

CHINESE ARCHITECTURE AND THE BEAUX-ARTS

Edited by JEFFREY W. CODY, NANCY S. STEINHARDT, and TONY ATKIN



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Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts

Spatial Habitus: Making and Meaning in Asia's Vernacular Architecture

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

At its core, this book is the result of an international conference, “The Beaux-Arts, Paul Philippe Cret, and 20th Century Architecture in China,” which took place at the University of Pennsylvania’s School of Design from October 3 through 5, 2003.¹

The idea for the conference, meant to reflect upon Penn’s largely unsung contributions to the development of Chinese architecture, arose from conversations that Sydney-based architecture professor Xing Ruan had with Joseph Rykwert. Subsequently, Rykwert conferred with Penn professors Nancy Steinhardt and Tony Atkin and the dean at that time, Gary Hack, who provided funding from the School of Design. Steinhardt and Atkin then asked Jeffrey Cody, at the time Professor at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, to assist in organizing the conference. Financial support was received from the Albert Kunstadter Family Foundation, the Graham Foundation for Advanced Study in the Fine Arts, and the Asian Cultural Council, as well as Penn’s School of Design and Center for East Asian Studies.

Many of the talks delivered at the conference have been revised and expanded to become chapters in this book, and a few new ones have been added. The process was longer than we hoped and could not have occurred without the good will of every essay author. We thank each of them for their many contributions at various stages. We also thank the following: the editors of the University of Hawai‘i Spatial Habitus series, Ronald Knapp and Xing Ruan, for their encouragement to turn the conference papers into this book; the ever-supportive University of Hawai‘i Press Senior Editor, Patricia Crosby; and the equally enthusiastic Publisher of Hong Kong University Press, Michael Duckworth. Finally, we truly thank Carole Tashel of Atkin Olshin Schade Architects for her never ending patience, high standards, and unflagging belief in this book. Without her, the book could not have been finished. The result of all the above is an array of scholarship that coheres around issues related to Western classicism adapted to Chinese traditions, architectural modernism taking root amid political uncertainty, and Chinese socialism integrating new languages of architecture into a cacophony of cultural change.

In China, architectural challenges are compelling, in part because China’s historic architecture has suffered enormously in the recent past from so-called “modernization” (*xiandaihua*), in part because reconciliation between conservation and replacement is still being resolved, and in part because the impulse in China to be “new” or “avant-garde” is engaging not only so many younger Chinese architects, but also a multitude of renowned architects from around the globe.²

The infectious dynamism in China associated with architectural design, production, and implementation—as well as with urban design, planning, housing, infrastructure, and environmental degradation/conservation—is so extraordinary

that the scale and scope of the implications arising from this integration are almost unimaginable. During the 2003 Penn conference, Gary Hack raised the intriguing question of what scholars and critics would be saying about Chinese architecture if a similar conference were to be held at the beginning of the twenty-second century. Most of us will never know the answer, but we can hope that the ideas, cases, analyses, and syntheses contained in this book will assist future researchers to better understand what we have just termed the dynamism of early twenty-first century architecture in China.

Notes

1. The following twenty-two scholars delivered papers at the 2003 conference; they are listed in alphabetical order with their affiliations at that time following their names. Tony Atkin (Penn), Peter Carroll (Northwestern), Yung Ho CHANG (Peking University), Jeffrey Cody (Chinese University of Hong Kong), Jean-Louis Cohen (New York University and l'Institut Français d'Architecture), FU Chao-Ching (National Taiwan University), Elizabeth Grossman (Rhode Island School of Design), GU Daqing (Chinese University of Hong Kong), HUANG Yunsheng (University of Virginia), Seng KUAN (Harvard University), LI Shiqiao (National University of Singapore), Andrew I-Kang LI (Chinese University of Hong Kong), QIN Youguo (Tsinghua), Xing RUAN (University of Technology, Sydney), Joseph Rykwert (Penn), Jonathan Spence (Yale), Nancy S. Steinhardt (Penn), David Van Zanten (Northwestern), Rudolf Wagner (University of Heidelberg), Mary Woods (Cornell), ZHANG Jie (Tsinghua), and ZHAO Chen (Southeast [Nanjing] University). In addition to these papers, David Brownlee (Penn), Gary Hack (Penn), and Tunney Lee (MIT and Chinese University of Hong Kong) gave commentaries about the papers.
2. For *xiandaihua*, see Thomas J. Campanella, *The Concrete Dragon: China's Urban Revolution and What It Means for the World* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008), especially chs. 4 and 5, 121–171. For conservation impulses and challenges, see Neville Agnew and Martha Demas, eds., *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2002); and Nicolai Ouroussoff, "Lost in the New Beijing: The Old Neighborhood," *New York Times*, 27 July 2008, Arts and Leisure, 1. For the work of non-Chinese architects in China, see "Special Issue: Beijing Transformed," *Architectural Record* 196, no. 7 (July 2008).

A NOTE ON CHINESE NAMES AND OTHER CLARIFICATIONS

Romanizing Chinese names, places, and other words originally written with Chinese characters has posed the same kinds of challenges here that are found in all English-language books seeking to convey Chinese meanings with non-Chinese words. For most Chinese, family names (*xing*) precede given names (*ming[zi]*); this was the case through history and is still the practice in China today (for example, ZHAO Chen). But some Chinese regularly publish or practice under names in which the *ming(zi)* precedes their *xing* (for example, Xing RUAN). There is also a group who have adopted Western given names while retaining their Chinese *xing* and *ming(zi)*, (for example, architects Robert FAN Wenzhao and Benjamin CHEN Zhi and our author Kerry Sizheng FAN). We clarify the surname of our contributors by presenting them in all capital letters on the Contents pages and in the Contributors section.

For the most part we use *pinyin* for transcription, since it is the most widely accepted convention for Romanizing Chinese. However, in some cases, we have retained earlier accepted Romanizations (for example, Sun Yat-sen rather than Sun Zhongshan). Where appropriate, we have provided multiple names or other clarifications.

Occasionally, because of the French origins of l'École des Beaux-Arts, it was deemed important to retain French words and, in some cases, French sentences about Beaux-Arts concepts. For convenience, we have provided English translations.

INTRODUCTION

This book is the story of the convergence of two major architectural systems: Chinese traditional architecture and the French-derived methods of the *École des Beaux-Arts*. Unpredictably in the early twentieth century, the two systems coalesced in the United States as approximately fifty young Chinese students received scholarships to be trained as architects in U.S. universities, many of which had adopted design teaching methodologies derived from the *École* in Paris.¹ In the 1920s and 1930s, when the Chinese graduates of these architectural programs returned to China and began to practice architecture and to establish China's first architectural schools, they transferred a version of what they had learned in the United States to Chinese situations. This transfer, a complex series of design-related transplantations, had major implications for China, which, between 1911—the year in which the last Chinese dynasty, Qing (1644–1911), fell—and 1949—the year the People's Republic was founded—was simultaneously experiencing cataclysmic social, economic, and political changes. In the 1950s China experienced a radically different wave of influence branded with the imprint of the *École* when several architectural and engineering advisors from the Soviet Union, themselves distant products of *Beaux-Arts* methods via the Palace School of Architecture, Stalin, and Khrushchev, helped their Chinese comrades in the guise of socialist progress.² The architectural and other implications of these events are still felt today.

In terms of architectural theory and practice in China, these shifts of people and ideas and of assumptions about materials, structure, form, and meaning were significant. Although some authors have previously explored some aspects of the shifts, there has been no comprehensive analysis of how, why, and through whom architectural changes occurred.³ Nor have scholars fully synthesized the nature and agents of architectural change in the post-1949 period, when Chinese architectural traditions were being grafted, albeit in a different way than in the first half of the century, upon other imported ways of designing architectural form and space. By analyzing the architectural dynamics of these crucial periods, bringing together for the first time the work of major scholars from around the world, this book provides a provocative synthesis, helping readers to better understand not only what occurred historically, but also what is happening now in China as its rapidly evolving, dramatic architectural and urban changes reverberate around the globe.⁴ The assumption of the authors is a historical one: by delving more fully into the convoluted dimensions of historic architectural change in China, we can comprehend current trends related to architecture and construction in China with greater clarity.

In this book, history begins in the waning years of the Qing dynasty when the handful of Chinese students who sought to learn the craft and profession of

what is commonly called architecture—known as *jianzhu* in modern Mandarin—had the opportunity to study outside China.⁵ Prior to that, for untold generations reaching back millennia, those who wished to learn how to design and construct buildings did so as apprentices to master builders, or *jiangren*; they learned about trades related to construction, such as joinery, masonry, or tile-making, by what might be called on-the-job training under masters who followed ancient treatises such as the *Yingzao fashi* (Building standards) (1103 CE), the *Lu Ban jing* (Classic of [Master] Lu Ban) (1453 CE), and others.⁶ Nancy Steinhardt’s chapter in this book scrutinizes what the state of Chinese architecture had been and how slowly it had changed in the centuries before the appearance of a group of foreign-trained Chinese architects, called the “First Generation” (*di yidai* [of Chinese architects]), who began to design, build, and teach with assumptions about architecture that reached beyond the Chinese tradition. As Chinese reformers in the late-nineteenth century began to consider how to preserve Chinese essence while simultaneously understanding foreign technologies, those students rode that wave, taking advantage of opportunities to study in Europe, North America, and Japan.⁷

As historian Weili Ye has explained, there were actually two waves.⁸ The first, in the 1870s and 1880s, was associated with Qing-government-sponsored overseas educational missions (such as the Yung Wing mission between 1872 and 1881), which came to a crashing halt because of the U.S. government’s anti-Chinese exclusionary policies. During the second wave, in the 1910s, opportunities for Chinese to study in the United States became more systematic, ironically because of the tragic Boxer Rebellion (1900–1901). This uprising had erupted in Shandong province, been encouraged by the Empress Dowager Cixi, and then spread to Beijing. There, antforeign rioters stormed many of the embassies in the capital, south of the Forbidden City, and killed a number of foreigners. After the riots were quelled, many foreign governments demanded and received \$450 million in reparations from a humiliated Qing court. But the U.S. government asked instead that Chinese authorities establish a Boxer Indemnity Fund to provide scholarships for promising Chinese students to study in U.S. universities.⁹ This fund made it possible for at first only a trickle of students pursuing a variety of professional ambitions, but by the end of World War I, many had left their homeland to study abroad, including the fifty Chinese students interested in architecture. As Weili Ye has explained, a major impetus for these students was to engage in *shixue* (practical learning). “The study of *shixue* was undertaken to promote *shiye*, or practical enterprise, and *shiye jiuguo* (rescuing China through practical enterprise) became the catch phrase of the day.”¹⁰

For those embarking on the study of architecture, the challenge of *shiyè jiùguó* was even more daunting because architecture was a profession that did not formally exist in China at the turn of the twentieth century. Its emergence coincided with the fall of the Qing, a period of monumental cultural, political, and economic change: China was primed for new building types, and schools, civic centers, cinemas, hospitals, apartment buildings, and commercial structures provided incentives for architectural experimentation. The young Chinese architects returning to their homeland responded to those incentives as they simultaneously had to compete with well-entrenched foreign architects.

When they had left China to become architects, some of the students understood to some extent what an architect did. Some had seen a studio, an office, or a building site firsthand. Others had begun to study the subject in China, most notably at Tsinghua College in Beijing, one of the first higher educational institutions established after the fall of the Qing, or at St. John's University in Shanghai, or at Canton Christian College in Guangzhou.¹¹ However, information about the relative merits of universities outside China was hard to come by, and few of these students knew specifically where they should try to study. Regardless where they eventually enrolled, the students courageously embarked on architectural odysseys that not only changed their own lives, but the lives of millions of their Chinese compatriots.

Through the vagaries of fate and some European-sponsored work-study programs, a handful of Chinese students found their ways to Paris, London, Berlin, and other European cities where schools trained architects. A few followed an educational route to Japan, geographically closer to China.¹² Most, however, took advantage of the Boxer scholarships and ventured to the United States. It is still not clear precisely how many Chinese students of architecture studied abroad during what is commonly called the Republican period (1911–1949).¹³ Most, however, took advantage of Boxer scholarships and ventured to the United States.¹⁴ The membership list of the Society of Chinese Architects (*Zhongguó Jiànzhù Xuéhuì*), established in 1932, lists fifty-five inaugural members. However, only forty-four of them listed the foreign university he or she had attended. Furthermore, some who are known to have attended foreign schools of architecture during this period were not listed among the society's members, either because they chose not to become members, were still abroad when members' lists were compiled, or simply vanished from the documentary record.

Most scholars agree, however, that the first Chinese student of architecture who went to the United States as a Boxer Indemnity scholar was Zhuang Jun (1880–1990) who attended the University of Illinois, graduated in 1914, and

returned to China soon thereafter to work with the American architect Henry K. Murphy on the campus plan of Tsinghua University.¹⁵ In the mid-1910s other Chinese students began to appear in U.S. departments, institutes, or schools of architecture. The most notable were Lü Yanzhi at Cornell University, “William” Chaund at Chicago’s Armour Institute of Technology, and Zhu Ping at the University of Pennsylvania. Although he died of cancer at the young age of 35, Lü (1894–1929) was revered for his architectural skills by many of his peers, and his brief career is discussed further in this book by Delin Lai, Rudolf Wagner, and myself. Chaund, who hailed from Guangzhou (Canton), wrote a fascinating manifesto about architecture, modernism, and nationalism in 1918, but sadly he was one of those who vanished soon thereafter. We do not even know his Chinese name. Zhu Ping, on the other hand, became important because of his ardent support of his alma mater when he returned to China and his urging many Chinese who aspired to become architects to attend the University of Pennsylvania (hereafter Penn).

Although Chinese architecture students found other U.S. universities where they could be trained—MIT, Columbia, Harvard, the University of Michigan, and the University of Minnesota among them—Penn became the favored place, in part because of the kindness of Penn’s chairman of the Department of Architecture, the French architect Paul Philippe Cret (1876–1945), whom Dean Warren Laird had recruited in 1903 because of Cret’s strong, Beaux-Arts-inspired pedagogical approach. David Van Zanten examines key aspects of that approach in his chapter. Another reason that Penn’s reputation soared among the Chinese was because of what might be termed positive inertia. Upon their return to China, the first graduates of the Penn program, Fan Wenzhao (Robert Fan) (in 1921) and Zhu Ping (in 1922), spread the word among their compatriots that if anyone wanted to become an architect, he—only men were permitted to enroll in U.S. architecture programs at that time—would find a receptive home at Penn, in historic Philadelphia.¹⁶ Cret welcomed the Chinese with respect, and they, in turn, revered him with the filial respect for teachers and education engrained in them since childhood. The mutual encouragement and respect also were shared with other faculty, particularly John Harbeson (1888–1986), who used Beaux-Arts methods in his studio teaching. Following Fan and Zhu to Penn were Zhao Shen (class of 1923), Yang Tingbao (1924), Liang Sicheng (1927), Chen Zhi (Benjamin Chen) (1927), Lee Yangon (1927), Tong Jun (1928), Wu Kei (Chauncy Wu) (1930), and others.¹⁷ Although none except Liang has become famous as a major architect outside China, the influence of all of them in China became unparalleled.

Liang Sicheng, son of one of China's most eminent late-Qing reformers, Liang Qichao, gained fame as a teacher, researcher, and historic preservationist. By the 1940s Liang Sicheng was beginning to achieve fame even outside China. In 1947, for example, he was selected along with Le Corbusier, Oscar Niemeyer, and others to help design the United Nations building in New York. Liang's wife, Lin Huiyin [Whei-yin] (Phyllis Lin) (1904–1955), who would have studied architecture at Penn, but because of her gender was not permitted to do so, partnered with him in every aspect of his work in China.¹⁸ In this book, Zhao Chen's chapter explores some of Liang's legacy, while simultaneously questioning the implications of some of Liang's assumptions about architecture. Two authors in this collection focus particularly on Penn-trained architects. Gu Daqing provides a synthesis of how those in the First Generation were called upon to help build and teach in China's most influential architectural programs, many of which are still preeminent: Tsinghua (Qinghua) University in Beijing, Tongji University in Shanghai, Southeast University in Nanjing, and a few others. Xing Ruan, employing a microlevel perspective, shares his insights about Yang Tingbao, examining not only how Yang's Penn training became a touchstone in his varied and inspiring China-based work, but also how Yang's "modern" career differed so markedly from those of his peers.

In their Penn studios, these aspiring architects worked not only with influential teachers, but also with motivating classmates, one of the most talented and amusing of whom was Louis Kahn. Chen Zhi recalled the joys he and Kahn shared in the studio where they often charretted.

Kahn didn't seem to be as conservative as Paul Cret was, but we were all conservative at that time. But [Kahn] was a talent! He could play. . . . You could give him a melody and he could accompany on the piano. . . . So when we were doing the *charrette*, he would be playing. He would play for *us*, and our drafting room contained about 300 drafting boards, all in one big hall.¹⁹

Outside class, these students traveled when they could, meeting at other campuses, such as in summer 1923 when Chen Zhi and Zhao Shen visited Liang Sicheng and Lin Huiyin at Cornell, where Liang and Lin were enrolled in a watercolor painting course prior to their move to Philadelphia. Other times, the students shared experiences in the soaring new American metropolises that were commanding worldwide attention during the 1920s and 1930s: not just ambling through Philadelphia in search of Chinese food, but also New York and Washington, DC, a city with close Penn connections because Cret was becoming renowned for his design of the Pan American Union (also known as the Organization of American

States) Building (1908–1910). Penn became for the young Chinese architects of the 1920s and 1930s a haven not unlike what the Bauhaus was becoming at the same time in Germany for aspiring architects of many nations. In this regard, Penn was akin in its close association with a single group and period to what the University of Texas in Austin became the 1950s with a group of innovative teachers and their young student architects who came to be known as the Texas Rangers.²⁰

In the early twenty-first century, the roles of teacher and student, as well as the poles of core and periphery, are sometimes reversed. Several dynamic Chinese architects have now become leaders of U.S. architectural schools. One of them, Yung Ho Chang, has a chapter in this book.²¹ Further, as Gu Daqing explains in his chapter, the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule (ETH) in Zurich has, in some respects, become an early twenty-first-century equivalent of Penn, and indeed of many other U.S. architectural schools of the early twentieth century. It, too, is a school with a firm pedagogical foundation (in this case, “tectonics”), renowned scholarship, a respect for Chinese students, and dynamic instructors who are also designers of iconic contemporary buildings in China. And although the *École des Beaux-Arts* is no longer the epitome of architectural instruction it once was, Chinese architects and planners continue to work closely with French paradigms of urban design and architecture.²² When future scholars write about Chinese architectural history of this century, they will undoubtedly research these important global linkages. They will be “other times, with other doctrines.”²³

This book is largely about earlier, significant architectural linkages. Part I, *Divergence to Convergence*, begins with an exploration of two, seemingly divergent architectural systems: (1) traditional, Chinese timber-framed architecture which provided solutions based upon modularity, proportion, and prescribed principles for a range of structures from the common house to the imperial court; and (2) nineteenth-century, European neoclassical architecture, which had evolved from Greek, Roman, Gothic, and Renaissance traditions. Notably in Paris’s *École des Beaux-Arts*—established in 1816 in evolution from the *Académie Royale d’Architecture*, established in 1681—architects borrowed from the past, “inculcated logical thinking, [propagated] new ideas of monumental planning and composition, . . . opened the eyes of the student to the beauty of form, and greatly stimulated the use of competition as a basis for award of many public buildings.”²⁴ Nancy Steinhardt provides the foundation on which to examine how architecture shifted once other architectural systems and influences entered China,²⁵ and David Van Zanten, an authority on the *École*, then asks what constituted “composition” for those being schooled in *École* methodologies. He explains how an “emulated” model of architectural pedagogy, the *École*, was inevitably transmuted by Americans, who

saw the world differently than the French, and points out that “in France, the *École des Beaux-Arts* was a state school, whereas in the U.S., architects until the end of the nineteenth century were primarily house builders working within the American grid.” He then asks, “If the foundational concept of ‘emulation’ worked so differently in the United States and France, how did it function further afield?” His answer to that significant question helps provide another foundational element for the book.

In Part II, *Convergence to Influence*, four essays from different perspectives focus on the ways in which *Beaux-Arts* approaches influenced Chinese architectural students in U.S. architectural programs. Tony Atkin trains his sights upon Paul Cret’s impact on the Chinese students who studied at Penn, and how the rapid transformation of contemporary Philadelphia may have influenced the Chinese architects about American urbanism, particularly the *City Beautiful Movement* of the 1910s and 1920s. Gu Daqing examines the spectrum of architectural schools in China to clarify the genesis of architectural education in the early twentieth century, the historical changes related to that education, and how those changes related to *Beaux-Arts* antecedents in France. The final two papers in Part II take the issue of influence in different directions: K. Sizheng Fan examines the ways that architecture derived from *Beaux-Arts* methods played into Chinese socialist ideology of the 1950s; and Fu Chao-Ching examines how architectural pedagogy and practices developed in Taiwan after 1949.

The third part of the book, *Influence to Paradigm*, contains nine essays grouped into three sections. The first section focuses on Yang Tingbao, Dong Dayou, and Liang Sicheng, architects whose works serve as a springboard for suggesting that there was no single, predominant model or paradigm of architectural practice in either the late Republican or early Socialist period. Instead, at a time of revolutionary change, there was a localization of *Beaux-Arts* influences among several of the First Generation and later Chinese architects. Because each architect or architectural practice was unique in its evolution, the universe of possibilities was large, varied, and significant, from the relatively small scale of an individual building to the larger context of urban centers. At the level of individual localization, Xing Ruan probes into the “modernity” of Yang Tingbao, while Seng Kuan focuses mainly on the “modern” Shanghai work of University of Minnesota-trained Dong Dayou.²⁶ Zhao Chen examines some of the analyses of Liang Sicheng, the famous early-twentieth-century architectural historian who worked tirelessly to document, conserve, and publicize some of China’s most illustrious, timber-framed, old architecture. Liang was also instrumental in mentoring—in Shenyang, Beijing, and the provinces—many young Chinese architects who, like Liang, became more passionate about their country’s architectural history than they were about designing

“modern” structures. Zhao Chen asks how some of Liang’s architectural assumptions should be reconsidered in the light of three cases: the problem of façade design in the re-creation of a Song dynasty hall and Zhao’s own understanding of façades along Venice’s Grand Canal and at Macao’s St. Paul’s Church.

The second section of Part III focuses on three themes: architecture as a barometer of racial prejudice, architecture as a perpetuator of Republican ideals, and architecture as an agent of Socialist change. Concerning the first, my own contribution suggests a spectrum of possibilities about how Chinese practicing in their own cultural milieu worked together in architectural practices with foreign interlopers, designing outside their cultural bubbles. Lü Yanzhi figures prominently in this regard. Regarding the second theme, Rudolf Wagner and Delin Lai use two of Lü’s iconic buildings of twentieth-century China—Sun Yat-sen’s Mausoleum in Nanjing and Memorial Hall in Guangzhou—to analyze how Beaux-Arts-derived architecture related to memory, ritual, and politics. Yung Ho Chang’s chapter on “the two Zhangs” (Zhang Kaiji and Zhang Bo) explores the tension between two creative architects working for the common cause of a new Socialist China after 1949.

The final section of Part III explores politics, planning, and paradigms at the level of the city. Peter Carroll examines four historic cities (Guangzhou, Nanjing, Shanghai, and Suzhou) and frames his arguments around the creation in these places of administrative and civic centers during the Republican period, while Zhang Jie looks at contemporary Chinese urbanism since the onset of urban reforms beginning in 1979. He shows how planning and urban design legacies of the First Generation of Chinese architects are found within the context of Chinese urbanism today. Finally, in the book’s Afterword—The Four and the Five—Joseph Rykwert reflects upon the tension between deep-rooted cultural traditions of China (the Five) and the West (the Four).

Notes

1. Richard Morris Hunt (1827–1895) was the first American architect to be trained at the École, between 1846 and 1854. Many scholars have studied the influence of the Paris School on American architectural assumptions, methods, and practices. See, e.g., James Noffsinger, *The Influence of the École des Beaux-Arts on the Architects of the United States* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1955); Peter Collins, “Architectural Criteria & French Traditions,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 21, no. 1/2 (August–December 1966): 1–5; Richard Chafee, “Richardson’s Record at the École des Beaux-Arts,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* [hereafter *JSAH*] 36, no. 3 (October 1977): 175–188; Paul R. Baker, *Richard Morris Hunt* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1980); David Brain, “Discipline & Style: The École des Beaux-Arts and the Social Production of an American Architecture,” *Theory and Society* 18, no. 6 (November 1989): 807–868; Richard Plunz, “Reflections on Ware, Hamlin, McKim and the Politics of

History on the Cusp of Historicism,” in Gwendolyn Wright and Janet Parks, eds., *The History of History in American Schools of Architecture, 1865–1975* (New York: Temple Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture, 1990), 53–72; and Anthony Alofsin, “Tempering the École: Nathan Ricker at the University of Illinois, Langford Warren at Harvard, and Their Followers,” in Wright and Parks, *History of History*, 73–88.

2. Dmitry Shvidkovsky and Ekaterina Chorban, “Russian Traditions in Teaching the History of Architecture,” *JSAH* 62, no. 1 (March 2003): 110–120.

3. See, e.g., Zhu Jianfei, “Beyond Revolution: Notes on Contemporary Chinese Architecture,” *AA* (Annals of the Architectural Association School of Architecture) *Files* 35 (Spring 1998): 3–14; Joseph W. Esherick, ed., *Remaking the Chinese City: Modernity and National Identity, 1900–1950* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000); Jeffrey W. Cody, “The Woman with the Binoculars: British Architects, Chinese Builders, and Shanghai’s Skyline, 1900–1937,” in *Twentieth-Century Architecture and Its Histories: Millennial Volume of Architectural History* (Otley, UK: Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, 2000): 251–274; and Xing Ruan, “Accidental Affinities: American Beaux-Arts in Twentieth-Century Chinese Architectural Education and Practice,” *JSAH* 61, no. 1 (March 2002): 30–47.

4. Recently there has been a spate of books concentrating on contemporary Chinese architecture and urbanism. Some of the most notable are: Kai Vockler and Dirk Luckow, eds., *Peking, Shanghai, Shenzhen: Städte des 21. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2000); Peter G. Rowe and Seng Kuan, eds., *Shanghai: Architecture & Urbanism for Modern China* (Munich: Prestel, 2004); Layla Dawson, *China’s New Dawn: An Architectural Transformation* (Munich: Prestel, 2005); Bernard Chan, *New Architecture in China* (New York: Merrell, 2005); Lu Duanfang, *Remaking Chinese Urban Form: Modernity, Scarcity and Space, 1949–2005* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Wu Fulong, ed., *Globalisation and the Chinese City* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2006); Xing Ruan, *New China Architecture* (Hong Kong: Periplus, 2006); Charlie Q. L. Xue, *Building a Revolution: Chinese Architecture Since 1980* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006); Hiromasa Shirai and Andre Schmidt, *Big, Bang, Beijing* (Tokyo: Kajima Institute Publishing, 2007); John R. Logan, ed., *Urban China in Transition* (London: Blackwell, 2007); Thomas J. Campanella, *The Concrete Dragon: China’s Urban Revolution and What It Means for the World* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008); Zhu Jianfei, *Modern Architecture in China: A Critical Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Neville Mars and Adrian Hornsby, *The Chinese Dream: A Society Under Construction* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2008); Xin Lu, *China, China: Western Architects and City Planners in China* (Ostfildern, Germany: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2008); Edward Denison and Guang Yu Ren, *Modernism in China* (London: Wiley & Sons, 2008); Frédéric Edelmann, ed., *In the Chinese City: Perspectives on the Transmutations of an Empire* (Paris: Actar, 2008); and Wu Fulong and Lu Duanfang, eds., “The Transition of Chinese Cities,” *Built Environment* 34, no. 4 (2008).

5. Mary N. Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

6. See, for example, Else Glahn, “Unfolding the Chinese Building Standards: Research on the *Yingzao fashi*,” in Nancy S. Steinhardt, ed., *Chinese Traditional Architecture* (New York: China Institute in America, 1984), 48–57; and Klaas Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China: A Study of the Fifteenth Century Carpenter’s Manual Lu Ban Jing* (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

7. Some reform came in the context of the so-called “self-strengthening movement” (*zixiang yundong*), where essence (*ti*) was coupled with form, use, or technology (*yong*). For a fuller discussion of this and other relevant trends associated with the architectural profession, see Rowe and Kuan, *Architectural Encounters*. On the self-strengthening movement, also see Ting-ye Kuo and

Kwang-Ching Liu, "Self-strengthening: The Pursuit of Western Technology," in John K. Fairbank, ed., *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, part 1 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 491–542. For Zhang Zhidong, see Daniel Bays, *China Enters the Twentieth Century: Chang Chih-tung and the Issues of a New Age, 1895–1909* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1978).

8. Weili Ye, *Seeking Modernity in China's Name: Chinese Students in the United States, 1900–1927* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 8.

9. The reasons behind the indemnity were not entirely compensatory. For the Boxer Rebellion, see Joseph Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); and Robert Bickers and R. G. Tiedeman, eds., *The Boxers, China, and the World* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007). For the Boxer Indemnity Fund, see Michael Hunt, "The American Remission of the Boxer Indemnity: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Asian Studies* 31 (May 1972): 539–559; and Richard H. Werking, "The Boxer Indemnity Remission and the Hunt Thesis," *Diplomatic History* 2, no. 1 (2007): 103–106. Hu Shih (1891–1962) was one of the most famous students who received a Boxer Indemnity Fund scholarship. Hu entered Cornell to study agriculture but switched to philosophy. On Hu, see Jerome B. Grieder, *Hu Shih and the Chinese Renaissance: Liberalism in the Chinese Revolution, 1917–1937* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970); Chou Min-chih, *Hu Shih and Intellectual Choice in Modern China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1984); and Weili Ye, *Seeking Modernity*, 31–32.

10. Weili Ye, *Seeking Modernity*, 56.

11. Many foreign architects had practiced in China since the 1850s, following the establishment of the treaty ports after foreign victories in the Opium Wars of 1842 and 1860. When these foreign architects set up shop in China, they almost always employed at least one young Chinese draftsman or office boy to assist with the logistics of the practice. See Jeffrey W. Cody, *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy's Adaptive Architecture, 1914–1935* (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2001).

12. For example, Liu Jipiao and Li Zhongkan went to Paris; Lu Chienshou and Huang Xilin went to London; Bei Shoutang attended the Technische Hochschule in Berlin; Xi Fuchuen enrolled in the same Hochschule in Darmstadt, while Su Xiaxian went to Belgium and, later in the 1930s, Lin Keming and Hua Lanhong traveled to France and Chen Zhanxiang to Liverpool. See *Zhongguo jianzhu* (Chinese architect) 1, no. 1 (July 1933): 39–40. Liu Dunzhen, who became one of China's most important architectural historians, studied in Japan. For information about Chinese students who ventured to European countries, see Lin Zixun, *Zhongguo liuxue jiaoyushi* (History of the Chinese foreign-study movement) (Taipei: Huangan chuban youxian gongsi, 1976), 86–106 and 381–392.

13. In *Seeking Modernity*, Ye explains (p. 70) that engineering was the most popular subject for Chinese students; between 30–44 percent of them studied engineering between 1905 and 1924, and already by 1917 some of these students had organized a China's Engineering Society in New York. Ye does not explore how Chinese architecture students in the United States interacted, or did not interact, with their engineering cohorts, nor does she provide any data about Chinese architecture students in the United States during the early twentieth century.

14. *Ibid.*, 9–10.

15. For more details about Zhuang Jun, see my *Building in China*, 61–67.

16. Tape-recorded interview by the author with Chen Zhi, 16 April 1988.

17. *Zhongguo jianzhu*, vol. 1, no. 1, also lists these lesser-known architects as Penn alumni: Lu Susen, Tan Hen, Huang Yaowei, Wang Huabing, and Ha Shongwen. William Whitaker,

the Collections Manager of Penn's Architectural Archives, compiled a "Partial List of Chinese Nationals Who Attended the University of Pennsylvania's Department of Architecture, 1919–1941" and mounted the exhibition "The Beaux-Arts at Penn: Selected Works of Paul Philippe Cret and His Students" in the Kroiz Gallery at Penn in fall 2003 in conjunction with the conference on which this book is based. Whitaker's unpublished list provides data about twenty-three students.

18. For a perceptive book about Liang in English, see Wilma Fairbank, *Liang and Lin: Partners in Exploring China's Architectural Past* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994). For Liang and Lin's conservation-related legacy, see Guolong Lai, Martha Demas, and Neville Agnew, "Valuing the Past in China: The Seminal Influence of Liang Sicheng on Heritage Conservation," *Orientalism* 35, no. 2 (March 2004): 82–89.

19. Tape-recorded interview by the author with Chen Zhi, 16 April 1988.

20. Alexander Caragonne, *The Texas Rangers: Notes from the Architectural Underground* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995). In the case of the Texas Rangers, the name came later, after the professors were fired.

21. Yung Ho Chang, a pioneering contemporary Chinese architect (and founder of the firm Atelier Feichang Jianzhu), is currently dean of MIT's School of Architecture. He writes in this book about his architect father, Zhang Kaiji, and one of his father's peers, Zhang Bo. Ma Qingyun, a Shanghai-based architect, founder of the practice MADA s.p.a.m., and a Penn Architecture alumnus, is currently dean of the Architecture School at the University of Southern California.

22. For significant French involvement, see Kris Olds, "Globalizing Shanghai: The 'Global Intelligence Corps' and the Building of Pudong," *Cities* 14, no. 2 (1997): 109–123; the design work of the French firm Arte-Charpentier (see Pierre Clément, *Arte Charpentier* [Paris: Editions du Regard, 2003], 125–206); and the exchanges of architects coordinated by the Observatoire sur l'architecture chinoise contemporaine at the Institut Français d'Architecture. For issues related to these exchanges, see Edelmann, *In the Chinese City*.

23. I take the expression "other times, other doctrines" from a quotation by the French architect César-Denis Daly who, in 1847, accused the newly appointed professor of architectural theory at the École des Beaux-Arts, Guillaume-Abel Blouet, of placing too much emphasis on the theories of the eminent, but ailing, Quatremère de Quincy (1755–1849). Daly asserted that Quatremère's "philosophical doctrines . . . cannot respond to the needs of these times. We are now deep in the middle of the nineteenth century and Quatremère's works have their roots for the most part in the eighteenth century. Other times, other doctrines." Daly is quoted by Sylvia Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992), 182. Daly's remarks are from the *Revue Générale d'Architecture* 7 (1847–1848): 435–436.

24. Joseph Harbeson, quoted from his review of Joseph Noffsinger's "The Influence of the École des Beaux-Arts on the Architecture of the United States," *JSAH* 17, no. 2 (1958), 29.

25. The new systems initially were grafted onto Chinese roots because of how European commercial interests became entrenched in Chinese port cities, especially after Britain's victories in the Opium Wars of the 1840s and 1860s. For an insightful examination of commercial designs by Europeans in Guangzhou, see Johnathan A. Farris, "Thirteen Factories of Canton: An Architecture of Sino-Western Collaboration and Confrontation," *Buildings & Landscapes* 14 (2007): 66–83.

26. I place the word "modernity" in quotes because of the intricate complexities associated with the word's multiple meanings. Ye, *Seeking Modernity*, 6–7, confronts this challenge in significant ways.

PART I

Divergence to
Convergence



I CHINESE ARCHITECTURE ON THE EVE OF THE BEAUX-ARTS

Chinese architecture on the eve of the appearance of buildings associated with the *École des Beaux-Arts*—from the 1820s through the 1860s—was remarkably unchanged from Chinese buildings of the mid-eighteenth, mid-fourteenth, mid-eleventh, or as far as we know, the mid-eighth century. Even by the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century, when architecture designed with *Beaux-Arts* influence could be seen with increasing frequency in China's cities, traditional-style architecture that bore signs of its multimillennial past remained the pervasive form in religious and residential construction. China itself, however, was not as isolated from Europe as it had been in the past. If it was uncertain at the time of the Opium War (1839–1842) or during the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1853) whether China's dynastic history was in decline and foreign influence could no longer be avoided, by the turn of the twentieth century, the time of the Boxer Rebellion (1900) and Sino-Japanese War (1904–1905), there was no doubt. In 1911, it was a fact: the Chinese empire had ceased to exist, and foreign influences, as well as aggression, had to be addressed. From the second half of the nineteenth century through the first decade of the twentieth, China had been disgraced by Europeans at its treaty ports, had fought with Chinese Christians from within, and had watched its borders change because of actions by Russia and Japan. These decades of “unequal treaties,” warlordism, and mistrust of Western ideas had forced on China a realization that the country had to reckon with Westernization and, in particular, with the scientific inquiry that accompanied it.

Chinese architectural historians often select a date around 1840 as a turning point in Chinese architectural history.¹ Coinciding with the beginning of the Opium War, this period of the nineteenth century is considered the time when Chinese builders began to realize that their architectural tradition, intentionally designed to maintain clear formal and symbolic links to China's strong, glorious dynastic past, might benefit from technical and engineering innovations made beyond China's borders. Chinese architecture did not significantly change as early as the 1840s, but China's ideological readiness to consider abandoning traditional architecture coincided with the award of the Grand Prix to Hector Lefuel for his *Hôtel de Ville* design (1839), and 1840 also marked the beginning stages of the construction of Henri Labrouste's *Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève* in Paris. Still, why was it architecture of the *École des Beaux-Arts* in particular that captured the imagination of China's greatest architects when the Chinese building tradition was ripe for change?

