不同寻常的河流

UNCOMMON RIVER

梅尔韦·拜德尔 代尔夫特理工大学博士候选人，土地与文明构造工作室合伙人

卢博·格奥尔基耶夫 前“建筑周”活动负责人

Merve BEDIR PhD Candidate, Delft University of Technology; Partner, Land + Civilization Compositions

Ljubo GEORGIEV Former Director, One Architecture Week

1 引言

除了偶发的洪灾新闻，或是对试图跨河从土耳其进入欧洲的难民死亡事件的报道，保加利亚的公众很少会去关注马里查河。然而，这条河流却是2015年普罗夫迪夫“建筑周”（OAW）的焦点。在初期的调研和探索过程中，作为策展团队成员的我们意识到，关于马里查河的信息太多支离破碎，且未被完备记录或整理。然而，有一点却是显而易见的：在这一地区，无论是统治权和政体，还是国家边界的定义，甚至是为管控水流和河床所做出的战略规划，都是频繁更迭、混乱多变的。正因为如此，马里查河给人们留下了危机不断、灾难频发的印象，并继而与民众及其生活渐渐疏远。人们似乎忘记了，这条河本应是城市中的共享资源。

针对这一现状，我们在2015年建筑周中提出了“共有”和“共有物”的概念。共享的核心含义是指将某物作为礼物赠予他人；此外，这一概念还可指允许他人临时使用自己的东西，亦可指一群人共同使用他们所共有或共同管理的物品^[1]。本文所谈及的共有主要参考后两种释义。二者

均可用于强调为了构建某种集体性认知，发掘公共空间属性的潜力：加强其临时使用性、公众可达性、集体认同性，或重申民众对公共空间的所有权。此外，共有基于社区而存在，且离不开信任感、安全感，以及民主的决策过程^[2]。

在建筑周期间我们探讨了如下问题：

1）我们可以共同改造马里查河吗？

2）公共空间的概念不免有争议。我们可以超越公有和私有概念，将河流真正看作是共有的吗？

3）我们可以将建筑周这种临时的、行为性的活动作为协调争议、促发讨论的空间并加以利用吗？

建筑周的策划团队认为，马里查河这一空间不属于任何个人，而属于所有人。此外，建筑周视水源、空气、土地等为人们在地球上所共享的基本元素，马里查河正契合了这一观念。在策划团队看来，共有的核心并非货币价值，而是对知识、时间和空间的交流与分享。在下文中，我们将基于对保加利亚2015建筑周期间的展览、干预和相关活动内容的介绍，进一步阐释“不同寻常的河流”这一主题，并探讨它与共有概念之间的关系。

DOI:10.15302/J-LAF-20170313 | 收稿时间 RECEIVED DATE / 2017-06-06
中图分类号 / TU986, G245
文献标识码 / TU-856

摘要
本文以保加利亚的马里查河为研究对象，从公共空间、景观、基础设施和经济层面，呈现并探讨了“共有”和“共有物”的概念。共有的概念质询了人们所假定的“河流作为边界”的属性，即认为该边界划分了自然与文化、北方与南方、“欧洲”与“非欧洲”、私有与公共等；使我们将经济视作一种有关联络、分享、制造、开放、关联和生产等日常行为的活动；亦带来了探索新型共存模式的机遇，而非仅为现存模式寻找替代品。
由人类日复一日共同享用及生产的思想、种子、水源、空气、文化和空间，都是共有物。它们跨越时间和地域界限，是集体共同努力、研究、思考和创造的结晶。在2015年的“建筑周”活动期间，我们探索了普罗夫迪夫的城市网络，并以河为媒介来创造囊括本土和跨国双重尺度的新网络，聚焦于沿河或跨河的、水上或水下的得以承载民众集体行为的“公有”空间。我们或翻阅文献，或聆听诉说；或争辩，或想象；或沐浴阳光之下，或泛舟河道之中；且不断学习、创作、再创作。

关键词
共有；共有物；边界；马里查河

ABSTRACT
This paper will present and discuss the notion of commoning and common(s) in terms of public space, landscape, infrastructure, and economics, focusing on Maritsa River. Commoning as questioning the assumed nature of the river as a border: a border between nature and culture, north and south, "European" and "non-European," private and public.... Commoning as discussing economy as the everyday actions of connecting, sharing, making, opening, relating and producing together. Commoning as exploring new co-existences and not as creating a substitute to the existing.
Ideas, seeds, water, air, cultures and spaces, which we collectively produce each and every day, all of those are commons. They are the results of collective efforts, research, thought and creation across time and regions. During One Architecture Week 2015, we explored the networks in Plovdiv and creating new ones locally, and across countries, through spaces of collective action along and across the river, on and under the water. We read, listened, debated, imagined, sun-bathed, rowed, learned, produced, and re-produced.

