同層次文本間的對話。

在地景研究、地景書寫、及地景規劃設計之間，一直存在著銜接及認知上的落差，以致一般關於規劃設計之前的基地分析流程，都近乎一種制式操作的不斷複製，許多專業者並深信其中的原則是理性、科學、可經量度分類評估的標準在尋求土地最適度的開發模式；只是一旦涉及地景的社會與文化向度，往往因對「地景研究」及「地景書寫」理解的貧乏，而流於表面化或全然漠視，因此也造成了地景規劃設計過程中不易由地景的深層結構尋求設計理論與概念的隱憂。將地景建築等同於造園(gardening)、強調視覺「景觀」的美化（注意「地景」與「景觀」的譯詞皆來自英文 landscape，但「景觀」明顯地偏向視覺效果與美學的強調）而忽略地景與「土地」相關的論述及在知識論上的作用，更是常有的專業態度。無怪乎許多建築領域的人會視地景為整體建築的附屬或剩餘空間，而非建築所依附的、不可分割的、充滿素材與情節的基地。

尤其當我們進一步思考 Hayden（1996）的提醒，「文化地景的歷史正是「地方」如何被規劃、設計、營造、居住、調適、頌揚、剝奪、丟棄的故事。……都市地景的研究需要同時植根於經由五官體驗地方的美學，以及將地方經驗作為一權力競逐場域的政治學」，更確定文化地景最核心的價值正是地景及地景主體的故事。每一處地景都堆疊了諸多層次的故事，每一層故事的揭露都使地景意義產生流動，因此也衍生了相對應的地景認同。地景敘事的主導聲音與敘述的方式宰制了地景的內涵與生產，誰來說故事、如何說故事、說誰的故事都是地景研究必須意識到的議題。地景便不只是視野所及的空間形式，它同時還是某種敘事結構的產物。

於是，文化地景不僅包含了一地方獨有的自然生態群落與風貌，也見證了不同族群、社群的集體記憶與故事，象徵了產業結構、政經權力、草根力量、與意識形態的空間作用。文化地景是由一個或多重文化主體，藉由身體參與、生活實踐、或記憶情

感的積累，詮釋地景意義，並形塑地景認同關係過程的展現。文化地景同時也是地景意義競爭的場域，不同文化主體間對地景的詮釋，無論經由論述或行動，結構了文化地景內部的社會與權力關係，因著這些關係的演繹與改變，地景始終處於一個動態的變遷過程。而所謂文化地景保育，其實是視變遷為常態，藉由地景形式的保存或活化，維繫某特定文化主體與地景間的認同關係、或開創新的文化主體對原有地景的認同意義。

本研究由上述文化地景的討論出發，提出「地景敘事體」的理論概念，整合地景研究及敘事理論的觀點，評估地景詮釋與建構的方法論，進而探索以此銜接地景規劃設計（地景建築）發展的可行性。其中不免涉及人文地理、文化研究、文學理論等領域的相關論述，但在認定「地景」本身乃一具視覺脈絡之實質空間形式的前提下，理論架構的開展則以真實地景案例的辯證收斂。地景敘事體包含了有意識的地景書寫及透過集體無意識呈現的地景文本，因而兼具哲學思辨及實用的目的。如下列以地景敘事體為主軸之地景建築設計課程說明段落中，即刻意彰顯透過敘事理論進行地景書寫創作的企圖：

「簡單的說，一則地景敘事體就是為地景陳述的一個故事，但除了故事內容外，敘事體本身還隱含了說故事的方法，故事的結構，故事呈現的形式，說故事的人、被敘述的主體、和他們之間的關係。地景的故事同時包含了自然與人文的面向，它反映地景表面的現象，註解人的生活在地景留下的刻痕印記，也探究地景發展變遷的過程與意義。因此，地景敘事體必須含括空間、時間、及地景情節等軸線，並透過一種可辨識的敘述架構與形式展現。

所謂敘述的架構與形式，意指一地景的整體再現方式，而非只是文字與資料的堆砌。從空間感官與知覺、環境『測量』與『測繪』、特定時刻與空間的詩意呈現、歷史訪調與敘述、地方政經與社會結構、乃至人物與生活情節，都可藉由生動、創意的綜合性地景文本再現，揭露地景蘊富生命力的本質。

地景敘事體作為一種規劃設計概念，一方面重新反省一般設計流程前置作業的公式化樣板（包括內容與形式），由敘事體的開展將原本極為動人的基地特質從數據化的表列中釋放出來（思考數據背後的故事與意義，但並非放棄理性科學的量化基礎）；另一方面則要處理地景敘事體與地景規劃設計間的轉化介面，賦予設計形式一真實的空間意涵。」

此說明嘗試將「地景敘事體」導向一地景規劃設計方法論的可能，更具體地比較，若原來規劃設計的基地分析流程生產的成果傾向於一本「計畫報告」，「地景敘事體」的操作結果將更接近一本「地景之書」的想像。但地景敘事體並非僅止於建構一有用的、服務規劃設計功能之替代性工具，更基本地，反倒是先在論述的層次上，為

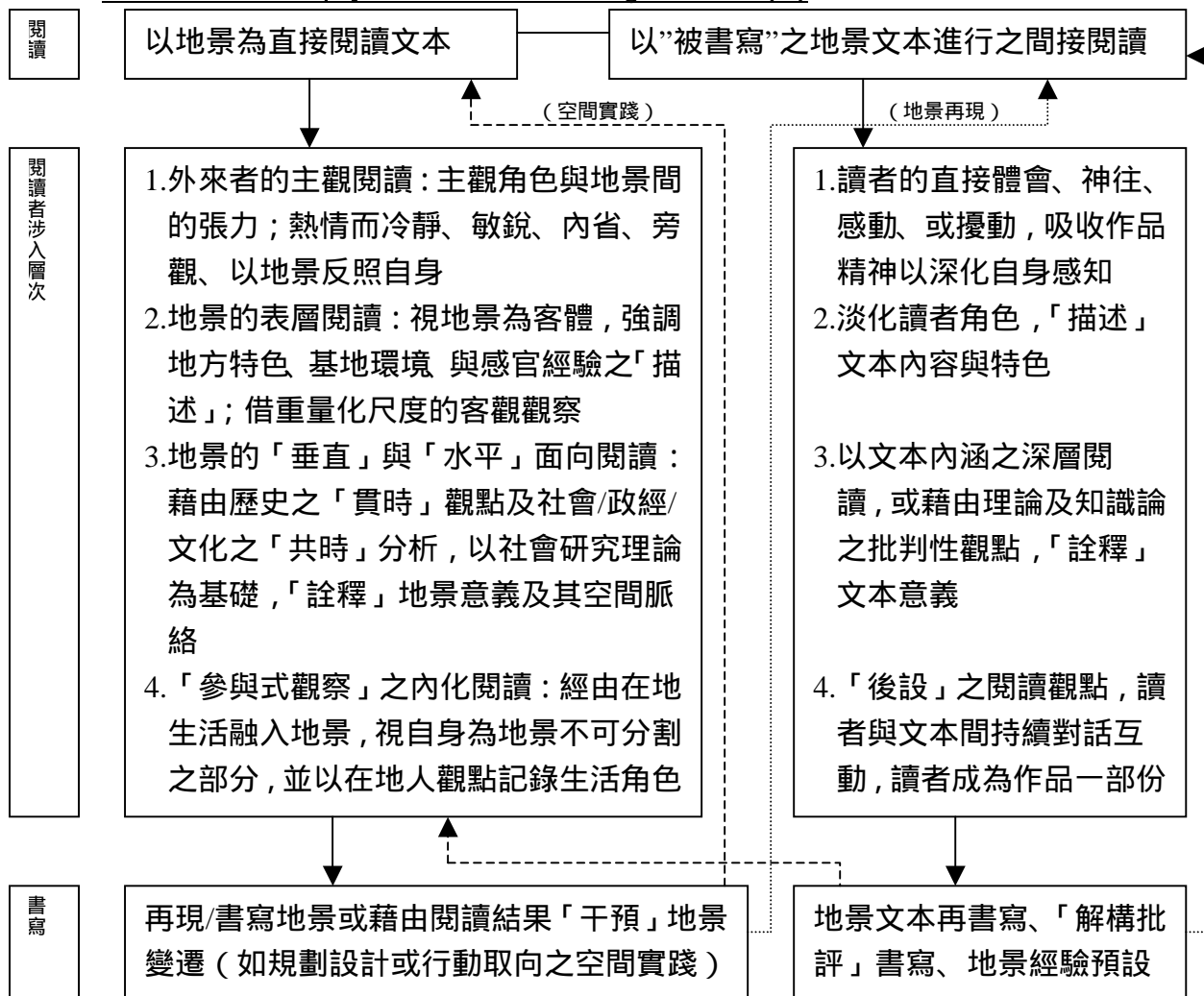
地景理論及敘事理論的發展建立一知識論上的對話平台，在形式與意義的來回辯證間延伸地景研究的向度。

2、關於地景閱讀及書寫

我們觀察這節令的眼光和心思在轉換，那簡單的日子也產生一定程度的變化，雖然我們總是說天行健，說宇宙的運行是永恆。我們的情緒何嘗不影響了我們對外界的觀察？
楊牧，1989

地景敘事體的「詮釋」與「建構」，以一種較簡易的說法，幾乎等同於地景的「閱讀」及「書寫」，關鍵即在於閱讀者對地景文本感知與認知的理解。因閱讀者經由不同時間軸對地景所能掌握之訊息及意義的差異，同樣一處地景往往可以鋪陳出多重層次的地景文本。若以地景實質環境為直接被閱讀的文本，將閱讀經驗粗分為對實質地景的「直接閱讀」及對被書寫/再現之地景的「間接閱讀」，下表概略提出了一有意識的閱讀者(a conscious reader)由「直接閱讀」實質地景到再現地景為「被書寫之地景文本」，而被書寫之文本再被「間接閱讀」的層次關係：

地景的多重閱讀(layered conscious reading of landscape)



因閱讀者涉入地景文本層次的深淺不一，與閱讀文本間的互動、反應、或詮釋角度可能產生明顯差異，因此而再現的書寫文本也有了特殊觀點。借用傳統 landscapist 的概念(原指地景畫家，一觀察並再現地景者，但不侷限於特定藝術表現、或直接介入地景改變的規劃設計師)，上述不同層次的地景閱讀與書寫對應了下列「地景閱讀/書寫者」與「地景文本」的對話關係：

「地景閱讀者/書寫者」與「地景文本」的對話

landscapist (地景家)	landscape as (地景作為...)
1.flaneur (漫遊者)	mirror (鏡象)
2.surveyor (測量者)	field (田野)
3.interpreter/explorer (探索者)	meaning (意義)
4.sojourner/dweller/activist (暫留/落居/行動者)	the lived world (生活世界) & attachment (依附)

從「漫遊者」角度閱讀的地景如同「鏡象」，因此而再現的文本經常由地景書寫反映出作者本身的處境，地景因漫遊者對某時刻靈光的敏感知覺而存在，地景有時也是心景(mindscape)，但漫遊者總是刻意與凝視的對象維持一定的內省距離，如班雅明形容的波特萊爾在巴黎；「測量者」將地景視為可量度、可資訊化的客體，廣泛吸收由地景得來的資料，如同以科學態度進行的「田野」調查，或基地分析過程必要的操作；「探索者」挖掘地景「意義」，尋找那些在地景表面並不彰顯、卻形塑了地景風貌的關係和力量，如歷史、如政治經濟，或是必須經由細膩分析才能體會的文化認同，如 William Least Heat-Moon (1991) 從美國大陸正中央的位置，詮釋由此向四方蔓延開的、那隱匿在 PrairyErth 無垠草原丘陵下的地景認同；「居留者」則將自己融入地景的「生活世界」，或以現象學的角度關照生活經驗的點滴、或與地景形成強烈的依附情感、或以具體的行動干預地景意義的生產，但因閱讀與書寫的有意識性，地景家並不將生活地景視為理所當然。

多層次及多重地景文本的閱讀，形成一複雜的地景知識網絡；當閱讀者以此為基礎，轉而成為再現地景的書寫或敘事角色時，既有的地景文本相互指涉，甚至僭越原始文本的意義，藉地景書寫者的詮釋，演繹為另一則新的地景敘事體。在創意的敘事結構處理下，不同層次的地景家有機會對話或結合，而書寫者也得同時經營出多重地景文本共構的「論述網絡」(discursive network)，卻還保持敘事的故事軸線。如舞鶴的「思索阿邦、卡露思」在小說的敘事形式中，夾雜了大量真人實物的描述及對人類學者在田野的反省批判，編織出全然迥異於社會、地理、空間研究、人類學者對好茶聚落的詮釋，卻以主觀敘事揭露了聚落社會地景的潛意識。

3、地景研究與敘事理論

上海弄堂的感動來自於最為日常的情景，這感動不是雲水激盪的，而是一點一點累積起來。這是有煙火人氣的感動。那一排排一條條的里巷，流動著一些意料之外又情理之中的東西，東西不是什麼大東西，但瑣瑣細細，聚沙也能成塔的。那是和歷史這類概念無關，連野史都難稱上，只能叫做流言的那種。

王安憶，1996a

在文化地景的討論中，「文化主體」與「地景故事」是形成地景意義和認同關係的核心角色，故事或由一時間軸串連不同事件構成主題的結構是敘事體最基本的元素，因而文化地景與敘事理論之間存在著「地景故事」為主的中介面。當敘事理論在結構、後設、後現代、後結構等論述的激刺下突破既往敘事窠臼，讓敘事者與閱讀者的主客體關係發展出新的位置與張力，文化地景的研究向度也有機會隨之擴張。

部分敘事理論將敘事體簡單化約為「故事」(story)與「論述」(discourse) (McQuillan, 2000), Benveniste(1971)則認為故事乃意味著所有「發聲註記者」(markers of enunciation) 抹殺掉後的發聲，但論述則反應了註記者無意隱藏其發聲角色之言說，因而一方面呈現關於一特別主題多向而迂迴的話語，另方面藉由「修辭」(rhetoric，即訊息傳遞

者(message senders 與訊息接收者(message receivers)溝通所採用的「形式」, 見 Giannetti,1990)彰顯故事被再現的方式, 及關於故事如何被說。關於情節的策劃設計、關於說故事的媒介與形式。Lyotard(1984)認為敘事體是一種知識的模式, 根源於其拉丁字源'gnarus', 亦即, 求知 to know。人類社會藉由敘事的形式表達溝通並傳遞知識, 因此, 敘事體決定了任一社會中知識、乃至行動實踐的可能。敘事體被其存在本身合理化, 而一個社會或社群內關於敘事體的知識將區分何者為本地人、何者為外來者。

「大敘事」(grand narrative)的風格經常主宰傳統歷史或古典小說書寫, 許多地方故事透過「大敘事」書寫流傳, 發聲註記者隱匿了, 但故事成為傳奇或信仰。但地景敘事體並不凸顯「大敘事」由一客觀、或外來異化的角度陳述遠方他時的故事, 反而強調文化主體發聲, 以及由個別主體形成之集體性在地「論述」, 而地景故事如何被說、由誰說、對誰說、乃至其集合體之論述如何被結構, 都涉及線性事件發生順序之外、整體敘事的詮釋與建構。至於地景敘事體的結構與語言取向, 地景研究的幾大範疇提供了一些選擇。

- A. 從唯物(materialistic)的角度, 產業(或為因生產及再生產之需求, 人對地景形成的干預)及土地資源分配形成一研究地景的政治經濟分析向度, 其中文化地景又因強調順應社會與生產條件變遷之地景形式(landscape form), 與人文地理(human geography)有些研究上的區隔, 但兩者又彼此相互依賴。在唯物辯證的基礎上, 結構主義批判觀點直指資本主義的作用為一種「去」地方/地景認同, 以「時空壓縮」泯滅地方的過程, 暴露地景敘事背後之意識型態作用。
- B. 部分地景研究特別關照以唯物哲學為核心的「地方感」詮釋, 尤其是與 Raymond Williams 提出之「感覺結構」(structure of feelings)共構的地景意義, 強調支持地方產業及其再生產條件與日常生活所形成之地方特質, 如礦業、濃漁業聚落地景之書寫。
- C. 地方感的詮釋另有從唯心(idealistic)的角度切入, 一方面是以現象學理論建構生命與生活經驗在地景累積的感情厚度與意義深度, 相對於分析社會/集體的地景認同關係, 由現象學研究衍生的「場所精神」(genius loci)理論更關注個人的地景感知的面向。因借重地景書寫主體之心智活動與感官經驗, 以非「故事」性之散文(essay)描述方式, 再現地景特質、氛圍、乃至空間中微細的時間作用與變化, 與實證環境心理學的社會科學分析方法對照, 尤其凸顯地景詮釋中主觀之詩性特質。
- D. 理性地景形式研究專注於地景的自然及人造環境分析, 以科學量化及以分類方式看待地景元素各自的特質及彼此間的關係, 利用「評估」指標開展地景形式與內容的討論, 但普遍壓抑了分析者心智活動與地景主體間的互動。
- E. 有些地景研究聚焦於當地/地方文化, 註記地方的常民生活、宗教、儀式、神話、藝術與傳統藝匠表現等的地景痕跡, 研究內容依附著「地方史」及亟待發掘的地景「故事」(二者之間暫被簡單化約為「被認可之歷史書寫」及「軼聞、傳說、流言、

神話、口述歷史、生命與生活故事、地方情節等」), 卻同時隱含著不同地景主體間的權力關係。

- F. 關注地景主體與認同關係的地景研究及書寫, 深受後殖民與後結構論述影響, 從領地性之社區與社群認同(territorial identity), 到性別化地景(gendered landscape)詮釋, 乃至種族文化「飛地」(ethnic enclave)等, 文化研究(cultural studies)與都市研究(urban studies)向度的深化促使地景理論進一步涉足現代都市地景的綜觀討論, 文化/都市性的分析與自然環境/生態地景的取向間因此形成微妙張力, 多元文化的地景書寫則指涉了「多向文本」(hypertext, 見 Genette, 1982)與「眾聲喧嘩」(heteroglossia, 見 Bakhtin, 1994)的詮釋演繹。

「地景敘事體」的概念企圖包容上述不同地景觀點的再現結果, 包含歷史、故事、神話、分析、社會理論、視覺脈絡與影像、經驗、集體性或個人化的地方認同、「時空軌跡」(chronotope, 見 Bakhtin, 1994)、意義(包含社會意義及深層描述所生產的個人意義, 如 Bachelard(1969)所提及的家的意義) 乃至探索再現方式之多重敘事可能。其中, 傳統線性的敘事理解只是諸多敘事方式之一種選擇, 而非靜態的固定答案。如前述認定地景之為「意義競爭的場域」, 地景敘事體企圖理論化地景故事, 甚而刻意再現地景主體及地景敘事者的權力位置, 探索不同敘事策略(plot)介入地景故事的可能。

4、文學、電影、劇場敘事對地景敘事的提醒

雖然「敘事體」暗示了事件發生的時間過程, 但對時間的處理卻可因敘事技巧的創意發展有許多變化, 如倒敘與後設的敘述語言, 如打破敘事真實時間的軌跡、卻將心智時間膨脹, 如將論述、詩、散文等非故事性文體滲入敘事者的意識流狀態等, J. Joyce 處理【尤里西斯】(Ulysses) 的敘事結構、Italo Calvino, Gunter Grass 的多本著作都以非線性的敘事結構打開古典敘事的框架。華文作家中, 經常被拿來對照的雙城作家 上海的王安憶 vs. 台北的朱天心, 也因在敘述故事的過程加入了散文或環境資料的論述形式, 建構出獨特而具空間深度的敘事文本。

王安憶小說中與敘事體無可分割的空間場景, 經常以黃錦樹所稱的「散文體」結構於綿密演繹的敘事組織中, 形塑出主角與城市、或作者與城市間一種無解的糾葛。她在文本中時而凌空鋪下、時而神來一筆的城市白描, 洩漏了一個城市「參與觀察者」敏銳纖細的知覺, 讓故事少了地景的架構便像要失血。歷史與生活, 地景與光影, 在城市天空的鴿翼掩映間悄聲位移, 推展出一種文學的空間性與地方感。而這些充滿視覺張力的映象效果竟都不假圖像, 全靠文字工筆勾勒完成。

