

建筑的身份? BUILDING IDENTITY?

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每当我们谈到建筑和身份，我们同时有以下认知：
- 建筑的身份，它的特质，它在建筑学领域的性征。
- 参观者和使用者赋予建筑的特征，他们自身的意志的投影。

在这篇文章中，我将同时关注这两个方面，以使馆建筑的演变为例，分析这些身处异国的建筑是怎样回应“国家性和民族性”的要求的。而且，我将聚焦过去的12年中柏林新建成的使馆建筑，这些使馆中有很多是复原、重建和新建项目。在文章中，我既对个案进行单独地分析，也对它们进行相互比较，这样可以更好地探寻其内在的特质，揭示它们是如何承载这些身份特征的，同时也是将它们作为组成文化复合的全球化城市的分子来展开研究。我将着重探讨欧洲使馆，因为它们一时间大量地出现在柏林这个特殊的欧洲城市中。这让我们有机会审视以下问题：

- 表征。每一个使馆都遵循一个传统的、特色的范式。它们表征了什么？
- 感知。这些建筑是人们关注的焦点，它们怎么传达自身包含的信息？
- 民族和国家。谁是使馆的建造者，它为谁而建？
- 身份。在当下，建使馆的意义是什么？建在柏林又意味着什么？

定义

“Embassy”是指接受一个国家的派遣到另一个国

家去处理两国间相关事务的人。之后经过延伸，“Embassy”这个词也用来称呼这个人所在的官邸。现在，当我们讲到“Embassy”时，通常包括了人和建筑两方面的含义。另外，名词“Ambassador”的意义更加广泛，比如说，乔治·阿玛尼 (Giorgio Armani) 是意大利制造的“Ambassador” (他是意大利创造性和审美品位的代言人)，Pelé是联合国的“Ambassador” (他的名望给人以等同的形象)。还有尊贵而排外的“Ambassador”的连锁酒店 (就像使馆一样，并不是任何人都可以进入的)。“Embassy”和“Ambassador”这两个词来自于中世纪拉丁文“Ambactia”，而它又源于哥特语的“and-bahts”和高卢语的“Ambactos”，其意义是仆人，即以特定人名义被差遣去取某物件的人。我们用名词“Diplomacy”作为国际关系事务的统称，它同时也指能够处理复杂事务的技能。这个词来自拉丁和希腊语的“diploma”，辞源是“diplōos” (两个)，即被分成两部分折叠的告示牌，延伸指所有形式的文书。名词“Delegation”来自拉丁文“Legatum”、“Legationis”：将某项任务交付给某人。“Mission”这个词来自拉丁文“missum”，意思是讯息。因此，大使最原本的含义是仆人、取东西的人以及信使。

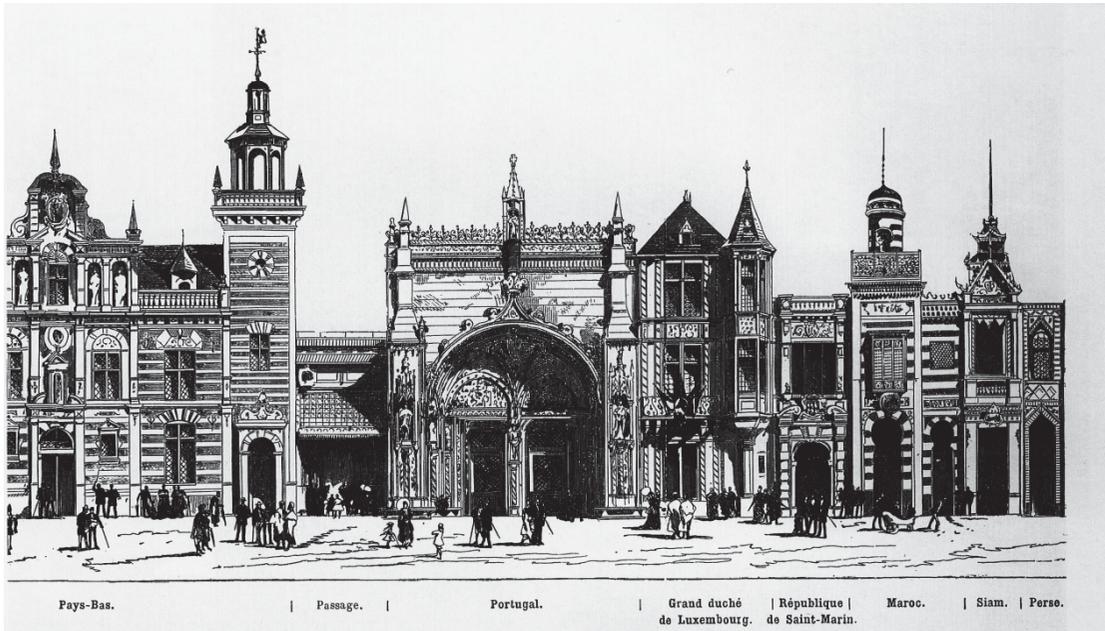
大使的法律地位从一开始就是非常敏感的，这个外交官员被认为是不可触犯的。如果侵犯一个大使，就等同于侵犯了整个国家，这在今天也是如此。1618年的布

拉格事件中，皇家的大使被抛出窗户，直接酿成了30年的战争。此后，在法西斯和二战时期的罗马和柏林，中立国瑞士的大使成为对立国英国和美国的代表。这是两个常规情况下 (各方认同) 的实例。

过去的使馆建筑

古代的使馆并没有特殊的建筑形式。看一看19世纪初的柏林使馆就可以知道这点，沃尔夫冈·沙赫 (Wolfgang Schäche) 写到：“还没有固定的居所，大使经常更换，他们住在与其身份相符的住宅或酒店里，在威廉大街和欧椴树区附近的地带，这一区所分布的普鲁士政府的核心部门正在迅速地增加。”到19世纪中叶的时候，外交事务的形态才有所变化。^[1]但是，直至那个世纪末，仍然没有一幢新使馆在柏林建成。“使馆作为一种特殊的建筑类型还没有出现，它们是随着外交事务和活动的增加而逐渐发展起来的，在当时，城市的大型府邸就足以满足政治运作和表征的需要。”^[2]