A mural, dated about 1850, from a mansion used as a Taiping Rebellion headquarters in Nanjing and a photograph of Liang Qichao (1873–1929) and three

Fig. 1.1. Mural, Taiping Heavenly Kingdom building, now in Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Museum, mid-nineteenth century. From Ya Qian, *Taiping Tianguo bihua* (Murals of the Taiping heavenly kingdom) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1982).

of his children, taken in Japan in 1905, show that during the period braced by the two, Chinese society was in a state of disequilibrium (figs. 1.1 and 1.2). The military tower is uncomfortably out of place in a traditional Chinese landscape where the sailboats are the same ones found in Chinese painting for the previous five hundred years. The father in the photograph, one of China's most liberal thinkers of his day, wears a Western suit, suggestive of his open attitude toward change according to Western modes. In fact, he had been warned to flee with his family to Japan to avoid capture and possible execution for his reformist views. The furniture also is Western. Yet the children

wear Chinese dress and calligraphy hangs in the background. China was poised for transformation and the view was toward the West.

Unlike a detail in a painting or one's personal attire, architecture is monumental, expensive, and seen by countless people over long periods of time. New buildings in China's cities at the end of the nineteenth century or the beginning of the twentieth would stand among tens of thousands of existing structures, mostly wooden, that retained elements of perhaps the longest continuous building tradition in existence. Once erected, they could not be readily replaced, nor would old ones be destroyed as quickly as a man's garments or transformed, even, from a pagoda to a military tower. Indeed, even though the evolution of Chinese architecture—city, palace, temple, tomb, pagoda, house, or garden—can be documented century by century and sometimes in smaller units of time, anyone who looks at Chinese architecture cannot but notice how much of it looks like so much of the rest. Any new kind of construction would be more noticeable in the



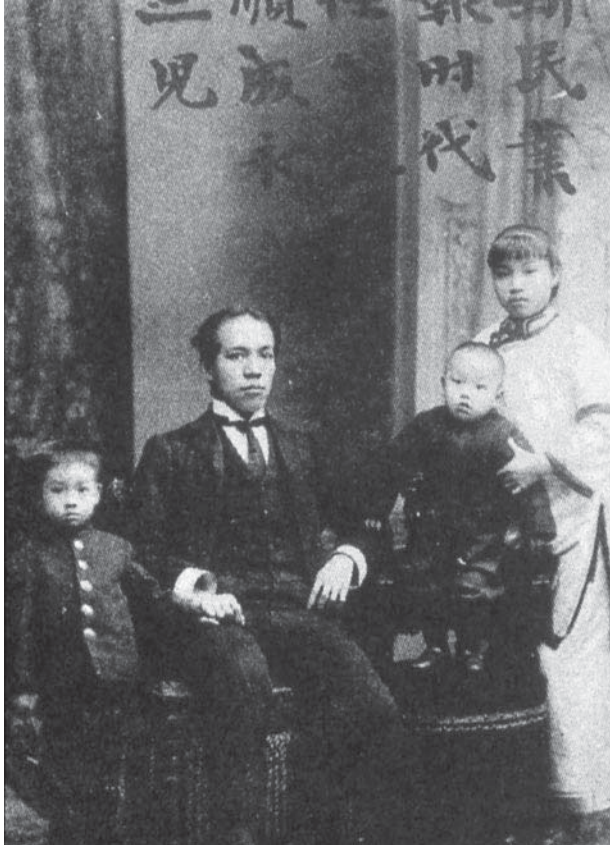


Fig. 1.2. Photograph of Liang Qichao with children, ca. 1905. Published with permission of the late Wilma C. Fairbank.

homogenous Chinese-built environment than in any country of Europe, for example, where architecture distinct to every period from the Classical Age of Greece onward stood or had been copied in its cities.

Straightforward visual comparison shows just how uniform and long-standing the Chinese building tradition was. The reconstruction of a palatial complex at Fengchu, Shaanxi province, dated ca. 1200 BCE (fig. 1.3) suggests the core of the Forbidden City (fig. 1.4), and the ritual hall erected by Empress Wu Zetian at the beginning of the eighth century in Luoyang (fig. 1.5) anticipates the Hall for Prayer for a Prosperous Year (fig. 1.6) first built in the sixteenth century and standing today as it was reconstructed in the nineteenth. The two earlier buildings could not have specifically influenced the two later ones, and certainly details would have been different. Yet not only do key structural and spatial continuities persist over millennia in China; equally significant and more important, in the minds of the architects who drew reconstructions such as figures 1.3

and 1.5 in the last decades of the twentieth century, and their teachers, and theirs, the similarities were real. Builders of nineteenth century Beijing's architecture, particularly monuments such as the Forbidden City or Altar of Heaven complex, believed that their achievements followed models from earlier times and would continue to represent those models for future generations. Architects of a modern China understood their responsibility to a landscape dominated by a tradition that had continued with so little change for so long. When possibilities of modernizing architecture first came to China, there was no thought about tearing down the past: the architecture that entered from outside, visually if not technologically, had to fit into the existing system. Not only were many of China's First Generation of architects educated outside China trained in Beaux-Arts, but also the compatibility of this mid-nineteenth-century European system with traditional Chinese architecture was perhaps more seamless than that in any other part of the world to which Beaux-Arts architecture was exported.

Fig. 1.3. Theoretical reconstruction of architectural remains of a building complex at Fengchu, Shaanxi province, ca. 1200 BCE. From *Wenwu* no. 3 (1981): 25.

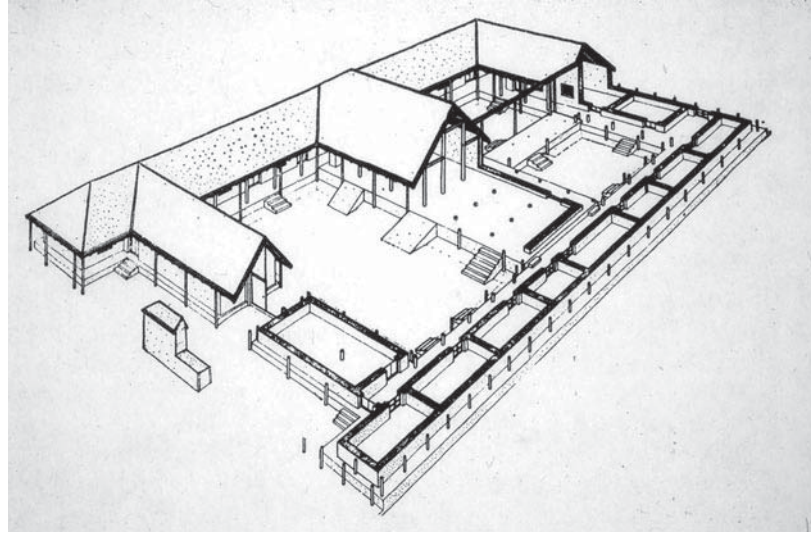
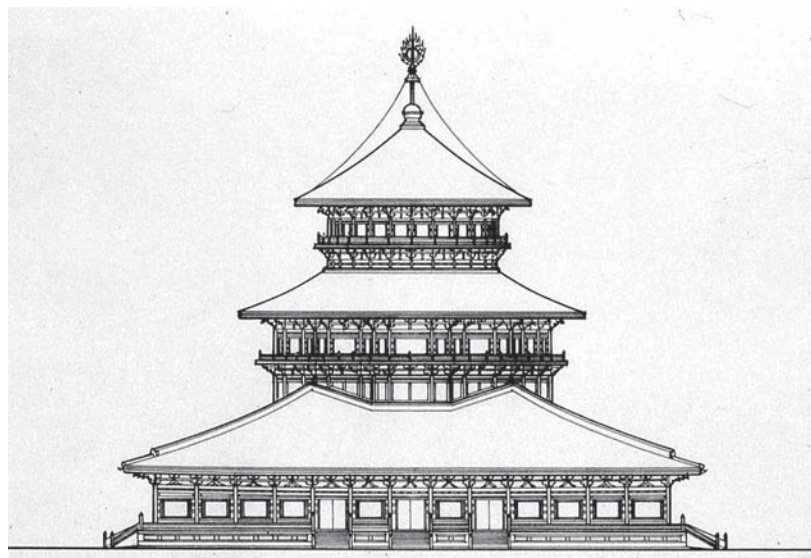


Fig. 1.4. Model of the Three Great Halls of the Forbidden City, made in the studio of Edmund Bacon, University of Pennsylvania, 1960s; now lost. Published with permission of the late E. Bacon.

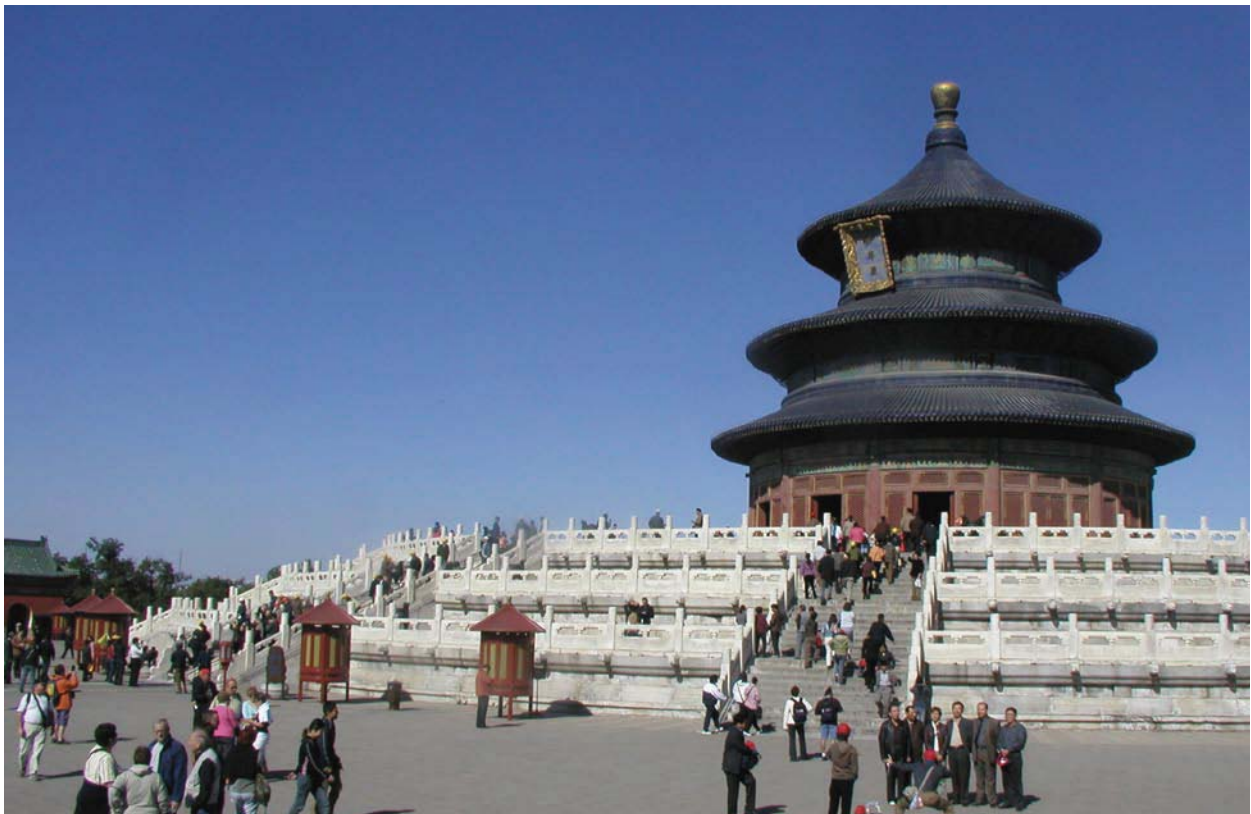


Fig. 1.5. Fu Xinian, theoretical reconstruction of the ritual hall known as Mingtang, Luoyang, ca. 700. Published with permission of Fu Xinian.



Eight fundamental principles of architecture and spatial design that had endured in China for several millennia helped make that fit, and therefore an elucidation of them is in order: (1) the importance of four-sided enclosures; (2) spatial magnitude expressed along the horizontal plane; (3) balance derived from a symmetrical disposition of forms and spaces; (4) the construction of buildings as parts of groups, instead of as individual structures; (5) formal gates serving as entries; (6) domes and vaults that help define and encase significant interior elements; (7) polychromy within the context of an integral decorative scheme; and (8) a timber frame governed by modular construction. The resonance of the one tradition in the other was in part “accidental”; premodern Chinese construction and Beaux-Arts architecture had no official recognition of, or reliance on, each other until Chinese architects studied the European system abroad. Yet the congruence between Chinese and Beaux-Arts architecture was equally natural and highly logical. Chinese students who went abroad to study architecture in the early decades of the twentieth century did not leave China aspiring to return and build Beaux-Arts buildings, but once confronted with Beaux-Arts architecture, they latched onto it, for its formal principles could readily be implemented into a

Fig. 1.6. Hall for Prayer for a Prosperous Year, Altar of Heaven complex, Beijing, ca. sixteenth century, with approximately nineteenth-century repairs. Photo by Tony Atkin.



building tradition of modular timber framing concealed beneath highly elaborated, decorative shells and roofing. The system found particular compatibility in China's grand palatial and religious buildings represented by architecture of the Forbidden City, earlier palaces, and religious and ceremonial complexes patronized by rulers and aristocrats. The consonance of the grand Chinese system and Beaux-Arts construction is evident through comparison of three seminal examples of Beaux-Arts architecture and three that represent the Chinese palatial or eminent religious tradition (figs. 1.7–1.12).² We return in more detail to the eight principles to demonstrate the similarities.

The most dominant feature of Chinese construction on large or small scale is probably four-sided enclosure. The encasement of space into quadrilateral shapes can be actual or implied, for sometimes only three faces of the four are occupied by buildings or walls. In China, the wall symbolizes a city, and the same character, *cheng*, is used for both. The Chinese have built walls for as long as they have built cities, at least since the third millennium BCE, but even when a city was not walled, the suffix to its name, *cheng*, implied a wall.³ In traditional China, a city, ward, palace, monastery, tomb, residence, or garden was designed with the assumption that it would be enclosed. Often there were multiple enclosures, giving way to hierarchically more sacred and less sacred space, the more sacred closer to the center, and thus more separated from profane or public space outside the wall. Among the three examples of Beaux-Arts architecture, the wall is clearest in Leclère's Casino (fig. 1.9), but the formality of the building façade, much like that of a wall, is implied in the others.

In China the sides of the wall were symbolic, each associated with a direction, season, phase (or element), color, and symbolic animal, and sometimes with an implied fifth position, the center. The space-time continuum, for which architecture is one of the most adaptable media, is sometimes termed Chinese cosmology.⁴ Cosmology is not an aspect of Beaux-Arts construction, but the emphatic use of four cardinal directions expressed through two sets of parallel walls lends itself to symmetry, which is inherent in Beaux-Arts architectural design.

Symmetry is further expressed in Chinese four-sided enclosure because the cardinal direction of the four is south, the position toward which the Chinese emperor faced when seated on his throne looking out or down at his city. Important buildings were on the line defined by his gaze, and other structures were placed symmetrical to them to further emphasize the north-south building line. The long approach and cross-axes for less important buildings that also faced south lent drama to the building ensemble. The whole complex was characterized as much by symmetry as it was by four-sided enclosed spaces.

Fig. 1.7. ► Gabriel Jean Davioud, Trocadero Palace, Universal Exposition of 1878. Paris-architecture. From: info/PA-055.htm



Fig. 1.8. ► Emmanuel Brune, Palace of a Sovereign, Grand Prix de Rome, 1863. From Arthur Drexler, ed. *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977), 243.

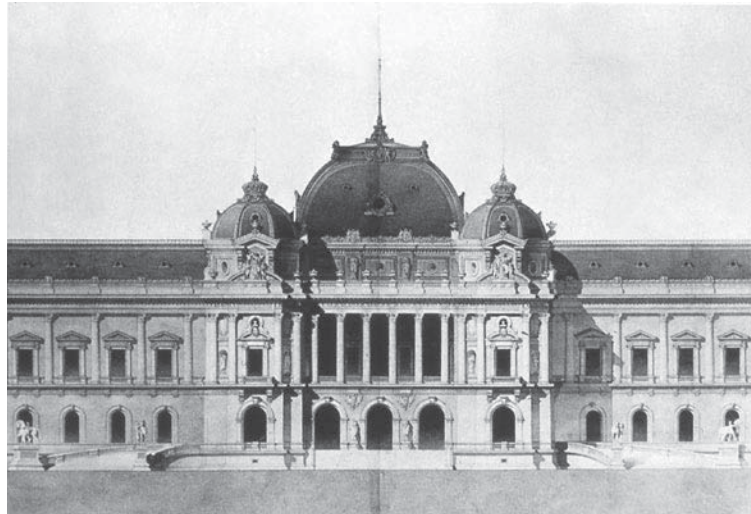


Fig. 1.9. ▼ Achille Leclère, Casino, 1897. From Drexler, ed. *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts*, 313.

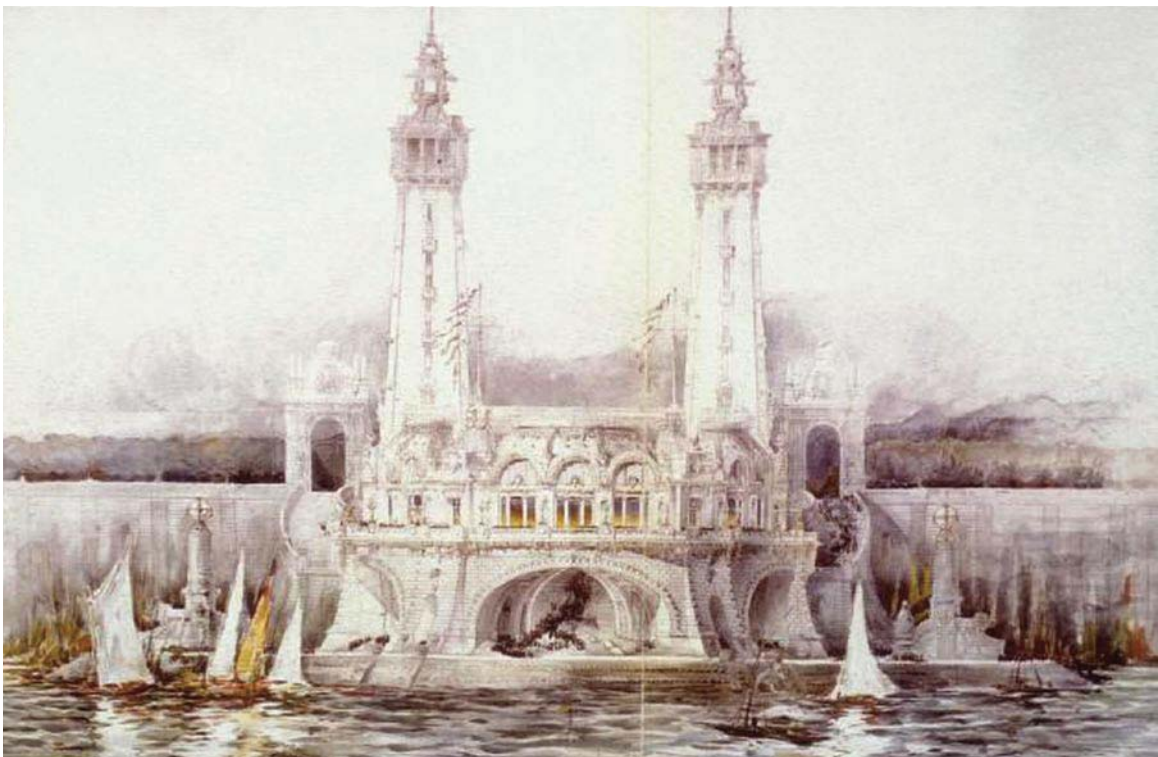


Fig. 1.10. ► Gateway of Longquan Monastery, Mount Wutai, Shanxi province, eighteenth century. From Li Yuming et al., *Shanxi gujianzhu tonglan* (Panorama of ancient architecture in Shanxi) (Taiyuan: Shanxi People's Press, 1986), 131.



Fig. 1.11. ▼ Fu Xinian, reconstruction drawing of Hanyuan Hall complex, Daming Palace, Xi'an, seventh century. Published with permission of Fu Xinian.

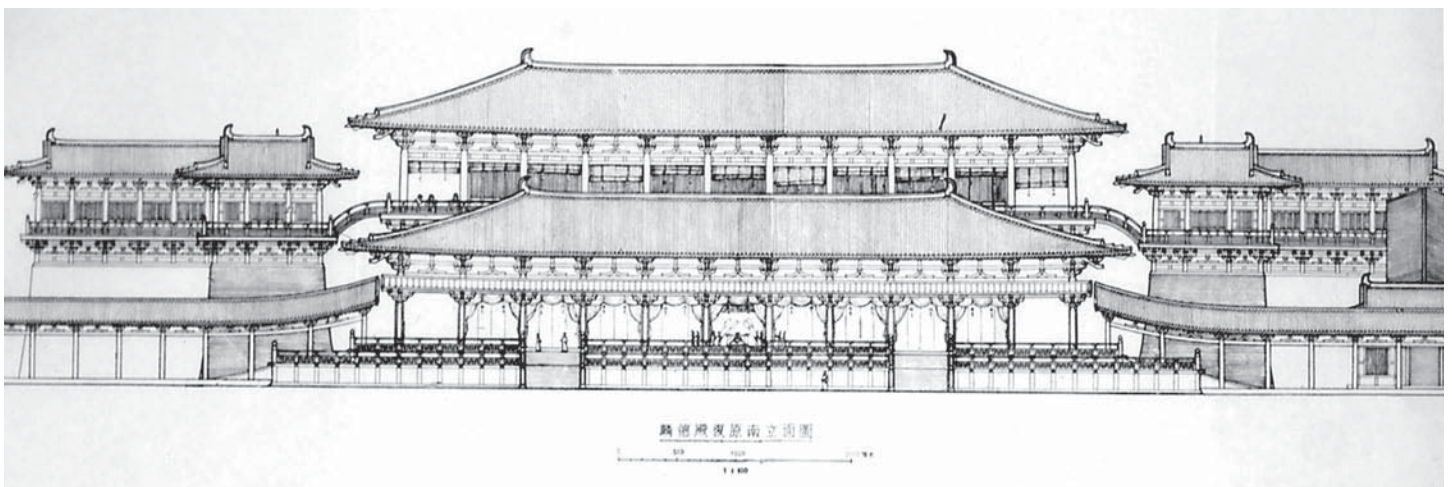
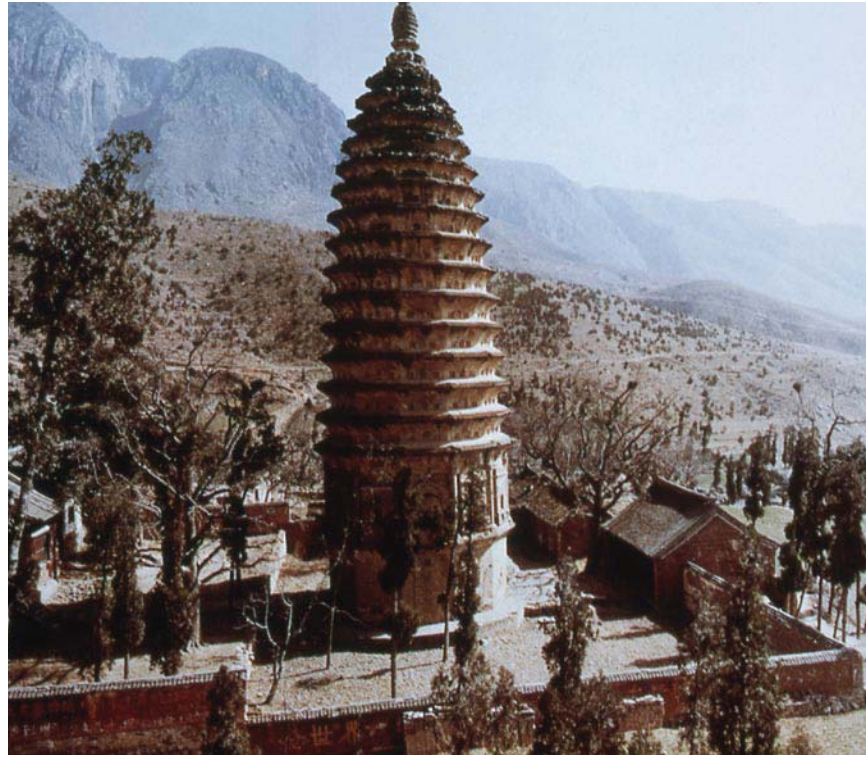


Fig. 1.12. ► Purple Empeyan Palace, Mount Wudang (a sacred Daoist peak), Hebei province, Ming period (1368–1644). From Liu Keli, *Zhongguo simiao daguan* (Panoramic view of Chinese temples and monasteries) (Beijing: Yanshan chubanshe, 1990), 178.



Fig. 1.13. Pagoda of Songyue Monastery, Mount Song, Henan, 523 CE with later repairs. From Chinese Academy of Architecture, *Ancient Chinese Architecture* (Beijing: China Building Industry Press [now CABP], 1981), 53.



Another fundamental principle of Chinese construction is that spatial magnitude is expressed along the horizontal plane. If land ownership was a sign of wealth, then it follows that construction expanded horizontally (north-south or east-west) rather than upward. The more important a Chinese building, the more bays it has across the front, with the Hall of Great Harmony possessing nine, the maximum among known buildings. The Hall of Great Harmony took its place among dozens of buildings that spanned the space in front, behind, and to the sides; but even this locus of the Chinese emperor and his court was only one story. Pavilions, gatetowers, some ritual halls such as the Hall for Prayer for a Prosperous Year (fig. 1.6), and pagodas rose above the otherwise low building scapes and city walls, but a tall building was unnatural in Chinese space. Although transformed into Chinese architecture through facsimile bracketing on its masonry sides and imitation ceramic roof eaves at each layer, the pagoda was ever a reminder that Buddhism was a foreign import (fig. 1.13). As such, the pagoda offers a compelling comparison with Beaux-Arts or other architecture that entered China from abroad, for even though it was absorbed into the Chinese landscape and became known as a Chinese building type, its height never ceased to proclaim its foreign origins.⁵

When a tall structure such as a pagoda or pavilion was part of a Chinese building complex, it was usually either on the main building line or one of a symmetrical pair. Focus on the highest point of a building complex or height as expressed through a symmetrical pair is as much a part of Beaux-Arts construction as of Chinese formal space.

The Chinese concept of a building, namely, that it is not a single entity but instead a complex of structures (figs. 1.3, 1.4, 1.11, and 1.12), may appear inconsistent with the Beaux-Arts concept of a building, itself derived from the European tradition beginning with ancient Greece. From the exterior, however, none of the Beaux-Arts examples is monolithic, and some Beaux-Arts structures include one main building and smaller ones that relate to it.⁶

Gates are examples of smaller structures that relate to the main building in a complex. Often part of the enclosure, they also stand freely (fig. 1.10). In China, a screen wall (fig. 1.3) or the two sides of a gate in the form of pillar-towers that direct passage in and out the building complex also can stand for a wall. Gate, screen wall, or pillars, the first sometimes requiring a step over and the last passage through, elicit the same kind of psychological recognition that one bounded space is being left and another entered, as does the fully enclosing wall. Gates and formal

Fig. 1.14. Ceiling from Tomb of Dong Ming, Houma, Shanxi, 1210. From Shanxisheng Kaogu Yanjiusuo, *Pingyang Jinmu zhuandiao* (Carved brick from Jin tombs in Pingyang) (Taiyuan: Shanxi People's Press, 1999), pl. 35. Published courtesy of the Jin Tomb Museum, Houma.

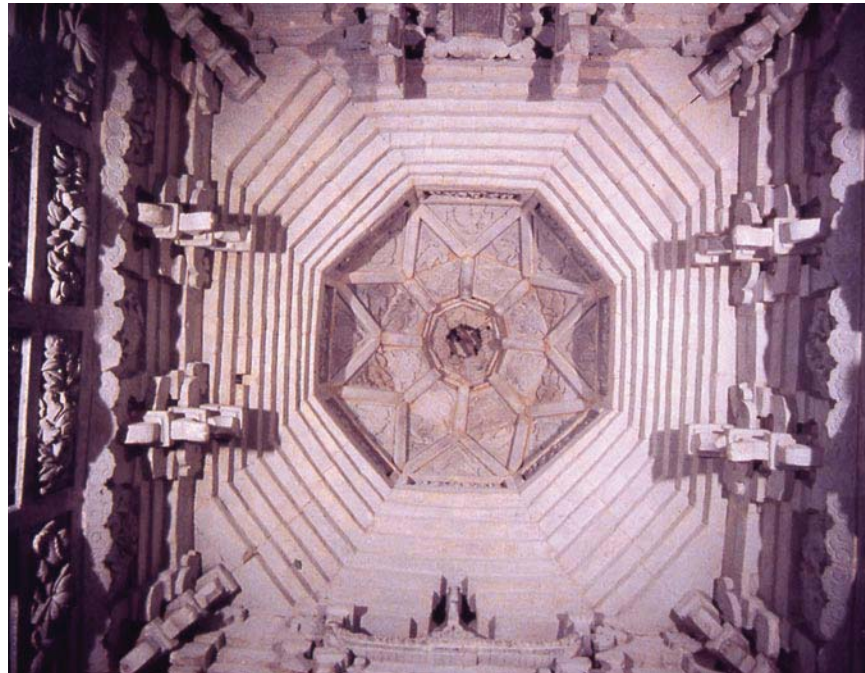
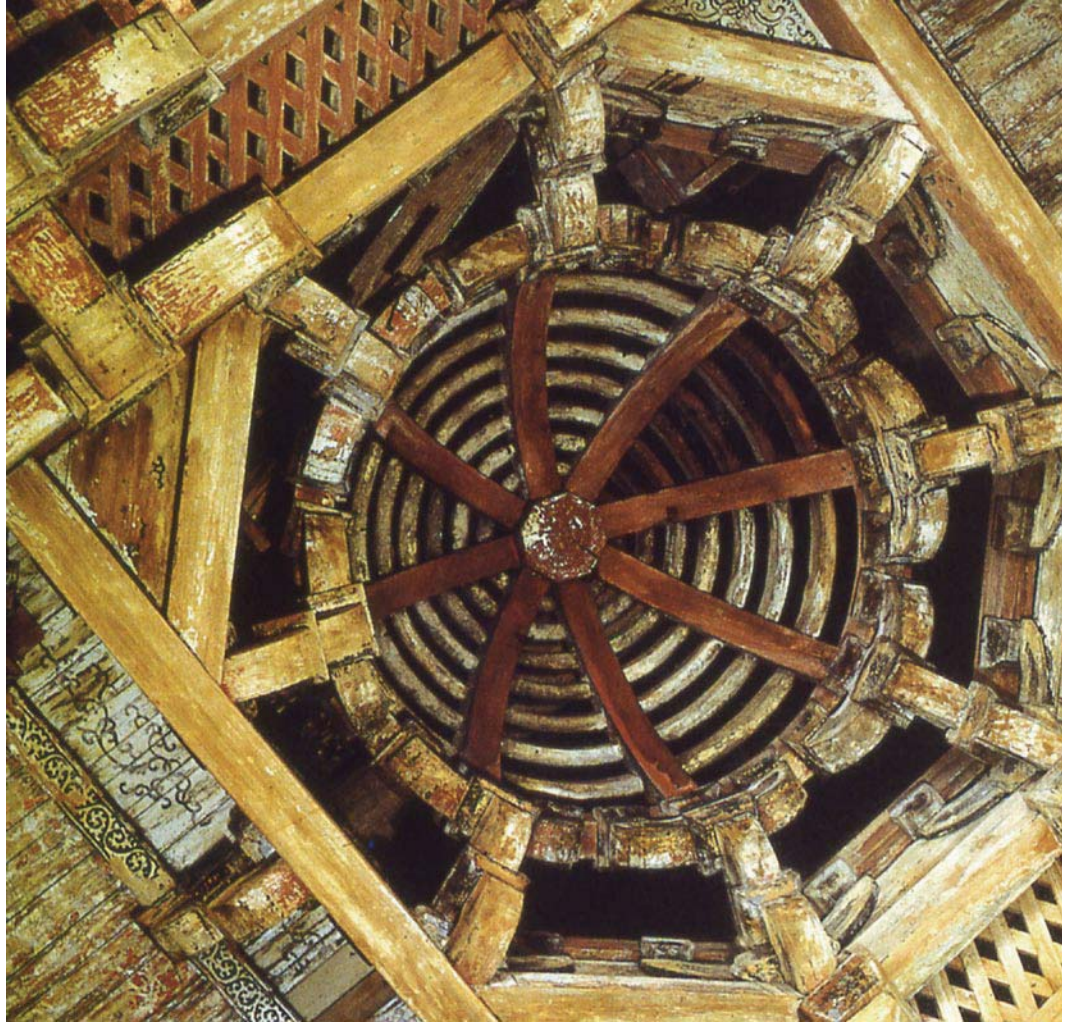


Fig. 1.15. Ceiling of Great Buddha Hall, Baoguo Monastery, Yuyao county, Zhejiang, 1013. From *Baoguosì* (Baoguo monastery) (Beijing: China Photographic Publishing House, 1999), 13. Published with permission of China Photographic Publishing House.



gate-like entries also were part of Beaux-Arts architecture, so much so that the visual comparison can be striking (figs. 1.7–1.12).

Inside, domes and vaults have been part of Chinese architecture in brick, stone, and in wooden imitation for at least two millennia. The vault, barrel vault, segmented vault, cupola, truncated pyramid, and a variety of lattice ceilings leading to the true dome were developed in China, in particular below ground in tombs, where more permanent materials were employed, as well as in wood (figs. 1.14 and 1.15). The prominent display of the dome in Beaux-Arts architecture (figs. 1.7 and 1.8) and perhaps also its long history in the West beginning in ancient Greece, may

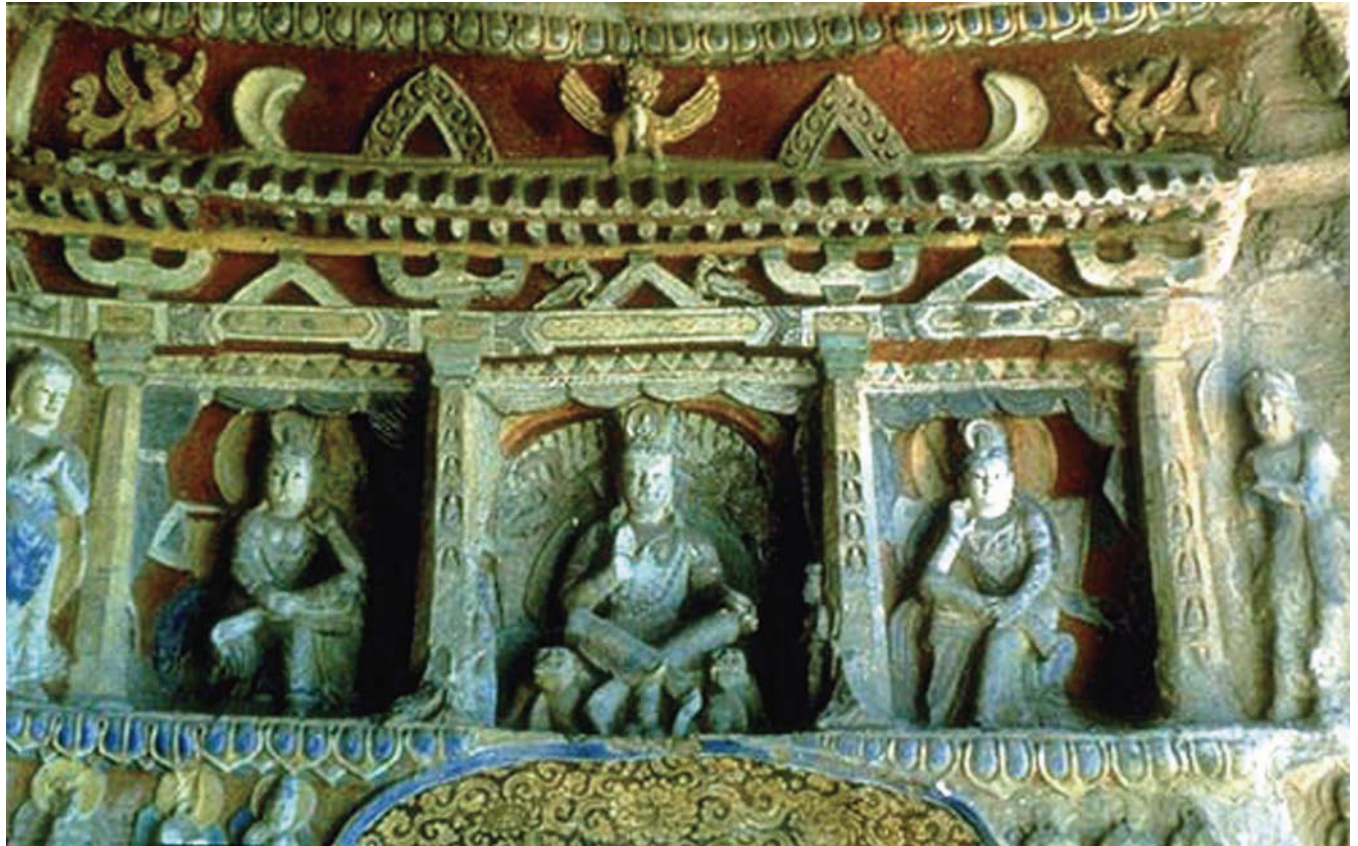


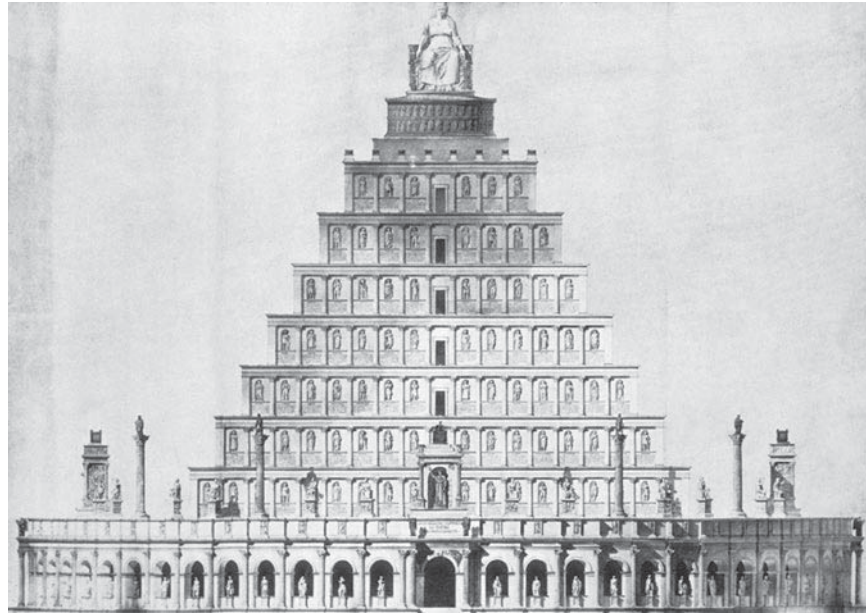
Fig. 1.16. Interior detail, Cave 9, Yungang, Shanxi province, late fifth century. Published with permission of Beijing Slide Studio.

have appealed to China's Beaux-Arts architects, many of whom had studied the history of Western architecture in the United States. In China, the vaulted ceiling was fully compatible with one of a traditional building's most important features, the ceramic-tile roof; a wooden roof frame interfaced the roof tiles above and the domed ceiling beneath. In contrast to Beaux-Arts architecture, usually there is no evidence of interior vaulting on the exterior of a Chinese building.