「參與觀察者」的書寫模式, 往往是以散文體小說再現「文學的空間性」的特色, 小說作者同時兼擬人類學者, 講故事之餘還負責傳遞田野採集的知識與一手經驗; 但對習慣故事性緊湊之文本的讀者而言, 散文體所逸出的獨立書寫卻常有打斷敘事

體秩序的干擾。只是，「參與觀察者」顯然在涉入地景情節的程度與班雅明指認的、發達資本主義時代的「漫遊者」有明顯出入。「參與觀察者」是神入的，與地景一起承擔歷史、記憶、與憂傷，其中地景的意義存於一種真實活在地方、並與之榮枯的入世情感。而漫遊者是疏離的，藉由地景鏡象反射自身，其地景意義有時是更出世的生命意義本身。

朱天心對小說文字的本質有不妥協的創作堅持，但又不甘無視眾聲喧嘩的批評理論與跨領域的文學可能，經由大量理論閱讀與田野紀錄後再現的敘事體，展現了「百科全書」般的知識論企圖，卻又一派自由揮灑，讓硬梆梆的空間、哲學、或社會論述與感性抒發的敘事語言手牽手一路迤邐而下。朱天心以城市考古姿態挖掘「古都」台北，不同於浪漫的異城市漫遊者，在這個或那個城市與不可辨識的現代性對話，喟嘆自身荒謬異化的存在；她以「假扮旅遊者」的身份，非常用力地（甚至過度用力了）重新探險台北城，異化這個她自「擊壤歌」、「時移事往」年代就不斷遊走、熟悉得太理所當然的老城。一方面與川端康成的古京都進行文本與空間的雙重對話，一面又循著歷史佈下的線索層層揭露，古都台北開始在朱天心虛構但自傳色彩濃厚的敘事體中展現奇魅面貌。

或許是，台北旅人朱天心不滿一般指南書寫的浮面、物化，索性穿過台北老靈魂朱天心記憶的沼澤，瓢取情感地景的水源，重構了一部兼具實證與現象學式的城市指南新文本。「古都」中對台北歷史、建築、地景特質描述精細考究，但朱天心炫示「討厭的知識」之餘，又立刻以十足個人的記憶註解，並由此衍生敘事情節。信手拈來，空間隨筆彷彿都是一個台北老靈魂內化了的空間知識。朱天心的「古都」直接以「台北學」的小說結構賦予敘事內容經脈。

敘事結構被作者的主觀敘事角度、敘事語言的形式、及敘事的時間向度所宰制；相對地，若解構或顛覆主要的宰制機制，新的敘事體即有機會從中被釋放。Barthes 宣告「作者已死」之後，多向對話經常挑戰主觀敘事的單一視角；前述關於不同文學語言載體疊置的敘事型態，展現了包容多元後的豐富、而非混亂；而時間的概念更在電腦科技思維的帶動下，產生了革命性的劇變。以往敘事關心的是「接下來呢」（What happens next?），但所謂「下一個時刻」已被切割細分到讓「瞬息萬變」似的成語變得可知可解，敘事體也出現了「極微敘事」（pico-narrative, micro-narrative）的想像。一般所理解的時間/事件可能是瞬息間文明世界的傾覆（如 911 事件），也可能是凝凍時間後不斷被複製的事件（911 影像的一再重播），也可能是一個被放大的時刻所形成的永恆性（如 911 的影響，如事件發生那一刻被詩、被歌、被影像所捕捉並書寫的撼動）。一方面，就如 Tschumi（2000）所言「空間成為暫存，而持續性實則為無數同時發生瞬間的接合」（Space becomes temporal, duration is really a conjunction of simultaneities），敘事體成了「碎形」；另一方面，對時間與極微時刻最敏感、對一般故事發展最易干擾的詩的形式，卻開始有機會成為敘事文本的一環。

如同文字語言或音像語言為主的敘事體，地景敘事體可以是紀實、也可以是虛構，雖然因囿於其中科學方法的刻板印象，一般認知總傾向紀實的一方。這或許也是結合敘事理論的弔詭之處，讓地景文本的建構增加了辯證上的廣度及趣味，但也使原本較為嚴謹的地景研究論述產生狡黠之鬆動。再進一步想，歷史書寫的「大敘事」多少因意識型態或主觀敘事的主導權角度，在選擇性刪除了大部分紀實材料的過程，而摻雜了剪接的痕跡，形成一被捏造過(forged)的敘事文本。與地景認同息息相關的神話與傳說更經常藉由虛構敘事的力量凝聚成某種集體的地方意識，當地景意義最終因此被生產了，虛構與真理之間的界線更益顯模糊（前述舞鶴的小說即以擬人類學式的小說敘事，讓虛構與田野記錄交織成既真實又荒謬、既自由又批判的精彩文本）。

而與地景情感最直接而密切相關的個人與集體記憶，正好處於虛構與真理的曖昧交會處，這也是許多文學與電影敘事體不斷探索的領域，Alan Resnais 導演的 *Last Year at Marinbad* 尤其是藉由融解文學、影像、美術、劇場、地景（古典法式庭園）不同的敘事語言結構，在語言符號自由穿梭間，瓦解記憶與真相距離的前衛代表作。近年，Christopher Nolan 編導的 *Memento* 及 Alex Proyas 的電影 *Dark City* 也對記憶所建構的真實產生質疑，再透過電影本身剪接的操作，形成電影語言結構與記憶結構的辯證詮釋，*Memento* 甚至將同樣的素材倒反剪接成另一部結局完全不同的電影。Charlie Kaufman 的劇本配合 Spike Jonze 的導演創作系列，從 *Being John Malkovich* 到 *Adaptation* 到 *Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind*，利用一層又一層重疊但又獨立的文本，開啟了一道又一道相連但又跳接的出入口，虛實之間，連演員都不確定自己在演出別人或正被別人演出。這些大膽的敘事實驗並非只是形式的玩弄，而是在傳統敘事結構鬆綁的同時，以批判而創意的文本，打開了新的敘事論述空間。

無論就地景敘事體的時間想像或越來越形重要的音像及剪接語言，電影敘事對地景敘事體的詮釋與建構都是一深具參考價值的類比。其中最主要的，兩者都是高度視覺化的敘事結構，不一定是視覺美學，而是在視覺脈絡中擷取以資傳達的意象及觀看/理解的視角，建構出可閱讀的敘事體。另外，閱讀與再現地景同時兼具「疏離」(distanciation)與「涉入」(involvement)的條件（比較下，「地方」的概念則比「地景」更強調深刻的融入），因此，地景敘事體之建構者正如一「導演」的角色。但電影往往因觀看經驗的養成，常縱容敘事時間（如，因放映時間限制而來的時間切割）對真實時間的操弄(manipulation)，後製作過程對原始材料的修剪及重組更讓敘事策略或情節設計 (plot) 主導了敘事文本最終的樣貌。經過音像的媒介，電影敘事的效果常比文字或口語敘事更直接、快速、甚至煽情，但對於心智想像力的啟發卻仍需依賴對敘事體語言及敘事結構的掌握。

而電影敘事體與地景敘事體最大的差別在於，電影作為一「作品」(work of art)而言，

其敘事結構是封閉的(電影結束的時候敘事終了),而地景敘事體卻是開放結局的多向文本。值得注意的是,單一地景敘事的詮釋與建構實則被時間與空間的邊界框限為封閉的敘事結構,但地景本身的敘事性是開放且隨時間逐步成形的,每一次地景的詮釋與建構只是地景多向文本中一則被說出的故事。這也是地景規劃設計時常會陷入的矛盾。地景本質的開放敘事性與開放邊界召喚不斷的演繹與逐次發展,時間是延續的;但規劃設計卻導向將地景建構為一種「作品」式的完成,時間是分段的。只是,若缺乏不同時期封閉性敘事之積累,地景敘事演繹的證據(evidence)也不存在了。敏感於地景與時間關係的規劃設計者,因而傾向對地景時間與空間的邊界採取更開放的態度。近來廢墟美學(趨近時間終了、將死未死的垂死空間狀態卻昇華出永恆與神聖的感知)重新勾起地景規劃設計者的注意,相當程度反映出開放或曖昧的空間與時間邊界,誘生了地景敘事的流動與想像。

另外,電影、文學、劇場、音樂、規劃設計等都可視為再現地景的敘事媒介,在不同的媒介語言下,地景成為被敘事的對象。而敘事媒介本身包含的「類型」(genre,如電影語言中的黑色電影、科幻、喜劇、魔幻寫實等)或敘事結構技巧(如線性、倒敘、後設等)所彰顯之不同敘事風格(style)運用,延伸出表情豐富的地景敘事文本。值得注意的是,實質地景本身做為一敘事文本,並不必然存在一個(或一組)有意識進行書寫的「作者」,但它所具有之可讀性又是地景敘事體最關鍵的環節。因此,地景自身也是敘事者(敘事媒介),隨著時間流動,每一框視覺化的地景即開展自我敘事,彷彿一沒有導演的劇場,逕由敏銳的觀察者詮釋。相對地,利用地景演出的環境劇場則是有意識的編導建構,地景同時是敘事對象與敘事媒介。

由此可進而探討敘事文本內的角色與敘事者的關係。若將地景敘事體的主體區分為被敘事主體(或生活主體)與詮釋/建構主體,兩者之間即呈現如演員與導演般緊密但主從位階劃分清晰的角色張力。而當一規劃者或社區營造者提出關於地景主體的培力,究竟是在強化其演員的從屬地位或培養其進階為導演的自主性,實則十分值得玩味,但培力者本身的主導性則不言可喻。另一個重要卻經常被忽略的角色是觀看導演與演員展演的觀眾,而劇場與電影正因為要思考觀眾的觀點才採取了截然不同的敘事角度。傳統劇場以固定舞台框景與觀眾拉開觀看的距離,觀眾與舞台的位置都固定不動,沒有特寫,沒有鏡頭移位;相對地,電影利用鏡頭的移動及剪接,將觀眾的視野帶入演員演出的場景,甚至以演員的角度觀看世界並經驗特殊心理狀態。因而,透過「導演」的操控及「作品」的呈現,地景敘事體的「觀眾」可能被置入一傳統劇場的靜態(或相對性客觀)觀看位置,也可能進入電影式的動態(或相對性主觀)場景體驗。如以導演的角色隱喻地景規劃設計者,則傳統劇場的固定觀賞景框與電影流動影像的鏡頭移位提醒我們,相對應之敘事手段轉化為空間規劃設計策略的方法論可能。尤其微妙的是,觀眾有時會被後設地視為演出的一環,或在某些環境劇場中,地景主體(被敘事對象)又成為觀眾,觀眾被視為演出主體,固定角色的邊界消融,卻在解構式的地景文本互動中,發現新的主體性與認同。

5.寶藏巖聚落的地景敘事文本（案例操作）

選擇寶藏巖聚落作為地景敘事體詮釋與建構的對象，主要在於它經歷過許多不同階段的社會變遷，在時間的堆積下產生了多向度的豐富文脈。從早期非正式自力營造形成的「違建天堂」，吸引了許多影像工作者以之為背景創作出虛構及紀錄影片；再由都市計畫劃為公園用地後，引起一連串的社會運動、保育運動、社區營造；繼之又因臨水區 38 棟房舍拆除，留下大片頹圯地貌構築的奇特廢墟城寨，成為城市最超現實的角落，也因此滋長出多層次的藝術想像；緊接著，強調社會福利家園與藝文生態聚落共構的共生藝棧取得了論述的正當性，前仆後繼的藝術行動詮釋與建構聚落地景的意義，也讓外界（觀眾）與聚落居民（主體）在驚異中重新看見寶藏巖聚落的地景特質。這些過程形成了集體無意識之空間生產與有意識之建立空間論述/敘事間的地景敘事張力，且書寫仍在進行，主體性認同遊移不定，真實與虛構的間接地景文本疊置在「真確」的地景上，但有機違建聚落的真確性(authenticity)卻在機構性力量的介入下淪為樣版。如何在「作品」中探索地景敘事的開放結局與開放邊界，並與地景主體及「觀眾」對話，挑戰陸續進場的詮釋與建構者。

寶藏巖聚落早期有意識的地景敘事大抵強調聚落歷史、社會調查訪談及生活空間模式語言的建立（呂秉怡&陳永龍，1988），是由社會理論出發的論述書寫，時而穿插客觀敘事內容，具體呈現寶藏巖聚落處於一種集體性社會條件的邊緣位置。當台北市政府於 1980 年透過都市計畫將這片違建「都市毒瘤」重劃為公園用地，這些交織著敘事與論述、且建立在地史觀的書寫，即成為抵抗夷平式都市計畫的工具，以此要求市府在作為社會照顧提供者的角色下，擬定必要的進步政策，保存聚落地景的風貌與社會內容。在地居民的地景經驗及自力營造過程，被建構為台北集體記憶不可分割的一環及被都市計畫方式排除於外的有機聚落空間美學。（陳盈潔，1999）一方面，這些論述有其真實性，如某些角落與場景成為地景故事發生的場所；另一方面，以空間敘事鋪陳的手法亟欲透過地景認同之建立、深化、與被看見，為後續實質保育策略的正當性背書。此時期的空間書寫大多強調一種生活美學的積極面，甚而，強化、浪漫化了每日生活路徑中集體無意識之空間積累與生產的意象，以凸顯都市計畫理性與正式空間生產過程的侷促。至於個人的生命經驗、環境心理、內部權力關係、與地景認同辯證皆隱而不顯，而聚落的線性歷史也在違建論述（違建乃城市集體記憶之部分）的鋪陳下開展特定的涵構。

但即使藉由地景與聚落的再詮釋以迄保存的目的，其中的敘事邏輯仍有細微的差異。初期因保存行動與機構的關係明顯處於對立，因而包裝於軟性的空間敘事過程中，明顯的批判觀點直指都市政策的謬誤。社會運動團體且巧妙地利用了市長選舉的政策承諾，要求當時市長候選人之一馬英九簽下保存聚落的支票，並在當選後成立跨局處專案小組處理寶藏巖的保存規劃課題（寶藏巖的邊陲性與低可及性某種程度也救了它自己，其他市民及市議會便未對市府施以壓力以達闢建公園目的）。於

是，後來當釋出「進步」善意的市政府同意重新檢討都市計畫內容，並編列經費委託原運動團體與學院提出規劃替選方案，礙於未來政策溝通之必要及「代表」官方態度對外說明，寶藏巖聚落地景詮釋中的批判調性轉而為較中性客觀的描述。（台灣大學建築與城鄉研究所，2001）此類文本企圖再現聚落與地景的真實，但書寫者集體價值觀的取向實則基於對功能理性規劃的反省，敘事策略如拍攝一具批判觀點的紀錄片。

相較於社會運動為基底的批判性詮釋，同時期有部分以虛構文本為題材的劇情電影選擇以寶藏巖為場景，利用其地景與聚落風貌特質，轉化真實地景為虛構敘事的一環。這些電影不約而同將聚落視為城市曖昧邊陲及社會底層人物著床的基地，同時融入依山傍河、逐坡而上的聚落地景視野，成為影像敘事的元素。雖然影片角色不暗示聚落人物的真實性，但整體看來，劇情電影相對於紀錄電影彷彿如小說相對於報導文學，外來者主觀而自由的文學敘事手段規避了記錄現實(reality)必須面對的「故事材料篩選」倫理，反而在更細膩的角色/環境心理變化的「揣摩」上辯證更為宇宙性的真相(truth)與地景潛意識(landscape subconscious)。

如侯孝賢提到選擇寶藏巖為拍攝場景的影片「南國再見南國」中的「南國」有「很多移民過來...但他們用完就走了，這是一種心情、不自覺的心情...在這邊要長大很複雜，但是想離開又捨不得」(臺灣大學建築與城鄉研究所/基金會，2002)，這描述近乎是匆匆落腳於此、以為暫留卻輾轉形成不可割離之身世的居民心情寫照；如徐小明導演的「少年π，安啦」場景鎖定寶藏巖的邊緣特質，「...邊緣、蒼涼這種超越文化的心境投射，是鏡頭下遺世獨立的寶藏巖作為對照亡命天涯徬徨者的隱喻」(仝上)；如三池崇史拍攝的「雨狗」，寶藏巖成為滂沱大雨中「殺手逃亡終點的寓言」，而潮濕的寶藏巖情境也讓後來參與藝術行動的建築師 Marco Casagrande 聯想到蘇俄導演 Andre Tarkovsky 的作品 *Stalker*；如連錦華導演的「小雨之歌」以寶藏巖作為台北城都市縫隙的化外之地，暗示了老兵角色數十年來的滄桑流離及大陸新娘的都市新移民處境；瞿友寧導演的「殺人計畫」更進一步將兩個女性角色糾結的情愫架構在寶藏巖盤根錯節的空間佈局中，透過巨大封閉而蓄滿透明壓力的水塔之中介，兩人的生活細節與心理映射竟在聚落迷宮的意識流裡交織出超現實的敘事情節「殺人計畫」尤其特別的部分，是將聚落臨水區 38 棟房舍因防洪理由被強制拆除的過程拍攝入鏡，並安排影片中一虛構的遊民角色穿梭於拆除現場，無意中讓真實無奈的聚落生命紀錄融入虛構的文本，推展出層次豐富的敘事深度。另外值得注意的是，瞿友寧不拘泥於寶藏巖空間特質最易啟人聯想的角色樣版，卻以兩名女性高中生角色的糾葛詮釋出細膩複雜的地景心理(landscape psyche)，極具開創性地打破一般對寶藏巖聚落一廂情願的認知，反而再現了集體經驗外的差異性主體。

林琬玉導演的「山雨欲來」以紀錄片的形式記錄幾位寶藏巖居民在 1997 年左右的違建生活和面對拆遷的心態，從小人物的生活切片，探索社會底層人物在城市角落安

身立命的真實境遇及關於作為棲所的「家」的意義。這種深具人道主義觀點的「報導文學」式題材延續早期「人間」、「南方」雜誌以降的批判立場，其實是台灣紀錄片的主流。但因著重社會性涵構的探討，不免偏廢紀錄片「敘事策略」之形式省思，且議題導向的切入角度常使作品觀點變得太可預期。傳統紀錄片的敘事方式主要擷取自未排演的真實素材，經由敘事策略安排以客觀呈現議題/主題；但敘事策略的鋪陳指涉了導演主觀的剪接篩選、運鏡角度、及時間序列安排，因而所謂紀錄片之客觀性及導演涉入事件的程度不斷引起辯證。近期如美國導演 Michael Moore 從 Roger and Me 到 Fahrenheit 911 的系列作品及吳乙峰導演的「生命」，都在爭議聲中建立紀錄片中的導演主體性。相對地，有些導演（作者）在敘事策略安排上還謹慎地思考了觀眾（讀者）的主體參與位置，如「寶藏巖家庭電影俱樂部」所啟發的紀錄片進而利用紀錄片的放映，使觀眾（未遷出之社區居民）與影片部分角色（被迫遷離之原社區居民）產生難以言喻的共鳴，不僅透過影片傳遞彼此近況及訊息，更在影像與實境的虛實互動之間延伸紀錄片類型的後設意義。

上述關於寶藏巖的不同敘事文本，一部份是批判詮釋者利用當下社會情境與線性歷史共構下呈現的現實，另一部份則是以虛構文學/影像之敘事與詩性語言企圖捕捉的真相，加上介於二者之間的紀錄片形式，集體看來，聚落的地景文本已開展出具分析性之敘事類型(narrative genre)。但類型本身不應被樣版化，如紀錄性敘事不必然也不全然是議題導向而缺乏語言張力/魅力的，由現實探求真相的過程經常是此類型作者更深刻的期待；反之，地景的虛構敘事也不見得只為利用場景說一則動聽故事，必須視作者的企圖與作品意識的傳達而定。利用虛構敘事技巧遊戲、顛覆、反諷哲學目的者不勝枚舉。不同類型間的相互滲透，乃至釋放作品再由讀者詮釋，或視原敘事結構中之元素如何自我解構（如寶藏巖居民成為報導性敘事結構的主體，其中之個人或團體反過來以其自身敘述之延伸，顛覆作者之敘事結構），都有機會讓地景成為一開放性的文本，而無確定最終之意義。此曖昧之介面與邊緣使地景內容有了開展批判與不斷累積文本深度的書寫空間，且避免某種壟斷地景詮釋權的獨斷性。地景詮釋的開放並非鼓勵某種毫無節制的、以敘事工具對地景進行個人化剝削蹂躪的「書寫」樂趣，而是如解構批評，在多向文本的對話過程不斷補充（supplement）文本。

