

德國柏林 十字山工業區： 更迭的街頭藝術

文・攝影 | 郭書瑄

2014 年底，位於柏林十字山區（Kreuzberg）的兩幅巨大壁畫塗鴉，在一夕之間遭人塗黑，柏林人因此陷入一片譁然。這組暱稱為「Cuvry 塗鴉」的壁畫，為化名「BLU」的義大利塗鴉客所創作。一幅是被鏈住的人像，另一幅是互相撕扯面具的兩人，分別用手比出代表東邊的「E」與西邊的「W」。Cuvry 塗鴉的地點鄰近柏林圍牆，明顯指涉柏林歷史中最重要的一段共同記憶。至於為何有人要毀去柏林最知名的壁畫，這個問題恐怕要從十字山區的轉變之路來回答。

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以 Cuvry 塗鴉為封面的書籍。

○ 紛亂多元的十字山區

很難說明十字山區是個什麼樣的區域，因為它不斷在一連串的抗爭與協調中改變面容。「轉變」本身就是十字山的最大特色。憑良心說，位於柏林中央偏南的十字山區從來不是什麼時髦雅痞的藝文特區。相反地，無論是相較於觀光客集中的米特區（Mitte），或是西邊辦公大樓與購物中心林立的夏洛騰堡區（Charlottenburg），十字山區怎麼看都是個雜亂、動盪，並且充滿各地外來移民的複雜地方。

另一方面，若說十字山是柏林最具代表性的文化特色區域，卻也毫不為過。柏林特有的多元文化與大批移民，十足展現在十字山區四處飄蕩著異



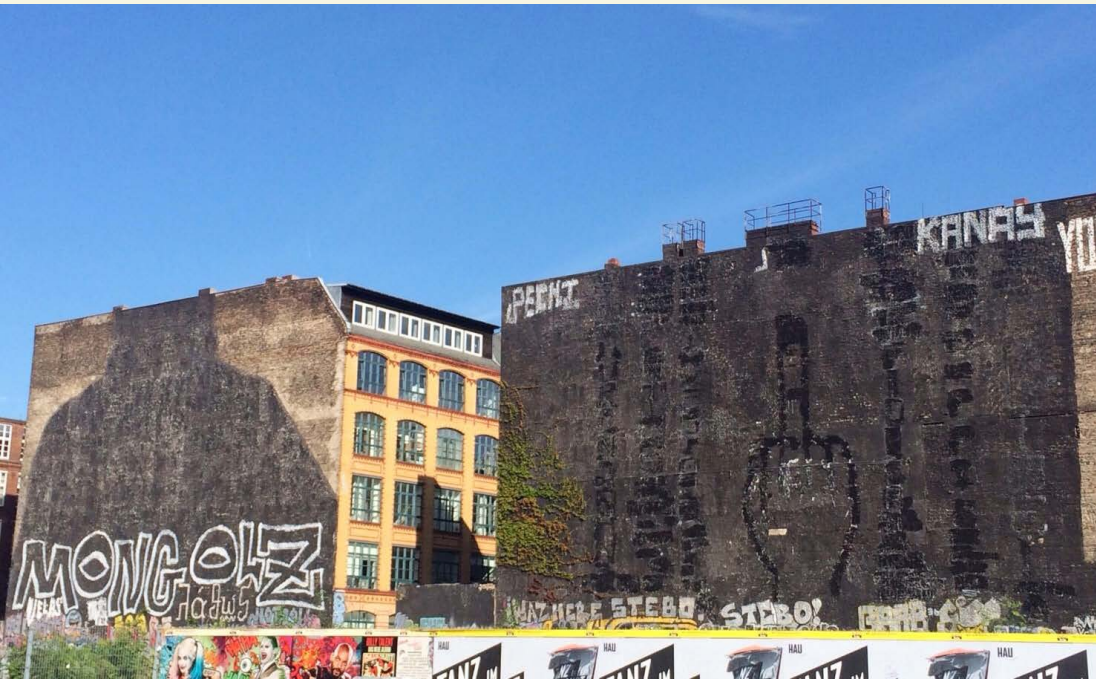
國風情的特色餐廳、商店、市集與節慶等等；出現在街頭的面孔明顯來自世界各地，交織成比城市硬體本身更多樣的街景。更甚於此，在今日儼然成為國際藝術之都的柏林，十字山區亦在其中以活躍的當代與街頭藝術，吸引著各地藝術家、藝廊經營者及藝術愛好者，前仆後繼地來到此地走訪或紮根。而四處可見的塗鴉藝術，則洩露出這個區域如何在漫長歷史的動盪中，窮困而性感地塗繪出自己的表情。最初的十字山名符其實是個適合週末出遊的小山區，19 世紀後半，工業化使得此區出現首度的大幅變化。工廠林立、人口急劇增加，為了容納來到此地的本地及外地勞工，紛紛加蓋房屋，此地快速成為人口密度高的一區。