Like Chinese architecture, the Beaux-Arts tradition is highly decorated and highly polychromed. China's most comprehensive premodern construction manual, *Yingzao fashi*, completed in 1103, has a section on color that provides explanations for the use of pigment.⁷ Bold decoration characterizes Chinese architecture of every century, from fifth-century Buddhist cave-temples to the imperial buildings of eighteenth-century Beijing (figs. 1.6, 1.15, and 1.16).

Then there is the Chinese timber frame. Even immense buildings, including pagodas that soared nearly one hundred meters, were supported by wooden

Fig. 1.17. Joseph Nicolle, Monument aux Illustres Français; received prize, never constructed, 1833. From Drexler, *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts*, 177.



skeletons. The possible complexity of framing is indicated in the tallest extant timber structure, the wooden pagoda at Fogong Monastery in Ying county, Shanxi, dated 1056. A sectional drawing of the 67.31-meter structure shows only a small percentage of the fifty-four different varieties of bracketing in this modular building (see fig. 9.3). Remarkably, the pagoda form, too, finds its counterpart in an École des Beaux-Arts design (fig. 1.17).

As shown in figure 9.3, in premodern China, multistory construction was achieved by piling one wooden layer on top of the next. Every wooden building had at least three layers: pillars, bracket sets, and roof frame. Multitier buildings had multiple layers of pillars and bracketing beneath the roof frame, and extraordinary structures such as the timber pagoda had mezzanine layers that interfaced the main levels. The pillars bore the weight above them, and walls usually had little weight-bearing function. Sometimes side walls carried some weight, but front and back walls rarely did. Pillars and the bracket set frames above them were able to bear a load so efficiently that hypostyle construction was rare. More often, particularly before the fifteenth century, an interior could be opened, supported by framing at its perimeter, to achieve a domed interior or to make room for monumental images (fig. 1.15).⁸ This ability to construct through framing, while allowing the interior to be empty, was especially common in Chinese wooden buildings of the tenth through thirteenth centuries.



Fig. 1.18. Guanyin Pavilion, Dule Monastery, Ji county, Hebei, 984. Photo by author.

A more standard-sized multilevel building, the twenty-two-meter pavilion of the bodhisattva Guanyin in Ji county, Hebei, constructed in 984, is comprised of two main layers of pillars and brackets, a mezzanine layer between them, and a roof on top. It, too, was built with an open interior, whose purpose was to house a sixteen-meter-high statue (fig. 1.18). Yet from the outside, Guanyin Pavilion is a bold, massive, symmetrical building whose appearance is not incompatible with Beaux-Arts construction (figs. 1.7–1.9).

Perhaps the most ingenious feature of the Chinese timber frame is its modularity. This feature, too, is concealed by walls and roofs. Interlocking wooden building components cut according to standard sizes trace back as many as 7,000 years. They are found, for example, at the site Hemudu (ca. 5,000–3,200 BCE) in Yuyao county, Zhejiang.⁹ The module appears later: before the tenth century, sizes of pieces are generated by a module derived by the measurement of the cross-section of a bracket arm.¹⁰ The module affords ease of replacement of rotten or otherwise damaged building parts. The module also makes it easy to add bays or wings. Because the wooden pieces were cut by hand and had to stand on all variety of terrain, few actual buildings, when measured, confirm the module in every detail; but in an ideal structure, one whose parts were drawn based on the modular system,

the length of the central front bay, the height of the front columns, and their proportional increase in height from the center front outward can be derived from this unit. In the twelfth century, there were eight grades of timber used in imperial construction projects, and there were eight ranked forms of components such as bracket sets. Every Chinese timber-frame hall coincided with a rank identifiable in this silent visual language. Roof type, use or lack of foundation platform and its height, use or lack of pilasters, and the existence of a ceiling also provided information about a building's rank.

As easy as it is to determine the rank of a traditional Chinese structure from the exterior or from individual components, it is just as difficult to determine a Chinese building's function. This is because rank was more important in construction than affiliation such as Buddhist, Daoist, or funerary. The anonymity of function is such that it is possible to change a structure's purpose but maintain its rank; a palace could be transformed into a temple by replacement of a throne with an altar, yet not one pillar, bracket, or strut would have to be amended. Mosques, synagogues, and Zoroastrian temples would have had exteriors indistinguishable from Buddhist or Daoist temples provided each was of the same level of importance, that is, built by a member of the imperial family as opposed to erected for clan or village worshipers.¹¹ It is not misperception on the part of Westerners that has led to the conclusion that so many Chinese buildings look alike. Moreover, the ubiquitous high-ranking Chinese building, represented by a frontal view of famous structures such as the Hall of Great Harmony in the Forbidden City (fig. 1.4) or Hall of Heavenly Favors of the Ming Tombs, or earlier equivalents such as the Guanyin Pavilion of Dule Monastery (fig. 1.18), was invariably a formal structure with an imposing roof or interior dome and symmetrically positioned towers or windows. In other words, Beaux-Arts buildings, similarly formal, often domed, and best seen from the front, presented themselves as acceptable, naturalized cousins of these Chinese architectural icons (figs. 1.7–1.9).

In China, the uniformity of structure is both real and purposeful. The fact that so many Chinese buildings share so many features has provided an unambiguously powerful image of China, stronger perhaps even than her walls. The potency of the image has made it slow to change. It was to take a widespread initiative, inspired and implemented by China's most influential architects and their supporters, for change in the direction of Western architecture to stand on Chinese soil. The few examples illustrated here show why Beaux-Arts buildings could merge with Chinese architecture, but the decisions that made it possible for them to be constructed were laborious and serious. Once built, a Beaux-Arts building is much more difficult to dismantle than a timber-frame hall.

Further, no matter how grand its presence or how expensive its decoration, Chinese architecture is the art of anonymous builders and craftsmen. Perhaps the greatest social change brought about by the First Generation was that they were architects, formally and systematically trained in a profession theretofore unknown in China. In the 1920s and 1930s, when the foreign-educated Chinese men (and one woman) returned to their homeland, Chinese society had to find a place for the architect, *jianzhushi*, to practice as a professional with some degree of status; and to promote the concept of design that would replace a large part of the role of *jiangren*, or craftsman, even though this age-old practitioner would continue to decorate buildings.¹²

Jiangren were just one group in Chinese society whose role was reinterpreted in the early twentieth century. The continuities observed in premodern architecture over millennia are a single example of historical continuity and allegiance to a historical past that are inherent in premodern Chinese ideology. Dynasties rose and fell, but systems of record-keeping, the use of characters, reverence for the past, and perhaps most important, viewing oneself as part of a multimillennial-old civilization, were never lost. The new word “architect” named a profession of design, signature, innovation, and creativity that challenged a building tradition maintained by anonymous craftsmen through patronage from as high as the emperor and in settings as humble as the small village. Of all the twentieth-century architectural movements, Big Roofs (*da wuding*) probably offered the most agreeable alternative to timber-frame construction because a traditional-style ceramic-tile roof or an imitation of one was put on top of a modern material such as reinforced concrete (fig. 1.19).¹³ Like Beaux-Arts buildings, those with Big Roofs could still embody grand symmetry, bold elaboration, and unambiguous frontal views that were compatible with traditional Chinese construction.

In contrast to the Big Roof, most construction systems above which it was placed developed outside China—including those employed in most Beaux-Arts buildings—and required complete accommodation to building materials that had never been used in timber-frame architecture. If the inherent idea of architectural status were to be retained in modern China, it would have to become associated with modern, Western-inspired building. Heat and plumbing, for instance, both of tremendous potential damage to the timber frame, would have to become valued. Beaux-Arts, as we shall read in the chapters that follow, was the successful test case that found a place in China, making it then possible not just to erect Big Roofs, but also Bauhaus-inspired designs and eclectic mixtures of Western styles, with their characteristic materials and structural systems.

Beaux-Arts was a less startling or offensive construction system than others that were available from the West in the early twentieth century precisely because it offered the capability of referring architecturally to the grandeur of China's most impressive palatial-style architecture. Ironically, this foreign building system with axuality, symmetry, focus on a main building, and decoration that could be compatible with traditional, elitist Chinese architecture of the Forbidden City, was to survive the most violent, antielitist campaigns of the 1950s and 1960s. As K. Sizheng Fan explains in his chapter in Part II, Beaux-Arts architecture had also found a place in Russia, so that even as China's First Generation architects were censored by the proletarian movement for their bourgeois ideology, the buildings through which they had sought to modernize China's cities passed muster with Soviet advisors. Beaux-Arts architecture not only paved the way for other foreign architecture, the modernism it represented became so much a part of Chinese construction that before the end of the twentieth century, wooden buildings and courtyard-style houses would become the property only of the have-nots.

Still, the acceptance of Beaux-Arts architecture had meant that the worldview and one of its most elemental symbols, architecture, that had helped China remain Chinese for so many millennia had to be broken down even among China's modernizers. When, sometime between 1924 and 1927, the standing boy in figure 2, by then an architecture student at University of Pennsylvania, sent his father a letter asking about Chinese architecture, the elder Liang sent his son a copy of *Yingzao fashi* with his reply, telling him that everything one needed to know about Chinese

Fig. 1.19. Zhang Bo, Friendship Hotel, Beijing, 1954. Photo by Chang Yung Ho.



architecture could be found in those thirty-four chapters.¹⁴ According to the man who wore Western business suits and had to flee his homeland because his goals for reform were too forward-looking, architecture was a sinological exercise.

Given the perception that architecture was static and textually based, neither architectural history nor design had reason to exist in premodern China. Nearly two millennia of scholars had spent their research lives at government-sponsored local, regional, or national research centers, the premier ones in the capital, and to the extent that architecture was considered, it was through historical records. By the nineteenth century, if there was a universal image of Chinese architecture, it was the Forbidden City. Those who had ventured outside the capital knew that its imperial palaces and tombs had been cloned in Shenyang and Nanjing. Yet it was assumed that the palace style preserved in Beijing and the other two capitals was not so different from what one would have seen in the eleventh-century Song capital at Kaifeng or the eighth-century Tang capital in Xi'an. The few other buildings, such as Confucian shrines, known to those who were aware of China's early architecture, primarily scholars, further confirmed these images. When the *Yingzao fashi* began to circulate among the scholarly elite in China at the beginning of the twentieth century, it was initially assumed that all the structural evidence for what was described by the written word could be found in the Forbidden City.¹⁵

China's First Generation had to break down these assumptions as well. Liang Sicheng, Liu Dunzhen, Yang Tingbao, and others discussed here were: (1) architects of Beaux-Arts as well as modern buildings in traditional Chinese styles; (2) restorers of Chinese buildings according to traditional styles; (3) scholars of the *Yingzao fashi* and related texts; and (4) China's first architectural historians. As such they were also the first to systematically conduct fieldwork and rediscover many of China's premier old buildings. While the late nineteenth–early twentieth-century Chinese citizens who considered themselves forward-looking modernizers stayed in China's cities and read about buildings in books, the architects trained outside China, most of them in Beaux-Arts methodology, engaged with the rural peasantry who led them to the dilapidated temples in which they prayed. Knowledge of much of the history of premodern Chinese architecture is due solely to this group, for many of the old buildings they identified, drew, and photographed were lost during World War II, some by bombing, others by neglect; and yet more were lost during the Cultural Revolution.

To return, then, to the question posed at the beginning of this essay—why it was the architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts that captured the imagination of China's First Generation of architect-architectural historians. The answer is probably that through Beaux-Arts principles of composition and decoration, one

could express the kind of visual grandeur of the Forbidden City and its presumed predecessors, a visual grandeur that was also acceptable among an early twentieth-century, Chinese, educated elite.¹⁶ Beaux-Arts architecture was for those who returned to China a mode of formalism that bore the insignia of their revered teachers—at Penn, Paul Cret—and their various alma maters; and it was so well suited to the building system existing in China that it could be introduced without extraordinary societal or visual challenge in the 1920s and 1930s. The postimperial, Republican China of those decades was ripe both for architectural change and for Beaux-Arts-inspired solutions. Yet as war-torn Communist China emerged, the influence of the Beaux-Arts inevitably waned, and its architects became engulfed in a maelstrom of politics that brought unforeseen challenges and, for some, hardship and tragedy.

Notes

1. According to Sun Dazhang, senior architect at the national Institute of Chinese Architecture, Beijing, and editor of the last volume of the premier series, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi* (History of “premodern” Chinese architecture) (Beijing: CABP, 2002) on Qing (1644–1911) construction, it is the practice of himself and colleagues to end discussion of premodern Chinese architecture in about 1840. Indeed, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi*, vol. 5, covers only the period from the beginning of the Qing dynasty to the 1840s.
2. Many of the most representative Beaux-Arts buildings, particularly those that were awarded prizes in the nineteenth century, either were not built or no longer exist. For additional details of other buildings that can be compared with Chinese architecture illustrated here, see Arthur Drexler, ed. *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977); and Robin Middleton, ed., *The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982).
3. As of the early twenty-first century, China’s oldest evidence of walled cities is in the southeast, where remains at Liangzhu in Zhejiang province, for example, date to the third millennium BCE. In 2008 Liangzhu was placed on China’s Tentative List of sites for inclusion on the World Heritage List. See <http://whc.unesco.org/en/Tentativelists/5330/>
4. For more on the associations of the quadrilateral and its center, see Henry Rosemont, *Explorations in Early Chinese Cosmology* (Chico: Scholar’s Press, 1984); and John B. Henderson, *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984). We return to this topic in Joseph Rykwert’s Afterword.
5. I thank an anonymous outside reader for pointing out this parallel situation.
6. Some Beaux-Arts designs, such as those for prisons or asylums, inevitably include many architectural units. Examples of these are found in Middleton, *The Beaux-Arts*, 43–47. The creation of structure through multiple smaller buildings focused on a single one when function does not necessitate this kind of design are Labrousse’s Cour de Cassation design of 1824 (see Middleton, *The Beaux-Arts*, 107); Constant-Dufeux’s Chamber of Deputies (see Drexler, *Architecture of the École*, 179); and Guadet’s Hospice in the Alps (see Middleton, *The Beaux-Arts*, 255–256), among many other examples.

7. For more on the *Yingzao fashi*, see Else Glahn, “Unfolding the Chinese Building Standards: Research on the *Yingzao Fashi*,” in Nancy Steinhardt, ed., *Chinese Traditional Architecture* (New York: China Institute, 1984), 50–54.
8. Most of the fifteenth-century sacrificial halls of the Ming tombs north of Beijing and halls of the Forbidden City that were originally built in the fifteenth century employ complete or very nearly complete grids of columns to help support ceilings and roofs.
9. For information about the site and illustrations of Hemudu’s building parts, see Yang Xiaoneng, *New Perspectives on China’s Past: Archaeology in the Twentieth Century*, vol. 2: *Major Archaeological Discoveries in Twentieth-Century China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 85–87.
10. The earliest complete text in which modular units of the wooden structure are explained is Li Jie, *Yingzao fashi* (Building standards), presented to the Northern Song court in 1103. This volume is believed to be based on earlier similar texts that do not survive. Only two pages of its likely tenth-century predecessor, *Mu jing* (Timber classic), by Yu Hao, are extant.
11. Steinhardt, “China’s Earliest Mosques,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* [hereafter *JSAH*] 67, no. 3 (2008): 330–361.
12. Very occasionally one finds names associated with China’s most major architectural achievements. In addition to Li Jie, who held the official title of vice-director of the Directorate when he presented the *Yingzao fashi* to the Song court, are men like Yuwen Kai, a vice-inspector general who is associated with the design of Anji Bridge in Zhao county, Hebei, the Grand Canal, and the capital city Daxing, predecessor to Chang’an, all in ca. 600 CE. For more on the changing nature of architecture in early twentieth-century China, see Steinhardt, “China: Designing the Future, Venerating the Past,” *JSAH* 60, no. 4 (2002): 537–548.
13. On Big Roof architecture, see Peter Rowe and Seng Kuan, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 87–106.
14. Wilma Fairbank, *Liang and Lin, Partners in Exploring China’s Architectural Past* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 29. Eventually, the study of *Yingzao fashi* would become one of Liang Sicheng’s chief research projects. Only the first volume of his anticipated longer study was published. See Liang Sicheng, “*Yingzao fashi*” *shuju* (Notes and commentaries on *Yingzao fashi*) (Beijing: CABP, 1983).
15. Glahn, “Unfolding the Chinese Building Standards.”
16. This is the subject of Steinhardt, “The Tang Architectural Icon and the Politics of Chinese Architectural History,” *The Art Bulletin* 86, no. 2 (2004): 227–253.

2 JUST WHAT WAS BEAUX-ARTS ARCHITECTURAL COMPOSITION?

In 1885 . . . what I most craved, and most certainly needed, was training in design. . . . I got none until later in Paris.

—Dean Warren Laird, University of Pennsylvania, 1939

Architectural composition—what the University of Pennsylvania’s Dean Laird refers to above as “design”—was the core of Beaux-Arts teaching in America. It was to teach this that Laird had brought Paul Philippe Cret to Penn in 1903 and what indeed he taught supremely well. But what precisely was it?

We have French texts explaining “architectural composition”: Julien Guadet’s magisterial four-volume *Éléments et théorie de l’architecture* of 1901–1904, Edouard Arnaud’s disarmingly explicit *Cours d’architecture et de constructions civiles* of 1928; Georges Gromort’s confident *Essai sur la théorie de l’architecture* of 1942, and finally Albert Ferran’s punchy *Philosophie de la composition architecturale*, this last published as late as 1954.¹ In addition, we have Cret’s assistant, John Harbeson’s *The Study of Architectural Design* of 1926 (appearing first as articles in *Pencil Points*, 1921–1924)—the clearest and most graphically impressive of all these texts. We even have a short essay by Cret himself in the second number of the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (April 1941). All cite as their foundational text Jacques-François Blondel’s six-volume *Cours d’architecture* of 1771–1777.

Ample as this documentation would seem, there are at least three questions it cannot answer: first, what did Cret teach from year to year (his teaching notes make it clear that he was constantly adjusting things, especially in response to modernism starting in the 1920s)? second, where did architectural composition fit in the larger Penn curriculum? and third, just what might a non-European mind find the most attractive in this larger curriculum and how might it understand something like architectural composition to begin with?

I.

***Jamais, dans un bon plan, le public ne doit avoir à demander son chemin.* (Never, in a good plan, should the public have to ask its way.)**

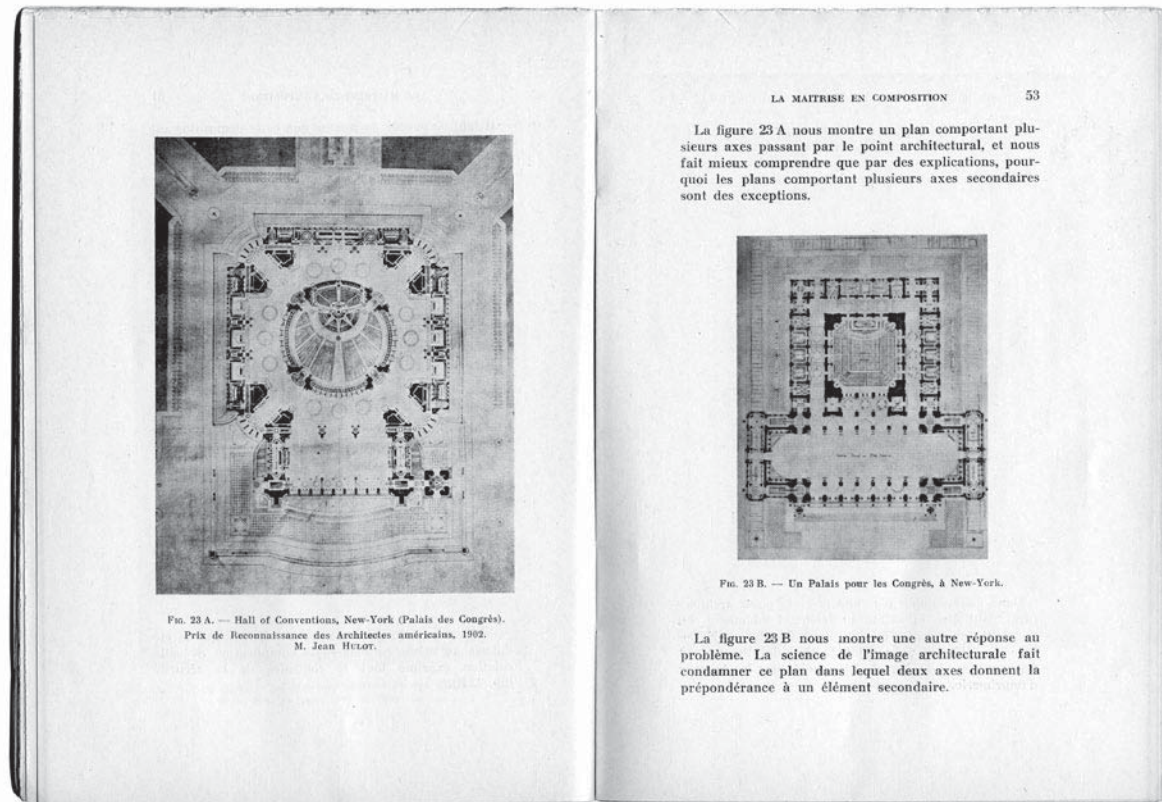
—Georges Gromort

Accepting these limitations, let me define Beaux-Arts composition in the abstract as encompassing three things: (1) a technique of progressive design elaboration that started with an idea and ended with a spatial form, which (2) posed certain selections among choices of shape and relationship, obliging the designer to take

a philosophical stand, which thus (3) generated something that, at the last step, was adjusted to flash into three-dimensions as a pictorial manifestation of the originating idea.

All the instructional texts specify how the student was to proceed: from the “elements” of architecture (doors, windows, stairways, courtyards) to their “composition” as a building;² from quick, then attentive, reading of the program (such programs being carefully written to aid such analysis),³ to sketch plan, then to detailed plan, and finally to a map-like “carpet plan” mobilizing all the means of evocative depiction (fig. 2.1). Jules André added a telling step: the verbal enunciation of the solution by his students between the analysis of the program and the first sketch of a solution so as to avoid hasty commitment to form. Guadet put it very simply: the student divides the problem into its basic parts, selects one as the characterizing dominant, then *“marchant de l'ensemble aux sous-ensembles, du corps de bâtiment à ses détails, vous avancez facilement, si votre grand point de départ est*

Fig. 2.1. Albert Ferran, *Philosophie de la composition architecturale* (Paris: Vincent Fréal, 1955), 52–53. Published courtesy of Vincent Fréal.



judicieux” (proceeding from the whole to the parts, from the building masses to the details, you advance easily, if your great point of departure is judicious).⁴

This progressive elaboration, of course, was of the plan. After that it was projected into three dimensions with similar progressive deliberation, first by studying the cross-section—that is, the relative volumetric projection (*or repoussé*) of the plan units on the assumption of a one-story building—then by settling on a façade. This last element, therefore, became a resultant of the design process, not a design in itself. This privileging of the plan had the peculiar and significant result that one should sense the outside when inside, that the building, in other words, should be internally transparent. Georges Gromort put it into a disarmingly simple statement: “*Jamais, dans un bon plan, le public ne doit avoir à demander son chemin.*” (Never, *in a good plan*, should the public have to ask its way.) (Gromort’s emphasis)⁵

Such sequential elaboration of a design was not mindless. At each step choices had to be made. For example, what volumetric element should be set at the center and made largest as the symbolic embodiment of the institution?—what Ferran calls the *point*; or how should one relate that key volumetric element to the secondary and tertiary volumes constituting the remainder of the scheme? This selection and organization was the *parti*, deriving from *prendre parti*, to take a stand. John Harbeson explains the term, quoting Cret:

Parti means party, just as in politics there is a Republican, a Democratic party; one has to be selected by the voter, who does not know which one is going to win, so, selecting a *parti* for a problem is to take an attitude towards a solution in the hope that a building developed on the lines indicated by it will give the best solution of the problem.⁶

Edouard Arnaud is more practical:

Après un repos, on expose tous les ‘partis’ entre lesquels il s’agit de choisir et, avant tout, on relit attentivement le programme en se pénétrant une dernière fois de son esprit. Puis, on fait une critique sévère des différentes solutions. Si en dernière analyse on hésite entre deux ‘partis’ répondant bien aux besoins matériels du programme et aux besoins moraux, c’est-à-dire ayant tous les deux le caractère voulu et tous deux susceptibles de beaux développements, c’est le plus simple et le plus clair qu’il faut choisir.

(After a pause, one reviews all the “*partis*,” among which it is necessary to choose and, above all, one attentively re-reads the program, penetrating its spirit one last time. Then one makes a strict critique of the different solutions.

If, in the final analysis, one hesitates between two “*partis*,” both responding well to the material needs of the program and to normal needs, each having the desired character and each susceptible to good development, *then one must choose the most simple and direct one.* (Arnaud’s emphasis)⁷

He compares this to making moves in the game of chess.⁸ Ferran is more decisive in the first paragraphs of his book: “*Composer, c’est faire emploi de tout ce que l’on sait avec le désir et la volonté d’exprimer tout ce que l’on est; c’est avant tout oser être soi.*” (To compose is to employ all that one knows, with the desire and will to express all that one is; above all, it is to dare *to be oneself*.) (Ferran’s emphasis)⁹

This had an implication that Guadet made a point of at the very beginning of his volume: Beaux-Arts composition did not operate within the grid of any historical style, but rather was a way of thinking in form and, as such, was open, “liberal” (using this fraught nineteenth-century word):¹⁰ “*L’originalité de notre École peut se définir d’un mot: elle est la plus libérale qu’il y ait au monde.*” (The originality of our École can be defined by one word: it is the most liberal of any in the world.)¹¹ He continues a few pages later:

Je ne vous dirais pas: “Voilà comment vous devez faire un théâtre.” Ce n’est pas mon rôle, ceci, car ce sera ma théorie à moi; mais je vous dirais: “Voilà quelle est l’état de la question, voilà où en est l’état d’avancement de cette recherche qui dure depuis si longtemps et qui n’est pas encore terminée. Cherchez à votre tour.”

(I would not say to you “that is how you should make a theater.” This is not my role because this would be *my* theory, but I would say to you, “there is the state of the question, there is where we are with the state of advancement of this research that has lasted for so long and that is not yet finished. Look for yourself.”)¹²

Finally, this whole process was meant to produce a unified, characterizing gestalt, one in which the author’s *parti*—taken to assemble the scattered parts listed in the program—becomes a spatial, existential unity embodying the purpose of the structure in that author’s mind.

Cret himself produced one of the most impeccable demonstrations of such planning at the outset of his American career in his Indianapolis Public Library (1914–1919, executed by Borie, Zantzinger and Medary), won in a public competition (fig. 2.2).¹³ It is immediately evident how Cret’s planning works. A single, expansive catalogue and checkout space completely occupies its center, one virtually on the street, since it is entered up just a few steps through the solemnly

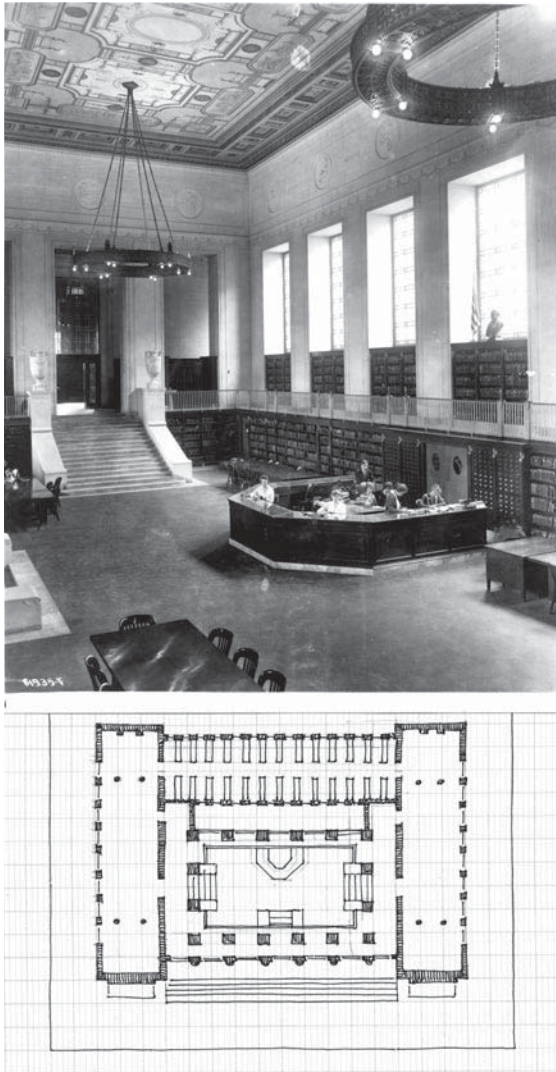


Fig. 2.2. Paul Philippe Cret, Indianapolis Public Library, 1914–1919 (with Borie, Zantzing & Medary). Published courtesy of Cret Archive, University of Pennsylvania Library.

colonnaded façade, the columns of which are pushed back into the wall as three-quarter columns so as not to get in the way. In front of you, above the checkout desk, is a row of windows lighting the space and showing the façade beyond the book stacks, the *raison d'être* and symbol of a library. A deep balcony rings the central space up short steps at each end, communicating with specialized reading rooms on each side, this balcony itself a more informal reading area shelved with fiction books. The interior is effectively a single space in three concentric zones, each more subdivided and lower as one progresses out from the center. After visiting the building, the respected Beaux-Arts architect Henry Van Buren Magonigle wrote Cret a letter of appreciation: “The plan works. It is wonderfully convenient to get about in. The way the various services are related is superb. It is the only library of any size with which I am familiar, in which you are conscious of books the moment you enter the door.”¹⁴ The building’s reputation was such that Cret was asked to write the entry “Library Architecture” in the twelfth edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, where he explains not only that the building “should carry you through it with clarity and ease,” but also that it should be inflected to its specific context; here the modern American public library where the borrowing of books is the chief function, rather than their reading. You know Indianapolis is an American public library because it works like one.¹⁵

This quality of immediate unity and functional transparency is something that Ferran explains in a series of comparisons between premiated and unpremiated designs, for example, on his pages 52–53 (fig. 2.1). He declares of the design on the right, in comparison to that on the left by the winner, Jean Hulot: “*La science de l’image architecturale fait condamner ce plan dans lequel deux axes donnent la prépondérance à un élément secondaire.*” (The science of the architectural image compels us to condemn this plan in which two axes give preponderance to a secondary element.)

The singularity of this characterizing tableau should come fast and powerfully, as Cret and Hulot so neatly demonstrate. Yet there was a fundamental artificiality about the system: it was ultimately academic, meant to make clear at a glance the author's grasp of a problem and thus to enable the French post-Revolutionary meritocracy based on *emulation* and competition.¹⁶

II.

The study of palaces does not qualify one to design cottages.

—William Robert Ware

The inevitability of Beaux-Arts composition is often insisted upon, as if it were simply clear thinking in architectural form.¹⁷ It is thus interesting to note that at the moment of Cret's arrival in Philadelphia, there were at least two other, very different ideas of composition in architecture. In other words, the issue of composition was being passionately contested.¹⁸ On the one hand, there was nineteenth-century picturesque composition applicable to the adjustment of a building's exterior and silhouette and explored, for example, in John Beverley Robinson's *Architectural Composition*, first appearing as an article in the *Architectural Record* in 1898, then expanded as a book in 1899 (with revised editions in 1908 and 1914) and recurring as late as 1933 in Ernest Pickering's *Architectural Design* (with a second edition in 1941).¹⁹ On the other hand, there were Denman Ross' and Arthur Wesley Dow's more abstract explorations in what they called "Pure Design," expounded in Dow's volume, *Composition*, of 1900²⁰ and established by Emil Lorch at the University of Michigan (1906) and Ross himself at Harvard just before 1910.²¹ In 1915 the Chicago Art Institute asked representatives of these three design philosophies to present their ideas in pairs of lectures, published in 1917: Ralph Adams Cram arguing for the picturesque within the Ruskinian context; Thomas Hastings for the Beaux-Arts (softened for American consumption); and Claude Bragdon presenting his own version of "Pure Design" understood through the lens of what he believed to be Louis Sullivan's work.²²

Thus at the moment Cret arrived in Philadelphia, composition was a battlefield, not an inevitability. One examines, therefore, with some confusion the American Beaux-Arts compositional manuals that began to appear: John V. Van Pelt's *A Discussion of Composition, Especially as Applied to Architecture* (1902), David Jacob Varon's *Architectural Composition* (1923), and Nathaniel Cortland Curtis' identically named, but very differently conceived, *Architectural Composition* (also published in 1923), as well as Howard Robertson's British *The Principles of Architectural Composition* (1924).²³ In contrast to Harbeson's focused volume of 1926, all these

lack the confidence and clarity of their French models and often try to balance traditional picturesque composition with Beaux-Arts plan elaboration.

But all of this still misses a basic point: the difference between the structure of the French as opposed to the American profession. As William Robert Ware, the man who established the first American architecture program on the Beaux-Arts model at MIT in 1868, put it as late as 1897: “The study of palaces does not qualify one to design cottages.”²⁴ In France, the *École des Beaux-Arts* was a state school conducted under the supervision of the Académie, training state functionaries to design state buildings meant to embody in their forms and in their design process the elitist ideology of post-Revolutionary France. In contrast, American architects until the end of the nineteenth century were house builders working within the American grid—they were tools for the expression of their clients’ competitive individuality through façade, silhouette, and interior decoration.²⁵ Until the Tarnsey Act of 1893, establishing the award of federal projects by open competition, government buildings were produced by the office of the supervising architect of the Treasury Department in Washington, itself placed in the hands of engineers to produce predictable, conventional types.²⁶ Architecture was seen as a product, not a revelation.

But with the Tarnsey Act, Beaux-Arts composition became of great use: it was the language of competition, of one general conception clearly delineated to be set against another, framed originally to enable French academic *emulation*. The Beaux-Arts architect Lloyd Warren explained this in the *American Yearbook* of 1913:

The method of architectural criticism in France has long been . . . dependant on the assumption . . . that an architect skillful enough to analyze and properly lay out the mass of a plan can be trusted to look out for its details. In this country, until recent years, plan indication, in the general run of competitions, warranted no such assumption, and the text of competition programmes still shows how distrustful commissions are. . . . [T]he jury’s work used to be more of detail than it now need be. This [new] method of judging from *parti* consists, broadly speaking, of deciding almost entirely on the general layout of the plan. . . . The element, and a dangerous one it is, of the jury’s collective or individual taste is thus subordinated, and a verdict is given on grounds of pure reasoning.²⁷

With the Tarnsey Act, this Beaux-Arts language became the speech of success and professional domination, something more than what it was in France, the assumed language of an established elite. That is to say, the establishment of

compositional eloquence as the test of professional achievement in late nineteenth-century America gave the art to the university-trained professional. This was as much a social and professional issue as it was an aesthetic one.

III.

What we wanted was the best the world can give us, and we have got it.

—King O'Malley

Another question follows from the ones I have already posed: if the foundational concept of *emulation* worked so differently in the United States and France, how did it function further afield? For example, what were the implications of how differently *emulation* worked in modernizing China, the subject of this volume? It might help to place this question in perspective, which leads me to cite a possible intermediating instance: the projects submitted in that most characteristic monumental problem (and one tremendously current in the early twentieth century), the design of a capital city on a cleared site in the Pacific colonial periphery.