既然地景文本是開放的，思考地景敘事結構自然無法以一唯一結構統整原文及其他詮釋與批評文本，成為壟斷性文本，因為此敘事結構將再度充滿自我解構的罅隙。因而，在轉嫁（grafting）、遊戲、對話、多重閱讀的策略中，有時「作者與讀者一同退居在後，審視文本的盲點」（莊裕安，2004），技巧與創意則成為作品的前景。此敘事文本的角度重視的仍是作品本身的最終呈現，而非地景主體角色的自主書寫與詮釋。但有意識於此的「作者」，可選擇在創作過程中揚棄作品及籠統性的地景迷思，開展與地景主體的對話；此時，作者的角色及其有意識之行動依然存在，但其價值觀可能衍生不同策略，只是被書寫的對方或作品的讀者不應被預設為受惠或被培

力、被照顧、被教育之他者。且不應忽略，一被呈現或實踐之地景敘事「作品」，即便未刻意強調地景主體的自主性，其形式與內容的呈現可能對地景主體產生影響與質變（此邏輯類似一未故意要求民眾參與、但掌握了地方特質與技術品質的設計過程，最終作品吸引了更多民眾參與使用及享受）。

所謂技術與創意的前景，形式的結構與細節，又如何由地景敘事詮釋得到養分？

在關鍵性的「再利用計畫」(reprogramming)過程中，地景詮釋引發了寶藏巖聚落空間定位的想像。初期的政治經濟批判與關懷社會弱勢立場，運動團體傾向「聚落性社會住宅」的規劃。但在諸多法令與行政程序、整體公平性、與社區內部異質複雜組成的考量，藝文空間的計畫也被提出作為替選，但留住原住戶（尤其是老人及遷移行動力低者）仍是保存計畫的前提。當前任台北市文化局局長龍應台親自踏訪體驗寶藏巖聚落地景後，隨即提出了「貧窮藝術村」的命題。亦即，在她與幕僚的詮釋下，寶藏巖聚落地景也隱含特定藝術創作場域的潛力。若將前述劇情電影納入藝術範疇，寶藏巖聚落被不同主體詮釋出藝術性似乎是不言而喻的。此藝術性不純然源自其水岸坡地環境條件的特殊，更主要的，恐怕還是其完整自成一國之邊緣聚落所投射的批判性社會聯想（尤其是地景痕跡中洩露的故事性），與當代藝術對工業現代性與都市性不斷針貶的批判性創作概念不謀而合。地景閱讀者在深一層瞭解聚落真實故事之前，便已挑動了特定的詮釋觀點，地景敘事被凝塑成某種氛圍。

對於許多對地景特質敏感的藝術文學創作者與空間規劃設計者而言，所謂氛圍或情境是可感知的，包容甚且凌駕了其中的真實故事本身。這種關於地景調性的詮釋較貼近賦予地景某種音樂性，但音樂性又可區分為抽象（去敘事）具文化涵構、及以詞文強化敘事性的不同類型。詮釋地景調性並不同於敘事分析，但就再現與創作的目的而言，有時反倒整體敘事結構扮演關鍵性的角色（如整體「作品風格」的確定，而非只是說完故事了事，但關於作者觀及作品風格究竟應隱晦或彰顯的問題，則端賴作者本身對創作領域原有本質內省與批判價值觀的自覺意識）。

敘事體的情緒（mood）與情境（ambiance），或更操作性說來，敘事體的語言修辭細節，是音樂性最可直接表現與渲染之處，同時是意在言外的詮釋向度。相對於簡單說清故事來龍去脈的語言清晰度(articulation)而言，看似與故事主題無關的情境/意境描述有時容易干擾敘事程序，但對故事主體心理狀態的勾勒（因此，主體性的強化）或環境與人物故事發展的關係著墨卻較為深刻。地景之音樂性，即便本身是抽象或去敘事性的，因而也可成為地景敘事策略。台灣最富「地景意識」的年輕建築師黃聲遠及邱文傑，都在訪談中提到地景敘事對其建築創作的影響，但真正在形式生產的過程，這些故事往往很快地變成一種較抽象的「感知」或「空間氛圍」，甚至成為溝通媒介的某種象徵形式。由他們作品中可閱讀出的地景涵構與其說是地景敘事結構的思考，毋寧看作是地景音樂性的表達，雖然邱文傑更著重於動態情境的

掌握，而黃聲遠則較習慣由地方素材下手。

進入共生藝棧規劃階段的寶藏巖敘事建構，與前階段強調的保存論述及社區意識脈絡相銜，但再現手法凸顯了藝術概念的干預，地景敘事的詮釋開展為空間形式的建構。不同的藝術行動者在有限的時間中吸收二手地景詮釋內容及第一線的地景體驗，進而生產創作概念與真實行動。透過藝術行動的涉入，地景敘事之建構主體與寶藏巖聚落地景形成新的對話關係。而有別於社區營造慣常的手法，如強調長期蹲點與地方互動、地方文史記錄、生活空間改善與美化等，寶藏巖藝術行動實驗大抵是以早期社區空間與社會訪調為基礎，藉由長期蹲點之規劃團隊的中介，配合外來專業者/行動者提出創意計畫。值得注意的是，其中並不特別針對弱勢社區之經濟需求與社會照顧擬定計畫內容，而是信任藝術行動者的價值觀與直覺性地景閱讀，並提供他們二手文獻與資料的輔助，以瞭解社區所面對的真實議題。在藝術行動者與社區居民短暫密集的接觸後，即由寶藏巖聚落邊緣地景的人文與生態特殊性建構出行動「劇本」（有部分甚至全憑二手詮釋內容即發展出劇本，與社區接觸後再進行修正）。

無論構思或建構何種地景敘事文本，長期蹲點的社區營造規劃與外來的藝術行動面對的地景主體都不是概念上的他者或讀者角色，更何況此種二分對立的態度經常被後結構以降的敘事理論質疑。在地景敘事中，地景主體時而是地景文本的主角，時而是文本的閱讀者，時而是與地景互動的參與者，地景主體角色的流動性反映於不同的詮釋脈絡。由此檢視社區營造所企圖建構之地景主體性，有時反倒太定著了。其中常強調地景主體性的深化與強化，作者的角色則盡可能隱身，但主體性又常與集體性及社區公共性共構，個別主體性與差異性因此被忽略，而在心理層次，集體形成的社區潛意識也在追求積極正面的社區共同意識過程被漠視（有時，反倒此潛意識可能更真實反映了社區精神，如寶藏巖的案例）。

規劃設計乃至社區營造通常利用環境診斷的方式，指出空間的結構性問題與生活環境問題細節，並因此提出改善與美化方案。但藝術文學取向的地景詮釋並不盡然以同樣價值觀看待「問題」，有時反而由空間現實取材，以現實之詩性或美學（poetics and aesthetics of reality）再現地景內涵。前者所提議的問題解決策略與介入地景改變的姿態較為規範性（normative）且強勢，即便都市計畫與一般社區營造操作的細膩程度大有不同，但由地景找出問題與資源並解決問題的理性原則頗為類似。藝術文學再現地景不強調實質環境改造，創作者價值觀企圖探索地景之真相，但因作品本身完成後的自我封閉性，再現的結果有時不免浪漫化或戲劇化了現實。弔詭的是，當再現的過程不盡然是一靜態物件或暫時性之裝置，如批判性出發的藝術行動，「再現」實則已是某種地景建構，正如許多當代公共藝術論述所倡議之藝術介入環境以建立地方認同的手段。

藝術行動(artivism)是結合了 art 及 activism，強調社會實踐行動與「藝術」「行動」間對話關係的藝術形式，藉由藝術計畫，展現一種激進且具特定價值觀取向的態度，批判性回應社會/空間議題。藝術行動以「公共藝術計畫」轉化設置靜態「公共藝術品」的消極態度，強調「發生」與「發聲」的過程，將藝術視為空間情節的孵化器。整合政策、事件、演出、營造、參與、創作等空間策略，使外在的藝術形式包容更深刻的認同及環境詮釋企圖，而非僅是自外於社會發展的菁英藝術取向。因為強調行動，社區及社群的動員不依賴對藝術品填品味問卷之類的樣板操作，而是更真實地在說故事、相互討論辯論、動手做、身體實踐的合作過程累積意義。賀龍巴特(Roland Barthes)看出認同地標與「神話」創造不可分的關係，在持續的敘述、詮釋、與行動中，社區社群/市民的主體聲音開啟了公共藝術「神話」的可能。故事流傳，藝術生命因而延續。社區藝術行動在地景角落的抒情書寫，潤飾了地景的面容，也灌溉了藝術想像的土壤。但融入了地景的故事和主體性認同，藝術行動開展出地景敘事的向度，在不斷的閱讀中，堆積出自身藝術生命的厚度。

寶藏巖自力營造聚落在多年妾身未明的狀態下，慢慢在社區營造與藝術行動的公共領域間摸索出未來的可能定位。從台北藝術節時舉辦的寶藏巖新發現影展開始，聚落由電影拍攝的背景期待成為電影藝術發生的場景，每週三的家庭電影俱樂部還將被拆除房屋遺留的壁面漆為戶外影院銀幕，藉固定的電影放映吸引居民的自然參與。2003 GAPP (Global Artivists Participation Projects)「寶藏巖全球藝術行動者參與計畫」進一步擴大社區與藝術行動結盟合作的實驗，以「他鄉」(the Other Home-land，亦可作「他者家園」解釋)為策展主題，引進來自全球各地的藝術創作者與行動者，在寶藏巖提出與聚落脈絡相關的藝術行動計畫。藝術本身可能是寶藏巖聚落情境的反映，也可能是聚落保存的手段，甚且是地方感與地方認同的召喚。

- 「閣樓之光 台北有機層」藝術行動

芬蘭建築師/地景藝術家 Marco Casagrande 進入寶藏巖不久後，憑著敏銳的觀察與直覺、敏感的社會與生態關懷，提出了一個「閣樓」的創作概念。閣樓是西方住家中被排除於特定使用分類外的特殊空間，收容了許多不常被用又不忍丟棄的東西，空間毫無章法，甚至不一定有存在的必要性。但當某一個午後爬上閣樓，左手抽出十年前的相簿，右手打開五年前的日記，一頁翻開一頁，記憶上湧，才發現這閣樓原來是房子不可或缺的潛意識與靈魂。Marco 認為寶藏巖正是台北都市計畫外的閣樓。他在被遺棄的屋子內發現老兵沒帶走的家庭相本及舊皮帶，勾引起自身許多的回憶與印象，於是構思了連串的藝術行動，著手與台北的潛意識對話。

他先與工作團隊及學生一起套上工人連身黑衣(來自電影 Metropolis 中地下工人城市的概念，也順帶讓他的藝術家身份隱匿於眾多黑衣工人中)，從寶藏巖各個角落挖出大量遺棄物及垃圾，一方面從清出的物件中尋找在地記憶的蛛絲馬跡，另一方面正好為髒亂的有機聚落大掃除。廢棄物被分類後集中展示於草地廣場，像個跳蚤市場

一般，不一會就又陸續被不同的社區居民撿走。Marco 從閣樓的概念衍生出「閣樓之光」夜間劇場的雛形，再由廣場剩下的材料發展劇場的道具與光源。白日的寶藏巖太一目了然，入夜後，當火光燃起，城市的潛意識開始一場神秘、超現實的顯影。Marco 與將近 30 個持火把的黑衣人站上寶藏巖被拆除的山坡建築立面，一框框廢墟窗洞內閃爍著熒熒火光，宛如詭譎夢境一般。黑衣的 Marco 躲近一間崩毀的密室，當他再度現身已變身為倉皇由戰火中逃生的老兵，而他的服裝、行頭及四處流竄的火光都來自垃圾堆中撿拾到的衣物。忽然，他嘴含酒精，猛地朝天空噴出一道道烈焰，手持火炬跌坐在一張傾頹的石椅上，然後黑衣人攜火炬逐次沿廢墟山壁的段垣空房聚合成一鋸齒狀的火光路徑。而這路徑將在後續行動被逐段修整為銜接聚落高層與底層的階梯步道，成為串連一間間記憶密室的「意識流」。當火漸滅，人影歇，殘壁上一幅幅巨大的人像才在聚光燈中幽幽顯影。正是當年被迫遷徙的老住戶身影。Marco 的火把是由社區幾近 80 歲的女鄰長點燃的，演出結束，火把又傳回她手中，許多在場觀看的老鄰居都看得神往，歎說寶藏巖從沒如此壯觀過。

Marco 與社區互動的藝術行動「台北有機層」又持續約一週，其間黑衣工人與居民合作清掉了幾卡車的垃圾，完成了串連廢墟立面的階梯步道、竹橋與平台，開闢了一畦畦的菜園，搭出大樹下的工作與休息平台，將坡地滲水淤積的泥灘挖成生態水池，並由柔韌的竹構架搭出未來可作為農夫市場的涼棚。另外，還製作了四組工地鷹架組裝成的「書站」(book-stop)，裡頭載著寶藏巖的泥土、植物、相本、遺留物、及鞦韆上的居民。在工程暫告段落的晚上，百多居民從社區推著書站一路引火渡書遊行到公館的主題書店街。寶藏巖的每一個人每一段故事都彷如一本塵封的書，當書的扉頁重新被打開，閣樓之光點燃，城市再度閱讀寶藏巖陳釀的情節。社區居民集體走入城市帶進能量，不僅讓城市在藝術行動中看見寶藏巖，也讓居民透過別人的注視再度看見自己。

「引火渡書遊行」一路走來如街道劇場，黑衣工人戴上白色面具及紅斗笠，手持巨大紅色旗幡，敲著鍋碗瓢盆大步前進，社區老人隨身聽的 AM 調幅聲音伴隨聲如嗩吶的薩克斯風不時從節奏中流竄而出，一些好奇的旁觀者索性加入行伍。隊伍在「古今圖書」店為書站買舊書，將寶藏巖原生的紫蘇種在沿路個性咖啡館的角落，而十多家咖啡店櫺窗上展示的是居民與亞洲藝術家分別拍攝的寶藏巖影像。遊行到同志主題「晶晶書店」贈送書站時，店主賴正哲與友人舉粉紅三角旗華麗迎接，當場朗誦鎮店書「揚起彩虹旗」的片段，並斷袖回贈寶藏巖隊伍。遊行繼續走到左翼地下書店「唐山」、簡體學術出版書店「秋水堂」、原住民與台灣文化主題書店「台灣的店」、及女性主義主題「女書店」送書站買書，每家書店店長都挑出最具代表性書籍放入書站的格架，並當街大聲朗誦書籍內容，寶藏巖遊行隊伍回以掌聲叫聲表達最高能量的支持。引火渡書遊行不只是社區聚落保存的對外宣言，更是台北市不同社群之認同意念與情感的抒發，在公共性街道以行動劇場的藝術形式相互交流，珍視異己聲音。短暫，卻意義非凡。

但以如此野心與大尺度的藝術行動而言，不到兩週的規劃執行難免引發許多問題。基本上，除關鍵少數人外，絕多數人無法理解整個計畫的意義，更何況寶藏巖社區居民。雖然有些人被 Casagrande 的行動感動啟發了（如社區一李姓木工在後來有樣學樣，又在廢墟立面自力營造出一大段階梯平台與花園，品質更令人印象深刻），但也有不少人的每日生活受到干擾。有人甚至在網上質疑，寶藏巖社區究竟是藝術行動的臨時演員或主體？整個計畫成就是藝術家個人作品或社區需求？Casagrande 大膽地碰觸關於社區靈魂的議題，而非在某種期待下去動員及組織一個邊緣社區以趨共同目標。只是所謂寶藏巖公共利益的共識究竟為何，需要多長時間的醞釀才能達到目標？過去的社會行動聚焦於社區將被驅離的危機，一旦危機化為轉機，社區本身又如何在不了解自身之前提出未來願景？Casagrande 以強烈的神入觀點詮釋社區，但他是否真的讀到了寶藏巖的真相？

● 「菜園肖像」藝術行動

與 Casagrande's 戲劇性十足的行動計畫對比，藝術行動者 Jeremy Liu 與 Hiroko Kikuchi 的花園肖像計畫顯得十分低調。他們原先的「任務」是創意地為社區居民在廢墟立面前耕作的共同菜園構思經營計畫，但他們同時明白執行的時間極為有限，且所有關於寶藏巖的複雜狀態都是假二手資料得來的。他們決定不直接談共同菜園經營問題，而以他們與社區主體不到一週的短暫、個人、但親密互動的經驗提出一藝術行動，以此間接鼓舞關於共同菜園的非正式討論與對話。

Liu & Kikuchi 提出的計畫十分單純可行：在最翠綠的菜園區為寶藏巖的居民拍肖像。在拍攝實際進行之先，他們在長期從事社區調查及紀錄片拍攝的學生引介下，逐一拜訪十多戶家庭，在聊天中聆聽居民的故事、感知、需求、及參與肖像拍攝的意願。若非蹲點學生的中介，Liu & Kikuchi 很難在如此短的時間內贏得居民的信任。經由翻譯，這些非正式訪談引發各種故事敘述，很快地，許多人同意到菜園被拍攝，即便當時部分被拍者還沒開始在菜園耕作。Liu & Kikuchi 請願意參與的個人與家庭另外攜帶一個對他（們）有意義的人或物一同入鏡。一對剛結婚的新人穿著禮服到菜園，幸福地握著對方的手；78 歲的女鄰長與她耕作的伙伴一起，驕傲地展示她們的收成；一名有學習障礙的年輕人靠著她母親的身旁，害羞對著鏡頭微笑；一名老兵帶著他的老狗伙伴，像個頑童般露齒而笑；每張臉，確實都在說個故事。總共有十七組肖像在同一處菜園被拍攝，並漂亮地裱在明亮的紅色木框中。這些肖像再由藝術行動者回贈給參與的居民，作為紀念及聊天的話題。換言之，藝術作品在完成後即消失在每個參與主體的家中。

這正是 Liu & Kikuchi 的企圖——將藝術的主體性回歸到社區個人的生命經驗，並削減外來藝術家的角色。而這特別的藝術作品展示空間就是聚落社區的家戶，熱心想一睹作品全貌的觀者必須造訪所有參與的家庭並與他們對話，才得以全盤瞭解此計

畫的深度及廣度。Liu & Kikuchi 提到，「此計畫乃關於將菜園帶到家庭裡，作為將人們帶到菜園想法的平衡。這是介於家庭與菜園間之『對話空間』的肇始。」在十七張肖像永久消失於私密家戶之先，Liu & Kikuchi 邀請所有被拍攝者參與一次在寶藏巖舉行的公共論壇，並以說故事方式親自展示他們自身的肖像。這是唯一一次完整公開觀賞此作品的機會，所有敘述者都誠摯地表達他們對「菜園肖像計畫」的感覺及對共同菜園的看法。雖然離公共有機菜園的經營論述還有一大段距離，但參與論壇討論者很難不感受到這些真心的敘述與被拍攝者的故事。

菜園肖像計畫是一個有開放結局的藝術實驗，它同時是一個實際肖像工作室的啟端，將持續記錄寶藏巖聚落的生命故事及社區變遷（這概念在後來由葉偉立及劉和讓的寶藏巖泡茶照相館延續了）。Liu & Kikuchi 有意識地隱藏藝術家身份（理論性地反映了後結構主義所指稱的「主體去中心化」“decentering the subject”，見 Smith, 2001），將藝術行動焦點轉移到社區居民主體性上，一方面展現了對寶藏巖社會脈絡的尊重，並謹慎地保留了外來藝術家有限度的詮釋距離。然而他們謙卑的方式也激發了一些對藝術行動及藝術作品的嚴肅問題：當「藝術作品」幾近消失了，藝術家究竟真的強化了社區的主體性，或只是宣告了其「作者」主體性的死亡？藝術家將藉此承諾對社區持續性的行動或自此由社區退場、切斷與社區的關係——反正作品消失了，就沒有人再需要為作品負責？是否在藝術行動中，藝術作品本身會因藝術家藉作品強化創作自我(creative ego)的慾望（亦即，社區可能成為成就藝術家作品的工具）被批判而淪為原罪？