KEY WORDS
Commoning; Common(s); Border; Maritsa River

译 孙一鹤 陆小璇
TRANSLATED BY Robin SUN Xiaoxuan LU

1. 位于保加利亚普罗夫迪夫的马里查河

2. 马里查河边的舞台（由美国Kutonotuk事务所设计）
1. Maritsa River in Plovdiv, Bulgaria.

2. Stage by Maritsa, designed by Kutonotuk (USA).

3. 普罗夫迪夫的河道拓宽工程（1937年）
 4. 1935年，普罗夫迪夫马里查河的第二次大规模造桥工程，其主要功能是服务于区域列车。
 5. 1957年，普罗夫迪夫马里查河发生了有史以来最严重的洪灾。
3. Construction to widen the river bed, Plovdiv [1937]
 4. The second major bridge construction over Maritsa, for the regional train, Plovdiv [1935].
 5. The biggest flooding of Maritsa in Plovdiv [1957].

2 作为“现代项目”的马里查河

在奥斯曼帝国和保加利亚君主国时期，与马里查河相关的决策均是在区域范围内进行的。到了保加利亚共和国时期，对于马里查河的管理则成为一项推进现代化、集中化的项目：伴随着位于普罗夫迪夫马里查河北岸的会展中心的建立，数座水坝亦沿河兴建；20世纪80年代后，在河岸的管理权交还给市政当局后，马里查河的南岸开辟了颇具规模的行船道，水坝管

理也逐步私有化。上述一系列国家对马里查河展开的干预，使其从城市生活景观转变为了基础设施景观：河流从与人们日常生活息息相关的“环境”，转变为仅仅为生产及生活（如农业、工业、卫生）所需的“资源”。至此，普通民众与河流之间的距离被逐步拉开，河流不再属于他们了。

从社会主义时代开始，马里查河上建成了多座桥梁，以缓解交通运输压力、满足城市扩张需求；提高了河流水位线以上的交通承载量，进而导致船运需求量减

少。加入欧盟之后，马里查河流域的城市规划和景观设计得到更多的重视；然而，许多项目因腐败丑闻和资金不足而搁置。在准备建筑周的过程中，我们着手制作了河流档案，试图详细展示历史上在管理和工程方面对马里查河进行的干预，以及近年来以设计公司为主体干预者的项目和提案。

3 洪灾

在君主统治时期，普罗夫迪夫境内的

© Lina Krivosheva / The Plovdiv Project

6. “沿河漫步”活动讲述河流边界的变迁和河流的历史
7. 《马里查河边的年轻人》（1948年）。该照片由普罗夫迪夫的民众提供，曾在建筑周期间的“河流图书馆”中展出。

6. River Walk on the changes of the edge, and the history of the river
7. Teenagers by Maritsa (1948). Photographs sent by people from Plovdiv, for the River Library, in OAW exhibition.

马里查河沿岸施行了一项大型填河造地工程，及至社会主义时期，填河造地变得更为激进，甚至意在将马里查河改造为一个小湖泊。城市最东端的水闸，也是这项围湖项目的一部分。据称，由于大量的河岸干预工程，自19世纪末到20世纪初，洪灾愈加频繁。其中，以1957年爆发的破坏性洪水最甚，其导致数百人溺亡或失踪、数百人流离失所。该事件促成了河岸两侧防洪堤的建造，并塑造了如今的河岸与河床。此外，河两岸防洪堤的修建亦使曾经沿河床而布的夏日浴场和农田逐渐消失，沿河床而居的人们迁移到了城市的其他地方，船只也因洪水频发而停运。基于以上种种因素，马里查河在人们的印象中成为危险之地。人们不断地被告知，应当如何与马里查河“抗争”，以及如何应对这条危险的河流所带来的“灾祸”。

我们为建筑周制作了一套图纸，用以展示河床在历史上是如何被改变并用以操控城市的水文状况。此外，“沿河漫步”活动邀请了当地的建筑历史学家，带领马里查河沿岸的居民漫步河边，讲述河流如何被改变，其新老边界的位置，以及重要的沿河建筑和公共空间。在漫步过程中所