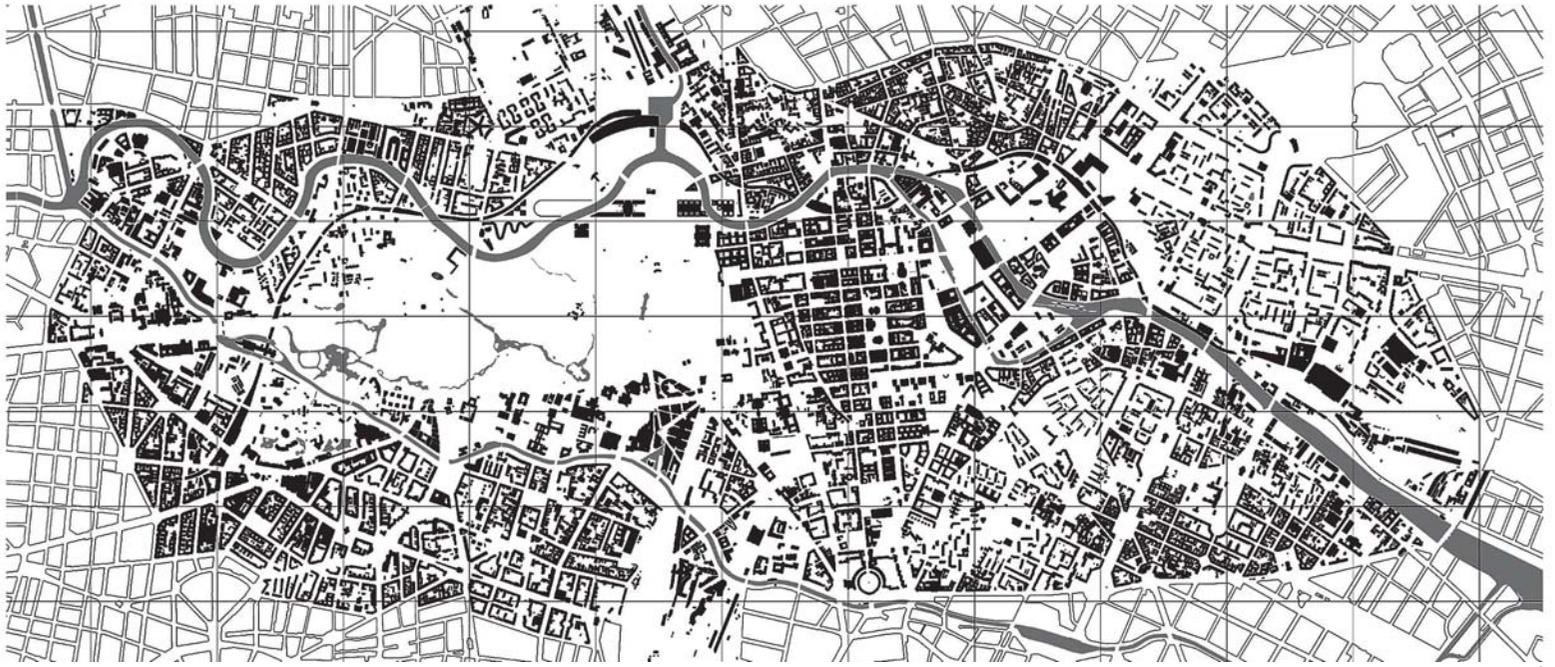
首次突破这种隐匿状态是在第一次世界大战之后，1920年代期间，几个领地脱离皇权取得独立，同时使领馆的事务迅速增加。使馆第一次作为一种建筑类型呈现出来。“空间布局体现出场所的表征性作用。在一幢建筑中，不仅有总领事的住所和客人房间 (居住的功能)，还设有官署，为外交事务和服务提供专门的办公场所。于是，平面布局往往分为3个功能块：拥有表征作用的宴会厅、餐厅、会客厅、绅士和女士的沙龙空间往往是整



1、2 建筑作为一种表征：Rue de Nations，巴黎，1878年；Weltausstellung，维也纳，1873年 / Architecture as representation. Rue de Nations, Paris 1878 and Weltausstellung, Vienna 1873

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个建筑的核心，它们与主入口、起联系作用的楼梯间和接待室直接相连并形成整体。这个核心的一侧，联系着主人房和客人房，这一区通常还设置有服务生和管家的房间。在另一侧是官署即办公区。一般来说，具有表征性作用的空间与居住和客房在一起（不同层），位于同一幢楼中，而办公室被布置在另外的一幢楼中（拥有独立的入口）。在功能设计上，仅有大领事的住所与二者都有直接的联系，而且，立面设计上也会体现出这一特征。通常表征性空间的设计要优先于办公的空间。”^[3]

对柏林来说，另一个重要的问题是建在哪里。使馆在城市中的位置往往取决于其所代表的国家的势力。在柏林，这就意味着能否靠近国会或者工业和金融业的核心区。在这一时期，很多的使馆都直接来自富有的德国人，而后经过简略地调整以适应外交身份，法国、英国和瑞士的使馆都是如此。它们都是沿用了已经存在的建筑，这些建筑都有自己的历史。到了19世纪末，“城市中的两大区域基本上承担了所有外交职能。一个是巴黎广场、欧椴树区、威廉大街和莱普茨格广场周边；另一个是位于国王广场以北的阿尔森区。这两个地带都曾是普鲁士政府驻扎过的地方。1920年代时，动物园区逐渐成为又一个使领馆聚集的区域。很多大使都搬迁到了那里带花园的大别墅中。当时柏林萎靡的经济状况使得地产交易非常诱人。”^[4]

但这时，在柏林发生了一些不同寻常的事情。1930年代，纳粹决定将新的使馆群布置在动物园区。这个外事区的想法原本并不是“复兴计划”的一部分，但却是由它直接促成的。城市的南北大轴线一直延伸到了人民会堂，使得从阿尔森区到威廉大街之间的所有区域都被定义为复兴区。于是，土地征用才成为可能，这才有了新建一个外事区的想法，最初的提议是建在位置特殊的绿色森林区，但因为其距离中心太远而被否定了。于是，外事区才又回归到动物园区。在设计上，德国方面希望让他们自己的建筑师参与，而不由外国建筑师来做。“使馆建筑区是复兴计划的一部分，这个功能角色决

定了它的设计并使它成为一个政治决策。这个项目的目的，与其说是为来宾国建造合适的场所，不如说是将整个建设作为一个献礼，去迎合整个柏林复兴的艺术旨意，从而为国家社会主义力量的形象化做贡献。虽然规定了一些建筑中的建筑元素是由来宾国自主的，但这难以动摇它们整体的纪念性风貌，建筑所反映的审美意志来自它的设计者，而不是它未来的使用者。在平面的组织和建筑语汇上，这些使馆和事务署都遵循了一个大的模式，规模大小、产权特征和各个国家的不同要求为设计带来变化。”^[5]意大利和日本的使馆体现出德国政府对这两个国家的亲近态度，它们被特意地选作外事区的两个建筑制高点。这里，我们看到一个有趣的现象，来宾国所呈现的身份由东道主国家所定义。纳粹希望将所有使馆集中到动物园区。这是从城市规划上给它们一个界定，既是突出这些建筑的地位，同时（并且更大程度上）是为了能更好地控制它们。于是，这个靠近动物园区的外事区，本身成为了一个“动物园”。如果说现实中的动物园将野生的和稀有的动物关起来，让它们安分地受到监视，那么这个外事区就是一个为外国建造的动物园，在这里，来宾国受到监视和控制。战争结束后德国一分为二，柏林丧失了德国首都的地位。出于集团间的亲密关系，使馆和外事机构暂时性地从西柏林搬到了波恩，或者迁到德意志民主共和国所在的城市东边。当时使馆都位于Pankow的标准化建筑中（A、B、C类型），是完全没有特点的设计，这样在以后可以作为其他的功能使用。

新使馆建筑

1991年的德国统一使柏林重新成为德国的首都。这促使所有的德国机构需要从波恩搬迁到柏林，而使领馆也需要迁移。

同样，面临的第一个问题仍然是建在哪里。一些国家一直拥有它们原来的地方，一些希望能要回原址，另一些希望能换一个崭新的基地。于是，意大利决定重新修缮旧楼，瑞士在原来建筑的基础上进行了加建；法国

和英国在原址上重建新楼；荷兰则选择了施普雷河前的一块新基地。

第二个问题是如何建。从前的使馆建筑从街上不容易被发现。它们都是一些庄严但隐匿的建筑，体现出来的姿态是中立的，与周围的环境交织在一起。引人瞩目的不是建筑，而是里面所发生的事件以及谁会进入其中。现在，签署国际外交协议的地点已经不再是使馆了，而是在周末某个地方举行的高峰会谈上，若是欧盟国成员则在日常办公的布鲁塞尔或者斯特拉斯堡。因此，今天的使馆建筑担负着新的职能。依据公共外交理论，使馆的主要功能是广告，它需要向外宣传它所代表的国家。这是对原始的大使作为信使的概念的延续，唯一发生改变的是宣传的承载者。如果说，从前是大使在掌控和建设各种联系，那么在今天，这个责任的承担者已经由人转变为建筑。它必须有独一无二的代表性，必须能很明确地表征出特定的氛围、特质和身份。因此，大部分当代的使馆建筑都被看作是纪念碑式的。纪念碑（monument）这个词来源于拉丁语“monere”，意思是留下记忆。而这些使馆正需要被铭记，人们期望它们是能言说的建筑，通过设计和内涵向人们传授信息。就像文丘里眼里的拉斯维加斯，这些建筑构成了一个永久的世界博览会馆建筑群。他们再一次将陌生人邀请到家里来，又是一个国家云集的“动物园”，但这一次，每一个国家都能自由地选择自己的姿态，决定想要呈现几分异域风情。