藝術自我的有意識撤退，適巧暴露了這類委託性藝術計畫的結構性問題——要求一自覺性甚強的藝術行動者在短時間付出行動，但藝術行動本身需要的醞釀及其準確度的拿捏卻未考量。這正誠實地、且既策略又弔詭地反映了外來創作者無法在短期內融入社區、以再現社區需求與欲求的現實。即便藝術行動者搬入社區取得了「準內部之人」(quasi-insiders) 的身份，他的居留要久到什麼程度才有足夠促成社區動員的正當性？又或許，藝術行動者的角色其實是基於其對社區深度的體驗與瞭解，以建構行動者與社區間誠懇真摯的「對話」？企圖以藝術家之名重寫社區自是傲慢偏狹，但在通屬稱謂卻面目模糊的「社區」面前過度謙卑，刻意放棄藝術家本身獨特的簽名、價值觀、與差異性，恐怕也不是完全必要。

- 發生 寶藏巖環境劇場系列

Marco Casagrande 及黑衣工人的「閣樓之光」表演將寶藏巖的廢墟立面轉化為一劇場空間，且根據一些劇場評論者觀點（如王墨林、鍾喬），這可能是當今台北最好的小劇場舞台。事實上，寶藏巖聚落特殊的氛圍及空間張力——一處活生生、脫離現代都市計畫控制、不願區從於特定菁英美學觀點、且將緊鄰自然環境編織到聚落有機紋理的違建山城——似乎本就為當代批判性邊緣劇場與環境劇場預設了一極有魅力的脈絡。在 GAPP 的框架下，「發生 寶藏巖環境劇場系列」試圖經由不同戲

劇團隊提出的空間劇本及身體演繹，探索聚落的集體意識與個人經驗，並在轉化寶藏巖聚落的另類空間時，延伸劇場藝術的社會及環境向度。

第一場「發生」的表演原先未列入節目單，卻最令人難忘。一名印尼行為藝術表演者 Yoyo Yogasmana 正巧要在台北進行一場回教的淨身儀式，決定選擇寶藏巖家庭電影院俱樂部的廣場，與身聲演繹社一同為「發生」系列開場。淨身儀式充滿神秘氛圍與異國情調，而其關於滌淨作用、救贖、與寬恕的宗教主題超越了文化及語言的邊界；透過表演者的動作表情，與旁觀者的感受熱切回響。許多社區居民想一窺究竟，毫無預期將被帶入奇異幻境，但因著可感知的宗教情緒，竟以高度的好奇及尊重觀賞完整個儀式。而當 Yogasmana 示意要大家趨近參與儀式，所有觀者都表現熱烈的興趣，甚至競相加入演出的行伍。

不顧寒風，Yogasmana 先將身體浸泡在一廢棄浴缸的冷水中，身聲演繹社迷離的吟唱迴響於廣場四周。他走出冷水，渾身不動立於聚光燈下仿若一背滿創痛但靈魂獲得救贖之苦行者。然後，他與其他吟唱者圍著一圈花瓣塚坐下，逐漸搖擺身體成起伏推移的浪潮，由內在發出的聲音則迴盪成一種催眠的節奏。即便演出者事先排演過，當旁觀者被帶入儀式時還是激起了即興表演特有的自發動能。有些寶藏巖居民被邀請朝 Yogasmana 身上灑花以潔淨其精神，他們表現出深刻的榮耀與尊敬，有如聖者為其子民受洗一般。空氣中充滿一種超越宗教教條的共享信仰。而戲劇性的結尾由 Yogasmana 請求一居民握緊他雙手以示寬恕開始，在鼓聲中，握過他雙手的參與者站到他身旁接受下個人的握手與寬恕。鼓聲持續，每個旁觀者都被請求與 Yogasmana 及逐漸拉長的人龍陸續握手相互寬恕。鼓聲越來越激昂熱切，握手開始與舞蹻的雙腳配合，在沒有任何指示或排練下，廣場上每個人都一一握緊不同的手，瘋狂地跳舞！那確是一個神奇而令人解放的時刻，發生在世俗城市中最不可思議的一個角落。

在那特別的剎那，無關乎回教、天主教、基督教、或佛教，但在台北或台灣的任何社區中都少有機會見證如此不尋常且深具差異價值的宗教儀式或劇場演出，並拓展跨文化交流的經驗。表面上，淨身儀式顯然與寶藏巖聚落的每日生活場景或居民的感知領域無甚關連，但亦正是如此之陌生感，激發了日常生活領域外的強烈好奇與興奮。這個即興表演不像許多框景式的劇場模式，將觀眾視為被動接受的客體，卻在無特定敘事形式或意義探索的情況下，引發了立即且熱情的參與。它似乎相信人類感情有些共同、可分享的基礎，超脫了政治與社會的疏離。它不外求一種完全的意義理解或故事大綱，但內求心底的原始回響。Lebaran 淨身儀式及後續的環境劇場都不特定服務社區需求及慣常期待（而歌仔戲或平劇就更適合異質性高的寶藏巖社區嗎？基於何種推測？），但可能反而刺激了社區對「他者」的接受及欣賞。

緊接著 Yogasmana 的表演，身聲演繹社展開一週與社區居民互動的擊鼓與面具工作

坊。令人吃驚的是，不少社區耆老每夜帶著他們的孫子孫女一起來學習非洲手鼓。又因擊鼓不需要特殊和弦技巧，參與者大致在簡單指導後即能以某種即興節奏與相鄰伙伴交疊出多層次鼓聲。即使有些人脫拍了，只要在集體節奏的包容下聽起來也不致太壞。因節拍無所謂對錯，擊鼓的經驗變得十分好玩。偶而，演繹社成員會在竹叢邊的草坪上升起篝火，誘引擊鼓者與旁觀者跟著鼓聲圍著火光跳舞。聚落一群老人與職業鼓手一起打鼓、而女人盡興在火邊跳舞的畫面乍看頗怪異，但相對寶藏巖垂垂老矣的刻板印象，卻相對顯得輕鬆、明亮、而新鮮。

同時，面具工作坊也在聚落旁的草坡進行著。廢紙報紙在簡單技術與創意的捏塑下，成為藝術面具與臉譜，正好作為週末劇場演出的道具及空間裝飾。有些熱心的社區參與者每天報到來玩藝術，但其間也混雜著路過者懷疑及嘲諷的眼光。只是有一次，一位住在附近、行動不方便的老伯伯，連續觀察了幾天工作坊的操作，說出了一段令規劃團隊最驚訝的註解：「如果我年輕時候沒在杭州加入軍隊，應當就會努力當個藝術家吧。」他的陳述反映了他內心的渴望，但過去社會訪查時從未由此角度去理解社區居民，卻在工作坊的過程中被意外揭露了。這段插曲對 GAPP 的實驗而言意義特殊。若藝術行動得以啟發某些個人將其創造性的一面引出，或許可因此發現社區內部潛藏的、但長久被公式化的社區營造過程忽略的創造力量。

另一個很引人深思的觀點，是在營火舞蹈時由一位住在聚落三十餘年的婦女無意中提出的。當時她正著迷地看著竹叢草坪上的火鼓會及舞躑，卻淡淡地說出，「能夠下來這兒看表演很不錯的。雜貨店拆了後我就很少到這邊了。那些老男人每次都坐在那堆竹子下，如果不是有人來跳舞，我才不會到這草地來呢。」她的描述聽來溫和，但若與許多頌揚「一群老人坐在竹叢下聊天」的畫面為社區最可貴之空間模式語言的看法並陳就顯得辛辣了。確實，在如寶藏巖一般的邊緣社區裡，關於性別空間的細膩議題常被掩蓋於政治經濟及分區管制的不正義批判下。寶藏巖有機聚落中珍貴的空間模式被詳細地紀錄著，但前述婦女非刻意的陳述卻點出部分模式的書寫可能浪漫化了場景或隱匿了其中未被質疑的權力關係。藝術行動的批判距離並非要破壞寶藏巖的生活模式，而是更深入地檢視社區共同性（commonness）中一些被視為理所當然的現實。

身聲演繹社最終的演出吸引了百人以上的社區與外來觀眾，有些人都是第一次聽到寶藏巖的地名。整個環境劇場表演系列以不同的空間劇本轉化了聚落許多不可思議的角落——一個破窗的窗洞，一處殘破建築地下室的遺骸，斷牆上的一段狹縫，家庭理髮中庭前的階梯，草坡平台，家庭電影俱樂部廣場，等等——這些特殊環境與空間的開創性利用賦予寶藏巖地景新奇的視野，彷彿社區角落裡處處隱藏著未被說出的故事。受限於極微少的經費，身聲演繹社號召了許多志願參與實驗的劇場專業者，以即興或脈絡化的劇場作品詮釋寶藏巖。觀眾必須緊隨表演者遊走於演出環境之間，當劇場舞台與真實生活環境都被解構並重新結構，所有現實、非現實、與超

現實間的邊界都在每一回戲劇轉折間消溶。這些演出似都在反映現代都市的狀態與現代人的脆弱，遠超過寶藏巖的故事本身。

環境劇場系列融合了舞蹈、詩歌朗誦、原住民吟唱、擊鼓、角色扮演，以神秘、詭趣、驚異的排場與寶藏巖聚落多樣的環境進行實質對話。親炙當夜劇場演出，大概很難抹去廢墟窗洞裡一個以繩結繭的半裸男人或身著深紅婚紗、一寸一寸將自己拖上丘脊的女人的意象。當她逐漸消失於草坡後方樹叢，角落跳出一對著桂冠的森林精靈，伴隨一名裹著紅色布幔的佛拉明哥女舞者，以令人心碎的舞蹈為寒涼的夜色添加傷悲的氣息。Yoyo Yogasmana 緊接著在另一頭的草地上，跟著篝火旁的火鼓進行一場奇異的繩索纏身儀式。旁觀者陸續加入演出，以麻繩纏繞表演者，織成一張巨大的蛛網，在儀式高潮中釋放了演員及觀者的情緒，結束了整晚另類的劇場演出。許多參與擊鼓與面具工作坊的社區居民展現了激昂的熱情，有人甚至全家扮裝，以狂野的舞躑本能加入火鼓會。火光中，似乎沒有人太在乎這齣環境劇場的文本意義了。

一如預期，身聲演繹社的工作坊及演出在社區內不無爭議；而寶藏巖聚落的現實是，始終都只有全部人口的少部份能被鼓舞來參與公共事件，尤其當這些事件與其私人利益無關，又不特別彎腰來爭取他們理解之時。對於鼓聲噪音及密集活動的埋怨在工作坊與演出的背後耳語，但卻只有少數直接向規劃團隊提出異議。懷疑者認為當活動煙火消退後，這些藝術計畫真否對社區產生特別好處，甚至認為活動煙火本身是社區生活的干擾而非歡慶。至於概念為先的藝術是否真能再現社區的最佳利益與需求、或煙火般的藝術計畫是否得以幫助社區建立認同感，似乎稍被點出就是極有正當性的問題。但若先不釐清這社區本身究竟適合作為強化認同或，正相反，消解認同的基地，或是否我們應當超越社區「需求基礎」以辨識社區精神的細微差異，上述的問題可能也問得太容易了。我們還可繼續思考傳統文化祭儀與藝術計畫的不同，以及，當沈澱的時間軸拉長了、後者有否可能被納入前者，因此更自然地被接受了？若不致太侵略或挑釁，社區事件的創造是否能強調自由、解放、好玩而不盡然是有意義、有目的、並投合大眾口味的？或除了訴說社區可以理解的故事之外，有無建構社區敘事的替選方式——例如，基於感知經驗所創作的詩？這些辯證需要事件的累積與嘗試，但或得以拒斥某種意義壟斷及喬裝的代議家長心態。

台東劇團及百樂門劇團兩個初崛起的邊緣劇場團隊又以不同的詮釋與寶藏巖對話。台東劇團以「我從哪裡來」的主題回應寶藏巖聚落的社區特質，再以此架構演出腳本。他們原想從訪談在地居民生命故事的方式下手，並對照團員本身的移民經驗。但後來決定嘗試帶居民做廣播劇訓練，讓不同的鄉音透過特別的聲音媒介來說故事。這是十分有創意及趣味的表達，同時讓少數參與的居民有效地以自己發聲的過程操控戲劇表演。百樂門團員則搬進聚落的空房，試著與當地居民每天面對面近距離接觸。他們也企圖舉辦各戶帶菜一起共享的晚宴，並加入社區農耕，希望得以由

社區生活發展出戲劇情節。

但或許先前身聲演繹社及 Marco Casagrande 的藝術行動耗掉了太多社區能量，這兩個接續的劇場計畫並無法召喚太多熱情的居民參與。雖然他們的劇場主題與社區議題更直接相關。一週的駐村時間也無法讓這兩個較無社區經驗的團隊在排練自身演出的同時，培養出足夠與社區互動的默契和火花。社區對於他們工作坊與表演的反應顯得冷淡，但諷刺的，關於被干擾的埋怨也幾乎少有耳聞，很多居民甚至沒意識到劇團的進駐。台東劇團最後與一些居民及學生在草坪廣場演出，一再追尋那既哲學性又真實的命題「我從哪裡來？」，少數居民也在過程中開啟了表演的竅門。但百樂門劇團的演出就近乎只是本身的排演，沒吸引到社區基本的關注。若回顧他們原先頗具野心的計畫目標，這些表演令人失望的感覺比早先劇場行動引發的爭議更顯難堪。旁觀的策劃團隊因此推論，一齣由外來者以社區內在敘事內涵所建構的環境劇場，需要精彩的互動火花及策略才有可能達到效果，或者，駐村的期限應當超過一週的限制。

綜觀來看，環境劇場是接近地景敘事體實際操作的具體模式。劇場舞台的想像其實就是以地景敘事文本創造的空間干預，即便其存在只是暫時。但除了 Marco Casagrande 由劇場延伸的階梯營造之外，其他劇團都只是利用（詮釋）現成地景作為表演舞台。真正以創作劇本為底，建構實質舞台空間，則到 GAPP 結束後才由鍾喬領軍的差事劇場以「潮暗」為主題，在寶藏巖聚落的廢墟立面沿線搭出了系列的演出舞台。

有感於大多數聚落居民的冷漠及其冷漠背後的結構性成因，差事劇場摒棄他們拿手的工作坊及社區劇場模式，直接以類似寶藏巖聚落人口組成的角色關係及空間條件，創作出穿梭於不同虛實時空、探索邊緣群體及差異性個體之認同界面的紮實劇本；他們回到劇場專業的演出要求，從導演、劇本、搭景、燈光、音樂、演出、換場、走位等各處細節，毫無妥協。尤其令人印象深刻的是利用既存地景條件搭出及整合的多層次演出空間，不僅驚喜連連、將躲藏於殘存之廢墟、將死而未死的故事性釋放得淋漓盡致，還巧妙地將劇本中魔幻寫實的情節交織於真實聚落與疊置於前階段劇場搭建之大階梯上的臨時舞台間。時間與空間的罅隙中，無端冒出又消翳的鬼魂不斷糾纏進行中的夢魘，演員揣摩著真實居民的時代與都市經驗，社區居民從演員身上看見自己或鄰居或更巨大的角色投射。每一次換景就像聚落地景被重寫，開閤之間，主體異位，劇場成了異質地方中的異質地方。導演調侃寶藏巖聚落存在的真實與荒謬，順帶嘲諷了機構介入規劃的現實，卻不忘反身回顧其自身面對社區與台灣現況的掙扎與環境劇場本身的藝術辯證。在一封閉性地景敘事體詮釋與建構的操作，差事劇場沒有過度屈尊俯就的態度，反而在極度嚴謹的排練及演出過程，真誠地與寶藏巖聚落的地景及主體平等對話。雖然角色仍稍嫌樣版化了，但「潮暗」豐富的敘事層次打開了整個環境劇場系列的視野，也讓寶藏巖成為劇場領域重新審

視小劇場定位的重要地點。這是劇場與聚落的相互回饋，而非劇場給予社區的藝術恩惠。

- 國內藝術行動者駐村計畫與寶藏巖泡茶照相館

GAPP 的最後階段徵求國內藝術行動者提出計畫，以兩個月進駐時間轉化聚落一個住宅單元，並創作藝術。總共有 7 組個人與伙伴被一臨時委員會挑選出，在充分理解聚落原由及規劃案脈絡後，即獨立進行各自創作計畫。從攝影工作室到聲音計畫，從裝置藝術到回收物再製作，這些提案反映了藝術家多元的背景及他們為寶藏巖聚落環境帶來的詮釋觀點。聚落的文化主體性未被特別強調，但仍被低調暗示著是計畫中不可或缺的一環。位於城市邊陲的活違建聚落成為這些年輕藝術家創作與批判的靈感來源，但因對都市計畫問題不熟悉，沒有人企圖挑戰政府機器，大都只單純與基地或居民開展個人的或詩意的對話。他們也不刻意以工作坊號召社區參與，某種程度上，他們就像一組任意組成的藝術團隊，住進寶藏巖當鄰居，創作跟他們鄰里有關的藝術。

這些具創意的臨時居民搬進來時引起了社區的關注，他們在聚落的一舉一動也因而被某種道德標準檢視著。相較於台北其他鄰里，寶藏巖社區並非特別保守，但聚落原住戶對魯莽的惡行與破壞總是十分敏感。對任何進駐寶藏巖的藝術家而言，首要認知到藝術家並不享有比社區更多的特權，且社區的每日生活模式不必為適應任一藝術家個人意願而有所改變，除非取得溝通過後的共識。在此階段藝術行動者駐村的實驗過程，除了少數個人因不拘的行徑造成計畫與社區間不必要的緊張關係外，這種默契基本上是被尊重的。也因為那少數不悅的經驗，社區組織可能將採取較激進的手段列出社區生活公約，以便日後寶藏巖部分空間逐步變成藝術村時，可依此規範社區居民及未來新住民。

然而，他們的藝術作品倒沒引起太多的不滿，即使有些創作大膽遊走在啟發與挑釁的細索上。羅頌策的「來自地景的聲音」偷偷安置了多組高傳真收音器在寶藏巖聚落的各種角落，再將聲音由一排列於草坪廣場邊的潛聲管傳出。無心路過草坪的人可能會驚訝地由聲管聽到狗吠、蟲鳴、炒菜聲、麻將聲、甚至吵架聲。這作品很驚喜地記錄了寶藏巖從未被認真對待過的聲音地景及尋常生活現實的切片，但它也可能被詮釋為對私密家戶的窺探。葉清芳的「我與它獨處的那一分鐘」邀請志願者進入一間令人心神不寧、如杜象作品般的房間，面對絕對孤獨狀態下的自己，再以一分鐘的長時間曝光朝自己按下一單孔相機之快門。葉清芳對不同個人在那特別一分鐘的想法感到好奇，志願者走出房門後被要求在筆記本上寫出或畫下與自己獨處的那分鐘。幾週後，工作室客廳牆上貼滿了親密的自照相與書畫記錄，恐懼與慾望充斥著那奇怪的房間。這是人類與社區自我的展現，不再只是社區故事的再現了。

在此階段寶藏巖駐村計畫中，有一特別值得注意的藝術行動。葉偉立與劉和讓的「寶

藏巖泡茶照相館」(THTP, *Treasure Hill Tea + Photo*)由一簡單的概念開始。在社區開一家謙卑的茶室，開放給所有經過的路人，而在茶室後方是一間專業肖像照相館，為走進來喝茶聊天、分享故事的人，在最舒服信任的狀態拍下一組肖像。他們兩人帶了許多書及作品集到茶室擺設，也將一些在社區及不經意之處撿到的物件重組為室內裝置，巧手改造了原先破敗的空屋成一圖書室兼藝廊空間。他們刻意迴避與社區間積極、操控性強烈的互動方式，只希望路過者能因好奇，意外闖入那半公共卻極親密的茶室，或只像在歸途隨性拜訪鄰居的感覺一般。他們期待藝術與社區生活在最不被預期的角落以最不被強迫的方式擦出火花。