In 1911 an international competition was announced for the design for a new capital for Australia at Canberra, then a sheep station partway between Melbourne and Sydney.²⁸ A broad span of projects arrived by the deadline, January 1912, among them such monumental schemes as that of Cret's admirer, Henry Van Buren Magonigle (fig. 2.3), firmly unifying the city around a broad park telescoping to the capitol building itself and thus achieving the single, unified gestalt that Beaux-Arts planning demanded.²⁹ Interestingly, such plans were not premiated (although the jury itself was deeply split in their decision), and the Home Secretary, King O'Malley, bestowed the commission on the more graphically striking but compositionally difficult plan of the husband-and-wife team of Walter Burley and Marion Mahony Griffin, then in Chicago (fig. 2.4).³⁰ Their plan is divided into a nest of distinct geometric subunits corresponding to the subfunctions of the city organism—a capitol group, a municipal group, an institutional group. The plan also divides by class—an elite suburb, several middle-class garden cities, a manufacturing quarter. These units are interwoven with the highly accidented site, richly and fascinatingly depicted in Marion's plan rendering. A network of main roads binds these together and, in a sense, creates a movement system like the one that is much more overtly produced in Eliel Saarinen's second-place design (fig. 2.5). In the manner of Camillo Sitte and recent German *Städtebau*, Saarinen's plan creates a weave of picturesquely

varied paths across the tight urban texture imagined on the site. Yet the density of Saarinen's scheme is exactly what the Griffins avoid, permitting natural features to cut through their geometry and imagining a low-density suburban housing texture—this last coincident with the Australian inclination to low-density, wooden housing.³¹ What it really resembles in its reciprocating relationships is the studies in pattern put forward by Dow and Ross, for example, those of Dow's 1900 *Composition*, these patterns themselves derived from the study and abstraction of Asian design.³² In addition there is an important political valence to the Griffins' project: the simplified, angular buildings peopling Marion's cross-sections (fig. 2.6) suggested the wholesale use of the new, cheap industrial material of reinforced concrete, evoking what Laurent Baridon has documented as a deep vision of a democratic architectural future embodied, for example, in just these years in Tony Garnier's *Cité Industrielle* (1917).³³ Concrete at this moment was rapidly becoming the material of choice in the non-European world. This suggestion is completely consistent with the Griffins' socially progressive intentions and, through their advocacy, was ultimately embodied in Canberra's system of land-ownership, based on Henry George's Single Tax.

The Griffins' Canberra plan, however, is richer than this: it seems to operate in three dimensions, pushing into the plan sheet and, with its washed-out hilltops and the red axis lines drawn zipping across the city, creating a much richer matrix of relationships. These are reminiscent of the complexities Frank Lloyd Wright, whose chief assistants the Griffins had been, made visible in his most famous house plan, the Darwin Martin House in Buffalo (1903–1906) (fig. 2.7).³⁴ We are told the sheet was Wright's own favorite and treated like a work of art, pinned to a door at Taliesin.³⁵ There are three qualities which distinguish this particular plan beyond its mere complexity: first, the organizing "tartan" grid; second, the decorative subtheme periodically punctuating it in the unique "pier clusters," repeating the construction of the house plan at a smaller, denser scale; and third, the embrace by the building of its site, with its pergola, sub-buildings, and gardens, these last, in fact, laid out by Wright's then-assistant, Walter Burley Griffin.

We should note that by 1910, both Wright and the Griffins were poised for an intense encounter with Asia: Wright would build the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo with repeated, lengthy stays there between 1912 and 1922, and the Griffins would move to Australia in 1914 and then on to India in 1935. But that is a different and more difficult story. The issue here is: confronted with all this, how did Asian designers react? Active research is at last underway and valuable books are out by Kevin Nute, Julia Meech, and Paul Kruty and Paul Sprague,³⁶ with more in process, paralleling in the Japanese and Indian contexts the chapters published here.³⁷

Fig. 2.3. Henry Van Buren Magonigle, Competition Plan for Canberra, the Capital of Australia, 1911. From Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, *Federal Capital: Report of Board Appointed to Investigate and Report to the Minister of Home Affairs in Regard to Competitive Designs* (State of Victoria: Albert J. Mullett, 1912).

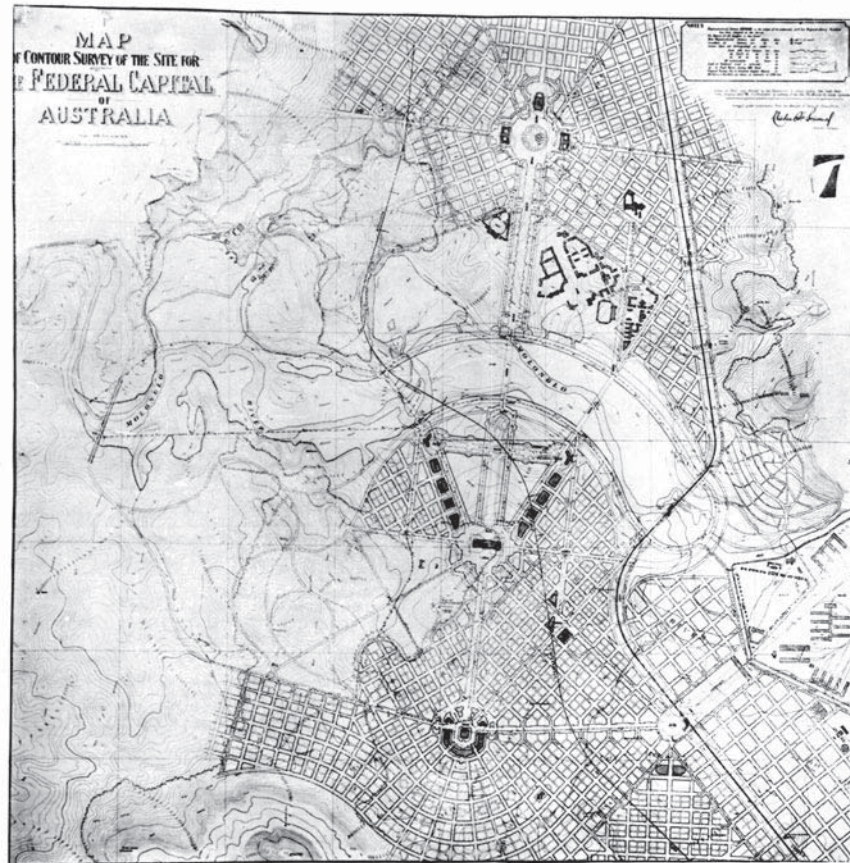


Fig. 2.4. Walter Burley and Marion Mahony Griffin, Competition Plan for Canberra, the Capital of Australia, 1911. From Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, *Federal Capital*.

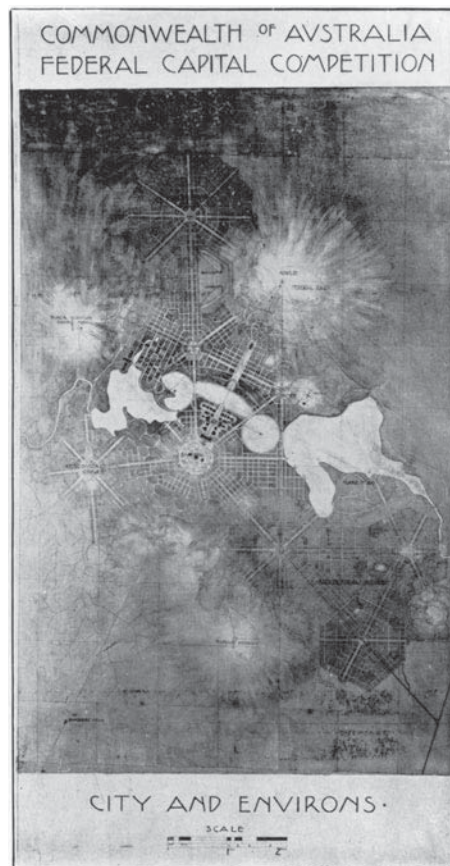
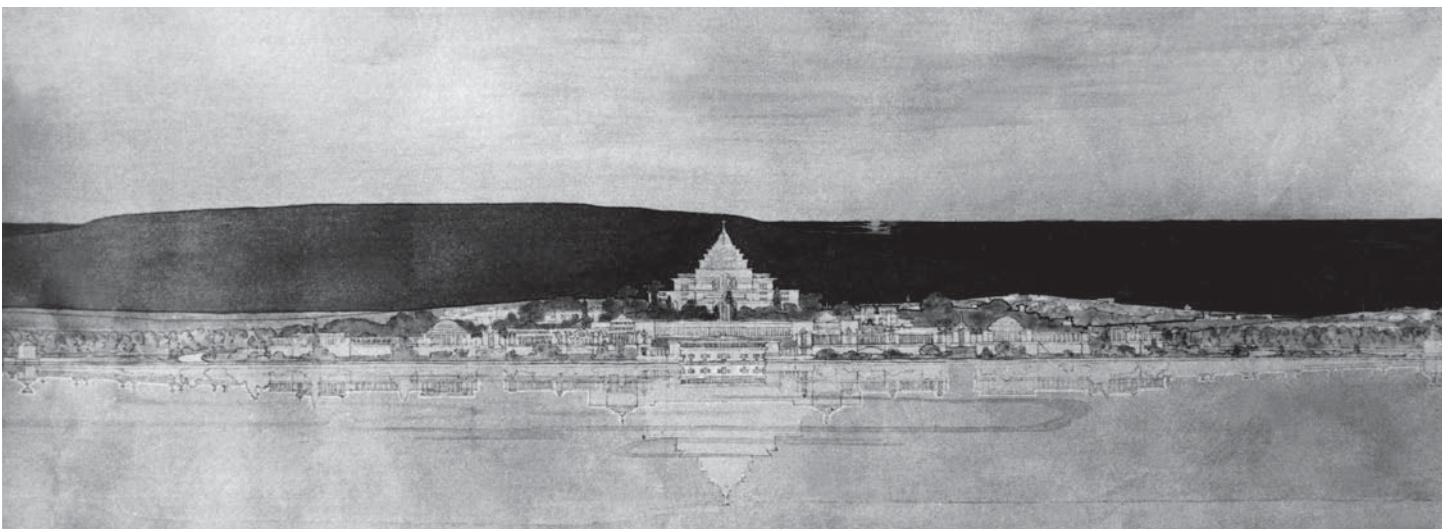


Fig. 2.5. Eliel Saarinen, Competition Plan for Canberra, the Capital of Australia, 1911. From Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, *Federal Capital*.



Fig. 2.6. Walter Burley and Marion Mahony Griffin, Silhouette of Capital Complex, Canberra Plan, 1911. Published courtesy of Australian National Archives.



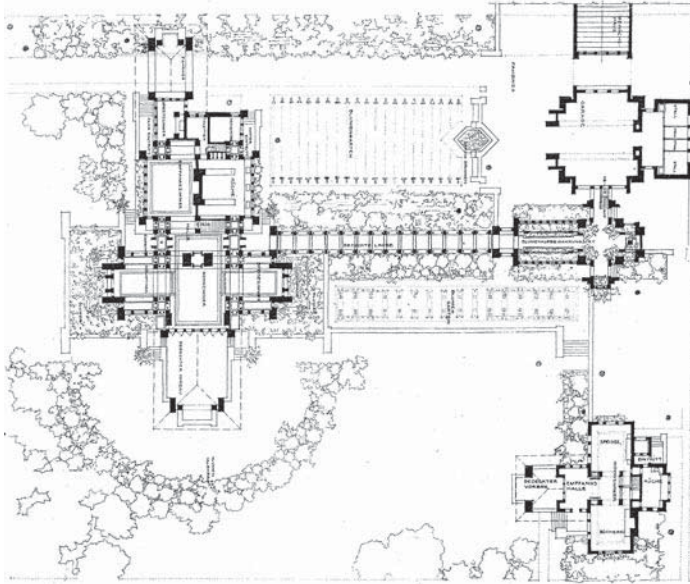


Fig. 2.7. Frank Lloyd Wright, Plan of the Darwin Martin House, Buffalo, New York, 1903–1906. From *Schweizerische Bauzeitung*, 60, no. 11 (14 September 1912), 149.

There is a problem, also, evident in the elevational views in the Canberra plan (fig. 2.6): it assumes execution in the local, cheap material—concrete—but contorts this to get monumental accents. Concrete is easiest poured in flat slabs. In order to create approximations of monumental volumes, those slabs must be piled in uncomfortable, Angkor Wat-like stepped pyramids, vaguely appropriate perhaps in Australia (as Griffin in fact insisted), but less convincing when repeated in Tony Garnier’s *Cité Industrielle*. The suggestions of this vocabulary have not been taken through to its logical conclusion. If concrete was to be the material of the twentieth-century urban

periphery, then its own vocabulary had to be discovered, as it would be in the post-War International Style. The looser conception of architectural composition, already implicit in Griffin’s “pure design,” would then be carried to conclusion.

Notes

Epigraph: Letter of 14 June 1939, Cornell University Archives. I owe this reference to Ethel Goodstein. I wish to thank Sarah Teasley and Sharon Irish for their help in framing this essay.

1. Jacques-François Blondel (continued by Pierre Patte), *Cours d’architecture, ou traité de la décoration, distribution & construction des bâtiments*, 6 vols. (Paris: Desaint, 1771–1777); Julien Guadet, *Eléments et théorie de l’architecture*, 4 vols. (Paris: Librairie de la construction moderne, 1901–1904); Edouard Arnaud, *Cours d’architecture et de constructions civiles* (Paris: Imprimerie des Arts et Manufactures, 1928); Georges Gromort, *Essai sur la théorie de l’architecture*, (Paris: Vincent, Fréal, 1942); Albert Ferran, *Philosophie de la composition architecturale* (Paris: Vincent, Fréal, 1955). On Cret specifically, see John F. Harbeson, *The Study of Architectural Design* (New York: Pencil Points Press, 1926); Paul-Philippe Cret “The École des Beaux-Arts and Architectural Education,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* [hereafter *JSAH*] 1, no. 2 (April, 1941): 3–15; Elizabeth Greenwell Grossman, *The Civic Architecture of Paul Cret* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Broader analytic texts are Louis Hautecoeur, *Histoire de l’architecture classique en France*, 7 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1943–1957); Arthur Drexler, ed., *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977); Donald Drew Egbert, *The Beaux-Arts Tradition in French Architecture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Robin Middleton, ed., *The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture* (London: Thames & Hudson,

1982); Richard Etlin, *Symbolic Space: French Enlightenment Architecture and Its Legacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Annie Jacques, *La carrière de l'architecte au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Musée d'Orsay, 1986); Jean-Pierre Eperon, *Comprendre l'éclectisme* (Paris: Norma, 1997); Antonio Brucculeri, *Du dessin historique à l'action publique: Louis Hautecoeur et l'architecture classique en France* (Paris: Picard, 2007); and Jacques Lucan, *Composition, non-composition: Architecture et théories, XIXe-XXe siècles* (Lausanne: Presses polytechniques et universitaires romandes, 2009). I have published two short essays specifically on Beaux-Arts composition: "Le système des Beaux-Arts," *Architecture d'aujourd'hui* 182 (November/December, 1975): 97–106; and "Le système des Beaux-Arts, II," *AD Profiles* 17 (1979): 66–79. Also, an early, detailed analysis of the Beaux-Arts method by a leading German design pedagogue is Hubert Stier, "Über architektonischen Unterricht in Frankreich," *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 2, nos. 11–16 (13 March–17 April 1868): 97–99, 105–106, 117–118, 129–130, 141–142, and 149–150.

2. Guadet, *Éléments*, vol. 1, 87–88. The study of "elements" and then of "composition," he insists, is the difference between the lower "seconde classe" and the advanced "première," 91–94.

3. Ibid., 90–91: "C'est surtout par la rédaction des programmes que le professeur de théorie peut avoir une action durable et permanente sur vos études. . . . Bien faire une programme est déjà difficile; bien faire une suite de programmes est très difficile." (It is above all by the editing of programs that the professor of theory can have an enduring and permanent action over your studies. . . . It is already difficult to make a good program; it is very difficult to make a good series of programs.)

4. Ibid., 101.

5. Gromort, *Essai sur la théorie*, 159.

6. Cret, quoted in Harbeson, *The Study of Architectural Design*, 75.

7. Arnaud, *Cours d'architecture*, 61.

8. The student journal *Intime Club: Croquis d'architecture* (1866–1898) reproduces slates of *partis* and discusses their relative effectiveness, diagrammatically, in an illuminating way, and at length.

9. Ferran, *Philosophie*, 8.

10. Littré's entry "Libéral" in his 1866 *Dictionnaire* starts: "Qui est digne d'un homme libre."

11. Guadet, *Éléments*, vol. 1, 80. One would like to know what "liberal" meant to him and must note that he promptly proceeds to bestow this qualifier on the "classical" tradition from the Romans to Louis XIV, something concretized in Hautecoeur's massive *Histoire*.

12. Ibid., 89.

13. One might just as well choose to analyze Cret's equally admired project for the Pan American Union Building in Washington, also won in competition a few years before, as Elizabeth Grossman does excellently in her *Paul Cret*.

14. Cret Archives, University of Pennsylvania.

15. Interestingly, one thing Cret was vehement about both in his 1941 essay on the École and in private conversation (with Donald Drew Egbert) was that École practice should not lead to valuing the plan as a thing in itself.

16. See Thomas Crow, *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* of 1834 defines Emulation: "Sentiment qui excite à signaler ou à surpasser quelqu'un ou quelque chose." (Sentiment that excites to acknowledge or to surpass someone or something.) As the journalist, and Viollet-le-Duc's uncle and mentor, Etienne Décléuze put it in 1855, quoting his father explaining the Revolution to

him as a child: “*La révolution détruit toutes les distinctions entre les hommes. Désormais il n’en existera plus qu’une, celle que la science et l’instruction mettront entre les ignorants et les savants. Ainsi travaille bien si tu veux te distinguer: il n’y a plus d’autre noblesse.*” (The revolution destroys all distinctions between people. From now on there will no longer exist more than one, that which science and instruction will place between the ignorant and the wise. If you want to distinguish yourself, work hard. There is no other nobility.) *Louis David: Son école et son temps* (Paris: Didier, 1855), 5.

17. In our own time, Jean-Paul Carlhian rehearsed in private conversation this argument, likening the Beaux-Arts method to the teaching of discursive composition in the *lycée*. Already in 1870 a British student at the *École* had put it more cosmically: “The history of France is the history of centralization; we might say the history of *leading ideas*. Politics, literature, science and art have always in France revolved around centres. French military monarchies, the French Academy, French schools of art, show how readily Frenchmen will sink their individualities in behalf [sic] of an idea. . . . Given an object of thought, and a French thinker there and then casts about for some dominant feature whereon to hang bright hints and ingenious speculations. . . . Now architecture, *which might be defined as the art of arranging parts*, is, of all arts, the most likely to be swayed by the French spirit of centralization; so it occurs that a French building is, as a rule, the organic outgrowth of *one* idea. Every portion, every ornament of the building,—ay, the very ground it stands on and the gardens which surround it,—subserve that idea or purpose” (author’s emphasis). Lawrence Harvey, “The French Mind,” *The Builder* 28, no. 1418 (9 April 1870): 280.

18. Most clearly, perhaps, in the pages of the *Architectural Record*.

19. John Beverley Robinson, *Architectural Composition* (New York: Van Nostrand, 1908); Ernest Pickering, *Architectural Design* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1933).

20. Arthur Wesley Dow, *Composition: A Series of Exercises Selected from a New System of Art Education* (New York: Baker & Taylor, 1900).

21. Marie Frank, “The Theory of Pure Design and American Architectural Education in the Early Twentieth Century,” *JSAH* 67, no. 2 (2008): 248–273; Anthony Alofsin, *The Struggle for Modernism: Architecture, Landscape Architecture and City Planning at Harvard* (New York: Norton, 2002); Kevin Nute, *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan: The Role of Traditional Japanese Art and Architecture in the Work of Frank Lloyd Wright* (New York: Routledge, 2000), especially chaps. 4 and 5. Professors Frank and Alofsin have very kindly shared their work with me for many years.

22. *Six Lectures on Architecture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917).

23. John V. Van Pelt, *A Discussion of Composition, Especially as Applied to Architecture* (New York: Macmillan, 1902); David Varon, *Architectural Composition* (New York: W. Helburn, 1923); Nathaniel Courtland Curtis, *Architectural Composition* (Cleveland: J. H. Jansen, 1923); Howard Robertson, *The Principles of Architectural Composition* (London: The Architectural Press, 1924).

24. Letter to A. D. F. Hamlin, teaching at Columbia, 27 August 1897, cited in J. A. Chewning, “William Robert Ware at MIT and Columbia,” *JSAH* 33, no. 2 (November, 1979): 25–29.

25. On the American profession, see Mary Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). Cf. Joan Draper, “The Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Architectural Profession in the United States,” in Spiro Kostof, ed., *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession* (New York: Oxford, 1977), 209–237. An illuminating parallel is Mark Crinson and Jules Lubbock, *Architecture: Art or Profession? Three Hundred Years of Architectural Education in Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), a title reflecting a controversy sketched in the 1892 volume of a similar name edited by Richard Norman Shaw, *Architecture, a Profession or an Art: Thirteen Essays on the Qualification and Training of Architects* (London: Murray, 1892).

26. Marvin J. Anderson, "The Architectural Education of Nineteenth-Century American Engineers: Dennis Hart Mahan at West Point," *JSAH* 67, no. 2 (2008): 222–247. Antoinette Lee, *Architects to the Nation: The Rise and Decline of the Supervising Architect's Office* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). Professor Anderson has also very kindly shared his work with me for some years past.
27. "Architecture," *American Yearbook* (1913): 770–771. Warren's brother Whitney had designed Grand Central Station.
28. John Repts, *Canberra 1912: Plans and Planners of the Australian Capital Competition* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1997).
29. Daniel Burnham, for example, had imposed this in his Plan of Chicago two years earlier.
30. On the Griffins, see Anne Watson, ed., *Beyond Architecture: Marion Mahony and Walter Burley Griffin: America, Australia, India* (Sydney: Powerhouse Museum, 1998); Jeff Turnbull and Peter Y. Navaretti, *The Griffins in Australia and India* (Carlton South, Australia: Miegunyah Press, 1998); Paul Kruty, *Walter Burley Griffin in America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996).
31. It is possible that the Griffins were talking with an Australian friend then living in Chicago, Miles Franklin, who had actually grown up near Canberra. Richard Morrison in Canberra has kindly shown me a letter by Franklin from Chicago dated 21 November 1913, referring to the Griffins—but that is after the competition.
32. Marie Frank, "The Theory of Pure Design."
33. Laurent Baridon, "Béton et utopie avant 1914: Architecture et 'moule sociale,'" *Revue d'Art Canadien/Canadian Art Review* 31, no. 1/2 (2006): 7–11.
34. Wright's "prairie" planning is explored by a number of contributors in Robert McCarter's *On and by Frank Lloyd Wright: A Primer of Architectural Principles*, 2nd ed., (London: Phaidon, 2005). See also Jack Quinan, *Frank Lloyd Wright's Martin House: Architecture as Portraiture* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004).
35. Edgar Tafel, *Years with Frank Lloyd Wright: Apprentice to Genius* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979), 91.
36. Nute, *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan*; Julia Meech, *Frank Lloyd Wright and the Art of Japan: The Architect's Other Passion* (New York: Abrams, 2001); Paul Kruty and Paul E. Sprague, *Two American Architects in India: Walter B. Griffin and Marion M. Griffin, 1935–1937* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois School of Architecture, 1997).
37. See especially Ken Oshima's forthcoming book from the University of Washington Press, *International Architecture in Interwar Japan*, and the Ashgate anthology, *Space, Travel, Architecture*, edited by Samer Akkach, Miodrag Mitrasinovic, and Jilly Traganou. I owe this information to my colleague Sarah Teasley, herself working on Japanese 1920s design and its Euro-American interface.

PART II

Convergence
to Influence



CONVERGENCE TO INFLUENCE

Introductory Perspectives

Two systems for creating space and form—one rooted in China and the other in Europe—evolved independently, coherently, and divergently. The Chinese system assumed that the individual designer should be relegated to the relatively obscure domains of building practice. Nancy Steinhardt has outlined many other key features of that system. In Europe, largely because of changes stimulated by sea travel and architectural evolution brought about by the Renaissance, individual designers—or architects—were not only named as such, but they were also trained to be distinctive and creative, all the while emulating, as David Van Zanten has emphasized, earlier bedrock traditions upon which individual creativity rested. Were these closed systems? Increasingly, historians are learning that in China as in Europe, seemingly rigid boundaries were at times porous, allowing contributions from other cultural traditions—such as Islam, Africa, India, and elsewhere—to be integrated into evolving sets of principles and theories that eventually helped guide what was built, where it was erected, with what materials, for what functions, and in response to yet other contextual issues.

In the early twenty-first century, we are far removed from Sir Banister Fletcher's "Tree of Architecture" (1896), a botanical metaphor that sought to connect the historical roots of architecture to diverging branches, or styles. Fletcher's text was significant because it was widely used in architecture schools the world over during the late-nineteenth and much of the twentieth century; and Fletcher was pejorative about Chinese (and what he called "Eastern") architecture, demeaning whole cultural traditions as static, decorative, and nonhistorical.¹ However, Fletcher's tree aside, an organic metaphor of "convergence," sometimes linked to evolutionary biology, can be useful as one type of introductory perspective in helping frame what occurred in several U.S. architectural schools between the First and Second World Wars, when small cohorts of Chinese students began learning how to become architects. If convergent evolution is defined as "the adaptive evolution of superficially similar structures in unrelated species subjected to similar environments,"² then in terms of this book, the "similar structures in unrelated species" may be thought of as budding students of architecture from China, Europe, the United States, or elsewhere who, subjected to similar environments, such as in U.S. architectural programs, evolved, designed, or otherwise practiced architecture in particular ways.

The thrust of Part II is to examine in finer detail how that convergence happened, and how that convergence led to certain influences. Chapters 3 through 6 offer a complementary set of answers to these key questions. In response to the question of how the convergence occurred, some answers are relatively clear-cut.

- The Boxer Indemnity Fund made it possible for Chinese students to matriculate into U.S. universities.
- Certain of those U.S. universities were renowned for their architectural programs.
- Once enrolled, the Chinese students helped establish their own particular brand of “chain migration” whereby they told friends and colleagues in China about their experiences learning in a non-Chinese place.
- As they began to excel in their work, even receiving prizes and other accolades, the Chinese students were increasingly welcomed in U.S. programs as aspiring architects and subsequently hired by U.S. architectural firms for brief periods before (and in some cases, after) they returned to China.

Wilma Fairbank, a close friend of Liang Sicheng, expressed this set of conditions even more simply: “At the time, the place to study architecture in the world was Paris. But these people [the Chinese students] were getting Boxer Indemnity grants to study in America. And so, if you wanted to study architecture, the thing to do [was] go to the place where there is the most distinguished French architect that would be able to give you a Beaux-Arts angle on things. That’s my explanation of it, anyway.”³ Paul Cret was the French architect who could provide that “Beaux-Arts angle,” and Penn was where he taught. In his chapter, Tony Atkin probes into Cret, Penn, and the contexts surrounding the man, the university, and the Chinese students who traveled so far to learn from them. We begin to understand more specifically the ways in which the Chinese and European systems converged through these students in Philadelphia and other U.S. cities. The Chinese learned about the usefulness of such French architectural words as *ateliers*, *esquisses*, *charrettes* and *partis* (as well as parties). They learned from what they observed in Philadelphia, and the changes that America’s third largest city at that time was experiencing, as it tried to plan a “City Beautiful” more “scientifically.”⁴ They presumably also tried to understand their own professional development in the context of the May Fourth Movement, or Chinese Enlightenment, which was evolving in their motherland during the 1920s. As one Chinese architectural student phrased the challenge:

[We must] open our minds, train our hands and look forward into the future of our homes and cities so that whatever may come we shall meet with energy and intelligence. Once more, let us study political science, economics, philosophical culture as well as engineering and science; but let us not neglect the study of architecture in the varied phases, so as to be capable of laying a substantial and

permanent foundation, and giving an appropriate background for our slowly but nevertheless surely, reinvigorating civilization.”⁵

As Chinese reformers sought to “reinvigorate that civilization” during the tumultuous Republican period (1911–1949), what effects did architects have? In other words, how did the convergence of the two systems in the United States lead to influence in China? Although these questions permeate this entire book, three of the authors in Part II begin to clarify some of the ways that influence should be gauged. Gu Daqing examines the growth of an architectural pedagogical framework in China. By following the careers of certain key architects who occupied positions of power and authority in twentieth-century Chinese architectural education, and then by tracing how the programs under their control evolved both during and after their tenure, Gu provides a clear set of criteria for understanding how, where, and when certain kinds of influence were exerted. In an important sense, he is following a heretofore obscured trail that begins in Paris, winds through the United States, and then branches out broadly throughout China. Gu also clarifies how, why, when, where, and by whom the Beaux-Arts methods were supplanted by other approaches associated with architectural design and practice. In this regard, I recall a lighthearted comment made by Chen Zhi, a First Generation student at Penn who respected Cret’s teaching and who became one of China’s most influential prodigies as a result of his solid Beaux-Arts training, during a 1988 interview I was privileged to conduct with him in Shanghai. I asked Chen what he thought of Cret, and with an impish grin he responded, “He was very well known all over the States, and we as students were bound by what he called ‘modern classic.’ If I were to choose again, I would go to Taliesin, Wisconsin, to study with Frank Lloyd Wright.”⁶ One can only imagine what influences would have occurred in China had Chen studied with this maverick American architect!

Kerry Sizheng Fan scrutinizes the issue of influence from a different perspective: how Soviet advisors in the 1950s provided both a counterpoint and a complement to the Beaux-Arts-inspired practices that had largely characterized Chinese architecture in the first half of the century. Fan provides another crucial piece of this convoluted puzzle, in the sense that many of the Soviet advisors had themselves been influenced by Beaux-Arts methods when they had been trained as architects. Because Stalin vehemently turned his back on the avant-garde Constructivists of the 1920s, returning to “classicism” as a basis for a new socialist language of architecture, the Soviet advisors brought a second unexpected dose of the Beaux-Arts to China. Here, then, we have a different kind of convergence, with an entirely distinct set of influences.

Fu Chao-Ching, in the final chapter of Part II, takes the questions associated with convergence and influence in yet another direction—Taiwan. This island, which after the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1898 had become a colony of Japan, became, after 1949, another laboratory for architectural ideas related to the Beaux-Arts, as both architectural schools and practitioners strove, and still strive, to create appropriate designs for a modern Chinese nation.

As one architectural historian has noted, “What can or cannot pass as a legitimate influence depends less upon what is objectively true and more upon the conditions of historical interpretation that are operative at the time.”⁷ As will be clear in this section, the conditions that allowed architectural convergence and influence to occur in twentieth-century China changed over time and space. During the time that Chinese students were still studying in U.S. architectural programs, which persisted until approximately 1940, strong bonds—personal and professional—were being forged between Chinese students and their mentors. Beginning in the mid-to-late-1920s, when China’s first architectural schools were established, and when the first Society of Chinese Architects was formed, other kinds of influences were exerted. These are discussed in more detail in Part III, Influence to Paradigm. After Liberation shifted the ground in so many ways during the 1950s, Beaux-Arts influence continued to insinuate itself into China from the West, although it was more from the geographical west, with the focal point of Moscow, than from the ideological West and its many focal points from Paris to Philadelphia and beyond.

Notes

1. Banister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (London: B. T. Batsford, 7th ed., 1924), 784–789. In a forthcoming article, Mary Woods will further discuss the implications of Fletcher’s work in the context of American architectural education in the early twentieth century.
2. Caro-Beth Stewart, “Convergent and Parallel Evolution,” in *Encyclopedia of Life Sciences* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2007).
3. Tape-recorded interview between the author and Wilma Fairbank, 15 July 1987.
4. Lawrence Davies, “Philadelphia Plans for City Beautiful,” *The New York Times*, 20 January 1929.
5. William H. Chaund, “Architectural Effort and Chinese Nationalism,” *The Far Eastern Review: Engineering, Finance, Commerce* XV, no. 8 (August 1919): 533–537.
6. Tape-recorded interview between the author and Chen Zhi, 16 April 1988.
7. Paula Young Lee, “Modern Architecture and the Ideology of Influence,” *Assemblage* 34 (December 1997): 6–29.

Tony Atkin

3 CHINESE ARCHITECTURE STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA IN THE 1920S

Tradition, Exchange, and the Search for Modernity

The Chinese architecture students attending the University of Pennsylvania in the 1920s and 1930s were part of a much larger vanguard of ambitious young Chinese determined to learn from Western technology and methods as a means of modernizing and reforming China. Western rationalism and science were attractive to the students because of their potential to revitalize China's economy and society. Yet Chinese traditions and cultural norms still held enormous sway. Although their coursework and studios involved the rigorous study of Western accomplishments in architecture, most of them struggled with the idea of how to be modern (usually equated with Western ideas) and still be Chinese. Many were persuaded by the idea of the continuation of Chinese “form” with modern or Western “content.”¹

The Beaux-Arts buildings the First Generation of Chinese students and their Penn counterparts studied and designed were a Western response to perhaps a similar question: how to incorporate modern programs and technology into the Western architectural tradition. This chapter is concerned with the social and historical context of these Chinese students' education at Penn: why they wanted to study there, what they learned and saw during their time in Philadelphia, and the many challenges they faced in making modern Chinese architecture.

The Chinese architecture students were a late manifestation of a much larger context of Sino-Western exchange that can be traced back many centuries. Evidence of the exchange of architectural ideas and building practices that accompanied the international Chinese trade dates at least to the time of the Silk Routes and continued through the development of maritime exchange with Europe. China had long fascinated the West as an exotic “other” with an ancient and highly developed culture and society—equal or in many cases superior to those of Europe.² China also presented bountiful opportunities for trade, proselytizing, and other forms of interchange and exploitation. The United States was not as strongly implicated in the colonial degradation of nineteenth-century China as were several European powers, and the United States also probably carried the attractions of youth, modernity, and practical accomplishments for the students, who, as explained in other chapters, benefited from Boxer Indemnity Scholarships.³

Alongside three centuries of attempts to convert the Chinese emperor and his subjects to Christianity with marginal success, Westerners adopted an idealized and fantastic appreciation of Chinese culture and ideas from the merchants and

missionaries who wrote about and often exaggerated their experiences and returned home with wonderful Chinese goods. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Chinese products, especially porcelain, silk, and tea, became highly desirable, and they inspired a potent stylistic and decorative trend. European entrepreneurs, particularly the British, made huge fortunes from the China Trade as high-fashion *Chinoiserie* spread among all the European upper classes.⁴ Chinese buildings and motifs became emblematic of sophisticated tastes and were used by architects like Fisher von Erlach and Sir William Chambers (fig. 3.1) to promote and justify their building projects.⁵ The effect was particularly strong in garden design, where the picturesque, meandering Anglo-Chinese garden became an ideal. Chinese “examples” were used by the competitors of Capability Brown, none with substantial experience in China, to criticize the staid repose of his landscapes.⁶ Sir William Chambers’ design for Kew Gardens in 1762, including a version of the Porcelain Pagoda of Nanjing (figs. 3.2 and 3.3), echoes the Chinese emperor Qianlong’s flirtation and fascination with Western decorative themes in his garden at Yuanmingyuan in Beijing and his own retirement apartments in the Forbidden City. Both had sections designed and decorated by the Italian painter Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766), just as the Chinese mania was spreading in the West.⁷ Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Western architects used Chinese examples to justify the newness of their designs and promote their work, much as some early twentieth-century architects would later use Japanese design to justify and promote their modern projects.

Fig. 3.1. Sir William Chambers building design, 1757. From Dawn Jacobson, *Chinoiserie* (London: Phaidon Press, 1993), 127. V&A Images/Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Published with permission of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

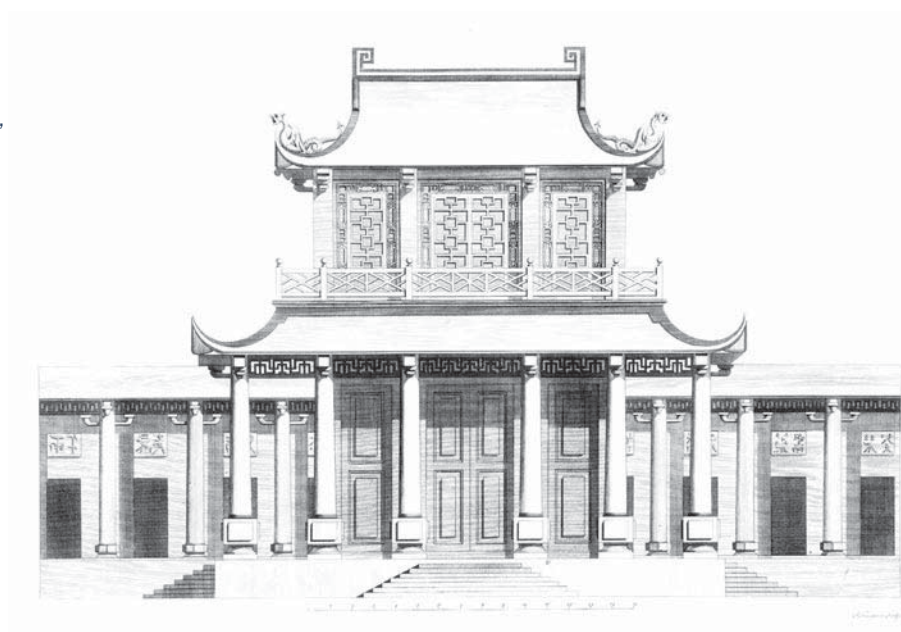


Fig. 3.2. Johan Nieuhoff, Porcelain Pagoda, Nanking, etching, from *An Embassy from the East-Indian Company of the United Provinces to the Grand Tartar Cham Emperor of China*, 1669.