一些问题和答案

1. 为什么？

今天建造使馆建筑的必要性是什么？我们对使馆建筑有些什么期望，它应该体现什么样的特质？答案是，这些建筑需要体现身份、仪式性、所有权及权力，使馆建筑存在的文化基础是：

- 不同国家的存在；
- 公民对自己的身份认同，即符号般的民族性；
- 对其他特质的认同；

3 柏林的欧洲使馆分布情况/The position of the European Embassies in Berlin

- 对政治全球化现象的认识，政治已经超越地理界线；

- 交换行为的必要性；

- 对同一时空中并行发生官方和非官方行为的认可。

对于以上这些期望的应答是多种多样的。一些使馆诠释了对于延续性的追求，比如法国使馆；一些希望能承载新的讯息，比如波兰使馆；一些想要展现它们的地位，比如北欧五国；另外一些进行了综合性地尝试，比如瑞士和英国的使馆。

英国使馆

新建筑位于原来老馆的基址上。它是一个公私合股的项目。建筑实际的所有者既不是英国政府也不是王室，而是一个投资商。因此，这座建筑使馆之外的部分必须是可供出租的。因为这幢建筑并不是直接面临广场，所以较美国、法国等使馆而言，它受到的限制相对少些，拥有更多的自主空间。在竞赛文书上，评委会写道：“这幢使馆将以最好的方式表现建筑和设计。它具有英国的特质并且体现英国式的品位。而且，建筑是安全的、好用的、经济的和具有应变性的。……设计很好地运用了符号的表征性，一方面，所用的元素看上去非常前卫和创新，同时，它使用了透明元素象征公民参与的民主政府形式。建筑手法上运用了大片的玻璃。设计得到了很正面的认同，人们从积极的方面理解其代表着沟通，而不是消极地联想到监视。另一方面，使用的材料也诠释出安全和稳定的概念，并且（延伸开来）体现出政府建筑的纪念性和其对参与性的鼓励。”^[6]评委会认为，当使用者和来访者行进在建筑中时，入口的序列使他们理解并且热爱这个建筑和他仪式化的游历路径。

这个竞赛的获胜者是迈克尔·威尔福德 (Michael Wilford)。他说到：“这个项目包括了3个方面各自独立但又彼此联系挑战：一个特殊的城市文脉，一块一面临街的封闭地段和一纸功能复杂的任务书。这个使馆将成为这一区复兴项目中的核心元素，而且，它需要一个合适的立面来宣布讯息，即在这个新恢复的城市街道上，一个使馆出现了。方案中运用了新与旧的结合，试图在街道景观受到规划限制条件下体现使馆建筑的特质和地位，并且将建筑置于21世纪的语境中。立面在中部裂开一条口，好像一张笑脸，与普通的办公建筑相区别。我们所使用的石材与伯兰登堡门的非常相似。在外观之下，内部极其现代，是对摆脱束缚的一种庆祝，也象征了英国的高贵和荣耀。和原来威廉大街边的老使馆一样，我们也引入了一个内院系统。在入口院落里种有一颗英国橡树，它是整个院子的核心。”^[7]

英国大使在接受电视采访时描述了他在这幢建筑中的感受：“在揭幕典礼上，女皇把它称作英国在柏林的广告牌。这个使馆体现了今天的英国。建筑非常透明，任何人都可以看到每一间办公室。我们使用了大量强烈的色彩，比如说英国国旗上的蓝色和红色，这打破了此类官方建筑灰色的老面孔，表明我们拥有创新的能力和开放的思想。我们还曝露了原来官邸的铁门，作为对历史的怀念。在过去的6年中，我们接待了超过6万个访客。”^[8]

2. 表意的投影

使馆是为谁建造？谁应该被取悦？谁应该被表达？

新的使馆是极具叙述性的建筑。它们服务于不同的异质人群：

- 使馆国家的公民。使馆建筑试图反映民族的传统和本国的历史，引用内情人才明了的一些讯息。比如英国大使馆中的橡树和挪威使馆的花岗岩。

- 东道主城市。建筑必须与城市文脉建立联系，与当地的法规和周边的氛围相协调。比如法国使馆所采用的柔性的立面。

- 一般的访客和游人。使馆建筑在体现全球性的高科技的同时也展现民族的传说和信仰，用一个比较极端的形容，就像一个微缩的国家。比如Pippilotti Rist的瑞士使馆，将对尽善尽美的追求和随意性相结合。再者，比如施普雷河边的荷兰使馆，采用一个透明的玻璃盒子，没有任何私密性，像一张荷兰的明信片，展现着它开放的文化。

意大利官邸

原来的老使馆是希特勒送给墨索里尼的礼物，虽然墨索里尼从没有到过那里。项目完成于1939年，由弗里德里希·海策特 (Friedrich Hetzelt) 设计，它是当时受斯皮尔保护的一位建筑师。维托里奥·德·费奥 (Vittorio De Feo) 是使馆改造竞赛中的获胜者，他说：“这是一个巨大而丑陋的建筑，整幢楼面积超过了1万m²，其中的一半会被继续利用。在历史上，它是一个很独特并且具有重要地位的建筑，这是一种在意大利本土从没有过的意大利式的官邸建筑。其中创造性的意大利风格使它非常有意思。整个建筑是一种拼贴的结果，它使用到的元素来自于各式各样其他的建筑。很多装饰直接源自意大利，另一些来自原来的使馆，沙龙中的两盏大灯来自于华盛顿的老使馆。建筑构造也是前后不一致的，用到很多种柱子和砖块，这是因为原先的使馆建于战争期间，当时建筑材料非常难找。在改建中，我决定将所有历史的痕迹作为一种记忆来对待。”^[9]

3. 在家，还是在国外？

马克·奥热 (Marc Augé) 在 *Non-lieux* 中写到：“当人们很容易理解你时，你就会有一种在家般的亲切感，而同时，也会因此更容易地融入到他们的语境之中。”^[10] 这种情况也出现在使馆建筑上么？当一个英国公民、法国公民或者瑞士公民进入到其相应的使馆中时，他会有回到了家的感觉吗？哪些是专属于某一个国家的特质，而哪些是有共性的元素？荷兰的使馆是纯玻璃的，与柏林建筑法规相违背，但同时在反射中反映出城市。它有可能是瑞士的使馆吗？或者说意大利使馆可以是英国的或法国的吗？

波兰使馆

使馆建筑必须要在东道主国和来宾国的同化和异化倾向间寻求平衡点。波兰的使馆是一个因表征身份而产生争执的很有意思的案例。现存于欧极树区的使馆建于苏联时期，因为历史的缘故，波兰坚决拒绝再启用它。他们希望能将其夷为平地后重建新的。但就恰恰因为历史的原因，老使馆在德国法律的保护下不可以被拆毁。这个问题直到现在还处在僵持状态。

4. 语言，工具

在今天，有外交作用的建筑往往需要展示它们所代表的国家的风貌，同时，他们也被附上其设计者的风格。

一个国家可以通过出口形象来对外宣传自己，这一希望可以诉诸于强烈的和容易识别的视觉图像。当代使馆建筑的主要视觉图像有：

- 符号和图标。一个国家的识别图像必须有确切的的意义。

- 私密性和安全性。在2001年9月11日之前，使馆必须是被隐藏的和不可见的。现在它往往是表现性的和可见的。挑战在于如何展现及将它们塑造得赋有戏剧色彩。用盖伊·德博得 (Guy Debord) 的话来说，我们身处在社会景观的民主主义中。而这种对可见性的诉求正是民主的直接产物，即要求把它的身份以更加通俗易懂的符号来诠释和分享。最有成效的获得可见性和景观效应的方法，是为工程选择一位明星建筑师。但这种做法也有局限：最好能选择本国的建筑师，因为每一个国家都希望能向国际社会展示自己本身的力量。^[11] 因此，基本上所有的使馆都是由本国建筑师设计的。他们接受了些什么要求？去为了将客户在文化和功能上的诉求诠释到建筑中去，他们都运用了哪些工具？这一类为国家部门做的建筑设计是怎样一步步展开的？其实并不是所有的问题都由建筑师做主。几乎每一个使馆都有一个特殊部分甚至一整层是在建筑师权限以外的，由机密的部门所控制。非常明显，这一区很快地充满争执。此外，矛盾还广泛地存在于建筑师和客户（无论是谁）之间、建筑师和城市文脉之间以及外交人员和访客之间。