葉偉立與劉和讓低調的態度，無法打開足夠寬敞的屋門接納社區居民的到來，但外來的學生與訪客倒接二連三走進茶室聊天拍照。藝術家為訪客沖印肖像，並留下一些在客廳牆上展示。偶而，他們隔壁的鄰居會晃過來看看，規劃團隊也會帶些社區居民登門拜訪拍照。他們選擇了一些出色的作品放大成燈箱，其中有一張正是隔鄰有學習障礙的年輕人。也因如此之因緣際會，規劃團隊得以更認識這好學的年輕人林木山，竟是每日到伊甸基金會學畫、對藝術有難以言喻之感情的出色畫家。但到了兩個月駐村計畫結束時，外來者的肖像還是多於社區居民。葉偉立相信他們還需要更多時間來發展藝術行動。

因而當其他藝術家在期末展示後搬出寶藏巖，葉偉立與劉和讓不僅留下繼續經營泡茶照相館，更將隔鄰兩間空屋改造為暗房、裱框、及居住空間。慢慢地，更多社區居民肖像出現在客廳展示牆上，取代原先外來訪客的位子。葉偉立決定真正搬進寶藏巖，並承諾至少以兩年時間自籌經費在社區持續創作，建立鄰里關係。他自訂階段成果，必須當攝影基礎設施及社區資源中心逐漸成立，而他可以開始在社區開授攝影課程，他的藝術行動才算告一段落。

葉偉立對社區的承諾並非為了自身的利益或名聲。他瞭解他作品真正的主體是在地居民，但他們的參與無疑地會增加他作品的社會意義。他在給馬市長的一封信上提到：「...建構出寶藏巖的社會紋理是藝術家汲取靈感、歷史、養分的豐富來源。藉由與此地居民交流所流傳的口述歷史，脈絡化且深化了身處寶藏巖的經驗與理解。缺乏這些生活居民的聲音與生命經驗，寶藏巖將只是粗糙礫石構築成的空殼。」葉偉立寫信乃為請求市府在保留違建建築時不應驅離居民。他的聲明，聯同許多參與寶藏巖藝術行動的藝術家與來訪過的學者專家所表達的相同立場，被編輯成一份說帖，在後來說服市府認可社區居民乃未來藝術村經營完整的一部份，扮演著極關鍵性的角色。

寶藏巖泡茶照相館的作品形式表面展示了社會各階層生活的容顏，他們正巧在特定的時間出現於寶藏巖。葉偉立提到：「因我們在歷史、社會背景、語言、階級、及教育上的差異，那些所共享且一而再被述說的生命經驗最終將透露我們是誰及我們身

在何處的線索。」他為他持續的計畫和與社區的對話，表達了一種人道主義的、寬容的、且不裝腔作勢的價值觀，而在某些方面，這種誠懇面對現實的態度遠比一種意思性參與過程的薄施小惠更具意義。葉偉立也以他在寶藏巖的行動獲選參加 2004 年的台北藝術雙年展，有趣的是策展主題正巧為「在乎現實嗎？」(Do You Believe in Realty?)

6、開放邊界與開放結局的地景敘事

寶藏巖聚落地景文本形式在不同作者運用不同敘事策略的創作下，產生了許多類型，如原聚落地景文本（書寫過程為居民集體創作）、報導文學與影像之再現（含歷史書寫、模式語言）、虛構文學與影像之再現、靜態繪畫攝影詮釋（敘事凝固）、規劃設計書圖之再現（尤指依循地景敘事所生產者）、藝術行動概念計畫書之再現、藝術行動事件與環境劇場表演、虛構文本創造之真實地景（如廢墟階梯、差事劇場舞台）、真實與虛構之拼貼（如電影「殺人計畫」）、地景聲音敘事、地景詮釋文本於另一空間之展示（如電影放映、網路、美術館雙年展）連李木工對地景的施為也可算是對原閣樓行動計畫的解構詮釋。每一有意識之後設文本都是由原地景文本之結構出發（而非任意植入，除了，最初集體無意識的違建營造；其弔詭處乃在於，究竟自力營造的植入過程是否真正漠視原地景，否則又為何要逐坡度而形塑出可辨識之空間模式語言？），在時間的向度下演繹。但地景詮釋文本層次越豐富，可能越模糊了最初對地景的直接感受（無論正面或負面觀感），尤其當時間的累積被壓縮，異質性突然被膨脹放大，原本存在的價值或本質（若真有之）即變得脆弱，地景敘事可能因此成為顛覆、破壞性的力量。

這些不同的地景敘事體成為部分地景意義的載體，有些作者以敘事策略促成特定社會意義的生產及變遷，有些則透過敘事策略的有意識佈局形塑「作者」風格（style）。在地方形式生產過程中，強調作者風格有時對地方是干擾，但亦不乏以風格形式強化地方認同的過程（如宜蘭厝所堅持的地方美學論述）。地景敘事體重視的是與地景文脈必要的對話及對話的諸多方式/價值觀，操作方法乃在於「對話過程」的設計（將因對話/批評內容而發展出不同設計介入策略），而非「設計操作」如何被結構化、公式化。甚至，對話與詮釋不見得導向有意識之「空間設計」方法/邏輯。有時，整個敘事空間在某些設計師的詮釋中被簡化/抽象化為一種感覺，如一部電影被用一種影像風格記住卻不必然涉及其故事性一般，作者的主導性強，但不一定對地景主體漠視。

不容諱言，漠視地景文脈之空間創造有時更具後續敘事發展的彈性與自由。抽象意象與元素的空間組成，講究空間音樂性與排比秩序，藉由「植入」，強制空間內容之生產（如都市格狀街廓劃設亦有相同邏輯），於是無所謂延續或對話。這種方法論有其背後理論基礎及實際案例對照驗證（格狀街廓對現代都市的功過仍爭辯不休），不必要或不應該被地景敘事體的方法論取代，但它當有能力答辯地景敘事邏輯提出的

批判。至於空間規劃設計以功能考量提出的空間計畫(programming)，也不與地景敘事操作相違背，反而有機會在更大的整體結構/概念及更細膩的細節與過程中加入敘事體建構的策略（如 Lynch & Hack 在 site planning 提出 program 的向度中所包含的 performance 及 pattern，其實都具敘事情節）。

地景敘事體作為文本，每一重閱讀/誤讀都指涉一種進行中的書寫，或建構程序；讀者，在閱讀中探索意義。雖然意義本身的獨斷性並不必然存在，而閱讀乃至書寫的動作也可能是一種集體無意識的生活過程。另外，閱讀也涉及批評，如解構批評之於文學作品，而批評書寫又其實已然是創作/建構本身（反之亦然，亦即，創作正是根據文脈與原結構而來的批評）。「解構」(deconstruction)論述不僅得以對地方故事中單質的中心性、主體性、及權威進行顛覆，更利用邊界的打開建構出開放性的新文本（鐘喬及差事劇場的「潮暗」演出可作如是觀）。「解構」看見了哲學辯證中，傾向個人及主觀性的存在主義強調「此在分析」(Dasein analysis)，而注重結構與客觀性的結構主義尋找的是「無意識結構」(unconscious structure)，但解構主張這相對的兩端其實是可相互遊走、轉化的。在解構的討論中，固定的、單一的意義是不存在的，結構的穩定性或對文本的不變的認識是不可能的，應當轉向多變的、零碎的認識，向「遊戲」開放。

解構所論及的開放性邊界與開放性結局與地景敘事體的本質頗能呼應，尤其當地景的概念擴及都市性的辯證之時。但在類似寶藏巖聚落尺度的詮釋與建構過程，地景文本意義及透過詮釋而來的地方認同又該如何被看待？規劃定位中「共生藝棧」的「棧」或許是個提醒。相對於「家」，「旅棧」是暫時性的棲所，兩者各有不同的敘事體結構。通常，由家的概念所延伸的空間敘事是開放結局且不斷累積的，但旅棧是許多斷裂而封閉的空間敘事的集合；理論上，家的空間敘事是個人記憶所堆疊的情感與認同，而旅棧則透過不斷刮去重寫(palimpsest)的過程讓敘事回到初始狀態，旅棧暫留者並不知曉之前在同一空間發生過的任何事。但家的現實往往不純粹是深厚的不捨感情與無法割離的認同，甚至可能是某些人的夢魘，或有些人本質上就嚮往四海為家；而某些旅棧也有可能因特殊傳奇、或時間的痕跡、或其物質性特色成為整個時代的註記及認同的地標。地景文本的意義，其實不一定以家或認同強化的價值為依歸，但無可否認的，地景敘事體背後當然有特定價值觀的操弄。由此閱讀寶藏巖層次愈發豐富的敘事文本，其可著墨之處就不只是社區營造、建構認同的模式；在聚落的深層意識下還有許多情節、傳說、與神話等待被揭露，或許反倒是特定認同的瓦解與多向延伸，或許該有更多關於隱性或陰性空間的書寫（如寶藏巖靈骨塔位於聚落核心的感知與經驗，如 38 棟臨水屋舍被夷平後的虛空與開放等），或許，必須透過真實敘事體在建構以啟作者與地景之對話。

試以下文的書寫，繼續開展寶藏巖的地景敘事。其中關於聚落拆遷的內容與場景改寫自當時運動團體的日誌，部分角色與影片「殺人計畫」重疊，文章本身乃虛構，

但在正式出版（田園城市出版社）時將將配合社區畫家林木山的插畫，插畫攝影師則為駐村藝術家葉偉立。

附錄 1：孩子

樹上的孩子

孩子棲在樹上，十五、六歲了，但還是個孩子樣。我在兩棵樹間的木平台坐下，城市農人剛施完肥，三兩離開菜園，夕陽拉得很長，高架橋上的聲頻接近單音，大聲但不吵雜。孩子安靜眺望河流還是對岸，忽然意識到我的存在，轉身逆光，眼前的風景變成他的背景。

他的形容，像未聚焦的畫面，在光的烘染下呈現透明逸散的效果。他的穿著平常卻太熟悉，我想到自己年輕時的模樣，破膝頭的牛仔褲，過氣的藍襯衫，高筒圓頭的登山皮靴。似笑非笑的表情，應該屬於熟人之間的，而我想不起我見過這孩子。

我見過你。孩子說的很堅定。

你認不得這裡了吧。臨水岸的整排房子兩年多前拆了，那片菜園原來是我住的地方，擋土牆上還看得出我房間的痕跡。

磚牆被敲掉的時候我就站在前方的水岸，想目睹毀滅的全程，操怪手的傢伙表情冷峻專注，甚至有點得意，日落後還不歇手。防洪高程後的房子只拆了部分，內梯外露，筋骨崢嶸，前陣子牽牛藤順勢狂恣蔓爬，像垂落的舞台簾幕，逐漸就看不出底下埋的是遠古遺址還是一季前的崩毀。我慢慢接受它現在的樣子，牆縫間冒出大花咸豐俯瞰開闊的綠地，先前鱗次櫛比的印象越來越模糊了...

你在這裡見過我嗎？我已經有 16 年沒回來過了，而你才多大？但我確實有印象那面牆上、褐色拼花磁磚的花紋，奇怪很多事都記不得了，反倒這種微不足道的細節會喚起一種感官的記憶，緊貼山壁的磁磚，常在濕熱的天候中冒汗，明明一點風也沒有，晚上某個時刻卻會飄進腐臭的味道...還有，那棵蓮霧樹是長大了還是因為四周的房子拆了，顯得特別突兀，它站的地方，原來是巷路的位置嗎？以前真有這麼棵樹嗎？這無患子和樟樹又是何時長出來的？

孩子從樹上躍下，跳過菜園，走到褐色拼花磁磚壁旁，
你忘了嗎？那些樹長在尾端樓房圍籬的外緣，從小路走來不會發覺。但濡熱的部分你講對了，偶爾逢上濕黏的夜晚，一開燈浴室磁磚上貼著水蛭，或一整排黑螞蟻從磁磚縫列隊爬進廚房，有次我循著蟻隊追蹤到櫥櫃的後背，順勢一轉，看到貼著夾板密密麻麻幾萬隻虯成一面毯子的黑蟻群，胃一翻，想也不想，就抓起蓮蓬頭死命的沖，死命的沖...爾後一回身，滿地竄流的蟻屍在排水孔前打轉，前仆後繼被旋入黑洞，我不理解自己做了什麼，才發現原來摧毀與殘酷的力量無法駕馭。

我仔細端詳這孩子，他是一直都在附近但我不曾注意，就像那些樹嗎？還是在我離去後多久搬進來同樣的居所？

真正熱的晚上，淋浴後就爬到二樓屋頂上坐，河上岸的夜風比房內的電扇還好，蟲聲唧唧，偶會有夜鷺飛起，高架橋忽隱忽沒的車燈像熒火游鼠。對岸的城市顯得遙遠虛幻，沒有特殊的高層天際線輪廓，頂多是公寓透露的熒熒微光，但夜裡隔著河看就是迷人。鄰居伯伯家的麻將場間歇幾番洗牌，在夜的深井中持續纏鬥，背後依山勢逐層疊升的住家燈火依稀，時而狗吠，時而馬達乾咳一陣，總不是真正的靜寂，你體會得出，你是在城市裡。這孤懸大城邊緣的水岸聚落潛匿著游移不安的情緒，但卻自由。

只是，有些晞微的時刻，河面會突然炸開墜落的巨響，隨之擾動一圈圈外擴的漣漪，繼而沈寂。那些豎耳傾聽的人，一陣心驚便又翻身睡去，如淺眠間意外襲來的詭夢，真偽難辨，便諱而不談，久之，那些從橋上跳河自盡的事件神秘地纏附著聚落的意識，像橫卡在山腰房舍間的納骨塔，緊緊倚著每天的生活路徑與情境，似要隱藏禁忌卻鋪陳線索，想揭露什麼又欲語還休，幾十年過去，陰陽只剩一巷之隔。這裡，生活世界從來不是單一層次的時空，現在再加上這排被夷為平地但未真正消失的住家，隨時等候我們這些過往的鬼魂。說不準一回身，你才發現正站在 16 年前的原地，一處曙光之前或綠光之後瞬時移逝的曖昧地帶。

落日沈淪。沒有綠光，黑夜迅速撲下。孩子在三層樓高、凌空截斷的廢墟立面前緣升起篝火。他的身影閃爍，在窗洞和殘垣之間乍隱又現，我尾隨他穿過階梯路徑與頹傾密室，長條杉木板緊連著濕滑的印花地磚，搖曳的竹橋銜接苔蘚闇生的水泥窄階，沿途側壁仍然不時滲出不知來處的汨汨水脈。每一間幽室都像夢的場景，不斷勾引你走入更深內室的慾望。靠著山壁一邊的牆嵌入坡崁的肌理，成為斜丘的皮膚；但朝河的一面，像突然被截肢的軀體，不敢相信那巨大的割離而竟任餘骸麻痺乃至荒謬地存在，又正因為截斷未被縫合，隱去的印象便膨脹成拒絕消失的、有關被截去部分肢體的記憶，甚而，開啟了一些從未真實存有過的幻覺。其中一間房內有段水泥梯，頂著天花板沿山壁走下五步，停在離地一米的高度，沒有來處去處，怔怔對著兩個偌大窗洞外的高架橋。有人在梯上留下一張水漬風化的鳳凰花鳥圖，宋人李九齡的絕句註釋「一樹繁華奪眼紅 開時先閤占春風 可憐地僻無人賞 拋擲深山亂木中」。地上另有一面加框木製浮雕，一艘水上的船，正要航向某地。一口軍人的木箱。一個停在 12：40 的掛鐘。

時間，對你有意義嗎？孩子站在一張放大月曆前的平台，90 年 12 月 19，問我。斜梯下的牆縫中冒出的清水淺淺流過平台，水邊極有限的隙地間菖蒲挺直的頗有尊嚴。前方突出的牆垣高兩層，是 12 月 19 開拆後臨水岸唯一未被拆除的建築。牆上好大一面阿蘭與姪子在涼棚的身影，我記起陸伯與印尼嫁來的阿蘭，他們的花園裡

有棵健壯的芒果及一叢繽紛的玫瑰。

你可能不知道，那顆芒果後來長到了四層樓的高度，阿蘭親手種植照料了 20 年，她說這樹像家鄉的父母般陪伴她，早已是她生命的一部份。花園，是阿蘭具體的鄉愁。那天，怪手伐倒芒果樹時因漏油故障，樹砍成半倒，被截斷的樹幹竟顯現一張神祇的臉，阿蘭目睹，心魂俱裂乃至昏厥...

孩子正對我描述時嘴角忽然綻開燦爛笑容，他向下方牽手走過新闢步道的老夫少婦用力招手，散步的陸伯與阿蘭，回頭向我們揮手頷首，像從黑白照片浮出相框的人物。他們大約沒真正認出我們是誰，由阿蘭那幾乎大過生命本身的巨幅影像看去，兩人欠了欠身，繼續相攜前行，緩緩消失在路的彼端。

deja vu，我心裡浮出類似的畫面，同樣的場景似乎經歷過了，還是夢見過？闌黑夜色中，從某個高度看阿蘭牽著陸伯散步的身影，那時我身旁的人是誰？

時間，對我有意義嗎？窩居在聚落的兩年真實發生過嗎？

她最後一次來找我的晚上我們起了莫名的爭執，我發瘋地撕掉多幅手稿，攤在地板不能動彈。她沒有離去，守在鐵門口看著不知哪裡。許久，沒有言語。然後我聽見馮伯伯幽幽涼涼的口琴聲，像哽咽的河流穿過夜的薄膜，拍向我心室的潮岸。我滿眼淚水不能自己。日以繼夜的自我猜忌與防禦，投射到我與世界荊棘滿佈的隔絕關係，夢中重複翻攪的情節，逼我向鎖在潛意識內的學生兄弟屈降，他的慾望成為我的恐懼，我的信仰淪為他的訕笑，只有在這現實與幻覺相互摺入、各人隱密餵養自身故事的異質角落，我才能須臾脫離禁錮，聽見外在微弱的聲音。

她走過來，彎下身緊抱著我，我想要為你生一個孩子，她輕輕說。我反身抱住她，無比疲憊，在一個浩瀚的謊言海洋漂浮，我抓住一片浮木，不能下沉沒有救贖。她想給我的，何其溫暖而陌生，但我的意識割裂了我的直覺，關於愛的探索，淪為無謂的辯證修辭，她廣大而神秘的賦予，那個黑洞內的孩子，如我腦中一片初生的混沌，不知如何成形，最終依附著感官記憶，化為她身體永恆的餘溫。我整晚抱著她，忘記我睡著沒有，忘記我作夢沒有，忘記我怎麼醒來，忘記她怎麼離開。

那個模糊的早晨，唯一清楚的是寤寐中長撲而下再不歇止的滂沱大雨。漫天飄搖的雨網，近乎窒息地衾擁著聚落的磚瓦草木，水勢一邊從山壁沖刷直下，一邊從河面漲湧而上，過午後，水岸的菜園潰決，退位給持續擴張的洪水線，鐵門外逐漸溢漶成渺無邊際的蕩蕩大河。

我無路可走，陷在大雨覆蓋的囚籠舔舐自己乖謬的狀態，黃濁的河水悄悄滑入我冰

冷的腳底。消失了的她，再現為我卑微而悲憫的渴望，在景物快速的流逸間愈復清晰。水漫到了膝蓋，我想著她對我的棄守，不知何去何從。床墊被毯衣物逐次成為水的俘虜，我啞然失笑，筆記與書與畫在我腳邊的水沼中打轉漂走，我沒有感覺，直到水面一個影像流過眼前。我與她的一張平凡的合照，兩人微微的淡薄笑容，日落前的光線渲染著簡單幸福，我撈起它，背後是她的字，「當時，我覺得很好，那是我能確定的，但我什麼也不在想」。