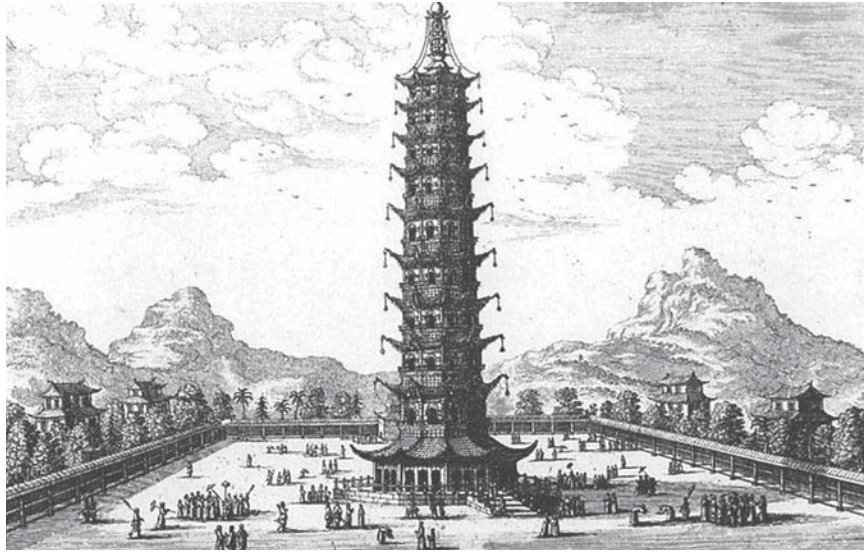


Fig. 3.3. Kew Gardens Pagoda by Sir William Chambers. www.jwelchcreations.co.uk
Photo by John Welch.

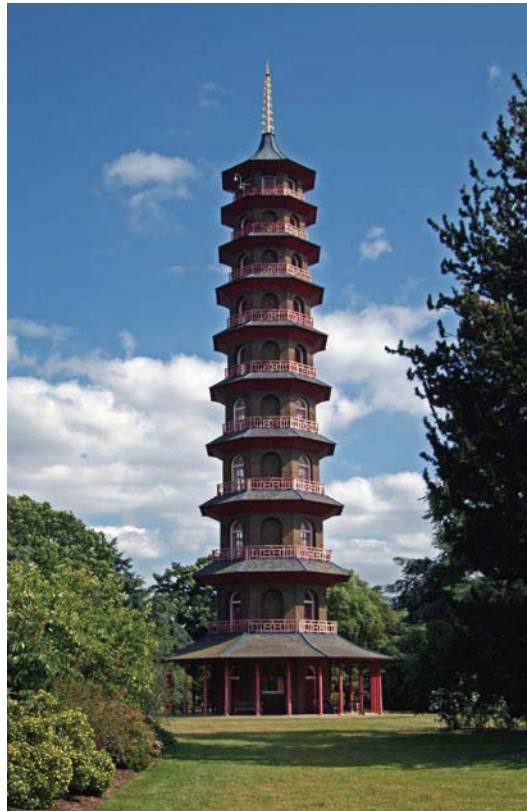
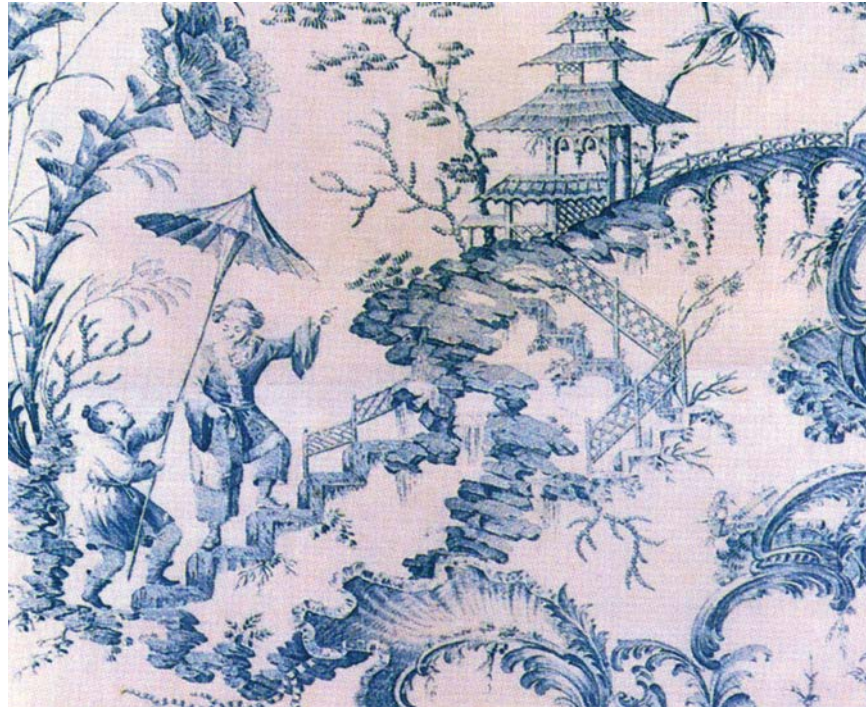


Fig. 3.4. “Oriental Garden” wallpaper screen, House of Screens, New York City. Photo by author from cloth sample.



It was only after the War of Independence that Philadelphia and other U.S. maritime merchants were no longer required to have a British intermediary and could trade directly with China. The new nation, and Philadelphia in particular, wasted no time in developing a thriving trade relationship. The country's first commissioned ship, financed largely by Philadelphians and called *The Empress of China*, sailed from the port of New York (Philadelphia's port on the Delaware River was frozen over) in February 1784.

Many of the prominent families linked to Philadelphia's development in the nineteenth century made their fortunes in the China Trade. They included Girard, Cope, Chew, Powell, Morris, Wharton—the namesake of Penn's famous School of Business and Management,⁸ and Eyre—the family of the important Philadelphia architect, Wilson Eyre. *The Empress of China's* first voyage brought thirty tons of Appalachian ginseng, a particularly potent variety that was prized in China, and 2,600 furs, specie, pig lead, and woolen cloth to China. It returned with tea, silk gloves, cloth, cinnamon, and porcelain.⁹ Although the Chinese emperors officially forbade direct trade elsewhere in their empire, great activity and commercial rewards were available in Canton (Guangzhou), the only Chinese port open to foreigners.



Fig. 3.5. Hugh Bridport, Pagoda and Labyrinth Garden, lithograph. Published with permission of The Atwater Kent Museum, Philadelphia.

The Chinese were greatly admired for their mercantile skills, personal hospitality, and beautiful products. In the nineteenth century, blue-and-white Chinese porcelain became the most popular decorative item that merchants and upper-middle-class Americans could afford.¹⁰ Decorated porcelain, scenic wallpaper, and figuratively patterned fabrics gave Westerners a romantic vision of Cathay in the era before photography (fig. 3.4). These included an abundance of exotic blossoms and birds, picturesque and fantastic images of pleasure gardens, buildings, interiors, and architectural motifs, “a breathless, motionless, timeless image of China stowed away in the recesses of American consciousness,” according to Crosby Forbes.¹¹

Many of the Philadelphia traders and adventurous travelers to China spent some of their time studying Chinese culture and amassing collections of art and artifacts. Upon their return to the Delaware Valley, some built “Chinese” structures to house them. An example of these buildings is the Pagoda and Labyrinth Garden, a speculative pleasure garden built for Peter Browne in 1828 from a design by the British architect John Haviland. With a tower clearly based on images of the Porcelain Pagoda, it stood for six years in the Fairmount section of Philadelphia and was a very popular attraction. (fig. 3.5).¹²

In addition to many exhibits demonstrating the machinery, modern materials, and industrial processes America would soon be exporting around the world, the 1876 Centennial celebration in Philadelphia in Fairmount Park included an elaborate display of Chinese export wares. By this time, however, the use of larger and faster clipper ships had flooded the American market with imported Chinese goods. The new ships, combined with the increasing capacity of American industries to make copies and produce similar goods, created a steep decline in the China Trade. Throughout the nineteenth century, Western, and particularly American, technical, economic, and military hegemony increased as the fortunes of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) declined and as China suffered social turmoil and a series of humiliating military defeats.

With the introduction of photography and wider coverage through newspaper reporting, China's image in the minds of most Americans, though only slightly better informed than before, began to change. China's popular reputation as a land with a rarified culture, highly developed arts, and surprising technologies became instead a land of cruel and arbitrary government and stratified social relations. China also became known as a source of cheap labor to build the western half of the transcontinental railroad. After the Gold Rush bonanza proved illusory and the railroad was finished, Chinese workers spread across the country, arriving in Philadelphia in the 1870s, where they established a still-thriving "Chinatown" (given that name in the mid-1920s), in the neighborhood of Tenth and Race Streets. It was populated mostly by male immigrants from Guangzhou and Fujian, who spoke Cantonese or Fujianese, rather than Mandarin, the language of China's cultural elite.

In Philadelphia, as elsewhere in North America, these immigrants were challenged by racist and ethnic incidents as they attempted to eke out a living as shop owners, launderers, or restaurant workers. Anti-Chinese sentiment produced official discrimination: the Burlingame Treaty of 1868 denied naturalization, the Exclusion Act of 1882 was intended to return Chinese workers to China, and the Immigration Act of 1924 formalized the exclusion of Chinese women, except merchants' wives.¹³ It is perhaps indicative of the social and historical conditions within China at the time that there appears to be no record of exchange or affinity between the Chinese architecture students who attended Penn and the residents of Philadelphia's Chinatown, who not only spoke different dialects but came from decidedly different social classes.

Meanwhile, in China, there was growing discontent and great desire for political reform and social change. Particularly strong and effective proponents for reform were Liang Qichao and his mentor, Kang Youwei. The father of Liang

Sicheng and a famous scholar and political writer of late-Qing/early-Republican China, Liang Qichao wrote that despite the many accomplishments and inventions of ancient China, the Chinese lacked a systematic recorded history in the Western manner and therefore had little useful knowledge of developments in the history of their own culture.¹⁴ Many thousands of records had been kept over thousands of years, but historic events were officially reinterpreted, and the calendar restarted, with each new dynasty. The Chinese, according to the senior Liang, had little realistic sense of China's relative place in the world, either geographically or politically. Liang Qichao believed that Chinese intellectual and cultural renewal could be achieved through a deep understanding of ancient Chinese history and Confucian philosophy and their reintegration into modern life, much in the way the Italian Renaissance was built on the restoration of ancient Greek and Roman culture, art, and humanism. He greatly influenced and shaped his son's life and career, teaching him and his siblings the Chinese classics at home and arranging his education, marriage, honeymoon itinerary, and first job upon his return to China.¹⁵

In 1905, six years before the Qing dynasty collapsed, civil service exams were abolished by decree of the Empress Dowager Cixi. The tests that had been the basis of educational advancement and prestige in China for millennia were replaced by a college-based education on a Western model. Educators and reformers in China called for "new learning" as essential to meet the challenges facing the Chinese people. As stated by the president of Tsinghua College, Y. T. Tsur, in 1917, "These telling events [China's defeat by Japan in 1894 and by the Allied Nations in 1900] show beyond the shadow of a doubt the larger values of the new learning over the old and the greater efficiency of modern organizations over the effete systems of mediaeval times in the political, economic, as well as scientific world."¹⁶

Those students who came to Penn did so, then, with more than their own personal ambitions: they felt it was their mission to be the forefront of a new, modern China. They were often called on as spokespersons for the new republic. For example, in October 1925, Lin Huiyin was quoted in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* saying, "There is a movement—not bandits, not rebellion—to show to the students and people of China, Western attainments in art, in literature, in music, in drama. But not to take the place of our own! Never. We must learn the fundamental principles of all art only in order to apply them to designs distinctly ours. We want to study methods of construction that mean permanency."¹⁷

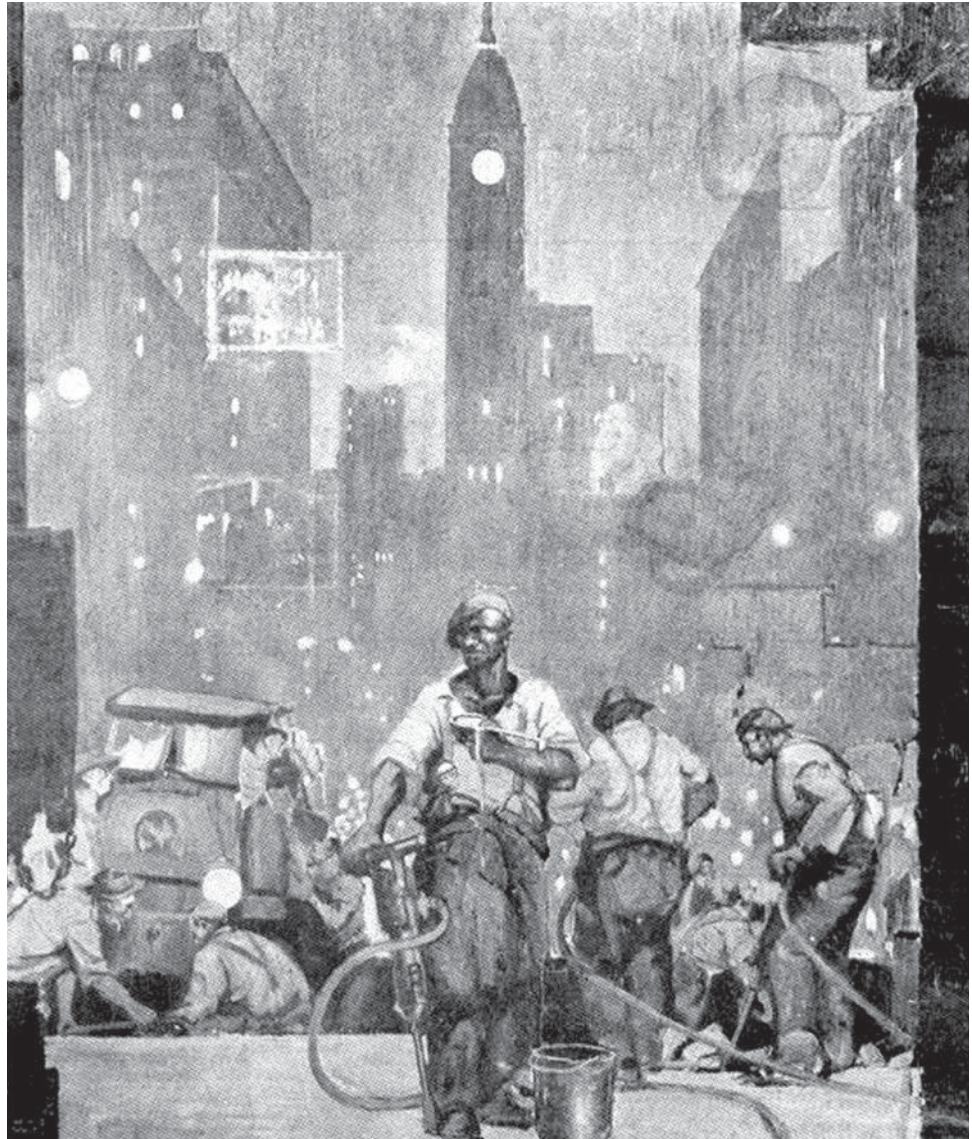
What the Chinese students found when they arrived in Philadelphia was an economically and culturally vibrant city with a major industrial base. Philadelphia was one of the oldest major American cities, with over two hundred years of urban development, but it must have seemed new to the students. Post-World War I

America had already become the largest economy of the world, based on the twin engines of scientific invention and opportunistic capitalism. Philadelphia's brash progressivism and populism, developing industries, the city's part in America's newly proven military might, and massive influx of immigrants must have seemed in great contrast to China's early twentieth-century conditions. This was especially true of America's political stability as compared with the chaos and strife in Republican China.¹⁸ The students may have been impressed, but they were not naïve. Many of them would have been familiar with the developments and the work of foreign architects in the concessions of Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Tianjin. A number of these projects were built using modern Western materials and techniques in steel and concrete construction.¹⁹ Other students, like Lin Huiyin, had already traveled to Europe and other countries in Asia.

American economic growth and expansion in the 1920s was unequalled. In Philadelphia, the Broad Street subway was under construction (fig. 3.6). Oil refineries, coal transportation, heavy machinery, textiles, pharmaceuticals, and across the river in Camden, Victrolas (RCA) and canned goods (Campbell's Soup) provided steady work for the masses of immigrants. The population of the city reached almost two million by 1930, the third largest in the United States, having doubled in size from what it had been in 1870. Corruption was widespread: a Republican machine ran the government and Prohibition was openly mocked in hundreds of social clubs and speakeasies. High culture was also served. In 1921 Leopold Stowkowski and the Philadelphia Orchestra made the first commercially sponsored radio broadcast by an orchestra, backed by the Philadelphia radio manufacturer Philco and carried by fifty NBC stations across the United States. Albert Barnes, the eccentric art collector, showed his collection of paintings by Cezanne, Matisse, Picasso, and Modigliani at the Pennsylvania Academy, to both public and critical disdain.²⁰

Philadelphia in the 1920s also saw many infrastructure projects and major civic buildings coming to fruition; they would have been well known to the students through their professors and their friends working in offices in the city. The Benjamin Franklin Parkway was completed by 1919 (fig. 3.7), after almost fifty years of planning and political wrangling. The project, designed by Jacques Gréber using City Beautiful principles, cut a diagonal, tree-lined boulevard to/from the center of the city through the rigid orthogonal grid of the city's original layout, giving axial prominence to the site of the new museum and the existing City Hall square. The many public buildings and institutions along its length were well under way: the Free Library by Horace Trumbauer in 1911–1927; the new home of the Philadelphia Museum of Art by Borie, Trumbauer, and Zantzinger, 1911–1928; the

Fig. 3.6. Artist unknown, "The Night Shift on Broad Street," *Pennsylvania Triangle* 11, no. 3 (December 1927), frontispiece.



Rodin Museum designed by Paul Cret and Jacques Gréber, 1926–1929; the Franklin Institute by John T. Windrim, 1928–1934; and the Boy Scouts of America Building by Charles Z. Klauder, 1928–1930.²¹ The Philadelphia Museum in particular, with its large plinth, symmetrical pavilions, hierarchical arrangement of parts, and axial relationship to the parkway, might have been a recognizable form to Chinese students who expected monumental public structures to be like the great palace and

Fig. 3.7. ▶ Aerial view of Parkway, with Philadelphia Museum of Art wings under construction. Urban Archives, Philadelphia, PA. Published with permission of Temple University Libraries.



Fig. 3.8. ▼ Sigurd Fischer, The Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1928. Published with permission of Special Format Photographs, Archives of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.



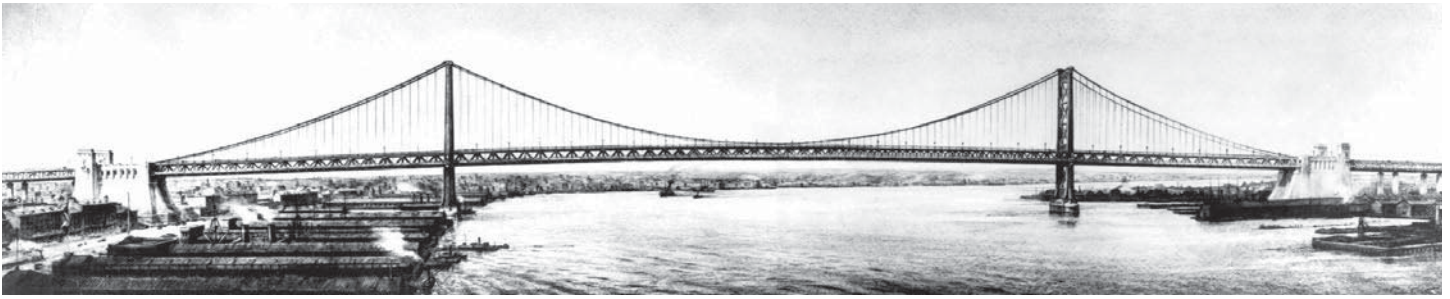


Fig. 3.9. Paul P. Cret, architect; Ralph Modjeski, chief engineer, Delaware River (now Benjamin Franklin) Bridge, Philadelphia. Published with permission of Delaware River Port Authority.

temple compounds of China (fig. 3.8).²² The opening of the new bridge across the Delaware River to New Jersey, perhaps the greatest and most beautiful civic project of the period, and a combination of high technology and classical abutments, was a collaboration between architect Paul Cret and engineer Ralph Modjeski (fig. 3.9). It opened to coincide with the 1926 sesquicentennial anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, celebrated by an international exposition in South Philadelphia.

City planning became a major civic concern. In 1929, then Mayor Harry A. Mackey convened a committee of three hundred to study the city's future, including zoning regulations, a new airport, and perhaps a new city hall to be completed in ten years' time.²³ The completion of the parkway and the major civic buildings northwest of City Hall highlighted the problem of the huge elevated railroad tracks built along and above Market Street (running from Broad Street Station to the Schuylkill River). These rail lines were supported by brick arches and stone retaining walls that became popularly known as the "Chinese Wall." The massive, twelve-block-long wall may have been how some Philadelphians imagined the Great Wall of China. It effectively divided the western half of Center City until 1953, when it was demolished and the rail lines buried in Philadelphia's version of the Big Dig in Boston. Edmund Bacon (1910–2005), Penn professor and the famous head of the Philadelphia Planning Commission from 1947 to 1970, led the planning team in the design of Penn Center, a huge real estate development for Penn Central on top of the tracks. Known for taking down Philadelphia's Chinese Wall, Bacon worked in China between 1932 and 1934 with architect Henry K. Murphy and had a lifelong admiration for Chinese architecture.²⁴ Bacon called Beijing "possibly the greatest single work of man on the face of the earth" and stated that the Forbidden City taught him that "city planning is about movement through space and architectural sequence, up and down, light and dark, color and rhythm."²⁵

Across the Schuylkill River in West Philadelphia, the new campus of the University of Pennsylvania was developing rapidly in the 1920s and 1930s. Woodlawn Avenue trolley cars brought people from downtown, and a host of commercial establishments grew up around the university, including a Horn & Hardart Cafeteria and the "Oriental Tea Room." Among many other campus buildings done in Jacobean or English Gothic, Irvine Auditorium by Horace Trumbauer was completed in a delicately detailed French Gothic style, as a smaller version of Mont Saint-Michel with a voluminous auditorium inside.²⁶

Penn's Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, first housed in the Furness Library (fig. 3.10), had moved to its new building designed between 1894 and 1899 by Wilson Eyre and Frank Miles Day. The structure was designed in an eclectic



Fig. 3.10. Chinese & Asian Collection in Furness Library Staircase, 1895. Published courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Archives.

Romanesque style to both house and express the various collections contained within. The museum’s Harrison Rotunda opened in 1915 with displays from the Chinese collection. The space was reinstalled in 1924 to house the recently acquired collection of Chinese art for which the museum is famous.

Contemporary national newspaper accounts described this collection as the “World’s Greatest Store of Ancient Chinese Art on the Banks of the Schuylkill.”²⁷ The collection would have been studied by all the architecture students of the 1920s as part of the Beaux-Arts curriculum, which required the Drawing and Water Color of Historic Ornament, Archaeology and the History of Ancient Architecture. The *Museum Journal* of December 1924, Annual Report of the Director states, “Among the various Departments of the University of Pennsylvania using the collections in the Museum in connection with their work of instruction, the Department of Architecture has availed itself most extensively of the facilities afforded for sketching, drawing, colour work and design.” The artifacts in the museum’s Chinese collection were referred to by Liang Sicheng throughout his lifelong study of ancient Chinese architecture.



Fig. 3.11. Day & Klauder, Model of University Museum and Franklin Field, cyanotype, ca. 1925. Day and Klauder Collection, Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania. Published courtesy of Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania.

The impact of the Chinese collection is demonstrated by a proposed version of the completed museum building illustrated in a 1924–1926 study by Day and Klauder Architects that shows a distinctive Chinese character (fig. 3.11). This version was not built, but it may be of interest to note that Fan Wenzhao worked for Day and Klauder in the early 1920s before he returned to China, and we can speculate that he might have had some influence on the firm’s design direction.

By 1890 all of America’s leading architectural schools—including MIT, Columbia, Cornell, Michigan, and the University of Pennsylvania—had converted to the Beaux-Arts method of teaching. The method emphasized plan, program, and section as the generators of building form, with the studio problem as the primary

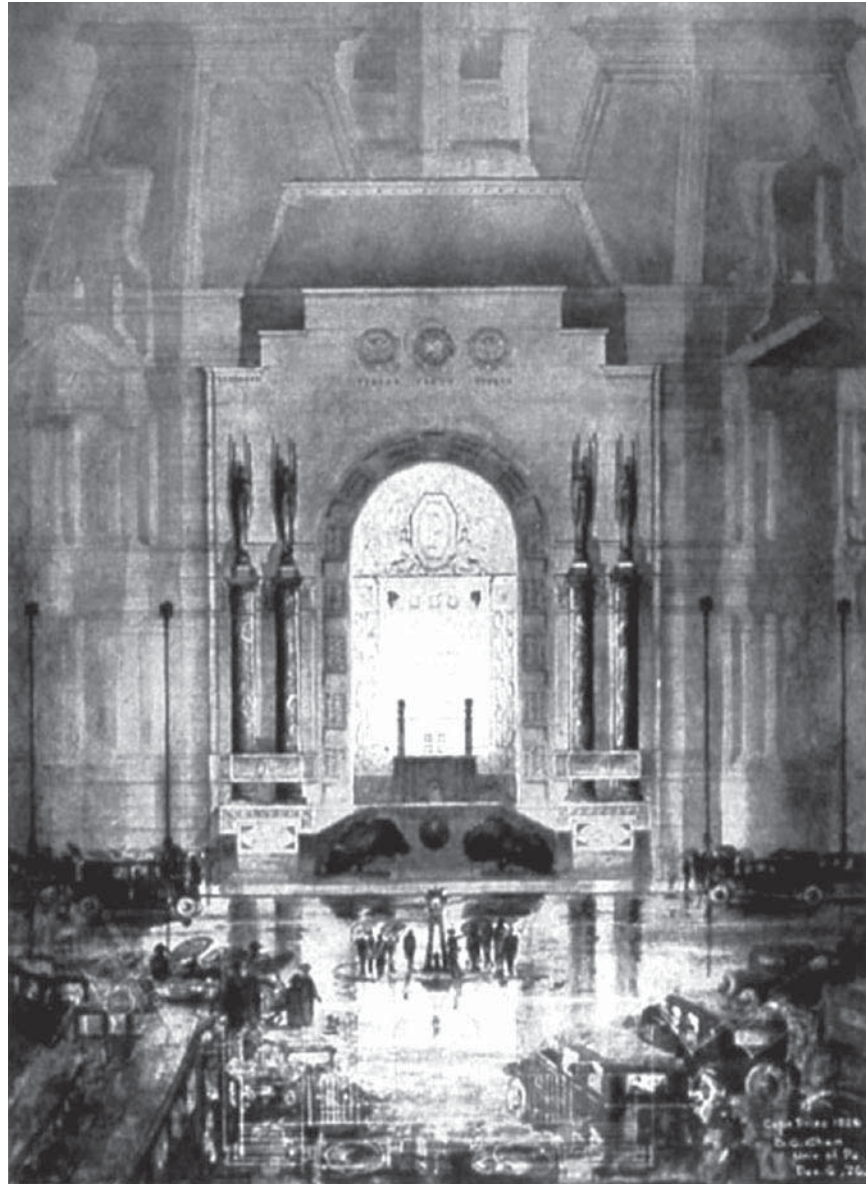
pedagogical tool. The Beaux-Arts studio, developed in France, came to dominate the educational culture of the architecture schools. The form included a studio master, who moved around and commented on the work he found interesting, studio assistants and upper classmen who interpreted what the master said, and the lower-classmen novitiates who struggled to understand and produce work that would let them advance to the upper ranks. The projects were organized around the *esquisse*, the *parti*, and the *concours*, with tremendous rigor applied to the idea of a clear development from the beginning to the end of the process.²⁸ School prizes, the Prix de Rome in Paris, and the Paris Prize at Penn, were highly prestigious and provided the finances to allow the winning student a tour of study in Europe. Then, as now, the studios were lively places, with all-night work sessions and long discussions of an architectural idea or a comment by the studio master during his last critique. Lifelong bonds of friendship and professional camaraderie were forged during the long charrettes in the studios.

As Xing Ruan notes in his chapter in Part II, the Penn Chinese architecture students excelled in their studies. For the most part they were able to accomplish accelerated degree programs, and several became assistant instructors or “demonstrators” for their fellow classmates. Even Lin Huiyin, although officially enrolled in the School of Fine Arts and not acknowledged as a student in the male-only School of Architecture, succeeded in becoming an instructor in architecture classes.²⁹

Whether they came with already developed skills in design, drawing, and water color or developed rapidly with training from the Penn faculty, the Chinese students were the regular recipients of prizes and respect at Penn and in national competitions of the Society of Beaux-Arts Architects in New York. They brought recognition for themselves and for Penn with their outstanding work. Yang Tingbao and (Benjamin) Chen Zhi were particularly prolific and accomplished (fig. 3.12). In the early years following World War I, Penn students won the top national architectural prize four years in a row, an unprecedented run that furthered the university’s international reputation.

Then as now, it was not all hard work. There are vivid descriptions of “smokers,” dances, the annual sophomore/junior “smock fight” involving crates of eggs used as missiles, and a piano that could be moved into the great drafting room for the all-night charrettes. All this culminated in the annual Beaux-Arts Ball that raised funds for a scholarship in Professor Paul Cret’s name. *L’Impressionistique* was the theme of the 1926 ball, held in the great drafting room at Hayden Hall. Weeks of elaborate design and preparation by cadres of students preceded it. Lin and Liang posed for a photograph in costumes that might be described as “Qin Dynasty Deco”

Fig. 3.12. (Benjamin) Chen Zhi, Treatment of City Hall on the Axis of the Parkway, prize-winning design. Published courtesy of Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania.



(fig. 3.13). The Beaux-Arts Ball had a very successful revival by the Philadelphia chapter of the American Institute of Architects in the 1980s and was staged again by Penn architecture students as recently as 2003.

This esprit de corps that developed among the Chinese students during their years at Penn carried over to their architectural practices and teaching careers

Fig. 3.13. Liang and Lin in costume for the 1926 Beaux-Arts Ball, “L’Impressionistique.” Published courtesy of University of Pennsylvania Archives.



after their return to China. In the United States many of the architectural students had been active members of the Philadelphia Chinese Students’ Club, the local branch of the Chinese Students’ Alliance of America. Participation in voluntary organizations was advocated by Liang Qichao as one means for modernizing China. The 1926 Eastern Chinese Students’ Conference held at Penn had a published theme of “organized cooperation among the intellectual class for the reconstruction of China.”³⁰

As David Van Zanten explains in his chapter, Paul Cret, Penn’s much-loved and influential professor, advocated the Beaux-Arts method as a “science of design” rather than a style, and set himself and his students apart from the formalized classicism of Stanford White in New York or, in Philadelphia, Horace Trumbauer. Cret cited the French architect Charles Perrault as an example of a “modern” architect who used new programs and new technologies to design contemporary buildings of great function and originality. He defined the battle as conservatives versus functionalists. Order was provided by balancing the building program requirements and relationships, and sequences were established through plan and section. For the Beaux-Arts, the aesthetic success of a building was based on proportion, rhythm, hierarchy, and a highly refined understanding of the historical languages of (European) buildings. The new materials of steel and reinforced concrete were hidden primarily behind ornamented facades. Cret’s own work developed through phases: a spare, beautifully proportioned classicism as seen in the World War I memorials in France (Harding and Thierry) in 1925, in the Federal Reserve

Bank in Philadelphia of 1932 (fig. 3.14), and in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC; a robust modernism in designs for an apartment building at 2601 Parkway in Philadelphia (fig. 3.15); and a Moderne building for Penn's Chemistry Department in 1940. His work also included several planning studies for the University of Pennsylvania and the initial campus plan (as well as several beautiful structures) for the University of Texas in Austin. Perhaps what the students learned most from Cret, besides a precise and rigorous approach, was the primacy of plan and program, with flexibility in the stylistic expression of the result.

It is clear that students deified Cret. Alfred Bendiner, a student and associate, and a great friend of Lin Huiyin, described Cret following his return to Penn after service in the French army in World War I:

My guess is that he was about as well liked as anybody who is a real talent. When he sat down to your board, he wrote, 'You do not know what you are doing,' but then he worked over your problem until it was solved to his satisfaction and then smiled, lit his cigarette, and moved over to the next table. In his private life, he was a perfect host, a clown, and a good storyteller. He read everything, and wrote for the publications, listened as well as he could to fine music. He was the life of the party, smoked incessantly, drank his lot, and was too well loved by the ladies."³¹

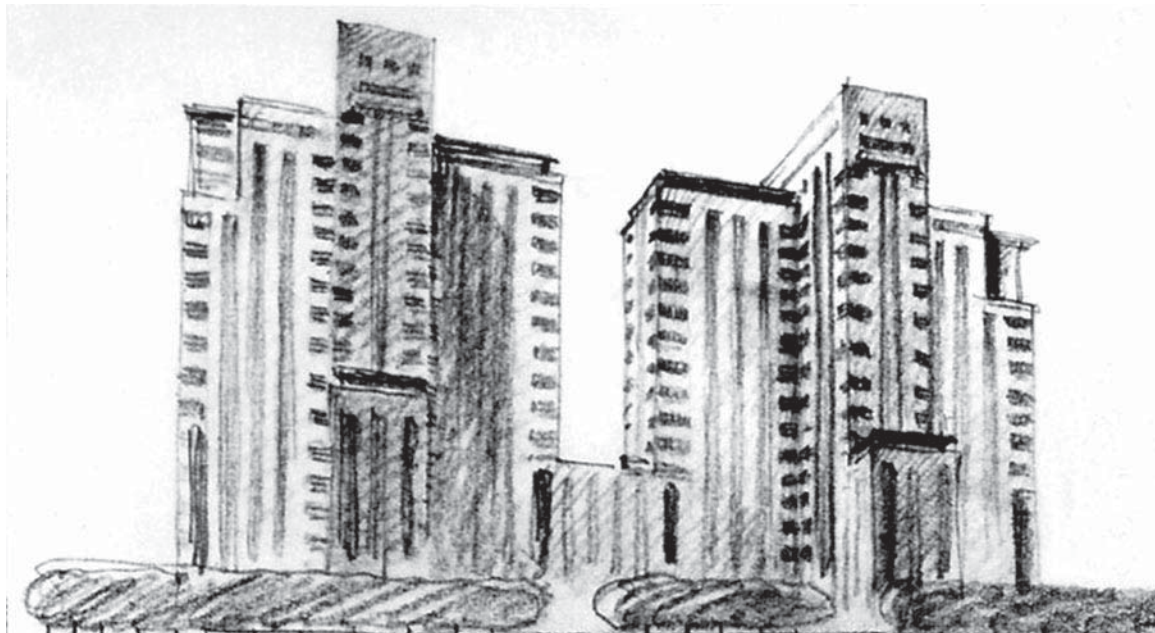
The students' time at Penn coincided with extensive developments in architectural theory and practice, and the beginning of a worldwide debate on the meaning and expression of modernity in architecture. Cret simply stated that modern buildings were those with modern programs. New programs, written for buildings that served changing culture and technologies, such as railroad stations, skyscrapers, cinemas, and the like, would generate new buildings, appropriate for today.

Discussions of "modernity" were plentiful in the architectural press, and Cret wrote several long pieces on the subject. Cret said, "Being modern is quite another thing from being a modernist, and is not the privilege of a clan. Architectural progress is, and always has been, the work of all men of good will."³² As the modernist wars heated up in the thirties, forties, and fifties, Cret and his methods were eclipsed in America's architecture schools by the "clan," particularly by Walter Gropius at Harvard and the other European modernists who came to the United States to practice, especially after World War II. Philadelphia is home to a very early and powerful example of this movement, the PSFS Building constructed in 1931–1932 by George Howe and William Lescaze. It

Fig. 3.14. ▶ Paul Cret, Federal Reserve Bank, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. Photo by author.



Fig. 3.15. ▼ Paul Cret and Aaron Colish, 2601 Parkway, perspective of modern design, from southwest, late 1930s. Published with permission of Paul Philippe Cret Collection, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.



was the first international-style skyscraper in the United States, and its daring design no doubt contributed to the fame and appeal of European modernism in subsequent decades.

An interesting case of architectural coincidence new and old between Liang Sicheng and Paul Cret can be found in the Henry Avenue Bridge in the Mt. Airy section of Philadelphia. The bridge, based on open-spandrel engineering, makes a bold statement high above the Wissahickon Creek watershed (fig. 3.16). It was likely under design in Cret's office when Liang and Lin worked there in 1927. When Liang returned to China and was searching for ancient structures, he remembered a children's poem that included a description of Anji Bridge, built in the seventh century using open-spandrel design—a good thousand years before these principles were understood in the West (fig. 3.17).³³ Liang was able to measure and document the structure, still standing and in use, as an example of early Chinese engineering genius and artistry.

Liang and Lin yearned for modern construction that could match the boldness and authenticity they found in the few remaining Tang- and Song-dynasty buildings they rediscovered and drew, some from as early as the ninth century. These powerful examples, with expressed structural posts, beams, and brackets, long overhanging eaves, and exquisite proportions were evidence of ancient Chinese architectural glory (fig. 3.18).³⁴ These structures made the buildings of the subsequent Ming and Qing dynasties (1368–1911), with brackets that were often attached rather than structural, seem stiff and artificial by comparison. They also made the confusion and inadequacies of twentieth-century practice even more evident. The process of discovery and documentation must have been thrilling and extremely gratifying, a profound connection to a highly accomplished architectural past they felt would help China to find its own version of modernity (fig. 3.19).