荷兰使馆

这幢建筑距离其他的欧洲使馆非常远，它坐落于河畔。建筑师雷姆·库哈斯 (Rem Koolhaas) 在他最近的著作《内容》(Content) 中阐释了这个项目中包含的哲学思考：“柏林北纬52° 27'，东经13° 18'，2001年11月2日，向东走。柏林的美——在于它是不透明的、复合的，它非常沉重，魂灵萦绕。太多良好的愿望显得过犹不及，越来越多的纪念性建筑使得城市浸没在悔过的压抑中。一方面强调纪念，一方面又惊人地健忘（墙到哪里去了？）。它究竟逃离出多远？它在多大程度上已经重生？它的阴沉。它的固执。它的坚定。它的新貌维持着谨慎的平庸。当年很现代的扮相已经有几分的老气横秋？古老中透着几分的新鲜？共产主义究竟有几分功过？新面孔中又有几分是老相识？这个方案是由对一个整形进行切割形成的，它由一面墙和一个立方体构成，体现了德国的两面性。切割的手法运用在整个建筑中，从底部到顶部形成一条奇特的路径，路径周围是普通的办公室和寝室。沿坡道行进，可以瞭望到室外柏林各个时期的建筑——19世纪的、纳粹时期的、共产主义时期的……”^[12]

瑞士盒子

这个官邸是在第一次世界大战末购买的，当时是为了给所有在柏林的瑞士代表提供一个聚集的地方。它是阿尔森区里唯一从战争中幸存下来的建筑。竞赛的文书这样写道：“老建筑和新建筑包括公使馆执行官的办公室、供外事使用的空间、领事和行政相关的事务、一个提供接待和举行其他活动的公共空间，以及大楼附属服务和住宿的部分。改建要保留原有的基本结构……。迪纳 & 迪纳事务所 (Diener & Diener) 的方案强调了这幢建筑饱经战争沧桑的充满片断性的特质。”^[13]

瑞士大使在一次采访中说道：“这是国会大厦和总理

府之间唯一的一幢建筑。我们之间相互都可以看见。这个使馆中唯一最有瑞士特色的是这些年来它一直屹立在此，从不间断地工作着。可能如果留意看还有一处，就是餐厅的天花板，上面的图样是瑞士的十字（不过可以确定的是，当年修建的时候绝没有想到要让它和瑞士有关，但是今天我们把它看作一个象征）。加建的新翼总是成为争论的对象，但我们并不在意，我们更在意我们的邻居。”^[14]

竞赛获胜者罗杰·迪纳 (Roger Diener) 说到：“阿斯普伦德在哥特伯格市政府的扩建中运用了一种比较自由的对称形式，我在新加建部分的立面上引用了这种手法。这样的处理能使老建筑过于敦实的立面显得生动一些，并且将它用作拱形构图的一部分。赫尔穆特·费德勒 (Helmuth Federle) 在防火墙上的设计也为整体增加了一些城市的动态元素。在建筑材料上，我们选择了一种添加了贝石灰的混凝土，在宫邸和新加建部分间建立起联系。”^[15]

5. 建在哪里？文脉对建筑的影响，柏林

新的使馆建筑都包含了大量的赋含意义的符号。如果说原来的使馆建筑是国际式的，可以安插到任意的地点，那么，新的使馆建筑希望表达出民族性，专属于一种文化和一个地方。这两者并不容易协调。虽然使馆身处柏林，但是依据国际法，它们的基地是自己国家的领土。在这里，文脉的问题被置入到一个非常复杂的情况中。因为有治外法权，每一个使馆都具有不确定性，它既在此又在彼，既亲近又遥远。它们身为柏林的城市景观，却遥望着远方的祖国。同时，使馆建筑成为柏林的认知坐标，也吸引着大量来访的游客。它们出现在所有的城市导游手册中。为什么这么有吸引力？为什么欧洲国家愿意在柏林进行巨额的投资？这都是历史的选择。在1990年代，柏林就意味着欧洲（乃至世界）中心，万众瞩目。像使馆建筑一样，柏林本身就充溢着丰富的地理和文化的文本。可以说，如果要研究欧洲城市物理形态和意识形态的演变，柏林是最好的案例：从第三德意志帝国，到四国鼎立，从修建柏林墙，到1990年充满争议的重建工程，再到今天的柏林，这个城市一直是同一个名字，在同一块地方，但却有95%是新建的。我们继续谈论着柏林，但这个名称意味着什么？西柏林在将近30年的时间里一直扮演着大使馆的角色向东部的共产主义部落传播着西方资本主义的生活方式。它可以看作是实践当代使馆意义的先驱。

法国使馆的故事

原来的建筑建于1860年，然后一直作为使馆建筑使用到1939年。在第二次世界大战期间曾被轰炸，到1959年时已经彻底地被毁坏了。1996年，展开了一个设计竞赛，准备在原有的基址上建一个新建筑。评委会写到：“这是一块非常有象征性的具有柏林特质的基地（柏林的参议院对这块基地上建筑的高度和立面设计都有详尽的规定），中选方案应该很好地回应这些特质，并且表现出当代建筑的创造力、革新精神和活力。使馆中对各个功能块的分区非常重要，特别是公共区域和非公共区域的划分。”^[16]

克里斯蒂安·德·包赞巴克 (Christian de

Portzamparc) 在竞赛中胜出，他这样描述自己的方案：“这个使馆建筑代表了我们的国家。著名的巴黎广场起到了独特的作用：

- 它加强了建筑在城市中的地位；

- 使馆有机地协调了内部的功能，它在3面限制进入的区域内营建出一系列有开有合的外部场所。向着巴黎广场的立面基调是平静的，线条组成的图案并不给人以迷乱的感觉。避免机械的程式是非常重要的，因为那正是理性主义者表达古典主义的方式，他们只会使用模数和重复，不会使用韵律和序列，而后者才是古典主义和巴洛克中最重要的构图秘诀。规整对应不规整，有序对应无序。他们所构成的不应该是某一种机械的程式，而应该是一种旋律。”^[17]

法国的大使谈到使馆和它的邻居：“勃兰登堡门真是个柏林的象征。从我的窗户望出去，可以看到这个门和法国的三色旗。这是对良好合作的一种祝愿和象征。我们处于艺术学院的前方。对法国来说，能欣赏到艺术是非常好的事情。我们对艺术的开放态度来自我们的文化传统。由于安全的原因，内部的法兰西大街被封闭了，就是通常认为的从巴黎广场到威廉大街的一段。我们希望这只是暂时性的。”^[18]

6. 我们应该何时建造？

使馆是临时的前线，它是连续的空间中的一道裂口。在围墙的外面是一个国家，里面是另一个。但这种说法只是在一段时间内正确，当大使从其中撤离，这片土地就恢复其原来的身份。使馆代表了历史中的某个片段，它们在特定时期设计和建成，担负着特定的期望。我们可以看出，所有1990年到2001年间修建的使馆都非常亲切、非常透明。它们表达出国家的开放和对来访的欢迎。但是2001年9月11日以后，它们却由于同样的原因，突然变得不那么合时宜。当时对一个使馆的期望是，它应该是动荡中的避风港。而这个定位改变了对建筑的看法。纵观历史，最初的老使馆更符合这种要求。