大水來了，她將我遺棄在夢的邊緣城的懸墟水的離岸，讓我放逐到慾望的荒原。大水來了，湍流從島岸接走她與我的孩子，永遠安置於記憶的羊水。

大水來了，沈入河底的我還在漂往大海的夜快車內倒數 98765432...，下一秒當我捻啪手指就要醒來。

大水來了，牆與屋頂流走，神明與電視流走，貨櫃與輪胎流走，雞與人流走，橋墩流走，河岸流走，河流走。

大水來了，一切邊界盡被消溶，所有罪愆終將滌淨。

大水來了，屋頂上最後一隻變色龍流入大河，復又迅速攀上浮島的樹梢停泊，突出的眼瞳精敏觀望四周流動的環境，靜靜的，等待大水退去。

水中的孩子

我記得大水來的日子，孩子說，每兩三年來次大淹水，直直漫過二樓，所有的家具電器全數泡湯，河水一路衝到巷口的雜貨店和涼棚，至少淹到李家院落的七塊磚高度，整排臨水岸的住戶成了聚落第一線的防洪堤。許多伯伯都熟悉了大水來的模式，重要的家當必定先裝箱暫放到上邊其他人家，像李老爹最寶貝的寶劍，據說是蔣中正的餽贈，幾次大水終也安然無恙。還有他在屋頂平台養的雞，陸伯養的變色龍，阿蘭花園的盆栽，每逢大水都得四處遷徙，但阿文的菜園只好任洪水吞噬，他反正看很開，種菜是休閒、做功德。

我能說是因為水邊人家這種認命的態度嗎，我不是太害怕洪水的夢魘，甚至還有些刺激愉快的回憶。我喜歡踩在水裡看水位升高，然後開始計數，看數到多少會被水沖走。我有一種本能，不想任何事，只是計數，看時間怎麼被數字充滿。因為不思考，所以不在意意義，也不太在乎自己是什麼。我喜歡聽別人的故事，有時候覺得自己也活在故事裡，但在某些必要時候，只要開始計數，我就能放空自己的狀態，進入一個不同的情境。你知道 Lars von Trier 的 Zentropa 特快車裏那個天真角色嗎？在最危急的時候，只要他倒數，捻啪一下手指，就可以在另一個時空醒來，開始另一段故事。最可怕的是，當你陷在河底流向大海的車廂內，沒有空氣，你開始倒數，捻啪手指，期待全新的生命情節與經驗，snap，但卻沒有醒來，河底混濁一片，你卡在車廂裏，故事終結。

12月19日，大雨，臨水聚落第一次開拆，木構組屋及貨櫃崩塌，大夥聚在涼棚下議論，

鄰長照例炒米粉煮小菜吆喝人吃，聽說遷到國宅的傅伯伯身心俱疲，在新住家附近迷路。孩子一路跑回家，蹲在鐵門下，不發一語，李大廚家的炊煙依舊，他幻想著那一桌經典好菜，開始倒數，snap。

Snap，4月3號，酷熱，怪手劈下，巷口外圍房舍應聲而倒，那處由阿公椅、太師椅、板凳、藤椅圍繞著小方桌，牆上掛著日曆國旗，入夜後燃起昏黃燈火的小涼棚跟著飛灰湮滅。李大廚和刁伯伯打包清屋，準備遷到國宅，窄巷內的十多隻流浪狗在半夜忽然吹起狗螺，孩子在隔壁空屋牆上讀到一排字，最後離開的請關燈，snap。

Snap，還在4月，16日早晨，怪手來了，最大規模的拆除開始，孩子站在瓦礫堆，仰望一片前所未見的奇特開闊天空。李老爹遷往板橋，輾轉間搬家工人竟然遺失他的寶劍！多年大水沒能帶走的戎徽，在流離顛沛間匆匆卸甲。拆除大隊違反承諾，刨裂芒果樹的巨根，面對心緒崩潰的阿蘭和激憤的居民，遂將斷頭斷根的樹幹原地供奉，燃起紙錢祭拜那隱隱顯像的圖騰。牆崩樓垮，孩子站在水岸菜園邊，目睹毀滅的全程，在怪手引擎停歇後開始倒數，snap。

Snap，4月29，巷口雜貨店已夷為平地，最後一批家屋拆除，陸家許家陷落。陸大伯在新居所昏跌，送入加護病房。葉伯伯被發現已經往生，他們找到他當年留下的日曆，上頭記下每天大陸城市的天氣預報及民間的抗癌藥方，12月19，上海天陰，北京晴，snap。

12月19後，我的時間感慢慢變成單向，孩子坐在一面房舍拆毀後暴露出的白牆前淡淡地說。他像剛從電影銀幕走出的角色，立體但蒼白。

我似還在漂向大海的車廂裡倒數，但再回不去毀滅之前，每次醒來都是崩離現場或碧茵新綠的荒蕪。拆房子的時候有人在現場拍片紀錄，從那之後，我知道，影片將準確地為游移的記憶定格，成為我們相信的最後現實。當時攝影機四處捕捉我，即使我盡可能藏匿，並維持沈默。他們甚至闖入我的房內，巡掠我家徒四壁的景象。那曾是我與母親相守的家園。16年前，她在大水之夜離開聚落裏她愛的男人，走到盡頭了，她說，必須以絕對的方式劃下句點。她多麼想將我賜予那男人，但卻是城市張開了接納她的臂膀。大雨連下三天，她只能想著那男人，大水退後她回到聚落，男人住所的鐵門大開，殘留下的家當雜物全稀和在濃稠的泥漿中。只有雙層櫃架上方，一個石塊壓著一張浸過水但還清晰的合照，他微微增改了她原先的留字，「當時，我覺得很好，那是我唯一能確定的」。

有人說看見他在大水中流走，似乎不想掙扎，但再沒有人知道他的去向。後來，我在他住過的房子出生長大，每逢大水，當鄰居四處張羅避難，我的母親總是站在高處眺望奔流的大河，絲毫不在乎家裡泡水的二手家具或我一個人站在水中喃喃自

語。她始終非常安靜，幾乎像個幽靈一般。我十二歲的一個深夜，在焦躁的反覆翻滾間，淺睡的夢間忽然聽見遠方橋下濺起的水花，我聽過阿文講的一些事，我不敢想，直接衝到她的房間，找不到她，怎麼也找不到她，我的腦子一片空白，雙腳不自主的抖，我開始倒數，我必須一直保持空白，不能再想什麼。

我見過你。孩子從衣袋拿出一張照片，畫面上那二人，彼此依靠著的笑容恬適舒坦，定格住的幸福彷彿是浩渺人世僅有的現實。我看著孩子澄澈堅定的神情，像船上即將遠颺的水手，而我只能在蘆荻紛飛的岸邊送行。他在時間的洪水中漂流，在故事的島岸邊緣著陸，在城市的骨灰殘骸生根，孩子站在遺址僅存的一棵芒果樹下，抬頭仰望樹梢的新芽，儼然是完整、獨立的成人了。

而我未完成的孩子，我沒入水中、永遠無法企及的自己，出世前就注定死產，形銷骨毀後，背負原罪在蒼茫廢墟間漂泊遊蕩，待靈魂老去，獨飲遺忘的江水，祈求，最終的寬恕。

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附錄 2：相關論文發表於

5th Pacific Rim Participatory Community Design Conference, 2004,
Seattle

(Re)constructing Communities/ design participation in the face of
change

Place Identity and Community Artivism – A Strategic Arts Project of
Cultural Landscape Conservation at Treasure Hill, Taipei

The fluidity of place identity

Place identity refers to two different but interrelated concepts. It reflects certain distinguishable, self-manifested idiosyncrasies of a place in terms of its spatial form; yet it also implies how cultural subjects identify with a particular place through daily practices or committed discourses. The recognizable spatial features connect directly with the collective memory and the cognitive maps of the cultural subjects; while their identifications with a place further inscribe meanings to and reinforce personal attachments with the cultural landscapes and spatial narratives of the place. The place-bound identity varies in scales: it can be as expansive as a country (which is oftentimes imagined), or as intimate as a store (a gay bookstore is a reincarnation of a social subgroup's collective identifications and a corner grocery store may represent a locus of tacit identifications of a neighborhood). It can strengthen the internal cohesion of a finite area or converge the intercommunication network of a dispersive social community into a symbolic place as a substantial support of identity politics (Calhoun, 1994; Pile & Thrift, 1995; Keith & Pile, 1993).

The significance of place identity of the local is stressed in many theories and discourses of planning, architecture, human geography, and landscape studies, especially those which follow the phenomenological approaches (Relph, 1976; Seamon, 1979; Warf, 1986) and Heidegger's philosophy of place and dwelling (*domus*) (Norberg-Schulz, 1988). Place identity, accordingly, is expected to counter the place-annihilating forces of industrial modernism and the transnational flow of capitalism. The processes of rapid urbanization and homogenizing globalization are criticized as unyielding threats to the meaningful local and its associated values, while place identity indicates a type of resistance against such threats through conscious community empowerment, re-established grassroots confidence, and conservation of the vernacular authenticity.

The Heideggerian discourses of place identity meet serious backfire from the

post-structuralist dialectics on differences, complexity, urbanity, and mimesis (Jacobs, 2002; Jameson, 1994; Girard, 1995). Heidegger's personal association with the Nazi identity and place aesthetics exposes a moral doctrine veiled under the façade of strong place identity, which is also exclusive, defensive, anachronistically nostalgic, and static (Leach, 2002). On the other hand, the romanticized images of the vernacular can be quickly subsumed by the post-modern kitsch and the culture industry to manipulate a sense of historical and local legitimacy (Ellin, 1995). Place identity sometimes becomes a cultural tool of capitalist leisure consumption, penduluming between its original strategic position of resistance and a new recreational potential of middle-class aesthetics. The uprising community empowerment voices echo the political call of place identity, yet the pervasive flow of tourism easily offsets the grassroots struggle for autonomy and, in the milieu of complex urbanity, the emphasis on a community's common consensus can lead to a bumptious tribalism if the concomitant individual differences and diversity of urban living are overlooked. The city, in a crude way, challenges exactly the necessity of place identity since the anonymous freedom of individual citizens (therefore, dissolving identity rather than forging identity) is regarded as an indispensable urban psyche.

The argument of identity through consumption and mimesis, instead of articulate place narrative and meaning interpretation, augments another debatable dimension to the discourse of place identity. The studies of mass culture, urban culture, and cult, heavily influenced by the Baudrillardian analysis of consumption and not restrained by the Marxist moralistic ideologies, confront different realities of identity tempered by cultural propaganda, image anesthetics, media network, internet communication, gender politics, material desire and fetishism (Baudrillard, 1994; Butler, 1997). These types of identity induced by mimesis and image industry weaken the bond of place identity, but re-affirm the positive draw of a global city (still an identifiable 'place'). Magnified by the critical issues of identity politics and the ambiguous sense of constantly changing urban reality, place identity no longer serves the static purpose of dichotomizing place from placelessness (of modern urban landscape); rather, it's a dynamic and shifting concept which contextualizes cultural subjects' physical/psychological experiences and imagination with particular places.

The recognizable traits of place identity often symbolize collective rootedness; however, the internal nuances within bounded cultural subjects or between sub-divided places, or certain individuals' up-root/rootless intentions in a cultural group, perform subtler patterns of distinction among the identified commonness. *Differences* and *others* thereby mirror the frailty of place identity from a critical distance. (Nancy, 1991) For example, a marginal squatter settlement of heterogeneous minorities located at the edge of a city,

disempowered and chaotic at first glance, exhibits an unapologetic defiance against the place identity of the city as a whole as well as against the concept of an allied community. Such a place of disregard can simply be itself or be turned into a place of resistance. Yet, resistance itself does not necessarily lead to an organized community or a better place identity since, essentially, the squatter settlement has never been the outcome of a conscious plan or act. It is thus debatable that fostering place identity in a place like this should aspire to upgrading its organic charm or maintaining its critical stance.

Castells (1997) suggests to divide the form of identity into three categories: *legitimizing identity* forged by dominant social institutions; *resistance identity* fending from an oppressed position to counter the domination logic; and *project identity* - through which cultural subjects re-establish their social position to strive for a reform of social structure. Place identity operates across all three types, but is more critical of the ideological manipulation of *legitimizing identity* and of the reactionary tribalism of *resistance identity*. Place identity is doubtless territorial, but it goes further to summon “a progressive sense of place” (as a repudiation to a nostalgic sense of place, Massey, 1993) with an emphasis on the formation of subjects and project identity. However correct and appealing it seems, a place-project identity still appears elusive and jargonized if not realized in reality. As an agent to activate this concept, community activism comes to the fore.

The polemics of community activism

Artivism is a conscious combination of art and activism, and is adopted to demonstrate a more radical approach and a value-loaded attitude to engage in social-spatial issues through arts project. *Artivism* is also an intentional attempt to bring about the community and environmental concerns and collaborate with the participant subjects to precipitate the transformation of certain social meaning. Artivism, from this regard, seems to be a creative and constructive tool to serve the social purposes of activism or to build place identity from bottom up. Yet artivism is also self-reflexive and disinclined to take things for granted. The place-specific artivism project can, therefore, problematize the legitimacy of punctuating fixed place identity and initiate a critical dialogue between art, activism, place, community, and cultural subjects.

The polemics of involving direct community participation in the process of making public arts seem particularly acute while art confronting the organic (or unorganized) grassroots community. Whether art uses the community as the backdrop or as indispensable subjects; or whether community participation enhances or diminishes the autonomy of art often triggers vehement debates on both sides of community empowerment and public arts; and the skeptics might as well question the necessity of art

in a perceived mundane community on such a basis. Yet the effect of art in strengthening community identity and inducing creative social transformation is relatively palpable, compared with public discussions and calculated actions. Art, if not deliberately offensive, can also be liberating and fun to motivate a greater variety of community members who are otherwise perceived apathetic and voiceless by the power representatives. Community is, after all, not an undifferentiated mass of people; and art should not be expected to simply tend the need of an institutionalized whole.

Art can take many forms; while the aesthetic quality, refined craftsmanship, and creative expressions of art are commonly appreciated, the other aspects of art (particularly modern art) – its independent nature, unrestrained freedom, personal opinions, and critical thinking, to name a few – are understated, controversial, or even considered defiant and detrimental to a coherent society. The liberal spirit of art does not follow traditional values and morals stereotypically associated with grassroots communities. The outsider artists sometimes set back a necessary distance from the community to secure a broader perspective while representing the community through their works. The double-edged blade of arts in a community thus cuts both sides: it is a creative force to inspire, and simultaneously, an aggressive intervention to disturb the daily-life patterns of an ordinary community.

Comparing with general public arts or installing arts in a community, the concept of community activism focuses less on artists and artworks than the community itself. The implication of activism also indicates that the involved community is, to some degree, in certain condition of needing advocacy support and direct mobilization. Community activism inevitably turns strategic from this perspective. It is then crucial to specify issues arising from that certain condition and the characteristics of the particular community (*rural or urban community, urban fenced community or urban fringe community, historical community or squatter settlement,...*) to measure the best-fit actions/projects for the community - be it linked to landscape conservation or community empowerment or environmental protest. With this understanding, community activism has to construct an action scenario and a local narrative from within; thus, even critical or controversial art projects can hardly disrespect the community in the name of art. But still, the place-bound community activism needs to further explore the possible solutions for the following questions:

How does community activism, acting *in situ* to given social and landscape values, reinforce the autonomous creativity of collective and independent cultural subjects without relegating the creative processes to condescending services for the functional

need of the community? How can an outsider's keen observation and perceptive sensitivity of human-environment relations be transformed into creative forms of representation which also includes the experiences and stories of the implicated community? Can activism become a myth-making tool to help community individuals identify with their living environment and endow meaning to the associated landscape through creative processes? How does activism translate community stories and landscape narratives into sensible forms, and how do such forms manifest community qualities as well as its internal heterogeneity? Can activism deal with the fear and desire of the community individuals as well as the community psyche as a whole? How can activism be transcended from reactionary purposes to creative initiatives for place identity?

The Power of Place Studio at UCLA demonstrated an exemplary mechanism of initiative community activism through the public history workshop, which gathered narrative materials from community participatory story-telling process for an inventive art project (Hayden, 1995). It not only represented the subaltern life-force of urban plebeians via the interpretations of paintings, books, and sculptures; but also transformed a line of cold wall in a commercial area into a moving profile of an Afro-American woman's life history. For the community residents who had participated in the workshop or simply passed by, reading the completed art project was like looking back at themselves and the ordinary scenes of their everyday lives etched into the realm of art. Through the reflexive gaze of art, the power of identity brought forth a brand-new and progressive sense of place.

The 2003 Treasure Hill GAPP (Global Artists Participation Projects)

To further elaborate on the relationship between community activism and place identity, the 2003 GAPP at the Treasure Hill settlement, located in a zoned-parkland of the Taipei city, contributed first-hand observations and experiences to the related discourses with a wide range of community actions and art projects. Originally initiated to confront difficult urban planning and cultural landscape conservation issues of the riverside squatter village¹, the 2003 GAPP witnessed the creative power of art as well as the

¹ The Treasure-Hill settlement is a fringe urban village characterized by its intimate physical relations with the Guan-Yin Hill and the Hsin-Dian River and conservation of the treasure-hill settlement has confronted the rationale of modernist planning in Taipei which prioritizes urban function as a whole rather than collective memories of the few. Stigmatized by some urban discourses as the tumor of a pro-growth city, the informal and pre-modern appearance of the settlement not only reminisces the tight spatial fabric of the city's organic past, but also houses the everyday life of many immigrants and families of different periods of urbanization, many of whom are senile veterans and the disempowered social underclass.

On one hand, the Treasure-Hill settlement is condemned as an urban squatter whose residents maintain their basic subsistence on piecemeal self-help mode; yet on the other hand, it is ironically romanticized as a

heightened tension between the community and art. When the highly political and calculated tactics of conservation persuaded the city government to recognize the settlement's artistic potentials for public good and the original squatters as an integral part of the unique and artistic milieu, the settlement became officially perceived as an artists-in-residency setting for struggling poor artists. Yet the residency status of the squatters was far from secure. It would have to go through extremely uncertain and long processes of rezoning and historical heritage review to make the squatter residency and their self-help buildings legal, and it was hardly an easy task to persuade both urban planning committee and historical heritage committee that conservation of this cultural landscape and the community did not diminish the public value of Treasure Hill's existing land use as a public park.

To argue the legitimacy of replacing the green park with an artistic village was controversial, to advocate a social welfare program within the artistic village to preserve the social network of the Treasure Hill community was an even more challenging idea. But first of all, Treasure Hill had to be seen and its value appreciated by the general public to precipitate necessary legal procedure of rezoning. One of the tacit missions for the 2003 GAPP, therefore, was to raise Treasure Hill's publicity and public support through arts program. But the medium exposure also caused disturbing consequences in the community's low-key lifestyle. Art was never a familiar term at Treasure Hill before, however, the "artless" community was obliged to participate in art projects or to make contact with arts on their daily routines during the 2003 GAPP to boost the opportunity of being exempt from the green bulldozers of the Park and Recreation Department. Art might be a ticket to permanent residency, practically speaking.

Yet the close encounter with art, for the community participants, did have some unexpected effects – inspired or perturbed, but more than activism's political purposes or an exchange of participation for residency – on their relationship with the city, the community, the environment, and themselves. Even though the overall plan for GAPP attempted to attenuate the impact of high-concept and avant-garde arts on the extant community and to get as much participation from the community as possible, the insistence of maintaining the activists' autonomy did leave indelible traces on the community and the fragile landscape. In a way, the Treasure Hill community would never be able to return to its innocent age of being an organic settlement at large once its land ownership was reclaimed by the government and zoned for park use in an urban system.

hill-side village setting which bears the potential of an artistic community. Either viewpoint cannot depict the situation of the settlement today. Ever since the declaration of a future park according to the city's physical plan in the 1990, the Treasure-Hill settlement was overcast in a gloomy shroud of insecurity.

The crisis of being institutionalized was impending, and it was only a matter of *how* it would be managed in the future. Arts program stood out as one of many options.

From rags to tags, from squatter movement to institutionalized artists-in-residency program, will Treasure Hill become an obsolescent urban settlement of organic nature or a progressive urban planning model of creative sustainability? The following description of the 2003 GAPP is based on a project director's subjective perspective, and represents only a portion of the entire programmed event. In the meanwhile, a far more complicated planning for the conservation and restoration of the Treasure Hill settlement and its adjacent landscape, thanks to the direct feedback from the GAPP experiment, is trying to lay out a feasible management program for the Treasure Hill Co-living Artsville². Perhaps, it's not art itself but the intensity of arts implemented within a short span of time that really affects the squatter community, and that evaluation should not be overlooked.