In his practice as an architect and educator, Liang struggled with the tendency of other contemporary architects to put a Chinese “hat” on a Western building (see fig. 1.19), although he continued to advocate a curved roof and other traditional characteristics such as a framed structure and multilayered beams built to the exacting standards he had rediscovered in the *Yingzao fashi*. He hoped that these principles might somehow be embodied in modern buildings with new programs. Many of these ideas were incorporated into the idea of a Chinese “National Form,” which was practiced and defended into the 1980s, as K. Sizheng Fan, Yung Ho Chang, and Zhang Jie explain in this volume.

The architect most widely known outside China, Liang worked for a time as an architect and planner for the new Communist government. He returned



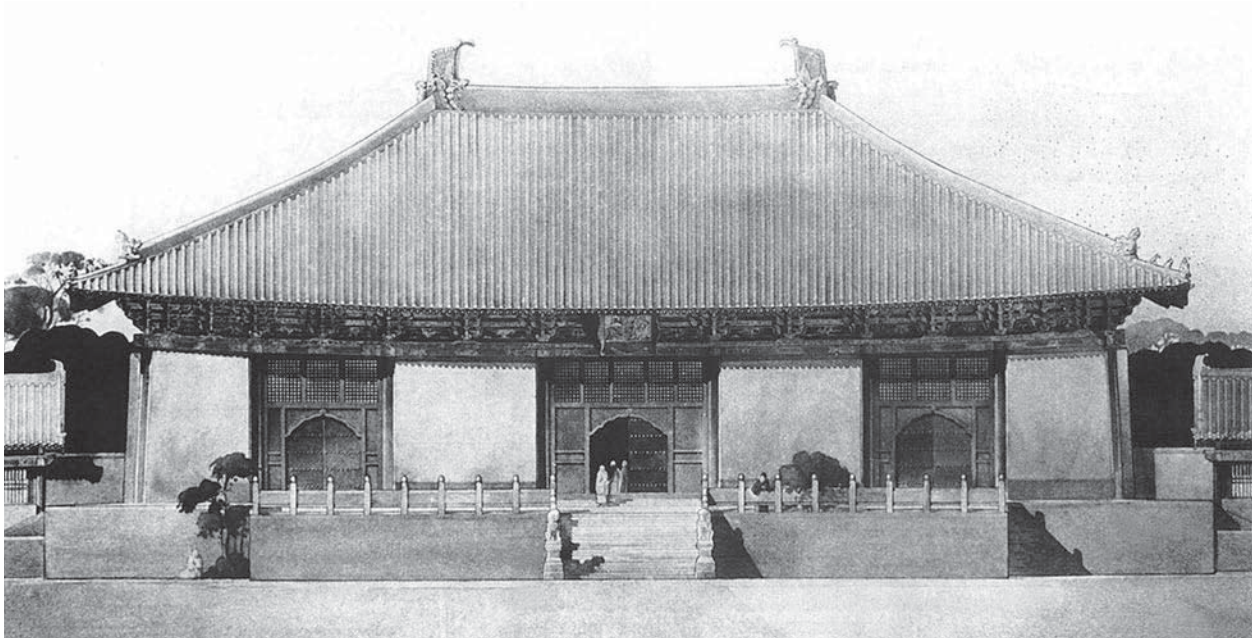
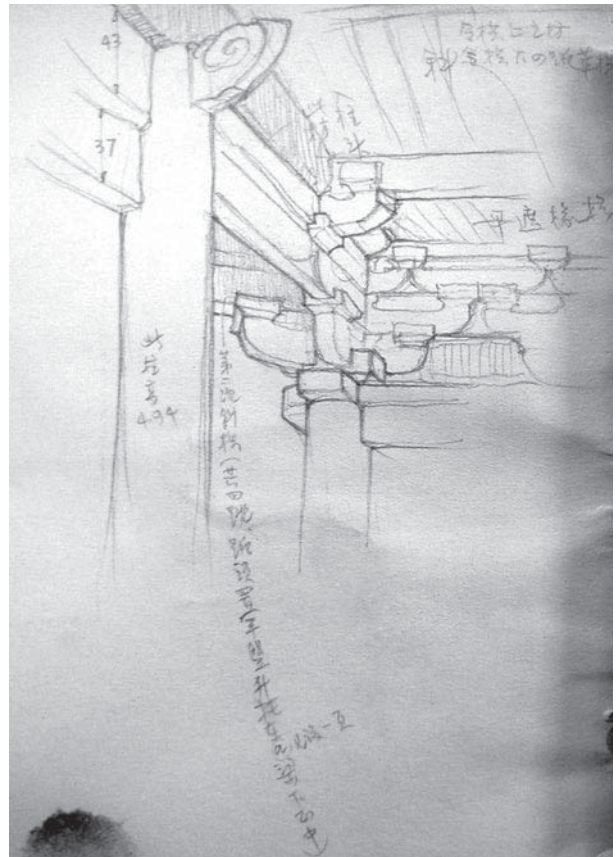


Fig. 3.16. ◀ Paul Cret, consulting architect, Henry Avenue Bridge over Wissahickon Creek, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. Published with permission of PhillyHistory.org, a project of the Philadelphia Department of Records.

Fig. 3.17. ◀ Anji Bridge, Zhao county, Hebei, 589–608 CE, from Liang Ssu-ch'eng, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*, 176. Published with permission of MIT Press.

Fig. 3.18. ▲ Liang Sicheng and Lin Huiyin, Main Hall, Shanhua Monastery, Datong, Shanxi province, 1060, rendering from Liang, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*, 64. Published with permission of MIT Press.

Fig. 3.19. ▶ Liang Sicheng, working sketch. Liang Sicheng Archive, School of Architecture, Tsinghua University, Beijing. Photo by author.



to the United States in 1946–1947 as the Chinese representative to the Board of Design Consultants for the United Nations Headquarters, a group that included Le Corbusier, Oscar Niemeyer, and other internationally known architects, while also serving as a visiting professor at Yale University. Back in Beijing, he completed Dormitory No. 1 at Tsinghua University and put forth plans for the modernization of Beijing (fig. 3.20) and the preservation of the ancient city walls, where he proposed a series of elevated People’s Parks along the battlements. This idea was rejected by Mao Zedong and the walls were torn down between 1950 and the 1970s. By then, Liang was in disgrace, vilified by some of his current and former students. His reputation as the father of Chinese architecture would be revived only after his death in 1972. Lin died in 1955. Their last collaboration was the design of new national emblems for China and the Monument to the Peoples’ Heroes standing in the center of Tiananmen Square.³⁵

Fig. 3.20. Liang Sicheng, Proposed Plan for Beijing with New Government Center (left side of the illustration) outside the city walls. From *Liang Sicheng quanji*, vol. 5, 63. Published courtesy of CABP.

As they completed their studies and returned to China, the Chinese students must have wondered if a culture as ancient and venerable and perhaps



as exhausted as China's could still have a genius of place in the modern world. Could modern buildings retain and express local content? And perhaps an even harder question: How would it be expressed? The students returned to China to establish practices, teach, and experiment with traditional forms and Western styles. As the Bank of China's staff architect, Chauncey Wu and his partner H. S. Luke collaborated with British architects Palmer & Turner to build the bank's new building in Shanghai, the city's largest Art Deco skyscraper (1937). Tong Jun (graduated 1927) joined with Zhao Shen and Chen Zhi to form Allied Architects and designed many buildings in Shanghai and Nanjing before 1949, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Nanjing (1932–1933) and the Metropole Theater in Shanghai (1933). Tong Jun was an influential teacher, both at Dongbei (Northeast) University in Shenyang before the Japanese invasion, and at Southeast University from 1944 until his death in 1983, and a prolific writer about architecture.³⁶

As Xing Ruan explains in his chapter, Yang Tingbao was a classmate of Louis Kahn's and a student and assistant to Paul Cret (1920–1924). He was described as an architectural genius by Dean Laird, Kahn, Harbeson, Larson, and others at Penn, admired by Cret, and had the longest and most prolific practice of all the Chinese architects who studied at Penn. Yang seems to have seen the differences between modernism and traditional Chinese design as an opportunity rather than a dilemma. He wrote: "Anything that survives through history, we call 'Tradition.' We appreciate its spirit, not only its form. 'Modernity' is neither a fashion, nor a uniform. It is the positive result of industrialization. It serves people in contemporary living."³⁷

Yang designed the Shenyang Railway Station in Nanjing in 1927 to be similar in layout and some of its details to Eliel Saarinen's Helsinki Station (fig. 3.21), and developed his practice with projects that varied from classical revival (the beautiful Nanjing Musical Stage) (figs. 3.22 and 7.8) to full-fledged European modernity (Sun Ke Residence, 1948) and the Big Roof national style (the Beijing Railway Station, 1959). He was chairman of the architectural program at Southeast University from the 1950s to the 1970s and perhaps the most influential teacher of his generation; if he was considered second to Liang in China, he was certainly first in the South. His many students populate architectural schools and practice all over China, as well as Hong Kong and other parts of Southeast Asia.

China's long-delayed economic and industrial development has provided the means for an unprecedented building boom in the 1990s and early 2000s. Like Washington, DC, Beijing has traded height for bulk in its new buildings, and many of those along Chang'an Avenue still look like enormous Western buildings with



Fig. 3.21. ◀ Yang Tingbao, Shenyang Railway Station, Nanjing, 1927. From *Yang Tingbao jianzhu sheji zouping ji* (Beijing: CABP, 1983), 11. Published courtesy of CABP.

Chinese hats (fig. 3.23). The forces of global publicity and “star architects” have largely defeated much of the sense of Chinese content in building in contemporary Beijing. However, prominent Chinese architects and planners have publicly criticized new structures like the National Grand Opera House by Paul Andreu (2005) (see fig.15.14) as being decidedly un-Chinese. In this regard, Wu Liangyong, a student of Yang Tingbao and cofounder of Tsinghua University’s School of Architecture with Liang Sicheng, recently stated that “a developing country should take its own development road in accordance with its actual conditions. China should not be reduced to a laboratory for foreign architects.”³⁸

Cret’s students became many of China’s most eminent architects and educators for much of the twentieth century. Through them the Beaux-Arts practices and methods were extended to generations of Chinese students.³⁹

The period of relative prosperity, however chaotic, of the 1920s lasted only until the Japanese invasion, beginning in 1934. Among the many projects begun in the 1920s, the most ambitious was the establishment and planning of a new national capital by Chiang Kai-shek and the Guomindang in Nanjing, designed by Huang Yuyu and Zhu Shenkang in 1928. The plan laid out a modern city with different administrative districts and an axial relationship to Sun Yat-sen’s mausoleum. The architectural style was to be both Chinese and modern, with traditional form along with contemporary materials and fenestration. Ground was broken in 1929, but stopped and never restarted after only one building was completed, the Ministry of Railroads, designed by Penn alumnus Fan Wenzhao in the “Chinese Renaissance” style.⁴⁰

Fig. 3.22. ◀ Yang Tingbao, Nanjing Musical Stage. Photo courtesy of Jane Morley.

The tremendous loss of life and the deprivations of World War II followed, and after that came the Chinese Civil War, the period of Soviet influence, and the political strife and poor economic conditions that continued until late in the century. These conditions and long periods of national isolation limited the ability of the American-trained architects to work productively. Beginning with the Rectification Campaign (1957) and continuing through the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), individual architectural achievement was labeled elitist and counterrevolutionary, and foreign credentials were considered a prime indicator of anti-Communist sympathies. Official building societies were repeatedly purged and prominent architects were forced to give lengthy self criticisms to the press, and worse.⁴¹

The former Penn students’ extraordinary education and experiences allowed many of them not only to teach and write, but also to structure and implement the education of young Chinese architects. They had been across the world and exposed to Western architectural practice and metropolitan modernity in Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, where many of them traveled during



Fig. 3.23. Modern buildings along Chang'an Avenue, Beijing. Photo by author.

their student days. Some were able to continue to travel, at least to conferences, in Communist and neutral countries, and keep up with international developments in their profession. Perhaps the most significant aspect of their training in the United States was the lifelong associations established there. Even after the passing of the First Generation, these associations would make possible a shared dialogue of work and thought, and a network of hope and high aspirations for modern architecture in China.

Notes

1. Peter G. Rowe and Seng Kuan, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 55–61.
2. Joseph Rykwert, *The First Moderns: The Architects of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1980), 80.
3. For references to the Boxer Indemnity Scholarships, their origin, and the numbers of students who received them, see other chapters in this volume as well as Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1990), 362–363; and Ye Weili, *Seeking Modernity in China's Name* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 53, 65, 141.
4. Dawn Jacobson, *Chinoiserie* (London: Phaidon Press, 1993), 7. Figures 3.1 and 3.18 show the

contrast between Sir William Chamber's fanciful rendering in watercolor of a Chinese "pagoda," based on his limited visit to Canton and what he could learn from the Chinese drawings in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century books, and Liang Sicheng's precise rendering of a Tang-dynasty temple he rediscovered and carefully documented in the 1930s.

5. Rykwert, *The First Moderns*, 65–67, 80–81.
6. Jacobson, *Chinoiserie*, 163.
7. *Ibid.*, 155–156.
8. Jean Gordon Lee, *Philadelphians and the China Trade, 1784–1844* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984), 53, 44, 63, 104, 134.
9. *Ibid.*, 25.
10. *Ibid.*, 47, 49, 50.
11. H. A. Crosby Forbes, "The American Vision of Cathay," *Nineteenth Annual Washington Antiques Show*, 1974 (catalogue), 49.
12. Jacobson, *Chinoiserie*, 209; George B. Tatum, *Penn's Great Town* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), 183. Also see John Rogers Haddad, *The Romance of China: Excursions to China in U.S. Culture, 1776–1876* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).
13. William Wu, "Philadelphia's Chinatown," in Jean Barth Toll and Mildred S. Gillam, eds., *Invisible Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Atwater Kent Museum), 59–60.
14. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 192–193, 255–256; Li Shiqiao, "Writing a Modern Chinese Architectural History: Liang Shicheng and Liang Qichao," *Journal of Architectural Education* (2002): 40, 42.
15. Li, "Writing a Modern Chinese Architectural History," 43.
16. Y. T. Tsur, preface to *Who's Who of American Returned Students*, 1917, reprint (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, Inc., 1978).
17. *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, October 18, 1925, 9.
18. Jonathan D. Spence, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace* (New York: Penguin Books, 1982), 217–244.
19. Jeffrey W. Cody, *Exporting American Architecture 1870–2000* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 40–42, 69.
20. Arthur Dudden, "The City Embraces Normalcy, 1919–1929," in Russell Weigly, Nicholas Wainwright, Edwin Wolf et al., eds., *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History* (New York: Norton, 1982), 566–578, 593–594.
21. David Brownlee, *Building the City Beautiful* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1989).
22. Xing Ruan, "Accidental Affinities: American Beaux-Arts in Twentieth-Century Architecture and Practice," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* [hereafter *JSAH*] 61, no.1 (May 2002): 30–47.
23. Lawrence Davies, "Philadelphia Plans for City Beautiful," *The New York Times*, January 20, 1929.
24. Edmund N. Bacon, *Design of Cities* (New York: Viking Press, 1967), 232–391.
25. Edmund N. Bacon, in a film by Constance Collins, *China Reflections (A Memoir)*, Morningstar Films, 2008.
26. George E. Thomas and David B. Brownlee, *Building America's First University: An Historical and Architectural Guide to the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 96, 97.
27. *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, December 21, 1924.

28. For a full description of the Beaux-Arts methods employed at Penn during this period, see John F. Harbeson, *The Study of Architectural Design* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, reprint 2008; first edition published in 1926 by the Pencil Points Press).
29. Wilma Fairbank, *Liang and Lin: Partners in Exploring China's Architectural Past* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 24.
30. Conference program of the Twenty-second Annual Conference of the Chinese Students Alliance in the U.S.A., held in Philadelphia from September 9–14, 1926, with the theme, “A Program of Organized Cooperation among Chinese Intellectuals for the Reconstruction of China.”
31. Alfred Bendiner, “Architecture and Paul P. Cret,” in *Translated from the Hungarian: Notes toward an Autobiography* (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1967), 204.
32. Paul P. Cret, “The Classic versus the Modernist,” Society of Beaux-Arts Architects, *Year Book 1934* (New York), 116.
33. Liang Su-ch'eng [Liang Sicheng], *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture: A Study of the Development of Its Structural System and the Evolution of Its Types* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984), 176–177.
34. Fairbank, *Liang and Lin*, 24, 93.
35. *Ibid.*, 170–171.
36. Yang Yongshang and Ming Liansheng, eds., *Jianzhu sijie: Liu Dunzhen, Tong Jun, Liang Sicheng, Yang Tingbao* (Four master architects: Liu Dunzhen, Tong Jun, Liang Sicheng, Yang Tingbao) (Beijing: CABP, 1998). For his writings, see *Tong Jun wenji* (Collected writings of Tong Jun), 4 vols. (Beijing: CABP, 2000–2006).
37. Yang Tingbao, “Selected Symposium in Architecture,” in Architectural Design & Research Institute of Southeast University, ed., *Yang Tingbao jianzhu yanlun xuanji* (Selected research essays on the architecture of Yang Tingbao) (Nanjing: Xueshu shukan chubanshe, 1989). Translation for the author by Yang Benyu, granddaughter of Yang Tingbao and Penn-trained architect.
38. Wu Liangyong, in Wu Liangyong and Zhou Ganzhi, eds., *Jianyi chongxin shenji guojia da juyuan jianshe wenti* (China Academic Journal Electronic Publishing House, June 2000) (<http://www.cnki.net>); and Wu Liangyong, *Guojia daju yuanyuan zhubang anshen chalu zhenghui shangde fayuan* (China Academic Journal Electronic Publishing House, 2005) (<http://www.cnki.net>).
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40. Rowe and Seng, *Architectural Encounters*, 74.
41. Su Gin-Djih, *Chinese Architecture—Past and Contemporary* (Hong Kong: The Sin Poh Amalgamated Limited, 1964), 170–189; and Fairbank, *Liang and Lin*, 176–190.

4 AN OUTLINE OF BEAUX-ARTS EDUCATION IN CHINA

Transplantation, Localization, and Entrenchment

Pedagogical methods associated with Beaux-Arts architectural education have been practiced in China for about eighty years. The historical development of this influence occurred in three major phases. The first phase began with the establishment of the first architecture school in China in 1927 and lasted until the early 1950s. This was the period when Beaux-Arts educational techniques were transplanted by Chinese students who returned from training abroad. This influence of the Beaux-Arts evolved from a few scattered experiments to eventually becoming a nationwide educational model. The second phase ran from the early 1950s to the early 1980s, when the Beaux-Arts method occupied a pre-eminent position in the nation's architectural pedagogy. Localization was eventually realized through the integration of Western methods with Chinese content. The third phase is the post-1980s period. During the last several decades, as China has reopened its doors to Western influence, there has been significant transformation and reform, not only in architectural education but also in other areas. The recent passion for “space and tectonics” may signal an ending of the Beaux-Arts tradition in China, but in fact that tradition may actually be engrained in the thinking of architects in subtle ways.

This chapter will mainly examine a line of development that characterized one school and embraced three institutions over the course of eighty years. The school is now called the School of Architecture at Southeast University (SEU, since 1988). Formerly it was the Nanjing Institute of Technology (NIT, 1952–1988), before that the National Central University (1928–1949), and initially the National Fourth Zhongshan University (1927), among other names. This is not a casual choice. This school was undoubtedly the most important base camp for the Beaux-Arts education in China's past and a model for many other schools around the country. For forty years it was also home for three key pioneering architecture educators: Yang Tingbao, Tong Jun, and Liu Dunzhen.¹ The primary goal of this chapter is to capture the main line of development of Beaux-Arts education in China and to identify its main characteristics.

Transplantation

The Beaux-Arts as the Model of Architectural Education

As far as we know, professional education for architects in China was developed entirely by Chinese graduates who had recently returned from studying architecture in foreign countries.² We can therefore define a clear developmental pattern by

examining the places they received their professional education overseas and the schools they founded after returning.

The National Central University: Formative Years

In the early twentieth century American universities attracted a large number of Chinese architecture students, with the University of Pennsylvania one of the most popular destinations. By the time Yang Tingbao was leaving Tsinghua School (Tsinghua *Xuetang*)³ for the United States in 1921, the first group of Chinese overseas students who had studied architecture in Japan had already returned to China. Among them, Liu Shiyong, with his colleague, Liu Dunzhen, and others who had studied at the Tokyo Higher Technical School founded the earliest nonuniversity level program in architecture, at the Suzhou Industrial Specialized School in 1923.

The first Chinese university architectural program was founded in 1927 with the establishment of the National Fourth Zhongshan University in Nanjing.⁴ The Division of Architecture under the Institute of Technology was not created from scratch, but instead was based on the program of the Suzhou Industrial Specialized School. All the facilities for that program were moved from Suzhou to Nanjing. Sixteen students and Liu Dunzhen joined the new program. When it started, there were only three faculty members and one teaching assistant. The division head, Liu Futai, educated at the University of Oregon, was responsible for design courses; Li Zuhong, educated in England, was responsible for all drawing classes; and Liu Dunzhen, for training in history. In early 1928 the National Fourth Zhongshan University changed its name to Jiangsu University and two months later became (the National) Central University. In 1932 the division was promoted to become a department, and it continued to expand until 1937. As a consequence, more teaching staff who had been educated outside China joined the department. One of them, Tan Yuan, was a Penn graduate. Tan was responsible for the foundation course in design and was important in implementing the Penn version of the Beaux-Arts program.

The faculty's diversity of educational backgrounds inevitably had some influence on the formation of the first professional program. Since the original program was partially adopted from Suzhou Industrial Specialized School, the influence from Japan's Tokyo Polytechnic, which laid heavy emphasis on construction and management, was significant. The program at Central University tried to balance professional training with design training by greatly increasing the time allocated to design, at the same time maintaining its strength in technical courses. Training in drawing and courses in history and theory were also enhanced.⁵

Northeast University: A Branch of Penn

The history of the second Department of Architecture, founded in 1928 at Northeast University in Shenyang, was much more straightforward. Liang Sicheng was department head.⁶ When Liang and his wife, Lin Huiyin, arrived in Shenyang from Europe, the school had already admitted a class of students, that is, before the arrival of a single teacher or the existence of a curriculum!⁷ The school truly started from scratch. In the first year only Liang and Lin taught there. Later he called on his Penn classmates, Chen Zhi and Tong Jun, to join the department. The purity of the faculty profile provided a unique opportunity to implement a type of Beaux-Arts education based largely on the Penn model.⁸ As Tong Jun remarked some years later, everything there—from the library collection to models and other facilities—bore the unmistakable marks of Penn.⁹ Compared with the program at Central University, there was a greater emphasis on design. “The time allocation for studio is almost doubled,” Tong wrote.¹⁰ Most importantly, the Beaux-Arts teaching method, including the atelier system and design competition method, could be implemented without resistance. In short, as Tong Jun commented, “The department was just like a branch of Penn.”¹¹

Despite this unique opportunity to develop a pure Penn program, the department kept things on a modest scale until its sudden closure after the 9/18 Event in 1931.¹² But even before that, Liang had already left for Beijing to pursue his other ambition, the study of Chinese architectural history. Chen Zhi went to Shanghai to open his own practice, Allied Architects. Some students transferred to Central University in Nanjing, while others went to Shanghai. They were able to complete their studies with the help of Tong Jun and many other architectural friends.

The history of the department at Northeast is indeed short, but its importance should not be ignored. This was the first educational experiment of Liang, Chen, and Tong after their graduation, and it helped prepare their future careers in the educational field. It was also the first full demonstration in China of the Beaux-Arts method derived directly from Penn.

Central University’s Shapingba Period: Completion of the Faculty Profile

Not only did the war force Liang Sicheng’s department to close, but the Japanese invasion also affected the trajectory of Central University. In 1937 the department had to move to Chongqing in Sichuan province, which the Guomindang (GMD) government took as its temporary capital during the war.

Due to careful planning, library books and teaching equipment were safely transferred to the new campus at Shapingba.¹³ The conditions of life and teaching

were extremely harsh, and the department experienced great difficulty at this time. A majority of the teachers left. At one point there was only one design teacher with a handful of students, yet as the temporary capital during the war, Chongqing attracted some of the best architects and scholars in the country. The department was eventually able to recruit Yang Tingbao and Tong Jun. Liu Dunzhen also returned to the department and took the deanship. At this time the core of the faculty profile (Yang, Tong, and Liu) was formed.¹⁴ These three architect-instructors dominated the Shapingba Period, thus rendering it a most influential period in the history of the department in terms of the faculty and pedagogy. It is regarded today as “the prosperous Shapingba Period.”¹⁵

Other Architectural Programs under Different Influences before 1949

Located within the nation’s premier university and directly under the government’s administration, the Department of Architecture of Central University enjoyed a superior position for a long time. Despite various complications it encountered, it was the best architectural school in the country before 1949. In 1938 the Ministry of Education issued a standard architectural curriculum based on the Central University’s program, which may well have been the first attempt to make the Beaux-Arts method the model for the whole country.¹⁶

However, several other programs at the time were not under the direct influence of the Beaux-Arts model, including the Department of Architecture at Xiangqin University in Guangzhou (1932) and the Department of Architecture at Chongqing University (1940).¹⁷ The Department of Architecture at St. John’s University in Shanghai, which was founded by Jorsen Huang in 1942, was the first architecture program directly under the influence of modern architecture. Huang, an advocate of modernism, received his education at the Architectural Association in England and then studied at Harvard’s Graduate School of Design with Walter Gropius. Huang’s teaching was based on a typical Bauhaus approach. As the architect Luo Xiaowei later recalled, the first exercise she did in the studio was “pattern and texture.”¹⁸ Meanwhile, in Beijing in 1946, Liang Sicheng founded a new Department of Architecture at Tsinghua University. Soon afterward, in 1947, he visited the United States and brought back a course package for Basic Design. As a result, some 2-D and 3-D abstract exercises were adopted in Tsinghua’s first-year program.¹⁹

Unified Beaux-Arts Architectural Education after 1949

The establishment of the People’s Republic of China marked a new page in Chinese history. However, this event only indirectly changed the path of the

Beaux-Arts method in China, for it was the restructuring of the higher education system in 1952 that eventually made the Beaux-Arts method the model for the whole country.²⁰ Another unique aspect of this period is that administrative orders and scholarly discourse were often interwoven and carried out in the form of political movements.²¹

In the restructuring of higher education, Central University was divided into several universities. The Department of Architecture was made part of the newly founded Nanjing Institute of Technology, which was located on the old campus. In the nation as a whole, eight architectural schools were established in eight major cities across the country.²² As a consequence of this restructuring, many faculty members and graduates from Central University transferred to these other universities and took positions there.

The second important cause for the unification of China's architectural education was the country's association with the Soviet Union in the 1950s, a topic that K. Fan Sizheng addresses more fully in his chapter. Russian programs and textbooks were adopted. Russian experts were invited to introduce their teaching methods. However, many of the Beaux-Arts-trained architects soon discovered that what they were being urged to learn from Russia was what they had already been doing for years: the Beaux-Arts method.²³ The program that suffered most from this unification was Tongji University. Its predecessor, the Department of Architecture of St. John's University, was where Jorsen Huang's "modernist" approach had been adopted. During the early 1950s, Tongji University was forced to change to the Beaux-Arts type of teaching. The curriculum was structured according to building types, and the model-making method of design instruction was removed from the studio.²⁴

Localization

Unifying Western Method and Chinese Content

At Central University in Nanjing, the participation of Yang Tingbao and Tong Jun confirmed the department as a base camp of the Beaux-Arts teaching method in China. But it was Tan Yuan who first introduced the rigorous training method into the department and shifted its emphasis towards art during the 1930s. During the Shapingba Period, the program was further consolidated, and eventually Beaux-Arts became the dominant mode of teaching in the department due to other Penn graduates joining the faculty.²⁵ Since then, there has been constant recognition, maintenance, and further development of this tradition. From the 1950s to the early 1980s, the Beaux-Arts method thus underwent a process of localization,

eventually reaching its peak when a unity was achieved between Western method and Chinese content.

The Beaux-Arts Method as Perceived and Practiced by the Pioneer Educators

Reading the essays by Atkin, Ruan, and others in this volume, it is apparent that Liang, Yang, Tong, and several other Chinese students performed outstandingly well during their years of study at Penn. We have no reason to doubt that they brought back the best of the Penn method and transplanted it faithfully in China. However, it is fascinating to examine just how they perceived and understood the Beaux-Arts method.

Liang and Yang, especially Yang, did not write much about educational issues during their lifetimes, at least not in proportion to their actual involvement in the field. Tong Jun did write several articles on education, among which those on the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris and on Penn are the most noteworthy. The first was written in 1944, just after Tong Jun joined Central University in Chongqing. He commented on the atelier system as “the world’s most advanced and sophisticated method for training architects.”²⁶ He felt that it benefited from both distinguished architects as the “patrons,” and students with different levels of experience working together closely. After explaining the *École des Beaux-Arts* curriculum structure by using the entrance examination for the Prix de Rome, he went on to point out that the Department of Architecture at Northeast University had fully adopted the atelier system, while Central University had not.²⁷ The second article was written early in the Cultural Revolution and was used as a reference for curriculum development carried out in the Department of Architecture at NIT.²⁸ Tong Jun first gave a general introduction to the School of Fine Arts at Penn and the role of Paul Cret. He then described in detail the curriculum structure and the atelier life at Penn. As in the previous article, he also made a comparison between the programs at Northeast University and Central University. He concluded by saying that “the root of our education is deeply grounded in Philadelphia and even in Paris.” This may be the most precise, straightforward statement that can be found in the writings of these pioneer educators.

The term “atelier system” was translated into Chinese by Tong Jun as *shitu zhi* (the apprenticeship system) and the term “atelier” alone as *tufang* (drafting room).²⁹ “Demonstration” seems to be a key word in describing the essence of the apprenticeship system. When Yang Tingbao and Tong Jun joined Central University, they were already among the most accomplished architects in the

country. Indeed, both had received rigorous professional training, possessed a good design sensibility, and were skilled in drawing and watercolor painting. Their unique qualities as architects determined that they became excellent teachers. In addition, they were individuals of high moral integrity, so their influence as role models went far beyond the professional.

A Pedagogic Tradition and Its Transformation

When the “older generation” spoke about “our own tradition,” they were referring mainly to the rigorous introductory training, especially rendering exercises, or *analytique*.³⁰ The evolution of the Beaux-Arts pedagogic tradition within the Department of Architecture at NIT can be generalized as a gradual transformation from Western classic language to Chinese classic language, from historical motif to modern form.³¹ Covering the period from the 1940s to the early 1980s, it was characterized by three major program changes.

The foundation program, developed during the Shapingba Period and used until 1949, should be regarded as the prototype of the Beaux-Arts training method. In the late 1940s the first-year program began with an exercise on Roman letters and Chinese characters in ink line and a pencil drawing of a building façade. It then moved to a series of rendering (ink wash) exercises. First, there was an exercise on basic rendering techniques, which was followed by a rendering of a Doric Order; then a composition of Western classic components was assigned as the conclusion of the first term. In the second term there were a series of small design projects such as a bridge, a ferry, a gate, a pavilion, and so on, which required the use of Western classic language and rendering technique. The whole program was characterized as a three-stage training method: first copy, then compose, and eventually design (fig. 4.1).

Fig. 4.1. Three steps of a rendering exercise in Western motifs: to copy, to compose, and to design. Published courtesy of Southeast University Archives, Nanjing.

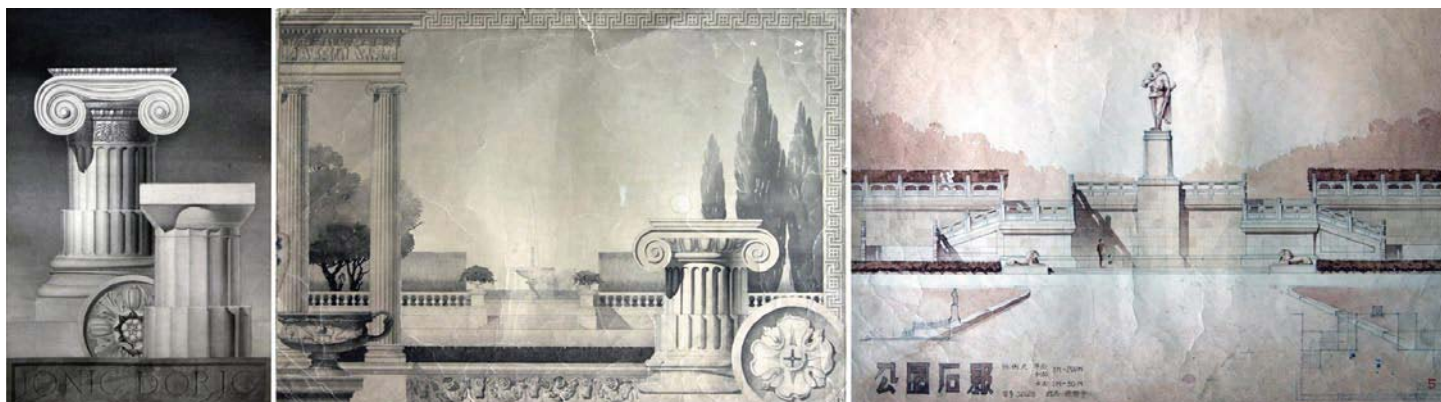




Fig. 4.2. Three steps of a rendering exercise in Chinese motifs: to copy, to compose, and to design. Published courtesy of Southeast University Archives, Nanjing.

In the early 1950s the content of the first-year design program began to employ Chinese classic motifs. This was the direct result of an emphasis on a national style in architecture, and it was supported by the research achievements in Chinese classical architecture. This was also the period of Russian advisors in China, further discussed in chapter five. By adopting the Russian educational system, the duration of study was extended from four years to five, thus giving students more time to develop as architects. The three-stage method of rendering training was maintained and carried out in two sequences: first the Western classic, then the Chinese classic.³² The first rendering exercise in the Chinese classic sequence was to copy a drawing of a corner of a temple. Compared with the rendering of the Western classic column, the new exercise was not just a simple repetition. It required students to pay more attention to the expression of material than to the contrast between light and shadow (fig. 4.2).

Another major revision of the beginning program was made after the Cultural Revolution. Several rendering exercises focused on modern buildings with simple volume and form, rather than on Western or Chinese classic motifs. The exercise sequence also did not follow exactly the three-stage training method because the time for the rendering exercise was shortened. The intention was to bring new life to this pedagogic tradition by upgrading its content. Modern architecture was now understood mainly as a style, akin to Western and Chinese classical language (fig. 4.3).

From this process of transformation, we can observe an effort to preserve and consolidate the method and at the same time to change its content to fit new situations. A new Chinese tradition was finally established when, although the

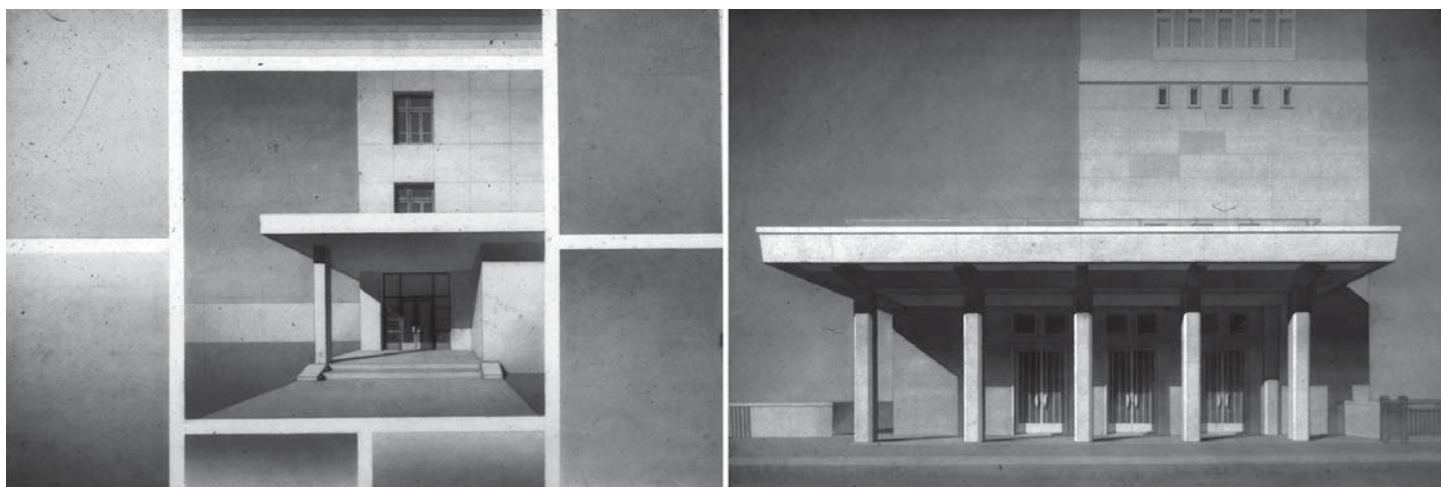


Fig. 4.3. Rendering exercises in the 1980s: an attempt to adopt modern architecture as a motif in a limited amount of time. Published courtesy of Southeast University Archives, Nanjing.

method of rendering remained Western, its content became totally Chinese. The learning of the Chinese classic language had its immediate application in design during the 1950s and 1960s. Rendering exercises were certainly not the right way to acquire knowledge about modern architecture, so the original purpose of the *analytique* as a study of the elements of architecture was totally lost. In the end, the content of rendering became meaningless; what remained was only the technique of rendering as a representational method.

Entrenchment

Continuation of the Beaux-Arts Era

In 1977 the central government resumed its entrance examination system for higher education, after a hiatus of about ten years. Although order returned to architectural education, the social context had changed so much that there could not to be a simple continuation of what had been done before. The Beaux-Arts education began to decline. However, it did not terminate abruptly, but rather disappeared gradually during a period of what might be called reluctant transition.