北欧诸国的使馆

北欧诸国使馆是一个很好地应对解决问题的例子。这是一个非常特殊的使馆类型，规划方案选自国际竞赛，是伯格+帕尔基宁事务所 (Berger & Parkkinen) 的设计。单体的设计也由国际竞赛产生。建筑既考虑了地块在城市中的位置，又协调了内部各个分馆与整体的关系。伯格+帕尔基宁事务所试图构建并加强项目的整体感。方案的核心是中心的广场，这里可以看到各个馆，而在外表面，铜带将建筑整个地包裹了起来。就像伯格所说的那样，“建筑的识别性意味着展示自身的特质，我们并不像从前那样，通过限制来营造一个统一的形象，我们给每一部分更大的自由，从而形成一个复合的形象。而铜制的隔栅墙将5个部分联系起来，以一种自信的轻松的姿态出现，并且城市中的人们可以透过隔栅看到建筑内部。”^[19] 这个诠释一直是成立的，来访的人都很认同，直到2001年9月11日，而今天已经是2004年了，人们看到的还是那个建筑，但是游客们（甚至柏林的市民）都认为，隔栅墙是为了抵制可能的恐怖袭击而设计的。在这个例子中，想像赋予的含义胜过了现实。

使馆的信息，对表征性的思考

每一个建成的使馆建筑都要面临一个最本质的问题，即它存在的理由是什么。如果一个国家放弃了裁决的权利（治外法权），就等于丧失国土的所有权（甚至尊严）。因为这个原因，使馆建筑一开始就打破了准现代连续空间模式，取而代之的是一种后现代的不连续的空间。它们屹立在此处或者彼处，为了每个人也不为任何一个人。再次引用马克·奥热的话，他说到：“如果场所是定义一个可以明确身份的、与周围环境相关联的、有历史的空间，那么，一个不具有这些属性的空间就可以被称为非场所。一个非场所不具有唯一的身份和清晰的关系，它是独立的和没有特点的。”^[20] 在我看来，使馆建筑正处于这两者之间缺乏联系的地带中，因此它注定是不可以被非常明确地定义的，永远只能用抽象的、意会的、自创的语言来描述。□ (张婷 译)

注释/Notes:

- [1] Schäche, Wolfgang, Embassies, Diplomatic Missions and the Foreign Office in Berlin. In Redecke, Sebastian and Stern, Ralph (editors), Foreign Affairs, Bauwelt Birkhäuser, 1997: 11
- [2] *ibid.*: 13
- [3] *ibid.*: 21
- [4] *ibid.*: 13
- [5] *ibid.*: 21
- [6] Redecke, Sebastian and Stern, Ralph (editors), Foreign Affairs, Bauwelt Birkhäuser, 1997: 137
- [7] *ibid.*: 141
- [8] Gute, Petra, Die 4 Botschaften, RBB 2004 (video documentary)
- [9] Von Brescius, Hans, Interview mit Vittorio De feo, RBB, 2003 (video)
- [10] Augé, Marc, Non 纹 ieux, Seuil, 1992
- [11] Jürgen Tietz, Nationale Botschaft auf internationalem Parkett. In Englert, Kerstin and Tietz, Jürgen (ed.), Botschaften in Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2003
- [12] Koolhaas, Rem, Content, Taschen, 2003: 361
- [13] Sebastian Redecke and Ralph Stern, *op.cit.*: 205-207
- [14] Gute, Petra, *op. Cit.*
- [15] Diener, Roger, The Swiss Embassy, conference hold at the exhibition Costruire Identità?, Rome, 2004
- [16] Sebastian Redecke and Ralph Stern, *op.cit.*: 105
- [17] *ibid.*: 107
- [18] Gute, Petra, *op. Cit.*
- [19] Berger, Alfred, The Nordic Countries Embassies, conference hold at the exhibition Costruire Identità?, Rome, 2004
- [20] Augé, Marc, *op.cit.*

When we speak about architecture and identity, we understand at the same time:

- the identity of the architecture, its characters, its references to the discipline;
- the identity of the visitor-user that projects his expectations on this architecture.

I would like to contribute to the debate on this double relation, analyzing as study case the evolution of the embassy architectures, and their answers to the task of the representation of "state and national identities" abroad. In particular, I will concentrate my attention to the new embassies in Berlin, where during the last 12 years, many embassies were restored, rebuilt or new realized. My lecture will read some examples of these architectures, analysing them as objects in themselves and comparing them to each other in such a way as to better investigate the intrinsic value of each one and to identify their ability to act as rhetorical translators of identities, while at the same time looking at them as parts of a multicultural global city. Especially I will speak about the European embassies, because of their apparently superfluous presence within a European city as Berlin. This gives us the possibility to compare the multiple different approaches to questions such:

- representation. Every embassy works within a conventional, rhetorical paradigm. What is it representing?

- perception. These buildings are real centers of expectations. How can they translate the message they are?

- national-state. Who is the builder of the embassy, and who are they realized for?

- identity. What does it mean to build an embassy nowadays? What does it mean to build it in Berlin?

Definitions

An Embassy is defined as the body of persons that a State send in the territory of another State with the task to manage with this one international relations. Only later per extension the name Embassy defines also the seat of this body. When we speak about embassy, we mean now both the persons and the building. More, we are using often the word Ambassador in an extended way. So, Giorgio Armani is an Ambassador of the Made in Italy (he represent the Italian creativity and taste for beauty), Pelé is an Ambassador of UN (his fame is used as Identification image). There is also the prestigious and exclusive chain of Ambassador's



4

Hotel (as in the embassy, not everybody can access to them).

Embassy and Ambassador rise back from the medieval Latin Ambactia, that derives from gothic and-bahts and gallic Ambactos, that means servant, a person that is sent around to bring something in name of somebody else.

With the term Diplomacy we mean the ensemble of all procedures that rule the international relations. It means also the ability to conclude successfully some delicate tasks. This term raises from the Latin and the Greek diploma derivating from diplōos, (double) a little billboard folded in two parts, and for extension stay for all kind of document.

The word Delegation rises from the Latin legatum, legationis: to give somebody the task to do something.

The term Mission comes from the Latin missum, that means messenger.

So, the original meaning of the embassy is servant, bringer, messenger. The legal status of the embassy was from the beginning very delicate, the diplomatic person was to be considered untouchable. And to injure an ambassador meant, as till nowadays, to injure a whole state. When in Prague in 1618 the Imperial Ambassadors were thrown through the window, this accident started the 30 Years War. Some later, in Rome and Berlin during the fascisms and the 2nd World War the neutral Swiss embassy was delegated to represent the interest of the enemy diplomacies of Great Britain and USA. Two very concrete consequence



5

of a conventional (in sense of agreement) situation.