The Other Home-land theme

Before there was GAPP, the Treasure Hill New Discovery Film Festival programmed in 2002 Taipei International Arts Festival had put Treasure Hill on the city's art map. The community was thereafter transformed from the setting for multiple filming locations into the scene for cinema arts happenings. The Treasure Hill Family Cinema Club, informally organized by graduate students at National Taiwan University Graduate Institute of Building and Planning and community members, screens popular and alternative films - from propagandist military films to art-house documentary films - every Wednesday at the re-painted white wall of a defunct building left blank after the large-scale demolition in 2001. The Club has tacitly become a new community tradition, simply by showing films at regular hours at a ruins-turned-plaza to draw residents out of their living rooms to gather for a weekly event at a new public arena.

The 2003 GAPP further expanded the collaboration experiment between the community and the activists by ushering in artists and activists from all over the world to initiate

² After the planning responsibility for the Treasure Hill Settlement was transferred from the Department of Park and Recreation to the Bureau of Cultural Affairs, the cultural imagination faced the challenge of programming a "planned" village out of an "ordinary" settlement by piecemeal evolution.

OURs (the Organization of Urban Re-s) is now commissioned by the Bureau of Cultural Affairs to undertake the planning task as well as the 2003 GAPP, and for the time being, the new program intends to propose a "co-living commune" which will incorporate the original resident units as "welfare homeland - an alternative social housing," a youth hostel, an ecological learning field, and an artist-in-residences program. All the residents of the new village will share the facilities of a co-kitchen, a co-dining room, a bakery, a cafe, waterfront organic gardens and farms, a co-op neighborhood self-help center, and various workshops for recycled-material-based arts and creative theatres, darkroom, etc. Restoration of the physical structures will call for the help of International Workcamp, and all the labor put to the care of the community can be transferred as substitute for rent or meals.

creative activist programs related to landscape and settlement conservation. The 2003 overarching theme was designated “the Other Home-Land” – a dialectic between the social and cultural others and their transitional shelters into the alternative homeland, as well as a reflection of the collective identity of many immigrants in the community from different eras and native lands - inviting global artists to probe into the historical roots, marginal status, current reality, ecological aspects, and subconscious psyche of the Treasure Hill settlement.

The lineup for the 2003 GAPP included: the multiple-dimension landscape art project *Organic Layer Taipei*, the collaborative lomography project *Asia 108 and the Street Gallery of Treasure Hill Flood Images*, the *Ethnography and Chorography Film Festival* at the Treasure Hill outdoor cinema plaza, the 3-week 3-group environmental theatre and workshop series *Happening*, the field experimental actions and international forum of *Ecological Homeland and Micro-climate Architecture*, the subtle *Garden Portraits* project, the international *Creative Sustainability and Self-help Center* participatory workshops and forum, the domestic *Artists-in-Residency Program* and *the Treasure Hill Tea +Photo*, and the paper-pulp based landscape art project *Blue River*. The interested artists came from Finland, Japan, Germany, Spain, the US, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, and other regions of Taiwan to participate in the experimental event. Unfortunately due to the constraints of time, budget, resources, and artists’ own schedules, very few of them could stay more than a month to really blend in or establish long-term relationship with the community. Their proposals and actions had to rely on the second-hand descriptions of Treasure Hill and their brief observations and perceptions about the site. However, they all seemed to find inspirations from the uncommon setting and context of Treasure Hill which, unlike a planned artistic village composed only of artists, was blunt, honest, real, unpretentious, and socially critical. Some of the invited proposals were targeted towards community needs or planning purposes – in another words, their artist goals and expected outcomes were clear at the outset. Those projects will not be discussed in details in this paper, despite that they are not less interesting or creative. The following chosen projects are relatively more ambiguous in setting objectives and open to artistic interpretations. Their scrupulous moves between artistic imaginations and community activism became dynamic and unpredictable processes in exploring the meaning of place identity in the most unlikely place.

The *Organic Layer Taipei* Project

The Finnish architect-landscape artist Marco Casagrande proposed an artistic concept “the attic” for his project at Treasure Hill based on his keen observation, sensitive intuition, and personal social-ecological concern. Attic, excluded from specific use types

in the Western dwelling unit, is a special space which takes in many less used yet not to be discarded objects of the family. The attic space does not follow any architectural order, and may not be considered necessary for a house. Yet at some afternoon, one crawls up the attic, withdraws a photo album from ten years ago at this corner and opens up a diary from five years ago at that corner, memory surges up as each page turns, then she realizes that the attic is the indispensable subconscious and soul of a house³. Casagrande argues that Treasure Hill is the Attic of Taipei edged out from the city's land-use plan. He found a used military belt and a family photo album in an abandoned house, and the memento stimulated a personal scale of association which connected his own memories with Treasure Hill's idiosyncratic social context. He thereby conducted a series of artist projects to converse with Taipei's subconscious.

Casagrande and the participant students first put on black jumpsuits (costume used for the underground city workers in Fritz Lang's classic film *Metropolis*) to dig out a huge amount of garbage and deserted stuff to search for traces of community memories from piles of thrown-away and left-over on one hand, while on the other hand, to directly help the community cleaning up the living environment. The deserted objects were displayed in the grassy lawn like a free flea market after general classification, and very soon many of them were picked up again by different community residents. Casagrande then applied some of the remnant materials for props and lighting to develop a nocturnal environmental theatre based on his concept of the attic. Treasure Hill at the daytime was so much taken for granted, but at night when the fire lit up, the subconscious of the city began to manifest itself through a mysterious and surreal unfolding.

Casagrande and 30 torch-holders dressed in black stood at various dark corners on the ruins façade (de)constructed by the bulldozers which demolished 38 riverfront dwelling units in 2001. Each empty window frame was lit up by flickering fire, altogether reflecting a bizarre yet tangible dreamscape. Casagrande disappeared into a dim chamber for a few minutes, and then came out through fire as a veteran running from the threat of war. His costume, symbolizing local veteran's casual dress code, came directly from the discarded materials cleaned out of the memory lane earlier. He sat on a broken chair for a while and took a sip of alcohol; then all of a sudden, he gushed out flame from his mouth like an anguished beast. Right above him, torches of fire descending from the top of the hill lined up a zigzag route which re-connected the upper-level dwellings with the ground. That was the "flow of consciousness" meandering through different chambers of memory, and would be the pattern of a future stairway to be constructed in the second mode of the artist project.

³ The attic concept appears also in the phenomenological study of Gaston Bachelard's *the Poetics of Space*.

When the fire gradually faded, the bright spot-lights illuminated a series of larger-than-life photo portraits hanging on some of the remnant building walls – images of the original residents who were cast out when their houses gave away to the claws of the “green bulldozers.” At the beginning of the theatre, the first torch was lit up by the 78-year-old neighborhood chief lady; the still-burning flame came back to her when the performance was over. She did not seem to understand what the theatre all meant, but she was affected as many community neighbors were mesmerized and claimed that Treasure Hill had never been more spectacular.

The second mode of the project conducted by Casagrande lasted 10 days. Extremely hard labor by the “underground city workers in black” and local residents removed many truck-loads of garbage; finished a series of stairways, platforms, and a bamboo bridge, connecting the community daily-life route with used construction materials; cultivated more than 20 plats of vegetable garden; constructed a view deck and a garden tool space under the trees; diverted slope drainage into a made-over ecological pond; and built an organic-form shelter out of bamboo stems for future farmers’ market. These impressive works were not only the outcome of an artist conception, but also evidences of what the community used to be and was to become, made possible by intensive collaboration between the activist team and the community.

Besides, Casagrande and the collaborative team also completed four sets of “book-stop” made out of used steel scaffold, containing soil, native plants, photo albums, memento, and swings to carry local residents. At the end of the second mode project, more than 100 community residents and participants, dressed in black “Who Cares Wins” T-shirts, pushed the wheeled book-stops from Treasure Hill to the “independent book-store streets” of the nearby Gong-guan area for a themed parade entitled “Transporting the Fire, Delivering the Books.” Each resident and every story at Treasure Hill was regarded as a dust-sealed book, and when the book was re-opened and the light in the attic re-kindled, the city would be re-reading the brewed scenario of the overlooked settlement. The community’s grand march into the city brought in new energy and new perspective from the very margin. It was a bold claim to request the city to look straight at Treasure Hill, as well as a reflexive attempt to help the Treasure Hill community re-visualize themselves via the others’ gaze.

The parade was itself a street theatre. The underground city workers in black jumpsuits put on white masks and red wide-brimmed leaf hats, carrying tall red banners and banging pots and basins along the way. AM radio tunes and buzz, often pressed to the

ears of the senile veterans in the community when they paced around the neighborhood, was amplified through a loud speaker and accompanied by impromptu tenor saxophone to set the parade's eccentric and jazzy tone. Many curious bystanders and passersby were so overwhelmed that they couldn't but follow the pied piper to march on.

The parade stopped at a used bookstore to purchase used books and left a Treasure Hill native plant at the store corner. The native plant was also planted at the entrance corners of many idiosyncratic coffee shops along the route, where their street-front windows were showcasing images of Treasure Hill taken by a group of Asian artists (Asian 108) and some community residents in the manner of a street gallery. The parade marched on to Jing-jing gay bookstore to present the book-stop, the bookstore owner raised their pink triangular flag to gesture a grand welcome and recited a radical paragraph from a manifesto book which most represented the spirit of the independent bookstore. The Treasure Hill community purchased the book and placed it in the book-stop as an enthusiastic support for gay community.

The parade continued onward to the feminist bookstore, the leftist underground bookstore, the Taiwanese-culture themed bookstore, and the Mainland-Chinese literary publication based bookstore to present book-stops and purchase books. Each owner of the independent bookstores personally picked the most significant book of the store to recite out loud in front of the street crowd and put it in the book-stop, then the parade team replied with the most energetic cheer and scream. The "Transporting the Fire, Delivering the Books" parade was not only a declaration of squatter settlement conservation, but also an unexpected meeting of Taipei's different social groups and communities and a warm exchange of their cultural emotions. They expressed their individual identities and dignities through the art form of an action theatre on the public streets, and they treasured each others' voices of differences. The encounter was brief, yet the meaning was extraordinary - as art critique Wang Moe-Lin put it, the parade was a leftist re-writing of the city map charted by a dynamic flow of citizens at the margin.

Marco Casagrande's Organic Layer Taipei project at Treasure Hill attracted extensive medium attentions and gained explicit governmental support. For the very first time, the Bureau of Cultural Affairs of the Taipei City Government agreed in public that the illegal squatter residents were an integral part of the settlement conservation when the commissioner of the Bureau had a direct conversation with Casagrande. The conversation content was published in China Times, a major newspaper in Taiwan, which cheered up the community and the planning crew's morale. Many community residents expressed to Casagrande and the participant students their hospitality and friendship, regardless of the

language barrier. But Casagrande's progressive move and zealous activist actions were not without controversy.

For a project this ambitious and of this magnitude, the 2-week span of planning and implementation was less challenging than problematic. Other than the few key persons, most participants were not able to fathom the meaning of the project, let alone the community residents. Some people were touched and inspired by Casagrande's actions (a carpenter resident living close to the constructed stairway later self-built a step garden on the ruins façade, to be described later), but some residents were annoyed that their daily lives were affected by the project. Some critiques even questioned, did Casagrande see the Treasure Hill community as only the provisional actors or the subject of his activist performance? Did the entire event fulfill the activist's own artwork or the community need? Casagrande was audacious to touch on the issue of community psyche despite the expectations for him to mobilize and organize a marginal society toward common goals through activism. But what could be the consensus on the public interest of Treasure Hill, and how long might it take to reach that goal? The past social actions and protests focused on the imminent crisis of community banishment, but once the crisis was changed into opportunities, can the community come up with a new vision without knowing itself? Casagrande interpreted the meaning with such an intense empathy, but how far was that from the truth of the community?

The Garden Portraits Project

Quite on the contrary to Casagrande's eye-opening and theatrical approach, the activist project Garden Portraits, proposed by community activists Jeremy Liu and Hiroko Kikuchi, kept a very low profile. They were invited to engage in creative programming of the vegetable garden cultivated by a few community individuals since the previous Organic Layer installation, but they were also aware that their project schedule at Treasure Hill was constrained and their understanding of the community and its complex situation was largely from second-hand reports and mails. Other than giving practical advices about community garden management, they decided to initiate an art project based on their temporal, personal, and intimate interactions with the cultural subjects and through which, to indirectly encourage informal discussions and conversation about the vegetable garden.

The "publicness" of the vegetable garden had become a critical issue in the community since, for the first time, the behavior of growing vegetables in the open land of Treasure Hill was deemed legitimate under the guise of the Organic Layer Taipei project, yet formally sharing the produce for public profit was still a novel concept for the squatter

residents whose petty illegal farming by the river bank used to cater for private purposes only. However, to grow vegetables on open lots and to work directly on the land had been recognized as one of the most significant living patterns of the Treasure Hill community. The challenge for Liu and Kikuchi was to bring more residents to the garden and to further raise their interests in participation and establish a mechanism in management through an art project; obviously it was not a mission which could be completed in less than 10 days.

Without any strong intention to push gardening and public discourse, Liu and Kikuchi proposed a simple and workable scheme: taking portraits of the Treasure Hill residents among the lushest garden area. Before the shooting actually happened, they tried to talk with as many families as possible about their stories, perception, need, and their wills to take part in the garden portrait project with the help of a few students who had been doing field social survey for a long time. Without the student intermediators and their previous meticulous social study, this artists could hardly win the community's trust and carry out their project at such a short term. Upon agreement, Liu and Kikuchi would ask each individual or family to bring something particularly meaningful or valuable to be included in the portraits, be it a favorite vegetable, possession, homeland folklore, or human being.

Through translation, Liu and Kikuchi got to sit down and chat with different individuals and families in their own living rooms. The informal interviews led to a variety of story telling, soon many agreed to come to the garden and take the portrait photo notwithstanding that some of them did not even grow anything in the garden yet. A newly wedded couple came to the green spot in their formal wedding attires, happily holding each other; the neighborhood chief lady came with her gardening partner, proudly presenting their new crop; an earnest painter with learning difficulty took his loving single mother by the arm, shyly smiling at the camera; one veteran showed up with his old pal dog in arms, grinning like a naughty child; each face, indeed, told a story. Altogether, 17 portraits were taken at the same position then nicely framed in bright red color. These portraits were given back to the participant residents by the artists as something to remember and talk about; in another word, the artwork disappeared into the residents' living rooms once they were finished.

This was exactly Liu and Kikuchi's intent – returning the subjectivity of a creative art back to the community individuals and diminishing the role of an outsider artist. The exhibition space of this particular artwork would be the community itself, and an avid art appreciator would have to visit all these families and talk with them to understand the full

spectrum and depth of this art project. Liu and Kikuchi argue that, *this project is about bringing the garden to the homes as a balance for the interest in getting the people to the garden. It is the beginning of a “dialogue of space” between the home and the garden.* Before the portraits forever retreated to the walls of 17 private rooms, Liu and Kikuchi invited all of the photographed to present their portraits in a public forum which was considered the only public viewing of the complete work. These involved residents sincerely expressed their feelings and perceptions about the Garden Portraits project and the vegetable garden itself. Even though it was a long way from the discourse about the management of a public organic garden, almost every attendant of the forum was deeply affected by the heart-felt presentations and stories of the portrayed.

The Garden Portraits was an activist project with an open end. It was meant to be the outset of a real portrait studio, continuing to take pictures and document the life stories and changes of the community (the concept was somewhat resumed later by Yeh Wei-li's Treasure Hill Tea + Photo). Liu and Kikuchi's conscious act of hiding their artist status (it also reflected the post-structuralist idea of “decentering the subject,” see Smith, 2001) in order to shift the focus on the subjectivity of the residents did reveal a great respect for the Treasure Hill community and carefully reserved a limited outsider's distance in interpreting the community. Yet their humble approach also provoked serious questions about activism and artwork: when the artwork virtually disappears, do the artists further help empower the subjectivity for the community or simply declare the death of their own subjectivity? Do the artists thereby promise a continuous commitment to the community or retreat from the scene and sever their relationship with the community since they will not have to be responsible for their works (there is virtually no artwork)? Does “artwork” have to be the original sin of activism because the artist role of reinforcing the creative self through her/his works is somehow condemned?

Perhaps the conscious retreat of the artistic self exposed the structural problem of a conscientious activist's short-term commitment through a project commission. It is an honest as well as strategic and paradoxical reflection on the reality that the outsiders cannot blend themselves into the community easily at a short span of time to represent the community's need and desire. Even if they move in to acquire a quasi-insiders' status, how long of their stay is perceived legitimate to motivate certain community actions? Is it possible that, in some way, an activist role is to conduct a genuine and sincere *dialogue* with the community based on her/his in-depth understanding and empathy of the community, no matter how long she/he can commit to the community? It is definitely not appropriate to re-write the community with the artist's personal signature, but it is also not necessary to give up one's artistic signature and difference in the face of the

much-too-generic term of community.

Happening - The Treasure Hill Environmental Theatre Series

“The fire in the attic” performance by Marco Casagrande and the workers in black transformed Treasure Hill’s ruins façade into a theatrical space which, according to some local theatre critics, could be Taipei’s most outstanding stage. In fact, the idiosyncratic ambiance and spatial tension of the Treasure Hill community— a living squatter escaping the control of modern urban planning, unwilling to succumb to specific elite aesthetics, and interweaving its organic texture with the surrounding natural environment – preset an intriguing context for the critical contemporary fringe theatre and environmental theatre. Under the GAPP framework, “Happening: the Treasure Hill Environmental Theatre Series” aimed to delve into the collective consciousness and personal experiences of the settlement via re-interpreted spatial scenario and body performances, as well as to extend the social and environmental dimensions of theatrical art by adapting to Treasure Hill’s critical alternative space.

The first Happening performance was not in the original program. A visiting Indonesian behavior performing artist Yoyo Yogasmana who happened to be undertaking a Muslim Lebaran ritual in Taipei, decided to perform the ritual at the Family Cinema Club plaza with the Sun-Son Theatre, a drum-based theatre group about to start its artist-in-residency status at Treasure Hill for the Happening series. The Lebaran ritual was mesmerizing and exotic. Its religious themes about catharsis, redemption, and forgiveness, crossing the cultural and language barriers, resonated effectively with the onlookers’ perceptions through the performers’ movements and expressions. Many community residents came unprepared to be transported to a fantastic trance-land, yet touched by a sensible religious mood, they appreciated the ritual with high curiosity and respect. Hence, when Yogasmana gestured to invite participation from the audience, all attendants felt more than willing, or even competed to join the performance.

Despite the wind chill, Yogasmana soaked and fluttered himself in the cold water in an abandoned bathtub, while Sun-Son Theatre’s mystical chanting echoed around the plaza. He came out of the water under the floodlight, standing motionless for a long while like a traumatized man with a soul redeemed. Then he sat down with the Theatre performers around a circle of petals, gradually swaying their bodies into waves of circular motion and humming their inner voices into a hypnotizing rhythm. Even if the performance had been rehearsed, there were dynamic moments of improvisation when the onlookers were engulfed into the ritual. Some Treasure Hill residents were asked to spread flower petals on Yogasmana to cleanse his spirit, they did that with honor and deep respect as if saints

baptizing a disciple. The air was charged with a shared belief beyond the dogma of religion. The dramatic finale evolved from a gentle quest for forgiveness when Yogasmana held an onlooker's hands and vibrated with the hopping sound of drums, then the onlooker moved to his side to shake the second onlooker's hands. As the drumming went on, every onlooker stood up and gave her/his hands to Yogasmana and the growing line of hands for each other's forgiveness. The drumming got louder and more passionate, shaking hands started to go with dancing feet. Without any instructions, everyone in the plaza was holding hands and dancing wild! It was magical and liberating. And it happened in the most unlikely corner of a secular city.