浴火重生之地

這樣的面貌，在 1945 年的一場空襲下，主要的工業區塊幾乎全毀，產業遭受重擊的十字山區一片蕭條，政府對於房租的控管使得投資者興趣缺缺。於是，此處破敗但廉價的房屋便成為外來窮困移民的落腳處，之後更湧入為數不少的學生與藝術家。1961 年橫跨整座城市的柏林圍牆，將十字山區硬生生的三面圍繞起來。原本於東柏林或布蘭登堡（Brandenburg）通勤的六萬多名員工無法再進入他們的工作地點，十字山在一夜之間頓失了它的勞工群。這一回的轉變，帶來的是來自南歐或東南歐的大批替代移工。

彷徨多變的 1960 年代，十字山區的相對自由開啟了創造力與表現的迫切性，一群詩人藝術家自稱為十字山波希米亞人，對於戰爭與政治的荒謬展開抨擊，這裡成為以藝術創作對抗政經現實的

BLU 於十字山的塗鴉。



一早醒來，柏林人發現他們具時代意義的城市塗鴉不見了！如今有新的小型塗鴉慢慢形成。

基地。歷時漫長的佔屋行動，此時也於斷垣殘壁間如火如荼地展開，一座「十字山自由共和國」的理想似乎指日可待。到了 1980 年代後期，佔屋行動者甚至成立了自己的組織，隨時挑戰政府公權。

1989 年柏林圍牆倒塌，此區再次成為城市的核心地帶。先前被圍牆隔開的東柏林人口，如今得以自由迅速地重新進入十字山區。複雜的人口組成、另類的生活方式全匯聚於此，也因而成為各種政治抗爭的根據地。人們不僅能在這裡找到獨具特色的生活小店，也可能在街角遇上黑暗交易，因而一度被冠上「毒品貧民窟」的惡名。

十字山區：多元文化與寬容的代詞

1999 年，位於十字山中心的地鐵站科特布斯門（Kottbusser Tor）附近，「街區管理局」（Quartiersmanagement，簡稱 QM）正式成

立，此機構隸屬聯邦推動的計畫「特殊發展需求區域：社會城市」（Stadtteile mit besonderem Entwicklungsbedarf – die soziale Stadt）。顧名思義，計畫的目的便是在城市發展的過程中，協助有需求的特定地區，加以穩定、發展其中潛能，並且推動當地居民參與自身區域的建設。這項計畫幕後的推手，正是德國聯邦環境、營建及核能安全部（Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Bau und Reaktorsicherheit）。

由於此區的特殊歷史和發展需求，使得一開始便成為計畫推動的重點區域。儘管立意良善，街區管理局最初的努力並不完全受到認同，甚至還被批評為「治標不治本」。隨著時間累積，社會城市的實踐也逐漸顯出效果，從街坊會議、就業協助到文化活動支援等等，街區管理局配合計畫的五大領域「教育訓練、經濟發展、鄰里整合、公共空間、網絡參與」，定期提出細微但紮實的實施方案。

有了主要聯邦政府的參與和補助，自然有益於其他公私單位為這塊地區打造新樣貌。由於此區蘊含多元開放與自覺精神，難以接受任何強加的道德觀或物質主義等價值，因此能夠在其中留存並融入的，皆是具有與在地同樣獨立精神的構想。舉例而言，第一座同志博物館（Schwules Museum）便發源於此，見證此區始終不變的開放與接納精神。¹

多元文化成了十字山的主要特色。以科特布斯門站為例，猶太博物館及猶太會堂、日本店家、土耳其市集等等全都近在咫尺，而鄰近的公主花園（Prinzessinnengarten），更是一處融合異國鄰舍們的街區實驗。在這座社區共有花園中，沒有私人財產的觀念，任何居民都可自由入內種植作物，凡是花園的耕作者，皆可採收園內收成。在這片落實城市農耕的綠地內，還有許多共同分享的概念，包括免費贈衣箱、捐贈圖書館、花園瑜伽與二手交換市集等活動。除了少數受僱於露