收集到的石头、植物树叶、土壤和水体样本，以及源自人们日常生活的知识（自制药、汤的配方等），被逐一添加到我们的“河流图书馆”中。

4 日常生活

自19世纪末到20世纪初，马里查河被人们广泛利用。20世纪初，普罗夫迪夫的人口越发多样化，其中希腊人、亚美尼亚人、犹太人、罗马尼亚人和土耳其人占据了总人口的30%以上。他们各自拥有独特的用水方式，或用于谋生，或用于仪式典礼，或用于娱乐与休闲。例如，希腊人崇拜马里查河的河神阿达科斯；亚美尼亚人的野炊以从河中获取食材而闻名；保加利亚、土耳其和罗马尼亚的庆典仪式则与流水密不可分。但如今，不断减少的少数族裔使得与河流相关的语汇逐渐远离了人们的生活与记忆，马里查河似乎已不再是普罗夫迪夫民众日常生活的一部分。以保障安全为名，沿河行走或在河里游泳均被禁止；以保护生态为名，在河中钓鱼亦被禁止。现今，人们对于河流的印象更多是其风险以及如何防范风险，而非如何享受这

一城市中的“自然”。

在建筑周期间，我们携手数位艺术家与设计师，在马里查河沿岸进行了多次临时的“河流干预”（有些或许将成为永久性干预）。其中一些干预为人们创造了新的亲近河岸的方式，另一些则重现了人们以往的日常生活模式。同时，我们组织了一次公开竞赛，由当地居民在马里查河沿岸建造一座临时的休憩亭。此外，经过我们的改造，沿河而立的一座老旧加油站也成为了参与者进行“光影游戏”的场所。

7

© Lina Krivoshieva / The Plodiv Project
8

5 移民、所有权和归属感

直到20世纪，马里查河一直是该区域承担货物运输的重要基础设施。由保加利亚的帕扎尔吉克出发，货船经此将货物运送到土耳其的埃迪尔内，再经陆路运送到伊斯坦布尔。始于19世纪80年代的巴尔干半岛民族主义解放运动，最终导致马里查河成为希腊、保加利亚和土耳其之间的边界。欧盟成立后，马里查河进一步成为欧洲壁垒的一部分。被视作边界、位处要地的马里查河，在2015年见证了三分之二前往欧盟国家的无证移民。叙利亚内战爆发后，为保障保加利亚和欧盟各国的安全，沿马里查河部署的监控技术和人力大大增加，与此同时，试图穿越河流过境而溺亡的人数亦不断攀升。

在这一背景下，上述相关议题被纳入建筑周期间展开的研究与设计之中，例如普罗夫迪夫的少数族裔和游居的吉普赛人的生活状态，民族国家与国家安全的概念演变，以及全球移民和归属感的现状及未来。我们分别就民族国家、强权地方政府、集权政策、运作良好的决策机制、框架规划的影响等议题展开讨论。讨论中不断出现的重要观点之一，即所谓的公共权利的主体已转向国家，而不再是人民；马里查河沿岸民众对河流已不再拥有归属感和所有权。

6 结语

若要真正理解这条为民众所共有的马里查河，需要全新的视角。这种视角既不

能全然依附于国家政策，亦不能局限于极端的本土化观念。拥有复杂的自然及政治生态的河流，不仅是秩序与技术的载体，更是催生生活知识和人类经验的重要环境。我们试图通过“不同寻常的河流”项目，以超越所有权和资源管理的常规语境去理解马里查河：这条河流是一个不属于任何个体，而属于所有人的存在；是人们的共有物。通过研讨会、讲座、设计干预、考察、娱乐和展览等活动，建筑周使得马里查河回归聚光灯下，将人们的目光聚焦于这一普罗夫迪夫城市生活中长期被遗忘的要素。普罗夫迪夫与建筑周都会铭记——这里有一条河穿行而过。**LAF**

8. 由波兰Centrala事务所设计的“河流干预”项目
 9. 由来自加拿大的Mere Phantoms工作室设计的“不同寻常的影子”项目
 10. 由奥地利Clemens Bauder事务所设计的“河边动物之家”项目
8. River Intervention by Centrala (Poland)
 9. Uncommon Shadows by Mere Phantoms (Canada)
 10. Animal Shelter for the River Fauna by Clemens Bauder (Austria)

1 Introduction

Maritsa River almost never attracts public attention in Bulgaria, except for the occasional news on floods, and the refugee deaths in attempts to cross the river from Turkey to Europe. Maritsa River was chosen as the focus of One Architecture Week (OAW), in Plovdiv in 2015. Doing the preparatory research and explorations, we, as the curatorial team, realized that much of the information about Maritsa River was rather dispersed, not well documented or organized; however, one thing was quite obvious: the often and radical change of rules and regimes, the definition of the nation borders, and the strategic planning attempts of controlling and managing the water flow and the river bed have created a continuous perception of crisis and disaster, moving the river away from its people and their daily lives, making them forget that the river is a shared resource in the city for everyone.