The Resistance of the Beaux-Arts System

A study of Beaux-Arts architectural education in China inevitably raises the question: why could China not shift its direction from classic architecture and the Beaux-Arts method to modern architecture and the corresponding design pedagogy? When China began to establish its formal education for architects, the Beaux-Arts was the only model to follow. Therefore, differences in educational concept and method among early architectural schools in China varied only in emphasis. Schools run by graduates from Germany and Japan gave more emphasis on the practical use of buildings and construction, while the Central

University was known for its emphasis on formal composition, a difference that can be interpreted as the consequence of two types of education: the Beaux-Arts and the polytechnical. However, during the 1940s a younger generation of Chinese students went overseas to schools that were under the influence of the “modern architecture.” Jorsen Huang was a forerunner of this generation. Even Liang Sicheng and Yang Tingbao had the opportunity to revisit the United States during those years. Liang brought back a course package on Basic Design. However, the unification of the national architectural education under the Beaux-Arts method in the early 1950s eventually meant the suppression of some of the former methodologies.

During the early 1960s, Feng Jizhong (Feng Chi-Chung) of Tongji University experimented for a short time with a totally new approach to design education based on the notion of space. It was known as “the principle of space.”³³ According to his proposal, a design curriculum should not be organized by building types, but instead by spatial types of different complexity. Feng’s attempt could be usefully compared with experiments on space pedagogy in the United States and Europe during the same time.³⁴ It would be safe to assume that architectural education in China would have taken a different path if this experiment had been allowed to disseminate, and had not been interrupted by the Cultural Revolution.

The end of the Cultural Revolution presented an opportunity for architectural education in China to redefine its direction. The overall situation was quite different from before. The pioneer educators such as Yang Tingbao and Tong Jun had passed away in the early 1980s, marking the ending of a generation. With increased enrollments, the once-praised “apprenticeship system” became the target of criticism for its inefficiency in educating large number of students. And through the reintroduction of modern architectural theory, a younger generation of Chinese architects began to oppose the Beaux-Arts formalist design approach in teaching. However, the advocates of the Beaux-Arts approach (mostly those former students who had been close to the pioneer educators) found theoretical support from postmodernist theory as they defended their position. The reimplementing of the Open Policy encouraged the introduction of various kinds of Western architectural theory that had been prohibited in the 1960s and 1970s.³⁵ The postmodernist interests in style and symbolic expression matched perfectly with the desire for the expression of Chinese nationalist form, classic or vernacular, around that time. Unlike the situation in the 1940s or the 1960s, when attempts to move toward modern architecture were stopped by factors outside architecture, this time the reluctance came from within.

Picturesque and Picture Architecture

In introductory training, the Bauhaus Basic Design course began to exert its influence on architecture schools around the early 1980s.³⁶ It comprises three abstract formal studies: 2-D design, 3-D design, and color design. However, most of the schools found themselves in a dilemma of choice. They were attracted by this new method of study, but the rendering exercises could not be removed from the curriculum because they were considered the core of design training. This dilemma often resulted in a compromise solution that combined abstract formal studies with rendering exercises.

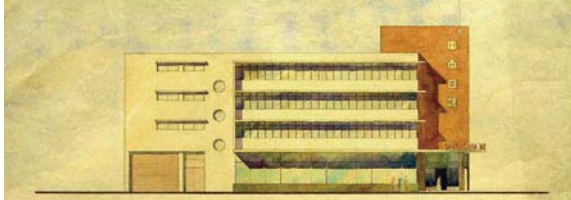
In the studios of upper-level classes, the change of design attitude was much more difficult. A kind of formalistic approach to design was widely practiced for quite some time. One characteristic of this formalistic approach is the focus on figurative form. Figure 4.4 illustrates selected student projects at NIT from the 1930s to the 1980s. Here we can observe a shift of interest in architectural styles in an interval of almost every ten years, from Western classic to Western modern, then to Chinese classic, and finally to Chinese vernacular style. Another characteristic of the formalistic approach is the picturesque attitude of design. Figure 4.5 is a typical example: a second-year assignment for designing a teahouse from the early 1980s. The building, as can be seen from the rendering, is located on a cliff with a waterfall running underneath. It is hard to believe that the site is real, even though the picture is beautiful. It is clear that the rendered picture held great importance in studio teaching.

New Interests in Space and Tectonics

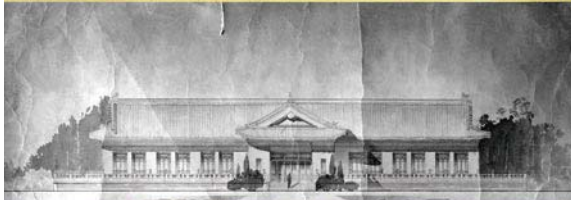
By the end of the twentieth century, most architecture schools in China were led and administered by a generation of scholars and teachers educated after the Cultural Revolution. Many have had the chance to further their studies abroad and have brought back new design pedagogies. Educational directions among the schools seem diverse, depending upon their academic affiliations with foreign counterparts. Take the example of SEU: an exchange program with ETH-Z (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology at Zurich) provided an opportunity for young faculty members to study in Switzerland. These faculty then brought back Swiss interests in the issue of space and tectonics. The Swiss influence was initially implemented in the first-year curriculum and later extended to upper years (fig. 4.6).³⁷ In recent years this new interest in space and tectonics has become a nationwide phenomenon. New schools have been formed that are fully devoted to the study of tectonics and space, such as the Graduate School of Architecture at Nanjing University (now the School of Architecture) and the Graduate Center



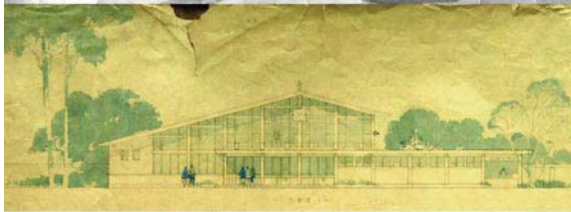
The 1930s



The 1940s



The 1950s



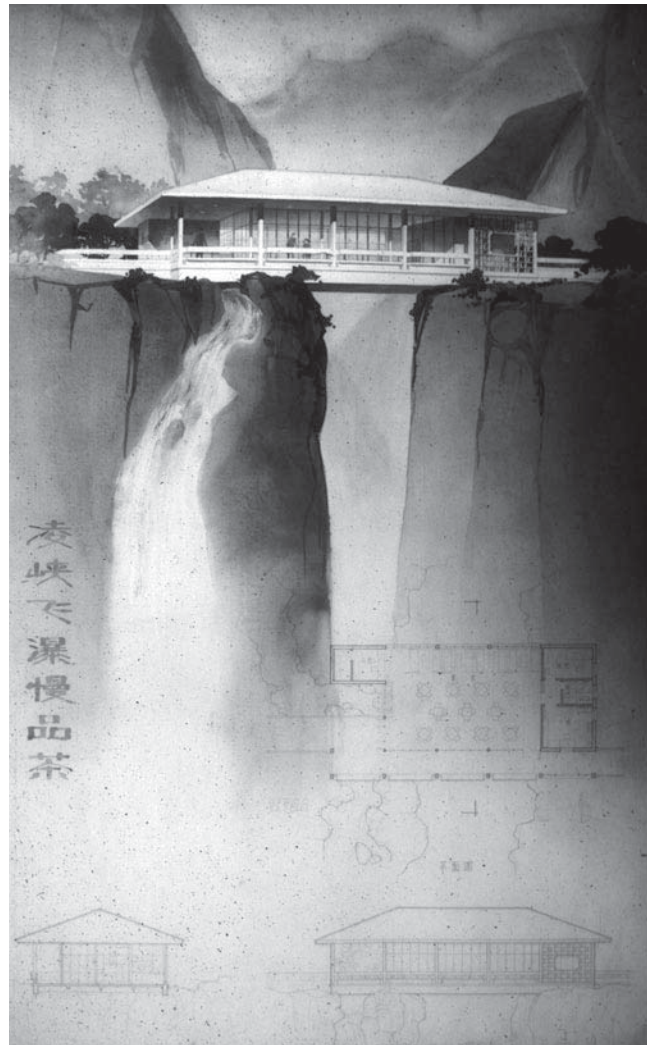
The 1960s



The 1980s

Fig. 4.4. ▲ Student projects from the 1930s to the 1980s, showing the transition of design interests. Published courtesy of Southeast University Archives, Nanjing.

Fig. 4.5. ► Second-year “teahouse” design showing a picturesque approach. Published courtesy of Southeast University Archives, Nanjing.



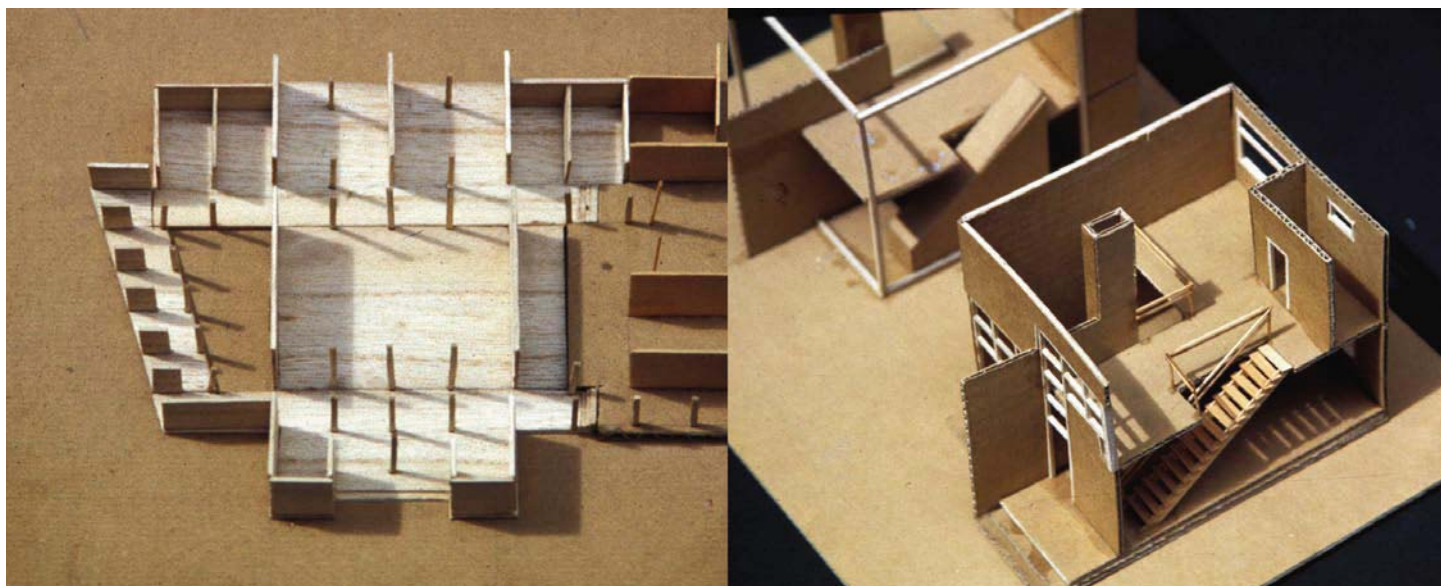


Fig. 4.6. Swiss influence in the Foundation Course, emphasizing the study of space and tectonics. Photo by author.

of Architecture at Beijing University; other schools have similarly adjusted the thrust of their training as well. Second, young Chinese architects have begun to earn international reputations with their tectonic designs. Among them are Yung Ho Chang, Ai Weiwei, Liu Jiakun, Ma Qingyun, and Wang Shu. Many of them are also directing architectural schools either in China or abroad. Finally, there has been a flourishing of theoretical publications, one landmark of which is a translation into Chinese by Wang Qun of Kenneth Frampton's *Studies in Tectonic Culture*.

Beaux-Arts education should be understood as an approach to architecture that had its origins in art academies, where architecture was complemented by painting and sculpture. The design methods associated with that education, which stressed composition and style, assumed the importance of well-rendered drawings. The present emphasis in Chinese architectural programs on space and tectonics has developed in part from contemporary European influences, but also from evolving Chinese notions about architectural modernity. As a result, there have been two main impacts on studio teaching: a change in focus from composition and style to space and tectonics and a change in the primary media of architectural representation, from drawing and painting to model-making and the act of building.

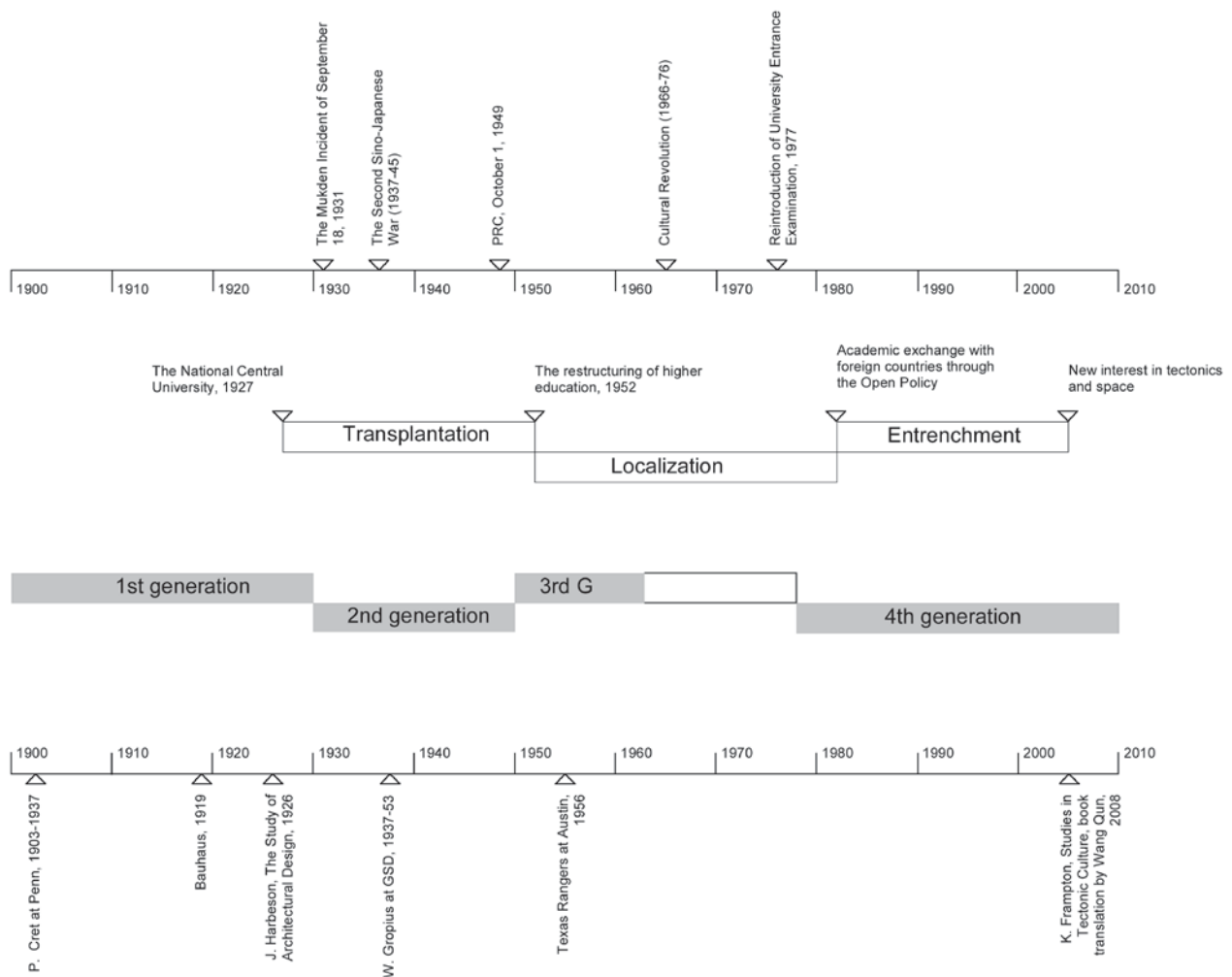


Fig. 4.7. Summary chart highlighting major phases of Beaux-Arts education in China in relation to major phases of study of Chinese students abroad. Published courtesy of author.

Conclusion

The History of Architectural Education and Overseas Study

In an attempt to draw an outline of the historical development of architectural education in China, we have to accept as a basic fact that formal architectural education in China has been, from its very beginning, an imported item. Therefore, its basic characteristics can be identified by the major phases in the history of Chinese overseas studies (fig. 4.7). Chinese overseas study in modern times was initiated in 1872, when the first group of Chinese boys was sent to the United States by the Qing government. However, architectural education started after 1900, when overseas study in Japan, the United States, and Europe took place on a regular basis. From the 1900s to the 1920s the first group of Chinese students brought back the Beaux-Arts method. Most of the figures mentioned in this chapter belong to this

group. The most representative are Yang Tingbao, Tong Jun, Liang Sicheng, and Liu Dunzhen, the last of whom brought somewhat different training from Japan. From the 1930s to the 1940s, the second generation of overseas students was educated in modern architecture ideology. The most representative are Jorsen Huang and Feng Jizhong. Among this group, some received their undergraduate training in China and then did masters study abroad, such as Liu Guanghua, Xu Zhong, and Wu Liangyong, all undergraduates at Central University. From the 1950s to the 1960s the destination of study changed to former Communist countries like Russia. This group of overseas students had almost no impact on architectural education. Since the 1980s, overseas study has reached its highest point in China's history. All the Chinese authors in this book belong to this last group, and the influence of this overseas study on the future of architectural education in China has just begun.

Notes

1. Yang Tingbao, Tong Jun, Liang Sicheng, and Liu Dunzhen are regarded as modern China's most prominent architects and educators. See Yang Yongsheng, ed. *Jianzhu sijie* (Four master architects) (Beijing: CABP, 1998.). Except for Liu, who was educated in Japan, they were all Penn graduates. Up to the 1980s they significantly influenced architectural education in China. For a sensitive article about Yang Tingbao and his peers, with additional insights about Chinese architectural education, see Xing Ruan, "Accidental Affinities: American Beaux-Arts in Twentieth-Century Chinese Architectural Education and Practice," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* [hereafter *JSAH*] 61, no. 1 (2002): 30–47.
2. According to Chang Huaisheng, the earliest architectural programs in China were in the northeast, both founded by foreigners: one in Harbin by Russians in 1920 and one in Dalian by Japanese in 1911. See Chang Huaisheng, "Harbin gongye daxue jianzhuxueyuan chunqilulu" (The early history of the School of Architecture at Harbin Institute of Technology) *Jianzhu Baijia Huiyilu Xupian* (2003): 163–166. Wu Jiang points out that some of the earliest Chinese architects were not formally educated, but received their training in design firms operated by foreign architects in Shanghai. See Wu Jiang, "Jiu shanghai huaren jianzhushi" (Architects in old Shanghai), *Time+Architecture* (Tongji University) 1 (1996): 39–42. The discussion in this chapter considers only formal architectural programs offered at university level. By this measure, the first formal architecture program in China was at National Central University.
3. Tsinghua Xuetang was originally established in 1911 as a preparatory school for students whom the government would send to study in universities in the United States, under the terms of the Boxer Indemnity Fund. The school was renamed Tsinghua School in 1912. The university section was instituted in 1925. The name National Tsinghua University was adopted in 1928. Xing Ruan's chapter in this book also discusses the history and significance of Tsinghua *Xuetang*/School/University.
4. The new university, National Southeast University, was officially formed in 1921. It became or was renamed National Fourth Zhongshan University in 1927. At this time, eight other universities in the Jiangsu region, south of the Yanzi River, were merged into it. For further details, see Pan Guxi and Shan Yong, "Guanyu Suzhou gongzhuan yu Zhongyang daxue jianzhuke" (On architectural programs of Suzhou Industrial Specialized School and the Central University), *Jianzhushi* (Architect) 90 (1999): 89–97.

5. Ibid.
6. As Atkin mentions in his essay, Liang Qichao helped his son obtain this teaching position. Initially, Northeast University had approached Yang Tingbao. When Yang declined due to an earlier commitment to a design firm in Shanghai, he recommended his Penn classmate Liang. Liang Qichao then settled the deal. But before that, Liang Qichao had convinced Tsinghua University to accept his son even though Tsinghua did not yet have a Department of Architecture. See Wilma Fairbank, *Liang and Lin: Partners in Exploring China's Architectural Past* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 33.
7. Lin Zhu, “Kaituozhe de zuji” (Footprint of a pioneer), *Jianzhu sijie* (1998).
8. The fourth core member was Cai Fangyin from MIT. Lin, who taught drawing, was the fifth. See Zhang Bo, *Wo de jianzhu chuanguo daolu* (My career of architectural creation) (Beijing: CABP, 1994), 6–7.
9. Tong Jun, “Dongbei Daxue Jianzhuxi xiaoshi” (Notes on the Architecture Department of Northeast University), in *Tong Jun wenji* (Collected writings of Tong Jun), 4 vols. (2000–2006), vol. 1, 32.
10. Tong Jun, “Meiguo Benxiwenya Daxue Jianzhuxi jianshu” (A brief introduction to the Department of Architecture at University of Penn), *Tong Jun wenji*, vol. 1, 222–226.
11. Ibid.
12. This refers to the Mukden Incident of September 18, 1931, known in Japanese as the Manchurian Incident. It caused the invasion of Manchuria by the Kwantung Army of the Empire of Japan, although the full-scale Sino-Japanese War would not start until 1937.
13. Shapingba is about fifteen kilometers from the center of the city of Chongqing. The new campus for Central University was located on a hill next to the Jialing River and adjacent to Chongqing University, which also had a Department of Architecture. The campus was planned and designed by Xu Jingzhi (Su Gin Djih). See Liu Guanghua, “Huainian enshi, qianbei he tongchuang haoyou” (In memory of my teachers, precursors, classmates, and friends), in *Jianzhu baijia huiyilu xupian*, (Beijing: CABP, 2003), 33–44.
14. Liu Guanghua was responsible for inviting Yang Tingbao to teach at the department. See Liu Guanghua, “Huainian enshi, qianbei he tongchuang haoyou.”
15. Zhong Dekun, “Huihuang zhengcheng qishizai, jiwang kailai yu yingcai” (Department of Architecture at SEU: Past, present and future), *Memorial Symposium for the 70th Anniversary of the Architectural Department of Southeast University* (Beijing: CABP, 1997), 225–226.
16. See Lai Delin, “Liang Sicheng jianzhu jiaoyu sixiang de xingcheng he tese” (The formation and characteristics of Liang Sicheng’s thoughts on architectural education), *Liang Sicheng xueshu sixiang yanjiu lunwenji* (Beijing: CABP, 1996), 126–130.
17. Both departments began with a clear inclination toward modern architecture due to their founding teachers having returned from Germany, France, and Japan, although mostly with a polytechnic educational background. However, there is no evidence to show that their programs were completely new. The difference between these programs and that of the Central University was only the emphasis in studio teaching on construction or formal composition and the proportional time allocation between technical courses and art training. See Qian Feng and Wu Jiang, *Zhongguo xiandai jianzhu jiaoyushi* (Education in modern architecture in China) (Beijing: CABP, 2008), 48–50, 91–101.
18. Luo Xiaowei and Qian Feng, “Huainian Jorsen Huang” (In memory of Jorsen Huang), *Jianzhu baijia*, 47–60.

19. Wang Qiming and Ru Jinghua, “Liang xiansheng bushi baoshou de ren” (Liang Sicheng was not a conservative person), *Jianzhu baijia*, 91.

20. The restructuring was conducted by the Ministry of Education and based on the principle of developing specialized institutes for cultivating industrial experts and teachers and consolidating comprehensive universities. As a result, there were seven architectural programs within 182 universities and institutes. See Zhou Denong, *Zhongguo xiandai jianzhusi* (History of modern Chinese architecture) (Tianjin: Tianjin Science and Technology Press, 2001), 89.

21. Those political movements—such as the Three-Anti/Five-Anti Campaigns, the Hundred Flowers Campaign, the Anti-Rightist Movement, and the Great Leap Forward—had great impact on both the content of architectural programs and the lives of scholars and architects. For more on this period of history, see Zhou, *Zhongguo xiandai jianzhusi*.

22. By the end of the 1950s, through several reformations after the restructuring in 1952, there were eventually eight architecture schools: Tsinghua University, Tongji University, Tianjin University, Nanjing Institute of Technology, the South China Institute of Technology, Chongqing Institute of Construction and Engineering, Harbin Institute of Construction and Engineering, and Xi’an Institute of Metallurgical Construction. See Zhou, *Zhongguo xiandai jianzhusi*, 89.

23. As Pen Yigang recalls, his mentor, Xu Zhong, commented on Russian experts’ teaching as poor Western classicist design. See Pen Yigang, “Yi enshi Xu Zhong” (In memory of my mentor, Xu Zhong), *Jianzhu baijia*, 149–151. Xu Zhong graduated from Central University and then completed his master’s degree at the University of Illinois. He joined Central University after returning to China in 1939 and eventually became the key figure in the newly formed Department of Architecture at Tianjin University in 1952.

24. Luo and Qian, “Huainian Jorsen Huang,” 47–60.

25. Tan Yuan’s important role has long been overshadowed by other two Penn graduates, Yang Tingbao and Tong Jun. However, several scholars have pointed out that it was Tan Yuan who built the solid foundation for design teaching at Central University. See Tong Heling, “Wenxin de huiyi” (A warm memory), *Memorial Symposium for the 70th Anniversary of the Architectural Department of Southeast University*, 101–103. Tan taught at the Central University from 1931 to 1947.

26. Tong Jun, “Jianzhu jiaoyu” (Architecture education), *Tong Jun wenji*, vol. 1, 112–117.

27. It is not possible to understand clearly the exact differences in studio organization between these two departments due to the lack of references. However, Central University did have a “large drafting room” where students of all years worked together. Due to the limited number of students, it would have been a natural choice to place students of all classes in one room. For further details, see Zhang Zhizhong, “Jianzhuxi de dahuitufang” (The large drafting room of the Architecture Department), *Memorial Symposium for the 70th Anniversary of the Architectural Department of Southeast University*, 73.

28. Tong, “Meiguo Benxuewenya Daxue Jianzhuxi jianshu.”

29. Tong, “Jianzhu jiaoyu.”

30. *Analytique* is a project that is the study of the elements of architecture; see John Harbeson, *The Study of Architectural Design* (New York: Pencil Points Press, 1926), 309. We know that Harbeson’s book was one of the main texts for the Beaux-Arts method in China because several chapters were translated and published in the influential Chinese architectural journal *Zhongguo jianzhu* in the 1930s.

31. Wang Wenqing and Wu Jiahua, “Tan jianzhu sheji jichu jiaoyu” (On the teaching of the architectural design foundation course), *Jianzhu xuebao* 7 (1984): 38–41.
32. Shan Yong, “1980 niandai qian de jianzhu sheji jichu kecheng gaikuang” (A survey of the foundation course in architectural design before the 1980s), in Gu Daqing and Shan Yong, eds. *Sheji qimeng* (The enlightenment of design) (Beijing: CABB, 2007), 2–9.
33. Feng Jizhong, “Kongjian yuanli shuyao” (An outline of principles of space), *Jianzhu xuanzhu: Feng Jizhong lungao*, (Shanghai: Shanghai Science and Technology Press, 2003), 18–27. A representative of the Second Generation of Chinese overseas students, Feng received his architecture education in Austria in the mid-1930s. Both his design work and teaching demonstrate a very different approach from those of the First Generation.
34. For instance, the pedagogic experiments of the so-called “Texas Rangers” at the University of Texas in the late 1950s. See Gu Daqing, “Tufang gongzuofang he shejishiyanshi” (Atelier, workshop, and design lab), *Jianzhushi* 98 (2001): 20–36.
35. The academic journal *Jianzhushi* was launched in 1979. Since then it has been one of the main venues for publishing translations of Western architectural theory. A group of fifty Chinese scholars and students was sent to the United States in 1978, soon after the end of the Cultural Revolution, which marked the beginning of a new wave of Chinese study overseas.
36. It was first introduced to academies of fine art and institutes of arts and crafts as course packages developed by Japanese and only later influenced architectural schools. Because of this, many of these abstract exercises were originally tailored for graphic and product designers, not for architects.
37. See Gu and Shan, eds., *Sheji qimeng*; and Gu Daqing, “Zhongguo de baoza jianzhu jiaoyu zhi lishi yange” (The historical evolution of Beaux-Arts architectural education in China), *Jianzhushi* 126 (2007): 5–15.

5 A CLASSICIST ARCHITECTURE FOR UTOPIA

The Soviet Contacts

In the 1950s China received a massive economic aid package from the Soviet Union along with a constant stream of Soviet experts assisting in nearly all critical fronts of China's socialist reconstruction. To provide political justification for the Soviet assistance, Chinese authorities launched a campaign called "Learning from the Soviet Union," in which they openly adopted socialist ideology from the USSR. The ideological affiliation deeply changed the cultural scene in China, especially for the intellectual sector of society. This chapter outlines the political background that necessitated and facilitated the importation of Soviet architecture and reviews its influence on the architectural community in China. Focusing on the classicist method of architectural design that dominated Soviet construction and influenced China's design in the 1950s, this chapter also retraces the events and projects that highlighted China's changing scene of design and planning under Soviet influence. In so doing, it provides a critical perspective on the ideological and historical implications of the importation taking place during this brief but dynamic period.

The Classicist Design Method in China

Sources of Importation

We can identify three main sources of the importation of the classicist method of architectural design to China in the twentieth century. All these methods shared the design preference for spacious and formal layout, the sensibility of massing and proportion, the eclectic use of the forms from the past to achieve monumentality, and the refinement of details.¹ However, each source came to China in a special circumstance that affected the outcome of the importation in a different way. The first was from Western architects practicing in China and returning Chinese students from Western schools. This aspect of the process has been discussed in previous chapters. Mostly visible in the 1920s, the extended range includes buildings involving Western classical and Chinese traditional forms produced intermittently as late as the 1940s. Although the importation of the classicist method from this source took place principally in the professional context, it nevertheless reflected the country's fundamental transformation from a decaying dynastic society to an evolving colonial-capitalist one. The political constituent of this source also lies in the successful use of the method to promote nationalism through revitalizing and monumentalizing Chinese traditional architecture. This method had a wide impact on China's architectural scene, most notably in laying down the foundation for the

assimilation by Chinese architects of the classicist method in both intellectual and practical areas.

The introduction from the second source was an imposed one. It occurred during the period of Japanese occupation from 1931 to 1945 through planning and construction in the occupied coastal cities, in Manchuria, and in Taiwan, as discussed in the next chapter. Japan had been exposed to Western architecture almost half a century earlier than China. The monumental government buildings in Changchun, then the capital of the puppet Manchuguo regime, exemplified the classicist method in designs based on Chinese traditional elements through Japanese interpretation.² In addition, and unrelated to Japan's invasion of China, Chinese students had gone to Japan to study architecture, which predated other overseas studies by a generation.³ While some of the returning students, such as Liu Dunzhen and Shan Shiyuan, became leading scholars of traditional Chinese architecture, academic discussion of the influence of Japanese education on architecture in China was sporadic at best.⁴

The third source, which is the subject of this chapter, was also caused by a dramatic change of political condition and was received from a single country: the Soviet Union.⁵ However, this importation was invited. It took place after the founding of the People's Republic, as the result of China's political alliance with the Soviet Union, which started in 1950 and ended in the early 1960s.⁶ During the period they were allied, China invited thousands of Soviet technicians, engineers, designers, and scholars—commonly referred to as Soviet experts—to help reconstruct the country. Among the incoming experts were also architects and planners, who brought in the classicist design method, at the time the only officially sanctioned method in the Soviet Union.⁷ The duration of the contact between Soviet architecture and the architecture in China was relatively short, but it produced some of the highest-profile building and urban planning projects in China and had a dramatic, long-term effect on the built domain in China. During this period China also sent students to Soviet architecture schools.⁸ However, the contribution of the returning students to architecture in China has not been widely recognized, for the most part because their work was overshadowed by the more publicized events and projects created directly by the Soviet experts working in China and their professional and political hosts.⁹

“Learning from the Soviet Union”

Immediately after the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, the Chinese government announced its firm alliance with the Soviet Union. Out of the alliance,

China obtained a much-needed \$300 million low-interest loan to jumpstart its war-torn industries, which took the form of constructing 156 large projects related to heavy industry and military equipment.¹⁰ The governments of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China created an advisory program; more than 20,000 Soviet experts came to China to help accelerate the country's industrialization and its progress toward socialism.¹¹ To justify and politicize the importation of Soviet expertise, the Chinese government launched the movement "Learning from the Soviet Union," formulated as an inseparable part of the country's new socialist ideology. The movement apparently also showed China's commitment to the China-Soviet alliance and China's gratitude to the Soviet Union, whereby solidifying the sense of brotherhood between the two countries as it was promoted in propaganda. The Chinese government was very clear about the practical and political importance of the movement: any doubt of the Soviet experience or words against the China-Soviet friendship would have serious political consequences.¹²

Domestically, after the founding of the People's Republic, the Communist authorities took decisive measures to stabilize the Chinese people's everyday life by ending the hyperinflation, suppressing grassroots political opposition, and eliminating local bandits.¹³ The authorities also attempted to unify the people by identifying the United States as China's primary enemy, thanks in large part to the outbreak of the Korean War. All these actions fitted squarely into the strategies of consolidating the new regime. In this context the policy of "Learning from the Soviet Union" also provided the Chinese people with a palpable vision of their future, a promising goal toward which to strive. The Soviet-assisted projects were thought most able to dramatize for the Chinese people the picture of the Communist utopia. The most publicized was the Number One Automobile Factory, completed in 1956 in Changchun, Jilin province, which served as the flagship of China's automobile industry for almost two decades. Its primary product, the very popular truck Liberation (*Jiefang*), carried a calligraphic logo written by Mao Zedong and was for a long time synonymous with Chinese socialist achievement. In all, the ideological exertions worked quite effectively among the masses in China, and the Soviets were often colloquially referred to as "Soviet, the big elder brother" (*Sulian laodage*) (fig. 5.1).

In this period, works of Soviet artists also flooded the Chinese art world. China's state radio stations broadcast revolutionary and folklore songs from the Soviet Union and the other socialist European countries almost every day. Noted Soviet art workers, such as Vladimir Mayakovsky, Nikolay Ostrovsky, Galina Ulanova, and David Oistrakh, became the most discussed names among their respective audiences and colleagues in China.¹⁴ Architecture was no exception.



Fig. 5.1. Unknown Chinese artist, “Learn Advanced Experience from the Soviet Union, Construct Our Motherland,” propaganda poster, early 1950s. *Ai laozhaopian* (Treasure old pictures). <http://www.ilzp.com/attachment.php?aid=4278&noupdate=yes>

However, for the Chinese architecture community, in addition to the ideologically driven Learning, two administrative measures exercised in the early 1950s seemed to have helped insert Soviet architectural designs and ideas into the Chinese context. The first started in 1952, with the “college-department rearrangement” (*yuaxi tiaozheng*) in the higher education system. It reshuffled all academic units in existing universities and colleges, most of which were in the process of being put under central government administration and funded directly by the government, into several large disciplinary areas organized according to the Soviet education system: humanities and science, engineering, medicine, and education. Each university now conducted a rather narrowly defined academic area.¹⁵ Also following the Soviet model, all universities would use standard textbooks.¹⁶ Although the departmental rearrangement may not have affected every detail in the curriculum, the disciplinary reshuffling sent an unmistakable message to the faculty and

students about the central government's control in higher education. Meanwhile, Soviet texts were translated into Chinese wholesale; students and young intellectuals were encouraged and often required to study Russian, which was considered not only a tool of the Learning but also as an attitude embracing the entire political movement. For architecture schools, now rearranged into eight nationwide, one technical consequence of learning from the Soviet Union was the reinforcement of the classicist design method, which was favored in official Soviet architecture, even though the method was already a major component in Chinese curricula.¹⁷

The second measure was the elimination of private design firms and the installation in the 1950s of a government-controlled design institute system. The process was gradual, complicated, and sometimes confusing, but the outcome was clear: design institutes did not function as profit-seeking companies, but operated under the government's administration; architectural design was considered teamwork for socialist construction; it was not associated with such notions as an architect's personal creation or expression of individuality. With the installation of the institute system, only the institute received design credit, not individual architects. In fact, the system did not even have a designation for architects. In documents they were called engineers.¹⁸ On the other hand, in this system architects did not need to attend to the business aspect of the work, which may have allowed them to concentrate on the actual design.¹⁹ From both the management and the interpersonal points of view, increased administrative control and decreased appreciation of individual creativity apparently helped create a work environment in which the invited Soviet experts could easily be placed in leading roles.²⁰ Together with the ideological movement, these administrative measures ensured that the expertise brought in by Soviet architects and planners was received not only as technical advice but also as political mandate.

Socialist Realism in Chinese Architectural Context

Shortly after the founding of the People's Republic, nationwide reconstruction was interrupted by the 1950–1953 Korean War. However, work on the ideological and administrative fronts did not stop; by the time actual building reconstruction resumed, “Learning from the Soviet Union” had already become a given condition for the work of Chinese architects. In 1954 the inaugural statement of China's *Architectural Journal* (*Jianzhu xuebao*) declared that “in response to Chairman Mao's call to learn from the Soviet Union, the *Journal* shall set as its primary task the introduction of the advanced experience of the Soviet Union in urban construction and architecture.”²¹

Fig. 5.2. (Opposite above) Ivan Zholtovsky, Apartment House on Mokhovaya Street, Moscow, 1934. NVO, Wikimedia image, used under GNU Free Documentation License, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/58/Moscow_mokhovaya_2.jpg.