天咖啡與餐廳的員工外，園內工作者多為志願義工。公主花園建立新的綠色景觀，同時也保留了此區原有的居民自覺。

因此，在「整頓」這塊複雜區域的過程間，重點從來不是清理牆上塗鴉或驅離群聚的各色人種，反而是彰顯這種多元文化與態度的特色。最明顯的例子，便是每年在五旬節期間舉辦的文化嘉年華（der Karneval der Kulturen），透過花車遊行、異國小吃，音樂與舞蹈等等表演，歌頌十字山區自始以來包容卻又不輕易妥協的個性。

街頭塗鴉的藝術中心

在文化嘉年華之外，十字山區如今亦以豐富的當代藝術表現著稱。這裡有柏林當代藝術的地標柏林市立藝廊（Berlinische Galerie）與馬丁葛羅皮亞斯展覽館（Martin-Gropius-Bau），有前身為醫院、如今為孕育新興藝術家的伯大尼藝

術區（Kunstquartier Bethanien），而專門協助柏林藝術家專業的柏林視覺藝術家專業聯盟（Berufsverband Bildender Künstler Berlin，簡稱 BBK Berlin）亦座落此區，其中甚至還有專門的街頭藝術辦公室。然而，十字山區最知名的藝術表現，其實是目前仍頗受爭議、究竟是否可視為「藝術」的街頭塗鴉創作。

十字山有著漫長的佔屋運動與行動主義者的歷史，無論是以前明易瞭的圖像與標語傳遞自身的訴求，或是純粹藉由破壞公物表達抗議與不滿，這些動機都形成如今十字山區隨處可見的塗鴉特色。在當代塗鴉教父班克西（Banksy）的啟發下，越來越多的塗鴉創作者抱持著近乎製作教堂壁畫般的精神，在隨時可能被抹去的牆面上，塗繪具豐富想像的精緻畫面。其中如 Curvy 塗鴉的創作者 BLU，便在十字山區創作出數幅驚人的大型壁畫，而班克西本人亦曾在此處許多不起眼的角落裡留下來訪的蹤跡。

隨著十字山區逐漸蓬勃，觀光客與紀念品商店與日俱增，幾幅位於此區的著名大型創作，甚至被複製在各色明信片、書籍封面、房屋宣傳品上，一躍而成當地的代表藝術品。2001 年十字山和斯普雷河（Spree）對岸的腓特烈斯海因區（Friedrichshain）合併為「腓特烈斯海因—十字山」行政區後，更與河對岸的柏林圍牆遺跡東邊畫廊（East Side Gallery）連為一氣，連綿的塗鴉展場成為著名觀光景點，吸引了大批遊客

消失的塗鴉，不變的反叛精神

正因如此，當 Cuvry 塗鴉遭到抹除時，全柏林的人都不約而同地感到悲憤與困惑：為何當十字山好不容易擺脫昔日貧民窟的印象，逐漸轉變為大眾眼中宛如紐約蘇活區般的藝文街區時，卻有行動者抹煞掉全柏林最知名的壁畫？當年塗鴉的合作者之一漢克（Lutz Henke）出面說明：決定抹



公主花園內有免費贈衣箱及按摩課程。

除這組壁畫的不是別人，正是最初的創作者。他們不願意眼睜睜看著十字山區的塗鴉作品被商品化、淪為宣傳工具，更不願見到此區最初秉持的反動與創意逐漸在街區的改造中走向菁英化。

當 Cuvry 壁畫的壽命提早結束時，與其視為藝術家意氣用事，不如說是藝術家對於時代更迭的感傷。有趣的是，在 Cuvry 壁畫塗黑之後數月，新的小型塗鴉又慢慢在上形成。這也是十字山從舊工業區轉變為今日藝文街區的過程中，和其他由舊工廠等改建、略顯刻意的「文創園區」最大的差異。十字山區並未為了討好觀光客而披上光鮮亮麗的外表，它在時代變遷中，仍堅持保留最珍貴的無形資產：在抗爭下所激發出的創作精神。

當然，這不代表十字山的轉變過程就是理想的，此區複雜依舊，尤其是俗稱「大麻公園」的哥利茲公園（Görlitzer Park）一帶更是問題叢生。未來的發展誰也無法預測，但可確知的是，十字山的轉變不僅是種施政報告，而將是對自身位置的交代與認同。