The former embassy

The ancient embassies had no special building at all. Looking to the embassies at the beginning of 19th century in Berlin, Wolfgang Schäche writes "Fixed residences were not yet accepted. The frequently changing emissaries lived in apartments or hotel appropriate to their status in the area around Wilhelmstrasse and Unter den Linden, where the central offices of the Prussian state administration were increasingly concentrated. Only in the middle of the 19th century did a change in the character of the diplomatic mission begin to occur.^[1] But also until the end of this century in Berlin for the new embassies not a single new building was realized. "The type of the embassy as a distinct building did not yet exist and would evolve gradually with the expansion of the tasks and activities of diplomatic missions. Until then the urban residential palace would still be able to meet the requirements of representation and political management." ^[2]

A first big break in this invisibility is to be seen after the 1st World War. In the 1920s several new lands got their independence from the old Empires, and at the same time the consular tasks of the embassy were increasing very fast. For the first time it was to be posed the question of the typology of an embassy. "The spatial programme specified that representational spaces, the residence of the Chief of Mission and the guest rooms (the Residence), were to be combined with the chancery rooms, the actual service and business

4 英国使馆, 迈克尔·威尔福德, 1998年~2000年 / British Embassy, Michael Wilford, 1998-2000 (摄影/Photo: Peter Cook)

5 意大利使馆, 维托里奥·德·费奥, 1999年~2003年 (弗里德里希·海策特, 1939年~1942年) / Italian Embassy, Vittorio De Feo, 1999-2003 (Friedrich Hetzelt 1939-42)



6 荷兰使馆, 雷姆·库哈斯/OMA, 1997年~2003年/
Dutch Embassy, Rem Koolhaas/OMA, 1997-2003
(摄影/Photo: Christian Richters)
7 瑞士使馆, 罗杰·迪纳(及赫尔穆特·费德勒), 1999
年~2001年/Swiss Embassy, Roger Diener (with
Helmuth Federle), 1999-2001 (摄影/Photo: Alfred
Englert)

rooms of a diplomatic mission, in a single building complex. Floor plans thus took the form of a functional triad. The representative section with banquet halls, dining areas, parlours, men's and ladies' salons always formed the heart of the building; this area was directly connected with the main entrance and the corresponding stairwells and reception rooms and formed an architectural unit with them. Connected to this on one side was the residential and guest area, which was often equipped with the building services and housekeeping spaces. On the other side were the chancery offices; the representative spaces were usually combined with the living and guest rooms (on different floors) in one part of the building, while the chancery was located in an additional separate building (with its own entrance). Functionally the rooms of the Chief of Mission often formed the only direct connection of both parts of the building, whose differing purposes were also expressed in the facade designs. The design of the representative section usually had clear priority over the chancery."^[3]

In Berlin a big question was also Where to build. The position in the city was normally chosen by the different States according to their interpretation of power. In Berlin that meant near to the Reichstag, or near to the industrial and financial cores. Many of the Embassies of this period are palaces directly acquired from rich German personalities and then lightly adequate to the necessity of the diplomatic body, like it is the case for the French, the British and the Swiss Embassy. These buildings were already existing, they had already their own history. At the end of 19th century "two parts of the city came to account for virtually all diplomatic missions. One was the area around Pariser Platz, Unter den Linden, Wilhelmstrasse and Leipziger Platz; the other was the Alsen Quarter to the north of Koenigsplatz. Both these places were the places where the political power of Prussia was seat. In the 1920s the Tiergarten Quarter evolved into yet another location for embassies. Many embassies moved there into big villas with garden. The difficult financial situation in Germany made attractive to buy ground in Berlin."^[4]

But in Berlin it has happened something peculiar. In the 1930s the Nazis decided to force the positioning of new embassies in Tiergarten. The idea of the Diplomatic Quarter was not originally a part of the Redevelopment Plans, but rather a direct result of it. Because of the big axe north-south to the People's Hall, all the district between Alden Quarter to Wilhelmstrasse was defined as redevelopments area. So it was possible to expropriate and the idea was to propose in exchange new appropriate buildings in a kind of Diplomatic Colony, first to be concentrated in Gruenewald, presumed exclusive, but not accepted because of its isolation from the center. So the Diplomatic Quarter was back to Tiergarten. For designing the buildings the Reich wanted to have its architects involved, and not to let to foreign to do it. "The architectural design of the embassies was set according to their function as part of the redevelopment measures and thus politically determinate. The point was less to provide the guest countries with an adequate architectural framework than to adapt their overall effect to the artistic design of the architectural ideas embodied in the representative reconstruction of Berlin so to materialize the National Socialist's own claim to power. Although the set formal repertoire of some buildings was modified by architectural elements of the respective countries, their overall monumental spirit expressed the aesthetic self-image of their builders, not of their future users. In its floor plan organization as well as in its formal architectural idiom the architectural design of the embassy and mission buildings followed a largely standardized scheme which was varied according to the various size requirements, property features, and special needs and desires of the countries."^[5] The embassies of Italy and Japan were emphasized as an architectural expression of Germany's political closeness to these two countries. They were thus consciously chosen by the Nazis as architectural high points of the Diplomatic Quarter.

We have here an interesting situation. The identity of the different representances was decided by the host. The Nazis wanted to have all the embassies to Tiergarten. This was meant for a

defined concept of city planning, for the prestige of these buildings, but also (and probably mainly) for a better control on them. So, the Diplomatic Quarter near to the Zoo, become itself such a Zoo. If an animal Zoo is a place where the wild and exotic animals are to be seen in security, so the Diplomatic Quarter was a Zoo of the Nations, a place where the foreign exotic lands were to be seen, and controlled.

After the war and the division of Germany, Berlin lost its function as the capital for Germany as a whole. Depending on their bloc affiliations, the embassies or diplomatic missions provisionally located in West Berlin moved to Bonn, or to the eastern section of the city, which become the capital of GDR. In this sector the embassies were hosted in Pankow, in standard buildings (type A, B, C), with extremely non-specific design, that could be reused for other functions in the future.

The new embassies

The resolution on completion of German unity in 1991 made Berlin once again the capital of Germany. That had as consequence the displacement of all German institution from Bonn to Berlin. And following this fact, all Embassies have to be moved too.

Again, the first question now is Where to build. Some lands had always their old location, some wanted to get it back, some others wanted absolutely to have a new plot. So Italy decided to restore its old building, Switzerland added a new block to the old one, France and Great Britain needed to build where it was, as it is nowadays, Netherlands has chosen a new place in front of the Spree.

The second question is How to build. Former embassies buildings were not easily recognizable from the street. They were solemn but anonymous architectures, making their international statement precisely by being neutral and integrate in the surrounding. Important was not the building, but what it was happening in its rooms, and who could enter them. Nowadays the international diplomatic agreements are no longer done within the embassy walls, but during weekend summits somewhere, or for the EU states in day by day work in Bruxelles or



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- 8 法国使馆, 克里斯蒂安·德·包赞巴克, 1997年~2002年 / French Embassy, Christian De Portzamparc 1997-2002 (摄影 / Photo: Alfred Englert)
- 9 北欧诸国使馆, 伯格+帕尔基宁建筑事务所, 1997年~1999年 / Nordic Countries Embassies, Berger&Parkkinen, 1997-99 (摄影 / Photo: Christian Richters)

Strasbourg. So the task of the embassy now is another one. According to the philosophy of the Public Diplomacy, the function of the embassy is mainly advertising, it must sell the country abroad. This is in continuity with the old meaning of the term embassy as messenger, what is changing is the object of this advertising. If once it was the Ambassador that had to hold and increase the relations, now this task is moved from the person to the building. This one must speak for alone, must immediately represent an atmosphere, a character, an identity. So most of the contemporary embassies are to be seen as monuments, in the original sense of the word monument rising from the Latin monere, to remember. And they must be remembered, they are wanted to be didactical, in their design and in their contents. Just like in Venturi's Las Vegas, these buildings must realize a kind of permanent World Exhibition Pavilion. They have to bring the Stranger at home. Again the Zoo of the Nations, but this time each nation chooses freely how far it wants to be exotic.

Some questions, some answers

1. Why?

What lies behind the need to build a new embassy today? What is expected of it, and what values does it have to embody? These buildings have to answer to the question of prestige, auto celebrations, belongings, presence. The cultural bases for the existence of embassies are:

- the existence of different states
- the auto identification of citizens with a symbolic national identity
- the identification of other identities
- the acceptance of the prevalence of the political continuity over the geographical proximity
- the necessity to exchange something
- the acceptance of the presence in the same moment and place of officiality and unofficiality

The answers to these expectations are various. Some embassies interpret the search for a continuity, like the French one; some others want to embody new values, like the embassies of Poland; others display their own place, like the Nordic countries; others work out a hybrid process,

like the Swiss or the British ones.