As a response to this, we embraced the notion of “commoning” and “common(s)” for OAW 2015. In its essence, sharing refers

to giving something away as a gift, it can describe allowing someone to temporarily use something one owns, or it can refer to people having common access to something they collectively own or manage^[1]. With commoning, we give reference to the last two mentioned here, that is articulating the potential of the temporary use, common access, collectiveness, and claiming ownership of public space for the collective imagination. In addition, commoning requires the presence of a community, the feeling of trust and security, and the democratic decision making processes^[2].

Some of the questions we dealt with during OAW were:

1) Can we re-claim Maritsa River collectively?

2) The notion of public space is contested. Can we actually think of the river as common(s) beyond the public and the private?

3) Could we utilize the temporary and the performative aspect of the OAW as a space for negotiation?

OAW approached Maritsa River as the space that does not belong to anyone, but

© Lina Krivosheva / The Plovdiv Project

© Lina Krivosheva / The Plovdiv Project

© Lina Krivosheva / The Plovdiv Project 11

belongs to everyone. Besides it considered the water, the air, the earth as the very basics of the planet that we share, and Maritsa River is a representation of that. OAW approached commoning not as of monetary value, but an exchange and sharing of knowledge, time, and place. In the following paragraphs, we elaborate the concept of the festival “uncommon river,” based on the content of our exhibitions, interventions and programming during the festival, and discuss it in relation to the notion of commoning.

2 Maritsa as a Modern Project

During the Ottoman Empire and Bulgarian Monarchy, the decision-making mechanism on Maritsa was organized in local scale. For the Socialist Republic of Bulgaria, managing Maritsa was a modern and centralized project; when a fair complex was constructed right on the North bank of the river in Plovdiv, and several dams were built along the river. After 1980s, the rights to intervene in the river banks were given back to the municipalities, followed by the rowing channel construction on the South bank in Plovdiv. In this period, the management of the dams were privatized. The State turned the river from an urban element, which was part of the daily life of citizens, into an infrastructure element, which was important only as a resource (agriculture, industry, sanitation). This established a distance between the common people and the river, it was not theirs anymore.

Starting from the Socialist times, several bridges were built between the North and South banks of the river to ease transportation and urban expansion, which also elevated circulation above the river level, reducing the use of boats for transportation. Through European Union, further attention was given to urban planning and landscape design scale in

Maritsa in Plovdiv, but many projects were paused with corruption scandals and funding cuts. For One Architecture Week, we started an archive of the river that documents all the interventions on the river with respect to managing and engineering, as well as the later projects and proposals from the professional organizations.

3 The Floods

During Monarchy, major land-fill was carried out along Maritsa in Plovdiv, which was continued more radically in the Socialist period, aiming to transform Maritsa into a small lake in Plovdiv. The locks at the east end of the city were also constructed for this purpose. It is told that because of the major interventions, there were more frequent floods at the end of 19th and the beginning of 20th centuries, and the most devastating flood occurred in 1957, when hundreds of people drowned or gone missing, and hundreds remained homeless. The river walls were built after

this incident, which created the present-day river banks and river bed. In addition, the summer baths and the agriculture fields on the river bed were cancelled gradually afterwards, people living close to the river bed were re-located in other parts of the city. The floods were also another reason for the boats to stop working. As a consequence of all this, the river was perceived to be dangerous. People were regularly informed about how to behave against Maritsa, and its emergencies.

For One Architecture Week, we made a set of drawings showing how the river bed was changed to manipulate the water flow pattern in the city. Through the River Walks we organized local architecture historians guided the citizens along Maritsa, narrating how the river has been changed, the older and newer edges, the important buildings and public spaces along them. The pieces collected during these walks, stones, leaves of certain plants, soil and water examples, together with the several excerpts from everyday knowledge (prescriptions to

© Lina Krivosheva / The Plovdiv Project 12

11. 马里查花园（“河流干预”项目）	11. Maritsa gardens (River Intervention)
12. 为马里查河沿岸休憩亭举办的公开设计竞标	12. Open call for a pavilion by Maritsa
13. 马里查河的河滩（“河流干预”项目）	13. Maritsa beach (River Intervention)

© Lina Krivosheva / The Plovdiv Project 13

© Lina Krivosheva / The Plovdiv Project 14

seems Maritsa is not part of Plovdiv's daily life anymore. It is not allowed to walk along the river bed, or swim in the river — for safety reasons, or to fish — for ecological protection. Today, it is easier for people to imagine the risks of being by the river and how to be precautious against them, than how to enjoy being by a piece of “nature” in the city.