註

1 原本位於同志夜總會樓上的博物館，目前已遷居新址。



十字山區文化嘉年華活動。

Kreuzberg Industrial District in Germany: Street Art in Transition

Text | Shu-Hsuan Kuo
Translation | Chang-Min Yu

At the end of 2014, two huge wall graffiti were smudged black in one night, which caused a commotion among Berliners. This set of graffiti was nicknamed as the "Curvy graffiti," drawn by Italian street artist BLU. One depicted a chained man, and the other showed two men trying to take each other's mask off with their symbolic gestures of "E" and "W." The graffiti spot was close to the Berlin Wall, pointing to the most important collective memory in the history of Berlin. Then, why would some people deface these works? This question has to be answered from the transformation of the Kreuzberg district itself.

Introduction of Kreuzberg Nowadays

It's difficult to pinpoint what kind of district Kreuzberg is. It has been constantly transformed in a series of protests and negotiations. "Transformation" then turns out to be the most significant characteristic of Kreuzberg. To be honest, Kreuzberg, located in the south of central Berlin, was never some chic or even hip art district. In contract, compared with

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the tourist-attracting Mitte or Charlottenburg where you see manifolds of office buildings and shopping centers, Kreuzberg seems to be a chaotic and tumultuous place, filled with foreign immigrants.

On the other hand, you can also say that Kreuzberg is the most representative cultural area in Berlin. And it's no exaggeration. Berlin is famous for its cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism,

and a large number of immigrants. In Kreuzberg, exotic restaurants, stores, markets, and festivals are everywhere. The faces you see on the street come from all nations. Their diversity seems more vibrant than the urban infrastructure. Moreover, in Berlin, now an international city of arts, Kreuzberg draws incessant artists, gallery managers, and art lovers into this active scene of contemporary and street arts. Some come to visit, and some decide to settle down. Ubiquitous graffiti in the neighborhood reveal how this district shapes itself in a "poor but sexy" way in its long history of turmoil.

Reborn in Ashes

In the beginning, Kreuzberg was a mountainous area where people went for an outing on weekends. In the late 19th century, industrialization drastically changed the district. Factories mushroomed. Population increased. To accommodate local and foreign workers, many houses were built and thus the density of population surged.

That didn't last long. A 1945 bombing destroyed almost all the industrial blocks and the economic future of Kreuzberg seemed bleak. The rent control enforced by the government curbed the interests of investors. Therefore, these run-down but cheap buildings became where poverty-stricken immigrants settled. Then came many students and artists. In 1961, the Berlin Wall cut through the city and surrounded Kreuzberg from three directions. Employees who commuted from East Berlin or Brandenburg were no longer allowed to enter. Kreuzberg lost almost all of its workers. This shift brought many substitute

migrant workers from southern and southeastern Europe.

The 1960s was a hesitant, uncertain era. Kreuzberg's relative freedom inspired an eagerness to create and express. A group of poets and artists called themselves "Kreuzberg Bohemians," denouncing the absurdity of wars and politics. Kreuzberg became a base of artistic creation to resist reality. The squatting movement then began in these ruins furiously. An utopia of a "Free Republic of Kreuzberg" seemed just within reach. In the late 1950s, squatters even had their own council to challenge authorities.

In 1989, the fall of the Berlin Wall made this area again a core district in the city. East Berliners, previously blocked by the wall, now freely and swiftly moved into Kreuzberg. The complex ethnic groups and alternative lifestyles all converged here. The neighborhood then turned into a post for political resistance. People could find peculiar shops here as well as seedy trades on the streets. Kreuzberg was, at a time, dubbed as a "drug slum."

Kreuzberg: Multi-culture and Tolerance

In 1999, a "Neighborhood Management Bureau" (Quartiersmanagement, or QM) was founded close to the U-Bahn station Kottbusser Tor at the center of Kreuzberg. This institution is under a Federal initiative "Districts with Special Development Needs - Social City" (Stadtteile mit besonderem Entwicklungsbedarf – die soziale Stadt). Namely, the goal of this project is to assist specific areas in the developping process so as to stablize the district as well as cultivate

its potential and to involve local residents to join the reconstruction of their own neighborhood. The mastermind behind the project is Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Building and Nuclear Safety (Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz, Bau und Reaktorsicherheit).

Due to its convoluted past and development needs, Kreuzberg was a focus area for the initiative. Despite the good intentions, QM's first efforts were not popular, even criticized as "healing but not curing." But as time went on, the policies began to work. From neighborhood councils, employment incentives to cultural support, QM deployed detailed and practical projects in accordance with the goals of Social City: "education and training, employment and the economy, neighborhood integration, public space, and networking."