The British case

The new building stays at the same place of the former one. It is the result of a public-private partnership. The actual owner is not the British govern or the crown, but an investor. So the building must be rentable in spite of the embassy itself. As the building is not located directly on the Platz, its stipulations were not quite as restrictive as those the American and French Embassies contended with. In the papers of the competition the Jury writes that the building "should represent the best in architecture and design. It should be identifiably British and project British interest. Moreover, the building should be secure, efficient, economical and flexible. ...Understood in terms of symbolic signification, there exists on the one hand that which is deemed progressive and innovative, as well as that which exhibits the transparency expected from participatory, democratic forms of government. Architecturally embodied by the use of large expanses of glazing. This is generally understood in the positive sense of granting access rather than in the negative sense of allowing for surveillance. On the other hand there are materials that are literally and figuratively associated with security and stability, as well as (by extension) monumentality and pre-participatory forms of government."^[6] The jury found that the entrance sequence allows the building's occupant and visitors to appreciate the organization, including the ceremonial route, as they move through the building."

The competition was won by Michael Wilford. He declares: "The task comprised three separate but interlinked challenges: a unique urban context, a land-locked site with a single street frontage and a complex functional brief. The embassy will be a key element in the district regeneration and an appropriate representational facade is required to register the embassy's presence within the restored urban corridor. This combination of old and new is intended to represent the special nature and stature of the embassy within the controlled streetscape set out in the planning guidelines and place it clearly in the 21st century. The facade is

open in the middle as a smiling face, to make visible the difference with an office building. The stone we used is very similar to that one of the Brandenburger Tor. Behind the facade the interior is unashamedly modern, celebrating its freedom from constraint and representing Britain with dignity and splendour. As the former building on Wilhelmstrasse, destroyed by the plans of Speer and the War, we introduced a system of courtyards. An English oak tree forms the centre piece of the entrance courtyard."^[7]

The British Ambassador in a TV interview explains his experience with the building: "During the inauguration ceremony the Queen described it as a British billboard in Germany. This embassy is a statement of what is Great Britain today. It is very transparent; everybody can look in every office. We used a lot of strong colours, as for instance blue and red like the Union Jack, breaking the clichés of the grey officiality of such an institution to express our capacity of innovation and open mind. As memory of the past we expose the iron gate of the former seat. In three years we had more than 60.000 visitors."^[8]

2. Representation on projection

Who is the embassy realized for? Who must be fascinated? Who is represented? The new embassies are very narrative architectures. They are realized looking to a variable and contradictory public:

- citizens of the embassy. The building searches to make reference to the national tradition, to the own history, to the insider knowledge. Like the oak in the British embassy, or the granite stone of the Norwegian embassy.
- host city. The building relates with the urban context, with the local rules and atmosphere. For instance the soft facade of the French embassy.
- generic visitors and tourists. The building embodies global high tech with clichés and folklore, in an ironic way, like a miniature nation. For instance the work of Pippilotti Rist in the Swiss embassy, that links perfection and casuality. Or the opening of the Dutch culture, translated through the building in the transparency of the glass box, in the elimination of any privacy, in the

Dutch postcard effect of the building on the dam along the Spree.

The Italian palace

The building was a present of Hitler to Mussolini, even if Mussolini was never here. The project was made in 1939 by Friedrich Hetzelt a protégé of Speer. In the description of Vittorio De Feo, the architect that won the competition and restored the building: "It is a huge and ugly building with more than 10.000 m², the half destined to representance. In its peculiarity is a very important building for its history, an attempt to realize an Italian palace, in such a way that in Italy was never existing. Also for this is very interesting, for this invented Italianity. The building results as a kind of patchwork, with elements taken from different other buildings. Many decorations come directly from Italy, others from the former embassy, the two big lamps of the salon from the old embassy in Washington. The construction itself is incoherent, with many different types of beams or bricks, because of the difficulty to find good materials during the war years, when it was realized. In the project for the renovation I decided to let all the traces of the past, as a kind of memento mori."^[9]

3. Chez soi, abroad?

Marc Augé, in *Non-lieux* writes "one is chez soi (at home) when it is possible to be understood without problems, and at the same time it is possible to enter in the reasons of the others without long explications."^[10] Does this happen in an embassy? Is it possible for a British citizen, a French, or Swiss to enter in their respective embassy and feel at home? What is possible to be interpreted as identification element of this or that country, and what in generic? The Dutch embassy is fully glazed, in contraposition with the Berliner building rules, but at the same time embodies the views of the city in itself. Could it be the Swiss embassy, or could the Italian one be the British or the French one?

The Polish case

The embassy architecture has to equilibrate assimilation and estrangement. An interesting situation of projection of identity is represented by Poland. The existing building, realized during the Soviet time at Unter den Linden is nowadays fully rejected by Poland for its historical memories. Poland proposes to raze it to the ground and to build a new one; exactly for the same historical reasons it stays under protection for the German law and it cannot be destroyed. At the moment the situation is blocked.

4. Language. The instruments

Nowadays buildings for diplomatic representation often present a picturesque vision of the nations they represent, while at the same time being mannered images of the personal language of the architects who created them. The state exports itself through the strategy of the branding mark, resorting to strong and easily

recognizable images. The main images of the embassy today are:

- symbol and icon. The image-identity of a state has to be translated in a solid place.

- accessibility and acceptance. Everybody should get the impression to be welcome.

- privacy and protection. Before 11.09.01 it must be hidden, invisible. Now it should be well represented and visible.

The question is to show these places, to make a dramaturgy of them. Telling it with Guy Debord, we are in the democracy of the *Société du Spectacle*. And this search for visibility is a consequence of the democracy, that needs to translate its identity in well known and easy shared symbols. A very efficient way to get the needed visibility and spectacularization, is to choose a Star Architect for the project. But there is a limit to the choice: this must be done within the country, because every state wants to show its capability to get on its own to the international market^[11]. So, quite all the embassies are realized by national architects. What brief is them given? What tools do they have at their disposal for translating the client's cultural and functional expectations into a building? How does the plan for such an official building arise? Not everything is to be planned by the architects. Quite every embassy has a special part or even a whole floor off limits, projected by the secret services. It is clear that such a project become quickly to a battlefield. Between the architect and the client (whoever he is), between the architecture and the city context, between the diplomatic body and the visitors.

The Dutch case

The building is located far from all other European embassies, along the river. The architect Rem Koolhaas in his last book *Content* expresses the project philosophy: "Berlin 52° 27' N 13° 18' E. 02.11.01, go east. The beauty of Berlin - its opacity, complexity, its heaviness, the richness of its ghosts. The abundance of good intentions that somehow went wrong. The pressure of shame imposed by more and more monuments. The obligation to remember, combined with surprising amnesia (where did the wall go?). how far it is removed from everything. How refreshingly German it remains. Its gray. Its stubbornness. Its lack of doubt. The meticulous mediocrity of its new substance. How old what was modern's look. How fresh what is ancient. How good what was communist. How Chinese what is new. The project carves the single structure implied by Berlin"^[11] regulations in two parts: a wall and a cube. The carving continues inside the building, creating an erratic path from bottom to top, surrounded by regular office accommodation. The trajectory captures salient elements of Berlin's architecture outside - 19th century, Nazi, communist"^[12]