Together with different artists and designers we made several temporary River Interventions (with a possibility of becoming permanent) by Maritsa, others provoking new behavior of accessibility to the river side, and others responding to the past everyday life patterns. We also organized an open call through which local citizens built a pavilion by Maritsa. We reused an old gas

homemade medicines, soups...) were added to the River Library we made.

4 Everyday Life

During the 19th and the beginning of 20th century, the river was largely used by the people. Plovdiv's diverse population from the beginning of 20th century, Greek, Armenian, Jewish, Romani, and Turkish people holding more than 30% of the population, had different ways of dealing with water, as means for life, as part of rituals, and for entertainment and leisure time. The Greek worshipped Ardakos, the river god of Maritsa; Armenian picnics were famous for food; Bulgarian, Turkish, and Romani rituals were directly related with the running water. Diminishing minorities slowly reduced the visibility and the memory of that vocabulary attached to the river. It

© Lina Krivosheva / The Plovdiv Project 15

14. 建筑周上由伊拉克 WAMI 事务所设计的“底格里斯河”项目
15. 2015 年，在普罗夫迪夫举办建筑周期间，来自荷兰的 Stolipinovo 乐队和珍妮·凡·海斯维克、来自日本的佐纪子须川，以及来自西班牙的埃塞尔·巴若娜·波尔。
16. 2015 年，在建筑周期间的“河流图书馆”项目中，一位普罗夫迪夫的民众提供了一张照片。在获得持有家庭的允许后，我们将其制作成了一张活动海报。
14. "Tigris" in OAW exhibition, by WAMI (Iraq).
15. Stolipinovo band, Jeanne van Heeswijk (the Netherlands), Sakiko Sugawa (Japan), Ethel Baraona Pohl (Spain) in OAW, Plovdiv (2015)
16. Photographs sent by citizens of Plovdiv, for the River Library, in OAW exhibition (2015). This one was also made into a poster of the event, with the permission of the family.

station by the river for a shadow game made together with the participants.

5 Migration, Ownership, Belonging

Up until the 20th century, Maritsa river worked as a regional infrastructure carrying goods from Pazardjik to Edirne, and then by land to Istanbul. The nationalist movement of liberation starting in 1880s in the Balkans eventually led Maritsa to become the border between Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey. After the establishment of the European Union (EU), Maritsa further became part of Fortress Europe. Maritsa as a threshold, a border has witnessed the two-thirds of undocumented migration to EU countries in 2015. The technology and manpower deployed along Maritsa for national and EU security is not even comparable to, what was before the revolution in Syria, and so is the number of dead people trying to cross the river.

In this context, part of our research and interventions were related to the minorities

in Plovdiv and nomadic Gypsies, the idea of nation state and security, global migration and sense of belonging. We hold several discussions on the idea of nation state, strong local governments, centralized policies, well-functioning networks of decision making mechanisms, and the impact of framework programs. Some of the points that were highlighted during these discussions were that the meaning of public translates to the state, not to people; peoples of Maritsa have lost their sense of belonging and ownership of the river.

6 Final Words

Maritsa requires a different way of thinking that is not only bound to national policies, nor radically local ideas. This river holds a special ecology with its rules and technologies, but also its living knowledge and human experience. We made an attempt to imagine Maritsa beyond the conventional systems of ownership and management, as an entity belonging to everyone, but

not belonging to anyone, making it our common(s). Through workshops, lectures, interventions, tours, entertainment and exhibitions, One Architecture Week brought the spotlight back to Maritsa and attracted the attention back to a long-forgotten element of Plovdiv's urban life. With OAW, Plovdiv remembered that there was a river crossing it. **LAF**

REFERENCES

- [1] Scott, B. (2017). Reversing the Lies of the Sharing Economy. Retrieved from <https://howwegettonext.com/reversing-the-lies-of-the-sharing-economy-a85501d14be8>
- [2] Johnson, M. (2012). Collaborative Conversations Recap — Building Community in the Sharing Economy. Retrieved from <http://www.shareable.net/blog/collaborative-chats-recap-building-community-in-the-sharing-economy>