With the participation and funding from the Federal government, the new face of Kreuzberg started to emerge from the collaboration of many other public and private projects. Because of its diverse, liberal, and self-conscious spirit, Kreuzberg couldn't accommodate any imposed moral values or materialism. Projects that could fit in with the local neighborhood were those with the spirit of independence. The first homosexual museum, Schwules Museum, for instance, originated here to witness the district's unchanging attitude of openness and acceptance.¹

Multi-culture is now the dominant characteristic of Kreuzberg. Take Kottbusser Tor as an example. The Jewish Museum and a synagogue

are neighbor with Japanese stores and a Turkish market. The nearby Prinzessinnengarten is exemplary in its experiments of bringing people together. In this community-owned garden, there is no private property. People can just come in to grow their plants, and every farmer can harvest anything in the garden. On this farm that promotes the idea of urban farming, there are also other ideas for sharing: free cloth boxes, free books, garden yoga, and a recycling market. Other than a few employees working at the cafe and restaurant, most staff there are volunteers. Prinzessinnengarten opens up a new scene of greeneries and retains the spirit of the local autonomy.

Therefore, when "gentrifying" this complicated area, the point was never to clean the graffiti or to expel foreign mobs, but to emphasize its multicultural attitudes and values. The most representative case is the Carnival of Cultures (der Karneval der Kulturen) in May. Through parades, exotic food stalls, music, and dance, people praise Kreuzberg for being this accommodating and never succumbing to compromises.

Center for Graffiti Art

Other than the Carnival of Cultures, Kreuzberg is also famous for its vibrant contemporary art scene. There are the landmarks for contemporary art in Berlin, Berlinische Galerie and Martin-Gropius-Bau. There is also Kunstquartier Bethanien which was remodeled from a hospital to a cradle for new artists. Located in this area as well, Professional Association of Visual Artists Berlin (Berufsverband Bildender Künstler Berlin)

even includes an office for street art. However, the most famed but controversial art from Kreuzberg is the street graffiti—whether it is an art is still in debate.

Kreuzberg has a long history of squatting and activism. This is manifest from simple, clear graphs and slogans on the streets as well as vandalizing as a gesture of protest. These different motives have come to shape the street graffiti in Kreuzberg. Inspired by Banksy, more and more graffiti artists paint their works as complex and poignant as church murals even under the threat of immediate erasure. Blu, creator of the Curvy graffiti, made a few colossal works in Kreuzberg, and Banksy himself left his traces in many hidden corners here and there too.

As Kreuzberg prospered, more visitors and souvenir shops also appeared. Some large street graffiti were reproduced on postcards, book covers, and real estate flyers. They were turned into artworks representative of the district. In 2001 when Kreuzberg was merged with another district across the Spree river, Friedrichshain, it was connected with the scene from the East Side Gallery. Incessant graffiti along the way became a well-known tourist attraction.

Disappeared Graffiti; Forever Rebellious

This is exactly why when the Curvy graffiti were erased, all Berliners felt confused and angered about the motive of destroying the most famous graffiti in Berlin while Kreuzberg was finally turning into Berlin's SoHo, shedding its past of slums. Lutz Henke, one of the graffiti

collaborators at the time, came to the spotlight and explained that it was the creators themselves who agreed to mutilate the murals. They didn't want to see how the graffiti works were being commercialized and turned into propaganda tools of realtors. Moreover, they're not willing to see how their initial rebellion and creation were gradually gentrified to an elite status.

It was sad to see those graffiti go, for sure. But instead of an impetuous act, maybe we could consider it as some sort of nostalgia towards the vicissitude of history we found ourselves in. Interestingly, a few months after the Curvy graffiti were smudged, some new small graffiti started to emerge. This is the biggest difference between Kreuzberg and other cultural parks in the transition from an old industrial district to a new art neighborhood. In its transformation, this area has insisted upon their immaterial heritage, that is, a creative spirit fueled by resistance.

Certainly, this doesn't mean the transformation of Kreuzberg was smooth and ideal. This is still a complicated area with many problems, especially with the neighborhood around Görlitzer Park, nicknamed as "weed park." We cannot predict the future, but one thing certain is that the transition of Kreuzberg will not merely be a policy report, but the identification of its own position.

Note

1 The museum was located above a gay nightclub and is now relocated elsewhere.