The Swiss box

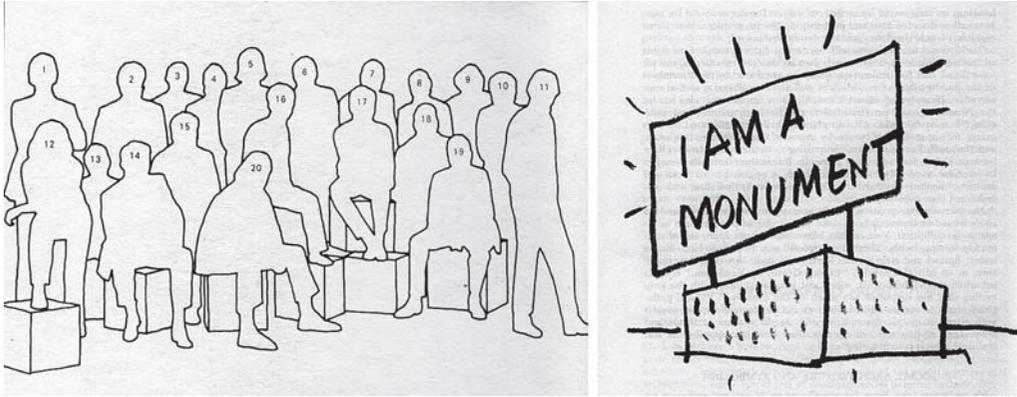
The city palace was bought at the end of the 1st World War to bring under the same roof all the different parts of the Swiss delegation in Berlin. It is the only building of the Alsen Quarter that survives the war destructions. The paper of the competition explains "The old and the new buildings were to house the office of the legation director, spaces for diplomatic, consular, and administrative services, a public area for receptions and other events, and a section for the residence and building services. The basic structure of the existing is to be preserved. ...The project of Diener&Diener underlines the fragmentary character of this document of wartime destruction and post-war demolition."^[13]

In an interview the Swiss Ambassador notes "This is the only building between the Reichstag and the Chancellery. We can see each other in our office. The only very Swiss thing in this building is the persistence through all these years, always here, always functioning. Maybe given to the providence, in the ceiling of the dining room there are Swiss crosses (clearly they were done with no thinking to Switzerland, but today we can project this interpretation). The new wing is often criticized, but we don't see it, we see our neighbourhood."^[14]

And Roger Diener winner of the competition says "The new facade follows a free symmetry of the type used in the extension of the Goeteborg Town Hall by Asplund. The old facade, quite solid on its own, now loses some of its heaviness and acquires a sense of movement as it becomes part of an overarching composition. The work of Helmuth Federle on the firewall also add urban dynamic to the ensemble. For the construction we choose a cement mixture with shell limestone that creates a relationship between the material composition of the Palais and the new extension."^[15]

5. Where? The Contextualisation effect. Berlin

The new embassies are charged with a big amount of symbolic contents and contexts. If the former embassies were international per definition, well placed everywhere, the new ones want to be national, they want to belong to a culture, and to a place. These two elements don't correspond to each other. The embassies are in Berlin, but for the international law they are in their own state. The question of the contextualization is to be put in a various complex way. For the reason of the extraterritoriality, every embassy is at the same time here and there, near and far away. So, they look to the fatherland, being a part of the cityscape in Berlin. And they became places of reference for Berliner and places of attraction for tourists. They stay in all city guides. Why this interest? Why the European countries decided to invest such a big amount of money and effort in Berlin? Because of the historical chance. To be in Berlin in the 1990s meant to be at the heart of the European (world) visibility, where all the media were looking at. As



10 文丘利通过插图将纪念碑和无名氏进行对比 /Venturi's Recommendation for a monument against anonymity

the embassies, Berlin itself is at the same time a geographical and cultural context. Berlin is an excellent study-case of the physical and ideological evolution of European city's identity in the twentieth century: from the 3rd Reich, to the four sectors, through the construction of the Wall, up to the IBA, to its urban critical reconstruction in the 1990s, until the Berlin of today, a city that shares the same name, and the same geography, but in reality a new city, 95% rebuilt. So we continue to speak of Berlin, but what do we mean with this name? West Berlin was even for quite 30 years a kind of huge embassy of the western capitalistic way of life in the east communistic block. A forerunner for the contemporary embassies.

The French affair

The former building, was acquired in 1860, and functioned as embassy until 1939. Bombed in the Second World War, it was fully demolished in 1959. In 1996 was opened the competition for the new building at the same place of the old one. The jury writes that "it was especially important to find an adequate design solution that shows respect for this Emblematic Berlin site (especially in respect to the specifications of the Berlin Senate for roof heights and the facade designs of new buildings) while simultaneously demonstrating the creativity, innovativeness and elan of today's architecture. Especially important was the clear differentiation of individual sections, especially the public and non-public zones of the embassy."^[16]

The competition was won by Christian de Portzamparc, who describes his project as following: "The embassy building represent our country. The prestigious Pariser Platz makes an unprecedented scenario:

- it enhances the dignified image of the building as perceived within the city
- it builds on the functional relationship between the departments and creates a hierarchy of external openings and closures for the various spaces within the three controlled-access zones. The facade to the Pariser Platz will set a tranquil rhythm; the pattern of variations in the lines creates an order that is not, however, obsessive. It is crucial to avoid that mechanical effect which is the

bedrock of the rationalist interpretation of classicism, and which only knows how to reason in terms of modules and repetition, not in terms of the rhythm and order which comprise the secret organising principle of all that is classical and Baroque. Regularity and irregularity, order and disorder. There is no mechanical effect, but a kind of melody."^[17]

And the French Ambassador speaks of the embassy and its neighbourhood: "The Brandenburger Tor is a symbol for all Berlin, and looking through my windows I see together the Tor and the French Tricolore. It is a symbol and a stimulation for cooperation. We are in front of the Academy of Arts. It is good for France to look to the Arts. It belongs to our cultural tradition of open mind. The internal Rue de France, originally thought as a free public covered street from Pariser Platz to Wilhelmstrasse, was to be closed for security reason. We hope this will be just for a short time."^[18]

6. When do we build?

An embassy is a temporary frontier, a gap in the continuity of the space. Outside the fence is a country, inside another one. But this is valid just for a period of time; when the embassy moves away the plot get back to its geography. The embassies embody a moment in the history, they are projected and realized in a determinate period, answering to some expectations, and not to other ones. So all the buildings projected between 1990 and 2001 are very friendly, transparent. They must communicate the opening of their country, they invite to enter. But after 11.09.01, they become immediately inadequate, anachronistic, exactly for the same reasons. What was expected then from an embassy was to be strong, a fortress in the tempest. And this projection changes the perception of what is built. So far that the old buildings answer better or more coherently to this expectations.

The Nordic Countries case

This situation is well presented by the Nordic countries ensemble. The general project, very special in the embassy typology, is the result of an international competition, won by Berger & Parkkinen. The single pavilions are results of national competitions. The project finds its reasons at the

same time outside, from the plot city position, and inside in the mutual collaboration of the different national pavilions to the whole. Berger&Parkkinen try not to reduce but to increase the sense of the task. The core of the project is the central piazza, where all single national identities come simultaneously together, and the copper belt that embraces the whole. As Berger says "Building identity means make visible the elements of the character. We tried to get its identity not as results of reduction and exclusion, as it was in the past, but giving a bigger sense to each part, accepting the complexity of the multiple identities. So, the big curved copper grid wall embracing the complex is realized as an element linking the five single pavilions in a whole optimistic gesture, open to the views from and to the city."^[19]And so it was always interpreted by the visitors. Until 11.09.04. Nowadays, 2004, this same element is seen and interpreted by the tourist (but even by the citizen of Berlin), as a security wall against possible terroristic attack. The projection of imaginary wins over the reality of the concrete thing.

The Message of the Embassy. The Rhetoric Feedback

Each embassy with its realization put in question its own intimate reason to be. If the fatherland is exportable for agreement (extraterritoriality), any possible reference to the naturality (or even sacrality) of the national ground is given up. In the same way, and for the same reasons, the embassy institution, from its very beginning breaks the pre-modern continuity in space, and realizes the discontinuous post-modern space. They stay realized at the same time here and there, for everybody and nobody. Quoting again Marc Augé, "If a place can be defined as identifiable, relational, historical, a space that cannot be so defined will define a non-place. A non-place is a space that doesn't create single identity or relation, but just solitude and similarity."^[20] In my opinion an embassy is the missing link between these two possibilities, because it is both of them, a non-place and a very strong place. And so it is condemned to stay out of definitive classifications, in the limbo of displaced, projected, invented identities. □