It seemed that at that particular moment, whether it was Muslim or Catholicism or Buddhism did not really matter; yet, rarely had any community in Taipei or Taiwan been granted with an opportunity to witness a religious ritual or theatrical performance of such a "difference" and thereby to expand the scope of inter-cultural experiences. The Lebaran ritual was certainly not related to Treasure Hill's everyday life or the community's perceptual domain on the surface, it was exactly this unfamiliarity that evoked an overwhelming sense of curiosity and excitement out of the ordinary. This impromptu performance did not treat the audience as passive or receptive objects as many fixed-frame theatres did, and it elicited immediate and enthusiastic participation without specific narrative formation or meaning exploration. In a sense, it trusted that human feelings shared common ground and transcended political and social estrangement. It did not seek for a complete understanding of meaning or storyline, but call for a primitive resonance from the hearts. The Lebaran ritual and the following theatre series did not cater to the community needs or routine expectations (but did a Taiwanese or Chinese opera serve better purposes at the heterogeneous Treasure Hill community? And if it did, based on what conjectures?), it accentuated the community's acceptance and appreciations for "otherness."

The Sun-Son Theatre started a week-long drumming workshop following Yogasmana's performance on the next evening. Surprisingly, quite a few senile residents came with their grandchildren to learn hand-drum playing. Since drumming required less musical techniques about tunes and chords, the workshop participants picked up certain fun rhythm to jam with one another soon after the instructor demonstrated basic steps and orchestrated layers of playing. Even though some of the drummers occasionally missed the beat, it did not sound all too awful once individual drumming was wrapped within the collective funky rhythm. It was simply fun since no beat was a wrong beat. Very often, the theatre members would start a bonfire in the lawn plaza adjacent to the bamboo grove and tempt workshop drummers and onlookers to dance to the fire-and-drums. Strange at

first glance, yet it was also refreshing to watch the Treasure Hill senile residents playing drums with professional drummers while women and children dancing intoxicatedly by the bonfire – a lighter and brighter side of the community stereotypically associated with a sedate state and an ageing image.

In the meanwhile, the Sun-Son Theatre set up another mask workshop to teach paper-mache mask making at the community terrace lawn. Waste paper and newspaper were transformed into a variety of artistic masks with the help of simple technique and touches of creativity, and the outcomes would later become props and ornaments for the weekend performance. Again, some enthusiastic participants from the community showed up everyday to make arts, mixed occasionally with cynical and skeptical looks from the passersby. But there was one particular comment from an old handicapped veteran, after he observed the mask workshop for a few days, that surprised the planning team most. He expressed, “if I did not join the army in my youth, I would have strived to be an artist.” His statement indicated a psychological desire never made patent in the previous social survey and interviews, but unexpectedly revealed during the workshop. This episode was meaningful and encouraging for the GAPP experiment. If activism could inspire certain individuals to bring out or recollect their creative sides, it might be able to discover new creative powers of the community overlooked by formulated community empowerment process.

Another intriguing comment was gently expressed during the bonfire dance by a woman who had been living at Treasure Hill for more than 30 years. She was then wrapped up in the wild drumming and fire dance taking place in the lawn plaza where a group of male senile residents usually sat around the bamboo grove chatting, and she said, “It’s good to be able to come down here and watch performances. I rarely set foot in this lawn after the grocery store was gone. Those old men sit under the bamboo all the time, and if not for the dance, I would not come down to the lawn.” Her comment was mild but sarcastic if compared with the description of the highly-adored pattern of “a group of local senile citizens sitting under the bamboo trees chatting.” Indeed, in a marginal community like Treasure Hill, subtle issues of gendered spaces were rarely exposed under the criticism of political-economy and zoning injustice in general. Cherishable spatial patterns of an organic settlement were well documented at Treasure Hill, but the previous comment critically pinpointed that some of those patterns might also be romanticized and shield the unquestioned power relations within. The critical distance of activism did not intend to undermine the living patterns of Treasure Hill, but to further look into the taken-for-granted realities under the commonness of community.

The eventual performance by the Sun-Son Theatre drew a huge crowd to Treasure Hill, many of them heard of the place for the first time. The series of performance adapted many unlikely corners for different scenarios – the frame of a broken window, the relics of a torn down building basement, the strip in front of a line of blank walls, the steps leading to an old family barbershop, the terrace lawn, the outdoor cinema plaza, to name a few, - the ingenious uses of peculiar environment and spaces shed new lights in looking at Treasure Hill as if untold stories were hidden at every corner of the community. Constrained by extremely low budget, the theatre group summoned many professional volunteer performers to interpret Treasure Hill through their improvised or contextualized theatre works. The audience had to follow the performers around the community spaces and stand right in the settings. Boundaries between the real, the unreal, and the surreal sometimes dissolved when the theatrical stages and the living environment were both de-constructed and re-constructed by each dramatic turn. The performances seemed to disclose modern human conditions and vulnerability more than the stories of Treasure Hill.

Quirky, mysterious, and awe-striking, the theatre combined dances, poetry-reading, aboriginal chanting, drumming, and role-playing to conduct physical dialogues with the varied environments. It was not easy to eliminate the image of a tethered man cocooning in the ruins window or of a woman in a 10-meter-long red veil dragging herself inch by inch uphill. And when she disappeared into the woods on the terrace lawn, came along a couple of half-naked celestial beings and a Flamenco dancer charging the melancholy night air with a heart-wrenching dance. The bonfire drumming and dance, accompanied by Yoyo Yogasmana's bizarre body-roping ritual, culminated the evening performances and unleashed the emotions of the enthralled audience. Many Treasure Hill residents and families who attended the drumming and mask workshop, some even in costume, exhibited high spirit and wild instinct of dancing. The fire glowed, and nobody seemed to care if they ever fathomed the meaning of the environmental theatre.

The Sun-Son Theatre workshops and performances were, predictably, received with controversies. And the community reality was, there was always only a small portion of the entire population motivated enough to join the public events, especially when these events had no direct relations with their private interests or pleas for their understanding. Complaints about the drum noise and the intense activities whispered behind the workshops and performances, even though very few came straightforward to the organizers. Skeptics were not convinced that the exogenous arts program could do much to the community when the fireworks died out, not to mention that the fireworks themselves might be seen as disturbances rather than celebration of the community life. It

was always a legitimate question to ask if high art could actually represent the best interests or the needs of the community and if the ‘fireworks’ type of arts program could help the community further establish its own identity. But such a question was also a much-too-easy one if it did not further distinguish whether the community was an appropriate site for a reinforced identity or on the contrary, for dissolving identities; or, whether we should look beyond the need-base to differentiate the nuances of the community psyche. We could go on to question the discrimination between traditional cultural events and arts program, and if the latter could, given a longer time span of sedimentation, be absorbed into the former. Could the community events be liberating, free, and fun (if not offensive and intrusive) rather than meaningful, purposeful, and appealing to the majority? Would there be alternatives in constructing the community narrative other than telling comprehensible stories - for instance, poetry grounded on perceptual experiences?

The Taidong Theatre and the Parliament Theatre – two burgeoning fringe theatre groups tried different approaches for the Happening series at Treasure Hill. The Taidong Theatre chose a specific theme “Where do I come from?” to reflect the community characteristics of Treasure Hill and structure their scenario thereafter. They meant to do some interviews with local residents about their backgrounds and life stories, vis-à-vis their own immigrant experiences. Instead, they established a broadcast workshop and gave the community residents vocal training to tell stories through an expressive medium. It was a creative and fun approach as well as an effective tool for the few participants to manipulate drama through their voices.

The Parliament Theatre moved into one of the squatter houses to make close contact with the residents everyday. They attempted to arrange a few potluck dinners with the community and to participate in the garden farming in hopes that their theatre piece could develop out of real community life.

But perhaps the previous Sun-Son Theatre and Marco Casagrande’s dynamic projects ate up too much community energy, these two theatres both had difficult times involving passionate resident participation even though their theatre subjects addressed more community issues. The week-long residency also did not allow these two less experienced groups to get acquainted with the community and work out their own rehearsal schedules. Reactions to their workshops and performances were tepid, but ironically, complaints were hardly heard. Many residents were not even aware of their existence. The Taidong Theatre finally got to perform with a few residents at the lawn plaza, asking again and again that fundamental “where do I come from?” question; but the Parliament’s performances, following a disinterested potluck party, were largely

self-serving without calling much community attention. Considering their original project ambitions, the disappointment of their performances cut even deeper than the controversies about the previous theatrical works. For a play involving the community's internal narratives by the exogenous group or individuals, it took serious interaction sparkles and strategies to make things work; otherwise, the duration of residency had to last much longer than a week.

The Artist-in-Residency Program and the Treasure Hill Tea + Photo

The last phase of GAPP called for proposals from domestic artists who, once chosen, would acquire a two-month artist-in-residency status to adapt an abandoned housing unit at Treasure Hill and make arts on a grant basis. Altogether seven artist individuals and partners were selected by a committee, who was informed about Treasure Hill's situation and history, to carry out their independent projects. These proposals, ranging from photography studios, sound projects, installation arts, and recycled object making, reflected the diverse backgrounds of the artists as well as their interpretations of the community and its adjacent environment. The cultural subjects of Treasure Hill were not particularly emphasized, but subtly implicated as indispensable part of their projects. The living squatter community located at the edge of the city became a source of creative and critical inspiration for these young artists. Yet unfamiliar with its complicated zoning problems, none of them attempted to challenge the state machine or to initiate another social movement; instead, they chose to humbly engage in more personal and poetic conversations with the site and the people. Unlike the Environmental Theatre series, they didn't induce direct resident participation through specific workshops either; in a sense, they were more like an ad-hoc artist team neighboring the Treasure Hill community making art projects about their neighborhood.

These creative and temporary residents caught the community's attention when they moved in, and their behaviors were also monitored by certain moral standard. The Treasure Hill community was not particularly conservative compared with other parts of the city, but the original residents were always cautious about reckless misdemeanor and sabotage. The first lesson for any artist-in-residency at Treasure Hill would be that the artist did not have the privilege over the community and that the daily-life patterns of the community did not have to adapt to any artist's personal will unless consented under communication. Throughout this artist-in-residency program, the tacit understanding was mostly respected except for a few incidents which magnified certain individuals' anarchistic conducts into unnecessary tension between the program and the community. Due to such unpleasant experiences, the community might be taking more drastic measures to write down a community charter to regulate themselves and the future

new-comers if a part of Treasure Hill would be gradually transformed into an artist sector.

However, their artworks and projects did not cause too many raised eyebrows regardless that some were walking on a thin line between being provocative and inspirational. *The Sounds from the Landscape* project employed many hi-fi microphones hidden at various corners all over Treasure Hill, then installed them inside a line of periscopes beside the trail of the lawn plaza. A passerby could easily hear sounds of dog-barking, insect-chirping, cooking, mahjong-playing, or even talking and fighting through those speaker tubes. It was a surprising slice of Treasure Hill's mundane reality never before documented, but it could also be interpreted as a snoop of privacy. *Me and the Minute of Being with Myself* project asked any volunteer to enter a disturbing, Duchamp-ish room to be absolutely solitary with oneself, then push the shutter of an aperture camera for a minute-long exposure. The artist was curious about how one was thinking at that singular minute, which would be written down or drawn out in a notebook by the experimental subject. Some weeks later, the front chamber of the house was filled with intimate self-portraits and documents. Fear and desire abounded in the strange room. It was more about human and community ego than the community stories.

Among all artist-in-residency works at Treasure Hill, one particular project stood out as the most noteworthy. The *Treasure Hill Tea + Photo* (THTP) project by Yeh Wei-li and Liu He-rang started with a simple concept – to establish a humble teahouse in the community, open and free to all who passed through. And behind the teahouse, a professional portrait studio would take pictures for those who came in to drink tea and share stories at their most comfortable manner. Yeh and Liu brought many books and portfolios to the teahouse, along with some re-assembled and manufactured objects that they found in the community, and ingeniously rearrange the setting to make over the living room into a library-gallery kind of space. They intentionally avoided aggressive and manipulated interactions with the community residents in hopes that passersby might step in their semi-public yet highly intimate teahouse by accident or as if they were just visiting a neighbor on some casual evening. In a way, they wanted art and community life to collide at the most unforced way around the least expected corner.

Yeh and Liu's low-key attitude did not open the door wide enough to receive an impressive influx from the community, but many students and outside visitors came frequently to chat with artists and take portraits. They made prints of the portraits for the visitors and exhibited some of them on the wall of the living room. Once in a while, their immediate neighbors would show up and the planning crew would bring some local residents to take pictures. Yeh and Liu picked a few excellent portraits and enlarged them

into light boxes, one of which was of his next-door neighbor. But at the end of their project term, portraits of the Treasure Hill residents were comparatively fewer than those of the outsiders. Yeh believed that they needed more time to develop the project.

So when the rest of the artists moved out after the finale open-house exhibition, Yeh and Liu resumed their teahouse photo studio and further expanded it to another dwelling unit to include a dark room and a carpentry workspace. Gradually more local residents' portraits showed up on the wall, quietly replacing the outsiders' slots. Yeh decided to really move into Treasure Hill and become a local resident. He committed at least two years to reinforce his collaboration basis with the community and to lead a life of making arts in the community at his personal expenses. His project would come to a phase fruition if a photography facility and resource center could be established to offer classes and lectures to the public.

Yeh's commitment to the community was not for his personal benefit or reputation. He acknowledged that the real subjects for his work were the local residents, but their participation would no doubt augment the social meaning of his or any artist's work. He observed that, in a letter to the mayor of the city, "...the social fabric that makes up Treasure Hill is a rich source of inspiration, history, and sustenance for artists to draw from. The oral histories passed down through the exchange with the residents here contextualize and deepens the experience and understanding of being in Treasure Hill. For without the voices and lives of these living residents, Treasure Hill would be but an empty shell of crudely constructed rubble." Yeh was actually writing to request the city not to dislocate the residents even if the squatter buildings were preserved. His statement, along with letters from many other activists and scholars who had come to experience or work at Treasure Hill and shared the same stance, played a vital role in persuading the city government to recognize the community residents as an integral part of the future artist village.

The formal surface of the THTP project displayed faces of all walks of life, who happened to show up at a particular time in Treasure Hill. Yeh argued that, "through our differences in histories, backgrounds, languages, class and educational differences, life experiences that are shared and told and retold that ultimately give clues to where and who we are." He expressed a humanistic, understanding, and unassuming value for his ongoing project and dialogue with the community, and that was in many ways more significant than a condescending approach of token participation.

GAPP repercussions – a semi-conclusion:

GAPP was at first consciously developed as a strategic tool for cultural landscape conservation at Treasure Hill. It was meant to turn a pre-determined, somewhat dogmatic and unilaterally wishful idea of implementing an artist village in a grassroots squatter community into a conservation tactics as well as a contextualized program to explore the social outreach of liberal arts. The original intention of GAPP, admittedly, questioned arts' autonomy and did not see arts for arts sake. Artivism was derived from and at the same time antithetic of art. Artivism's punctuating activism challenged art for not being serviceable to more meaningful social purposes, and this critique might just subvert art's understated essence – the use of being useless. Artivism is affiliated to the Frankfurt School's "negative aesthetics" (Adorno, 1984; Marcuse, 1978), but not yet built up at a firm aesthetic ground. It's more of an activist proposal than a manifesto of aesthetic movement. Adorno's argument of social meaning within the autonomy of art is a long contemplation on the nature of art as well as a critique of high-culture aesthetics being dominated by the institutional powers. But the fine balance between social critique and autonomy of art needs to be learned through practice. Casagrande's attic concept for Treasure Hill (and his associated actions) was artistic and exotic, but it did capture the spirit of the place more precisely than many previous social jargons. Then we can examine where the autonomy of art lies (if there indeed is) and if it achieves the intensity of social critique in this case.

There were a few episodes of GAPP emerging after the flamboyant events were cooled down and most artists were gone, invoking the creative subjects out of the subordinate society of Treasure Hill. These episodes surfaced among the ripples of GAPP, but were not programmed to happen accordingly. Some were always there or already there but had hardly been noticed or looked squarely at. Some were indeed inspired by the artists' projects. Mr. Lee, a self-taught carpenter living right behind stair path conceived and built by Marco Casagrande's artist team, began to follow steps after the *Organic Layer* project was officially over. He constructed another stairway going down from his personal window to the main path with better recycled materials and better craftsmanship, then he cleaned another garbage dump into a look-out patio. Gradually he added a small garden, a line of plant-filled pipe fence, a few ingenious built-in seating, a couple of driftwood handrails, a billboard, and so on. And his construction is still growing. The community and the live-in planning crew got to know him more and more because he always mentioned that his cultivation was for the public and not to privatize any more land and he did improve the quality of the environment at the fuzzy edge of Casagrande's artist project. He has turned himself into another artist without being crowned laurel.

Lin Mu-shan had a measles attack at his childhood, and he remained the status of an

innocent boy ever since. He had problems articulating language or learning knowledge at school, but he had an enthusiasm for painting. He lived with his mother quietly at the upper level of the Treasure Hill settlement after his father and brother passed away, and he started to take painting lessons at the Eden Welfare Foundation. Very few neighbors in the community knew his talent till the last stage of GAPP when Yeh Wei-li opened his Treasure Hill Tea + Photo next door to Mu-shan's home. Mu-shan hanged out at the teahouse photo studio oftentimes with a strong sense of curiosity and zeal, and he communicated with the photographer in a special way. Yeh took portraits for him and enlarged one of them into one of the most conspicuous light-box artworks of the studio. In the meanwhile, Mu-shan's paintings were chosen for an exhibit in a prominent city gallery and used for the promotion poster. Yeh shot a series of Mu-shan's paintings to be used in an oncoming book (all the copyright income will go to Mu-shan's family), Mu-shan helped Yeh paint his studio walls and ceiling. And soon Yeh will invite Mu-shan to paint in his studio when his learning term at Eden Foundation is over. Mu-shan became more and more visible in the community, and he even designed the logo for Treasure Hill when the international Creative Sustainability Self-help Center project initiated a collaborative mural artwork at the entrance of the community. Mu-shan's instructor at Eden Foundation wrote a letter to the project office about his growing confidence. His new paintings and exhibitions are occasionally the topic of the neighborhood conversations. Understatedly, a new set of micro social relations is evolving and restructuring. The activists are now simply being the community neighbors, and their good old neighbors have become real creative artists.

Mr. Ding, after multiple participations in different projects and events, began to voice up that the Treasure Hill community should come up with their own artwork. He joined the lomography session with young Asian designers to take pictures of Treasure Hill for the Street Gallery exhibition, and his works impressed and surprised all. Then he proposed a marvelous idea during a performance meeting – recording a CD of native-land folklores representing different immigrant histories of Treasure Hill where one could easily capture dialects and accents from a variety of Mainland China provinces, Southeast Asia, and other regions of Taiwan. His proposal was almost realized when two musicians/sound artists from the artists-in residency program volunteered to help. But the lack of budget and adequate equipment postponed it. Mr. Ding was not frustrated, and self-built a decorated archway at the fork of two alleys round where he lived entitled “Gazebo for the Other Homeland” on one side and “Residence of Befriending Neighbors” on the other. Under the archway was a corner of literature with poems and aspiring words selected by him. With the onward push from GAPP, he seemed to gain the stamina and legitimacy for what desired to do.

If ever Mr. Ding's folklore assemblage CD can be recorded, we will also be expecting Mrs. Chu's fabulous Huang-mei tune, Mr. Feng's heart-breaking harmonica, Mr. Lee's traditional erhu fiddle, the big family of the neighborhood chief lady doing theatrical, and many more local voices. With creative powers from different individuals with distinguished characteristics and histories, the Treasure Hill community is undergoing a transformational process which might transcend a localized resistance identity into a place-project identity. There are always higher priorities of problems to be solved – rezoning details, landscape conservation, community livelihood, building restoration, continuous aging, and so forth, and the community is not yet firmly organized to reach any consensus in the wake of GAPP. But somehow from the few identified individuals, the disempowered squatter community can not be merely perceived as a collective lump of dependent minorities waiting for care-takers. Art may not do much or be of practical use value to improve their income, but the creative power which art unleashes from the community infuses a breath of fresh air and new possibilities to a squatter nearly sentenced a penalty of eternal demise.

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