Fig. 5.3. (Opposite below left) Alexi Rukhlyadev, Riverboat Station, Moscow, 1937. Matthias Kabel, Wikimedia image, used under GNU Free Documentation License, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a6/Moscow_Volga_canal_harbour_main_building_01.jpg.

Fig. 5.4. (Opposite below right) Vladimir Gelfreich and Mikhail Minkus, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow, 1952. Bernt Rostad, Flickr image, used under Creative Commons License, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/brostad/2774305452/sizes/o/>.

An important ideological component adopted from the Soviet Union during the Learning period was socialist realism, a formula created by Stalin and handed through his ideological lieutenants to all writers, artists, and designers. It demanded all work in the creative arts be “socialist in content and national in form.” In architecture, this was interpreted to mean that buildings must serve socialist ideological and functional purposes and use traditional forms.²² It is widely known that during the first two decades after the 1917 Russian Revolution, constructivist architects in Russia worked very hard at using the new social order to justify their architectural outlook, while the competing traditionalists held on to the classicist method, which was largely a descendant of eighteenth-century French neoclassicism.²³ The official sanction of the classicist method in the Soviet Union came after a long, convoluted discourse that involved not only the interference of top-level Communist officials but also the power struggle inside the architecture community.²⁴ The widespread Greco-Roman-based classical form in Soviet architecture came even later. In fact, some designs produced during the early Stalinist era that replicated classical form were criticized for their lack of creativity, such as the apartment house on Mokhovaya Street, Moscow, designed by Ivan Zholtovsky and completed in 1934, which was a replica of Palladio’s Palazzo Valmarana with details drawn from his Loggia del Capitaniato (fig. 5.2).²⁵ In the early years of the Soviet Union, when political control over all the “joining” national territories had not been fully secured, classical forms, especially the neoclassical mode, were to be avoided because of their strong association with tsarist imperial Russia. The authorities were concerned that using the form might arouse the sensitive issue of Russian-centered chauvinism among the other nationals in the Soviet Union. When multinational adherence within the Soviet Union became firmly consolidated, and especially after World War II (the Great Patriotic War as it was called in the Soviet Union, in which Russian patriotism was called upon for winning the victory), classical forms were considered a legitimate style representing not only Russia but also the entire Soviet Union. Therefore, for a long time Soviet architects worked eclectically with traditional motifs, most of them medieval, selected from the various national traditions of the Soviet Union.²⁶ One highly regarded example was the Riverboat Station in Moscow, designed by Alexi Rukhlyadev. Built in 1937 to serve as the terminus for the grand Moscow-Volga canal, the building was exemplary for its medieval-inspired design features (fig. 5.3). In the process of monumentalizing traditional forms, the classicist method grew into a strong tradition in itself, which culminated in Moscow skyscrapers erected in the early 1950s that bore a strong resemblance to Gothic structures (fig. 5.4). Even the belatedly revived classical form was subjected to



eclectic and free reinterpretation, as can be witnessed in the vastly different and “creative” ways of applying classical form to the designs produced during the last years of the Stalinist era.²⁷

When socialist realism arrived in China, it bypassed ideological and political complications and was presented forthrightly to the Chinese architectural community in two solid terms: the denouncement of Western modernist architecture and the embracement of national form. Perhaps because modernism did not have as strong a hold in China as it had in the Soviet Union, it was not until the early 1960s that articles criticizing modernism began to appear in the press.²⁸ The embracement of national form, however, had the immediate effect in China of upbeat elaboration. In 1952 the Soviet architectural theoretician and historian Mikhail Pavlovich Tsapenko published *The Fundamentals of Soviet Architecture*.²⁹ In this book, Tsapenko extolled the Soviet embrace of the classicist method and classical form. Citing Stalin’s words and other authoritative political sources, he elaborated on the ideological justifications for promoting both method and form. This publication was especially influential within the Chinese architecture community.³⁰ For architects, while socialist content seemed to be somewhat abstract for a legible interpretation in actual design terms, national form was apparently a more tangible goal to attain. Architects in China, having accumulated decades of experience assimilating traditional architectural form, were more than ready to reinterpret the form for socialism. In addition, because ethnic Chinese comprised over 90 percent of China’s population, for Chinese leaders and architects, a national form based on the Han tradition seemed to be so obvious a choice that, unlike the potential political threat in the Soviet Union, this choice would never compromise China’s political stability. Government and education buildings in China were soon dressed with motifs from Chinese imperial architecture: the structural profile, the decorative detail, and especially the curved roof, for which, as we have already read, these new designs would later be nicknamed Big Roof (*da wuding*).³¹ Exemplary designs included the Beihai Office Building in Beijing, designed by Chen Deng’ao of the Central Design Institute, completed in 1955; the Shandong Opera House in Jinan, designed by Ni Xinmu of the Shangdong Architectural Design Institute, completed in 1954; and the Guangdong Academy of Science in Guangzhou, designed by Lin Keming of the Guangzhou Municipal Architectural Design Institute and completed in the mid-1950s. Apparently for this great wave of Chinese classic revival, the imported formula of socialist content and national form had turned on a bright green light for Chinese architects to use their favorite traditional form for the new content.

But the solution did not seem to have been settled once and for all. In late 1954 a campaign of condemning excessive ornament and impractical design was initiated in the All-Union Congress of Builders, Architects, and Workers in the Building Materials Industry held in Moscow. Ignited by Nikita Khrushchev's speech delivered on 7 December, the Congress criticized the "unnecessary building parts" featured in many monumental structures; the Congress also denounced treating architecture as art.³² Echoing the All-Union Congress, the Chinese government started to criticize lavish planning and the excessive use of building material. On 28 March 1955, the *People's Daily* published an editorial entitled "Against Waste in Building" (Fandui jianzhu zhong de langfei). The editorial sharply criticized unnecessary projects, the indulgence of high-standard material, formalist design, an admiration of old building forms, and waste in construction. The *Architectural Journal* was a major target in the campaign, for it had promoted historical styles that were alleged to have wasted material resources. Publication of the *Journal* was suspended. When it resumed in July 1955, with an apologetic editorial, the entire issue was filled with "antiwaste" articles by Chinese authors of various professional and political capacities. The critical articles identified design faults in projects and attributed the mistakes to their designers' failure to follow the Party's policy and socialist ideology. Some of the authors were veteran architects or noted scholars who may have been writing under political pressure. But they certainly knew that importation of the Stalinist "content-form" formula was at least partially responsible for expensive design, although no one would dare to point this out. Nevertheless, the costly Big Roof design fell victim to this campaign.

Paradoxically, the antiwaste campaign in China was probably riding on the "wrong" track of architectural ideology. Stalin died in 1953. Three years later he was denounced in Khrushchev's secret report delivered to the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. The Chinese Communist leaders were caught unprepared and would later strongly oppose the posthumous denunciation of Stalin. Clearly, the attack in the 1954 All-Union Congress against the monumental structures was a prelude to the attack against Stalin himself. After the All-Union Congress, Khrushchev moved to abolish the Academy of Architecture, the chief institute founded in 1933 to train elite architects to lead the Soviet historicist movement. With the closing of the Academy, Khrushchev decapitated both the mentality and the technical support of Stalinist architecture, and modernism-based designs began to reemerge on the Soviet scene.³³ On the Chinese side, the door to modernism was still officially closed, and Chinese architects would soon find themselves working with traditional form again, regardless of its cost. Very likely the Communist leaders in China, themselves supreme masters of ideology, realized that the termination

of historicism in Soviet architecture implied the downfall of Stalin's legacy, which they had wanted to keep. Still, traditional architectural form was reactivated in the monuments built in Beijing for the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic in 1959. These buildings demonstrated an explicit adherence to national form—the backbone of the Stalinist architectural rhetoric—which was completely consistent with the proclamation of China's top leaders to be the true followers of orthodox Marxism-Leninism, that is, the earlier, largely Stalinist ideology, as opposed to the post-Stalinist ideology in the Soviet Union, which they called revisionism. But all these political intricacies were taking place secretly; until they became known to the Chinese people, the Soviet Union was still the “big elder brother” and was still the source of the Learning.

Soviet Architecture and the Chinese Architecture Community

In the Learning Movement, Soviet experts had actively assumed leading roles in China's design projects and especially in urban planning. Generally, they were well received and respected by the collaborating Chinese. However, the Soviet expertise seems to have been detached from the Chinese intellectual environment, which can be detected in the scarcity of Soviet architecture as well as the disengagement between Soviet architecture and the architecture in China in professional forums. The seven articles in the inaugural issue of the *Architectural Journal* demonstrate this detachment. Among them, three were by Soviet authors and their texts were all political in nature. The remaining four articles were by Chinese authors, including two centered on traditional Chinese architecture (one by Wang Ying and one by Liang Sicheng) and one, contributed by Zhang Bo, a focus of Yung Ho Chang's essay in this volume, featured the design of one of his recent projects. The only article that put architectural topics in China and the Soviet Union together was the reprint of a speech by Zhang Jiafu, vice president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences (*Zhongguo Kexueyuan*), delivered at the inaugural ceremony of the founding of the Architectural Society of China (*Zhongguo Jianzhu Xuehui*). The speech, while emphasizing the importance of the Soviet experience for Chinese architecture and building workers, was essentially a political report instead of a professional presentation.³⁴ The articles in the second issue of the *Architectural Journal* maintained the same topical structure, except that Soviet authors were replaced by authors from socialist countries in Eastern Europe, the extended source area for the Learning. In the subsequent years, the sporadic presence of Soviet architecture in the *Architectural Journal* continued. Scarcely an article actually

discussed from a professional point of view a project designed or assisted by Soviet experts. The only time Soviet architecture was discussed in meaningful detail was in the special essay collection published in the October 1957 issue to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the Soviet October Revolution.

In education, Soviet architectural scholarship engaged Chinese curricula more actively, although only top schools could have the “luxury” of hosting a Soviet expert. The expert sent to the eminent Department of Architecture at Tsinghua University was Evgenii Andreevich Ashchepkov. According to Tsinghua Professor Chen Zhihua, who was an assistant to the Soviet expert at the department from 1951 to 1952, Ashchepkov was a well-established scholar with appreciable politeness in personality and was well respected in the department.³⁵ He taught the history of Soviet architecture, which was solidly organized with rich content and a lively lecture style, highlighted with discussions of various traditional architectural forms found in the republics of the Soviet Union; although, as Chen recalls, Ashchepkov’s lecture notes were filled with “praising” [Soviet architecture].³⁶ Ashchepkov frequently participated in the department’s curriculum discussions and studio juries. On the other hand, the visiting expert also apparently benefited from his host institution’s extraordinary concentration on scholarship and the resources of Chinese traditional architecture, for Ashchepkov later published an extensively illustrated book on this subject.³⁷

Overall, Soviet expertise seemed to have been easy for the faculty and students at Tsinghua to accept. The official line of transmission was that classicist architectural education had been brought to Russia in the mid-eighteenth century by the French architect-educator, Jean-Baptiste-Michel-Vallin de la Mothe, a student of Jacques-François Blondel. The hosting institute of Blondel’s professorship, the French Royal Academy of Architecture, later became the core force for the discipline when it joined the *École des Beaux-Arts* in the early nineteenth century. In Russia, de la Mothe was appointed the first professor of architecture at the Imperial Academy of Arts, established in 1757 in St. Petersburg. The curricula of modern Russian and Soviet architectural schools largely maintained the classicist-based system.³⁸ The establishment of the Academy of Architecture especially strengthened the system by offering advanced training in classical architecture and a rigorous program of studying historical forms of various cultural origins. The Academy also sent the most proficient architects to study abroad.³⁹ Thus, in essence, the Soviet top institute very much resembled the American Academy in Rome. In general, therefore, the Soviet classicist method was not fundamentally different from the existing architectural curricula in Chinese schools, most of which also had a French ancestry, acquired especially through the dissemination of the Penn-transcribed

Beaux-Arts method. However, as Professor Chen recalls, the Soviet method in studio was more scrupulous about details, with its overall aesthetic leaning toward a hard-edged rigidity rather than a softer elegance. As far as building design is concerned, for the Chinese architecture community, the most important result from the Learning was the justification it gave for using traditional form to implement socialist ideology; less important were the technical details, which they already shared in considerable measure with their Soviet colleagues.

Soviet Planning in Chinese Cities and Neighborhoods

Despite some close camaraderie and similar methodology, conflicts sometimes arose between Soviet experts and their Chinese colleagues. A well-known story is the debate about whether the Chinese Central Government should stay inside or go outside the old city of Beijing.⁴⁰ Arriving in Beijing in fall 1949 at the invitation of the Beijing Planning Committee, Soviet planners proposed to place a government complex in the old city.⁴¹ Their main rationale was immediate feasibility: to utilize the existing infrastructure of the old city to reduce the cost of building the new government complex. Chinese architects Liang Sicheng and Chen Zhanxiang offered an opposing proposal.⁴² The proposal, known as the “Liang-Chen Project,” passionately advocated preserving the entire old city and erecting a new government center to the west. After several rounds of discussion, the Soviet experts’ more realistic proposal prevailed, and the final decision made by the top leaders of China accepted the more radical transformation of the old city.⁴³ As a result, Beijing lost much of its ancient glory and formal magnificence, and the Soviet experts have since been blamed by Chinese preservationists for their ignorance about China’s cultural heritage.⁴⁴ In reality, a decision regarding the seat for a national government could hardly have been made exclusively on technical considerations; the conflicting professional opinions actually reflected the different outlooks of scholastic idealism and political realism. In the preservationists’ eyes, transforming the old city—the symbol of the national culture—was a disastrous move that eventually led to the dismantling of most of the twenty-three miles of city walls and other irreplaceable losses of the historic urban fabric.⁴⁵ From the Communist leaders’ point of view at the time, consolidating the legitimacy of the new regime outweighed anything else. The government’s physical presence in the traditional capital would reinforce the symbolism of commanding and controlling the entire nation, which was a logical extension of the Communist leaders’ earlier decision to select Beijing as the capital of the new People’s Republic. Moreover, even before Communists entered Beijing, the dismantling of the city’s old fabric

had already started. Beijing was certainly not the first major capital city in the post-Enlightenment world to have its walls removed for political and utilitarian purposes; at that time city walls were regarded more as a confinement that blocked a city's progress than as an important element of cultural heritage.⁴⁶ While many of the top-level political considerations of the period will probably never be known to the general public,⁴⁷ the prominent presence of the image of the old Tiananmen in the new national emblem suggests how symbolically important Tiananmen was for the authorities of the new China as the centerpiece of the Chinese capital.⁴⁸ One wonders whether either side of the debate could really have exerted much persuasive effect on China's top-level decision-makers, and whether the Communist leaders would not have taken down ancient structures in Beijing regardless of the opinions of either Soviet or Chinese experts.

However, on aspects concerning the everyday life of the countless residents and workers in Chinese cities Soviet experts most definitely had a strong influence. This was not only because Soviet experts directly participated in, and in some cases supervised, the planning of many major cities, but also because of the long-term impact of the planning model they had brought. With the Chinese Communist leaders' commitment to transform the country's economy by using a centrally planned system, it was critical to plan a supporting infrastructure for the country's ambitious socialist industry program, which would mostly be carried out in cities. According to Soviet planning principles, urban planning was an extension of the socialist country's economical plan, and the primary function of a socialist city was industrial productivity.⁴⁹ The Soviet planning model typically allocated a substantial area for industrial use, either by clearing old urban fabric or by converting farmlands near the city. It also called for the centralized supply and management of housing, and it assumed proximity between residence and workplace.⁵⁰ This may have nurtured the employment-based community pattern—the *danwei* (work-unit) culture that would dominate the life of Chinese urban residents for three decades. The urbanistic aspect of the Soviet plans, which largely followed the example of the Moscow plan of 1935, often included a hierarchy of concentric ring roads and radiating avenues, as well as ample public open space at nodal locations, which were accentuated by monuments.⁵¹ The plan of Xiashan District in Zhanjiang, Guangdong (mid-1950s), provides an example on a modest scale (fig. 5.5). Although many of these planning concepts and design features would later prove to be unrealistic in the context of China's economic condition, the Soviet-assisted campaign of urban planning, in which more than 150 cities received their plans before 1957, set the foundation for developing the theory, the administration, and the education systems of China's socialist urban planning.⁵²



Fig. 5.5. Plan of Xiashan District, Zhanjiang, Guangdong, 1950s. Google Map satellite imagery, <http://maps.google.com>.

In neighborhood planning, Soviet-assisted projects typically employed peripheral placement of apartment buildings and rejected the model of repetitive rows of building blocks espoused by Western European architects such as Walter Gropius and other modernist housing proponents. In form, Soviet planners favored an axial layout and a thick, heavy aesthetic. For buildings, Soviet experts preferred large depth layout and, being aware of material shortages in China, they reduced the role of the living room to spare the resources for more bedrooms within each apartment unit.⁵³ Overall, both the interiors and exteriors designed by Soviet experts appeared generously spacious, a design virtue that, according to Catherine Cooke, was being

promoted in the post–World War II era of the Soviet Union to enhance the people’s confidence in the socialist country’s bright future.⁵⁴ While neighborhoods planned according to the Soviet principles may work well in enhancing community identity and pride, it was not the most efficient way to use land. This may not have been the primary concern for Soviet planners, but was critical for Chinese planners in dealing with China’s higher density of urban residents.⁵⁵ In addition, peripheral placement often caused apartment units to face west, which created challenging conditions in the summer afternoon’s heat.

In architectural form, Soviet-designed public buildings typically featured a symmetrical layout, a central pavilion topped with a tower spire, and an elaborated cornice, as exemplified in the main building of the Measurement and Cutting Tools Factory in Harbin (1954). In the Soviet Union these features were derived from the design of the recently completed skyscrapers in Moscow, scaled down for small buildings.⁵⁶ Occasionally, buildings designed by Chinese architects would imitate this formula, such as the China Broadcast Building of 1958 and the Chinese People’s Revolutionary Military Museum of 1959, both in Beijing (figs. 5.6 and 5.7). The formula continued to surface in simplified versions until much later.⁵⁷ The largest building designed by Chinese architects but influenced by Soviet architecture was the main hall of Tsinghua University, designed by Guan Zhaoye and others (1959–1961, 1963–1966, 2000–2001). A megastructure of 830,000 square feet (76,781 square meters), the complex followed the model of the central building of Moscow State University designed by Lev Rudnev, Pavel Abrosimov, and Aleksandr Khriakov, and completed in 1953 (fig. 5.8). The structure has a massive central pavilion, with primary and secondary wings forming a magnificently expansive footprint, but without its Soviet big brother’s ornamental exuberance and a telescoping central tower. This model can also be found in other campuses in China, including Tsinghua’s rival, the Huazhong University of Science and Technology in Wuhan. Given, however, that air conditioning was not available at the time of construction, the spreading out of the structure was perhaps the only workable solution for putting such large programs under one roof. In sum, during the Learning period, Soviet architecture left appreciable marks on buildings in China, ranging from the designs directly supplied by Soviet experts and the ones that imitated the Soviet style, to the designs that absorbed Soviet expertise in less visible but technically critical areas. For many Chinese cities, in spite of the initial mismatch between Soviet experience and Chinese reality, and in spite of the subsequent readjustment, Soviet planners helped shape the path for cities moving into the socialist economy.

Fig. 5.6. ▶ Yan Xinghua and others, attr., Beijing Industrial Building Design Institute and a Soviet design institute, China Broadcast Building, Beijing, 1950s. Photo by author.



Fig. 5.7. ▼ Ouyang Can, Wu Guozhen, and others, Beijing Building Design Institute, Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Museum, Beijing, 1958–1959. Photo by author.



Fig. 5.8. (Top): Guan Zhaoye and others, Main Hall, Tsinghua University, Beijing, 1961; (bottom): Lev Rudnev, Pavel Abrosimov, and Aleksandr Khriakov, Moscow State University, 1953, in comparable scale and orientation. Google Map satellite imageries, <http://maps.google.com>.



Soviet Architecture in Celebration **Shanghai's China-Soviet Friendship Hall**

For all structures erected with Soviet assistance, perhaps no building type served the ideology better than an exhibition hall, and no project more than the China-Soviet Friendship Hall in Shanghai, which offers great insight into the symbolism of the ideological dynamics in China. As China's largest industrial and commercial city, Shanghai represented China's old economy as developed under Western influences. The Friendship Hall, built to host a major exhibition of the economic and cultural achievements of the Soviet Union, would be the best showcase for the socialist economy. The site was at the geographic center of the city, today's Jing'an district, formerly in the French Concession. In 1904 a Jewish merchant, Silas Aaron Hardoon, who had amassed a hefty fortune through opium trading and real estate, began to build a compound on this site called Aili Garden, also known as Hardoon's Garden.⁵⁸ Hardoon had acquired this property before it became an oasis in the densely developed surrounding area, which spoke for itself about its value. A Buddhist monk, Huang Zongyang, designed the garden. Completed in 1910, the twenty-eight-acre (twenty hectares) garden imitated Daguanyuan, the popular

Fig. 5.9. (Opposite)
Sergei Andreyev, Chen Zhi, and others, China-Soviet Friendship Hall (now Shanghai Exhibition Center), Shanghai, 1954–1955.
Photo by author.

imaginative garden vividly described in the Chinese classic novel, *The Story of the Stone* (*Hongloumeng*).⁵⁹ The architecture and landscape of Aili Garden was no less impressive than its owner's skills in business and politics. During the early years of the Republic of China, the garden was the site of top-level political gatherings and entertained many nationalist dignitaries, including Dr. Sun Yat-sen and General Huang Xing. The garden was also the site of public charity parties.⁶⁰ After Haroon died, the condition of the garden quickly deteriorated. During World War II, Japanese troops used the garden as a military camp. By the time planning of the China-Soviet Friendship Hall began, Aili Garden was in ruins, which made it the first-choice site for the planners.⁶¹ The site seemed destined to carry symbolic meaning related to Chinese history. Along with the physical removal of rubble, there was the symbolic removal of the primary targets of the revolution: feudalism represented by the garden associated with the old novel⁶² and capitalism represented by the wealth of its former owner.⁶³ The site was sandwiched between Nanjing Road West on the north and Central Yan'an Road on the south. Nanjing Road had been the busiest commercial street in Shanghai and the best-known street in China. Yan'an Road was originally Avenue Foch West, named after the French Marshall Ferdinand Foch.⁶⁴ The Communist government's new name for the street celebrated the town in northwest China that had been the headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party for fourteen years before entering Beijing. For this the town had earned the title of "the sacred place of the revolution" (*geming shengdi*). Changing the street name from honoring a marshal from a Western power to commemorating the Communist revolution symbolically overthrew imperialists, yet another primary target of the revolution.

However, these symbolic gestures may have emerged accidentally from the site, because the tight schedule of construction may not have allowed the decision-makers and planners of the Friendship Hall to think much beyond the actual project. The project was to accommodate a Soviet economic and cultural achievements exhibition, scheduled to open in March 1955, but it was not until the end of 1953 that Soviet experts came to inspect potential sites in Shanghai.⁶⁵ The Soviet government sent a team of experts from its Central Design Institute to design the building. A slip of the tongue made by a Soviet engineer moved the groundbreaking date even sooner than anticipated, but the collaborating Chinese design team, consisting of more than seventy professionals, managed to rush out the drawings in time.⁶⁶ The construction was remarkably fast; thousands of workers and volunteers worked feverishly. In ten months a building of 197,000 square feet (18,300 square meters), brand new in every sense for the Chinese, was ready to open to the public (fig. 5.9). In design, its axial site plan and the magnificent front plaza



Fig. 5.10. Yuri Shchuko and others, Main Pavilion of All-Union Agricultural Exhibition, known as VSKhV (now Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy, known as VDNKh), Moscow, 1954. Eugene Zelenko, Wikimedia image, used under GNU Free Documentation License, <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/14/Russia-Moscow-VDNH-3.jpg>.



brought a fresh urbanistic scene to a metropolis that had not yet seen a straight major avenue.⁶⁷ Its spire soared 430 feet (131 meters), nearly 100 feet higher than the Park Hotel, eight blocks away on West Nanjing Road, and until then the tallest building and a symbol of capitalism in pre-Communist China. The spire and the pyramidal roof over the four corner pavilions of the Friendship Hall were clad with gold leaf. The construction used large quantities of granite and marble, as well as high-quality bronze hardware.⁶⁸ In front of the main portico, a heroic sculpture depicted a Soviet worker and a Chinese worker holding their hands together to celebrate the solid brotherhood between the two countries.⁶⁹

Soviet architect Sergei Andreyev, a fellow of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and recipient of the Stalin Prize, came to China in 1954 to lead the design of the exhibition halls in Beijing and Shanghai. The collaborating Chinese team on the Shanghai project consisted of seasoned professionals of equally high caliber: Penn graduate Chen Zhi (1927), University of Illinois alumnus Wang Dingzeng (1938),

and Cai Xianyu, a civil engineer trained at Cornell University.⁷⁰ Originally, Andreyev proposed a Soviet classicist form for the exhibition hall in Beijing and a Chinese pagoda form for Shanghai. However, Chen considered the pagoda form inappropriate, so the design was reverted to the Soviet form and was apparently sketched out in a very short time because of the Soviet engineer's slip of the tongue.⁷¹ The exhibition hall in Shanghai has often been compared with the new main pavilion at the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition (VSKhV) built almost concurrently in Moscow by a team of architects led by Yuri Shchuko. These buildings indeed share a number of prime features in design, such as the extensive use of colonnades, a telescope composition, and a tall spire (fig. 5.10). The main pavilion at VSKhV has been regarded as a scaled-down presentation of Moscow State University, whose design involved not only classical but also Gothic vocabularies,⁷² and no doubt Andreyev's proposal for the exhibition hall in Shanghai was worked out with the same aesthetic reference. Both exhibition halls, in Shanghai and Moscow, also remarkably resemble the main gate



Fig. 5.11. (Above left) Andreyan Zakharov, Gate Pavilion to Admiralty, St. Petersburg, 1810–1823. Dezidor, Wikimedia image, used under Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Unported License, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fe/Sankt-Pet%C4%9Brburg_137.jpg.

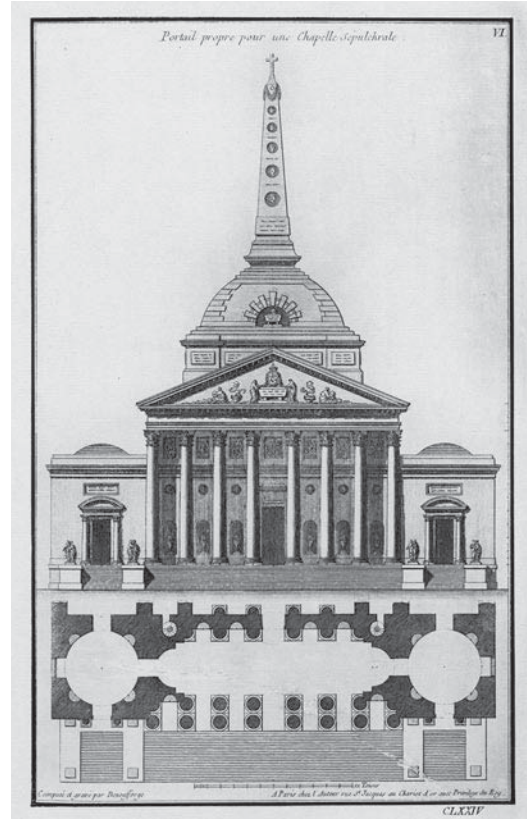


Fig. 5.12. (Above right) Jean-François de Neufforge, Sepulchral Chapel, *Recueil élémentaire d'architecture, Supplément*, 1772–1780, pl. CLXXIV (Paris: A. Guérinet, 1905). Published with permission of Clarence Ward Art Library, Oberlin College.

to the Russian Admiralty (1810–1823) at St. Petersburg, which was designed by Andreyan Dmitriyevich Zakharov (fig. 5.11), who had studied in Paris under Jean François Thérèse Chalgrin.⁷³ Zakharov's French experience may have provided the ground for him to draw inspiration from Jean-François de Neufforge's influential *Recueil élémentaire d'architecture* published from 1757 to 1780,⁷⁴ in particular, from Neufforge's extensive use of a colonnaded loggia and the innovative compositions of superimposing a pyramidal roof or an obelisk on a porticoed pavilion illustrated in *Recueil* (fig. 5.12).⁷⁵ Zakharov may have tamed Neufforge's eclectic and rhapsodic prototypes for a neoclassical application.⁷⁶ When the genealogy descended on China and was presented in the China-Soviet Friendship Hall, it created a brand new, future-evoking image for the Chinese. The structure represented the climax of the importation of Soviet architecture to China. Hailed as a great achievement of Chinese socialist construction when it was built, the China-Soviet Friendship Hall has served as the stage for numerous events hosted and attended by Chinese leaders and their counterparts from many other nations, among them Mao Zedong (nine times), Zhou Enlai (twenty-one times, most of them accompanying foreign heads of state), Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov (1957), and three United States presidents.⁷⁷

Soviet Architecture in Chinese Historical Perspective

Although China and the Soviet Union were allies, their actual relationship was not the solid brotherhood that appeared in propaganda. Chinese and Soviet Communists shared Marxism, but the routes to their victories and their subsequent domestic policies were different.⁷⁸ Historically, the Soviet Union helped the Chinese Communist revolution, but it also provided poor advice and interfered with the internal power struggles of the Chinese Communists.⁷⁹ Shortly after the honeymoon of the alliance, rifts began to emerge when the Soviet Communist Party carried out its surprise attack on Stalin in 1956, an action with which the Chinese Communist Party strongly disagreed. The ideological difference gradually developed into an open debate and eventually the Soviets withdrew their assistance programs from China.⁸⁰ Although no formal announcement terminated “Learning from the Soviet Union,” by the late 1950s it was no longer an official policy, and it had disappeared from public propaganda. After the withdrawal of the experts in 1961, Soviet assistance to China ceased to exist. In only a few years the relationship between China and the Soviet Union quickly deteriorated into hostility, marked by a military confrontation in 1969. Just as quickly the great campaign of Learning and the immense Soviet aid program became things of the past. Soviet assistance was no longer mentioned in the Chinese media. Soviet-assisted projects were now excised from showcase documentaries.⁸¹

In 1968 the China-Soviet Friendship Hall in Shanghai was renamed the Shanghai Exhibition Hall.⁸² Although for many years its celebratory architecture was ignored like a hostage living in a foreign country, the exhibition complex continued to serve as the center stage for political and cultural needs.⁸³ In 1987 a new project, named Shanghai Center, started on the north side of Nanjing Road behind the Friendship Hall. The American firm John Portman Associates designed and invested in the project. Completed in 1990, the Portman project dramatically amplified the urbanistic effect created by the exhibition complex by extending the existing axis to the north and terminating it with three massive highrise slabs.⁸⁴ Like the site of the Friendship Hall, the site on the north also has a historical profile loaded with extraordinary symbolism. On this site a magnificent mansion was built in 1906 as the residence of the “Manager Shanghai” (Shanghai *daban*) of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, a supremely powerful capitalist instrument operating in China with a stunning profit record.⁸⁵ After 1949 the mansion was occupied by the Shanghai headquarters of the *People’s Daily* and the Xinhua News Agency, which worked hand-in-hand as the ultimate gauge of China’s socialist ideology. However, this central location then yielded to the commercial complex built with Western capital. Thus we have a dramatic reversal

of the neighboring south site where the capitalist Hardoon Garden was replaced by the socialist Friendship Hall. But there are historical parallels between the south and north sites as well. The Portman project was the first skyscraper in Shanghai designed by a foreign architect after the Cultural Revolution, just as the Friendship Hall was the first foreign-designed major public building in the city after 1949, a temporal reference more popularly known in China as “since Liberation.” Just as the Friendship Hall had been the prime political stage in Shanghai, the hotel in the new complex, the Portman Ritz-Carlton, Shanghai, is now the city’s foremost facility for accommodating top-level domestic and international events, such as the APEC summit of 2001. Its high-profile status is further confirmed by the extensive roster of visiting statesmen from China and abroad who have stayed there.

More parallels also can be drawn. Just as the new complex is the top performer of consumerism and capitalist management in Shanghai, the old Friendship Hall was the gem of the socialist planned economy. The name-brand capitalist architecture on the north site was produced by pasting together pieces of the modernist vocabulary originally created not to serve as complements to corporate operations and consumerist culture.⁸⁶ Likewise, the celebratory Soviet architecture on the south site was made primarily of classical elements that had served all other regimes, but never a Communist one. If the design method of the Friendship Hall is to be criticized for its resemblance to the monotonous prototype of the Moscow skyscrapers, then Portman’s designs rarely stand out for artistic creativity either. However, the ideological outcome of the socialist and capitalist insertions was very different: for the Friendship Hall, the utopian vision represented by the architecture was never realized; while the material prosperity associated with the Portman project soon became reality. Today the original Friendship Hall and its plaza, once a dominant urban scene, have been surrounded by skyscrapers dressed in ornamental garb of all sorts. An elevated highway over Central Yan’an Road in front of the main gate to the exhibition complex completes its encirclement, turning the site once again into an oasis (fig. 5.13). Buried in this forest of new skyscrapers, however, the architectural hostage left by the former Soviet Union quite unexpectedly once again became a cheered prince. The people of Shanghai rediscovered the glory and the elegance of the architecture of the former Friendship Hall and in 1999 voted the building onto the list of “Ten Gold Medal Best Buildings in Shanghai since 1949.”⁸⁷ In 2005, when the List of Heritage Architecture in Shanghai extended the qualification range to include buildings constructed after 1949, the Friendship Hall was among the first 230 sites to be inscribed on that list.⁸⁸ Its sister building in Beijing, now called Beijing Exhibition Hall, appeared twice on commemorative postage stamps, a rare treat for a building that is only fifty years old in a country



Fig. 5.13. ▲ Center: Shanghai Exhibition Center from East; right mid-ground: John Portman Associates, Shanghai Center, Shanghai, 1984–1990; left: elevated eight-lane thoroughway over Yan'an Road, mid-section, 1998–1999. Photo by author.

Fig. 5.14. ► Liu Shuoren, designer; Kong Shaohui, engraver, Stamp Commemorating the Opening of the Exhibition of Economic and Cultural Achievements of the USSR in Beijing, 1954; Ma Gang, designer, Stamp Commemorating Olympic Expo Beijing, 2008.



that certainly does not lack for historical monuments to celebrate in this unique way (fig. 5.14).⁸⁹ With these celebratory measures, the brief yet dramatic period of Soviet influence on architecture in China has secured a formal historic place.

Epilogue

The Shared Approach for a Shared Vision

Because of its extraordinary historic profile, the Friendship Hall in Shanghai certainly qualifies for inclusion on the List of Heritage Architecture, but the Ten Best is a wholly different and much more demanding test. The building's unique style—now popularly called “Russian classical” or “Russian Baroque”—may have evoked curiosity among younger voters and nostalgia among the elderly. However, to win the popular vote in Shanghai, a city that calls itself a “museum of global architecture” (*wanguo jianzhu bolanguan*), the design of the building still should possess either a special quality or a strength that can endure the passage of time. Accordingly, the building must stand out against the countless other recent buildings designed by leading architects from around the world.⁹⁰

The root of its strength, in my view, lies in the special qualities intrinsic to the classicist design method as well as to its intriguing path from the Soviet Union. We know in the intricate exposition of Soviet architecture in the Stalin era, the “victory” of the classicist method was made at the expense of abandoning and denouncing modernism. Between the two, the classicist method had historically served a wide range of established regimes and institutions, from royal court to university to banking establishment. By its very nature, the eclectic monumentality of the classicist method determined that the system must be open to various sources of form. Modernism, in its earliest stages, had the goal of serving large masses and was open to diversified approaches. However, in subsequent stages, modernism became stylized, codified, and was condensed into a few all-too-familiar verbal and architectural phrases, which demanded control instead of offering accommodation.⁹¹ More importantly, while the battle between traditionalists and modernists in the Soviet Union was still being waged,⁹² capitalist corporate culture in the West formally adopted modernism,⁹³ or, in the eyes of the Soviet authorities of the 1930s, modernism had already taken sides with capitalism.⁹⁴ In denouncing constructivism, the Bauhaus, and similar, structure-based architectural aesthetic movements, Stalinist authorities were very clear and specific about what socialist architecture should not be. However, the elaborations of socialist realism rarely went beyond the mention of national tradition.⁹⁵ Therefore, politically, socialist realism was a call for Soviet architects to revert to historicism, but technically it also may

have forced them to explore traditional forms more deeply and to experiment with more flexible ways to appropriate them into socialist ideology. Stalinist monuments are often criticized for their pretension and lack of originality,⁹⁶ but individually they are no worse than the stereotypical, modernist buildings produced concurrently in other parts of the world. Over time, and working in these predefined ideological and professional conditions, Soviet architects were able to use the classicist method to expand the expressional and syntactical possibilities of the architectural vocabularies borrowed from the past, and from this emerged a matured skill set that could accommodate a rigid ideology. This, in turn, provided the technical basis for the design of the Friendship Hall in Shanghai, which made local people proud at the time and which they would still treasure a half century later.⁹⁷

In its historical context the China-Soviet Friendship Hall is first and foremost a show piece for Soviet architecture and a materialized sample of socialist ideology. It was originally aimed at building the Communist future as it was then perceived, and now reflects a utopian illusion. It is also a live demonstration of the Soviet classicist method imported as part of the fulfillment of “Learning from the Soviet Union.” In the architectural sector of the Learning, the Soviet classicist method itself contained certain qualities that made its importation to China and subsequent acceptance inevitable from a professional point of view. In particular, the flexibility of its serving range, the inclusive attitude toward the form derived from many points of origin, and the matured skill set of its application helped ensure the acceptance of the method by the Chinese architecture community, whose shared professional outlook very much overlapped with these attributes.⁹⁸ Whether it was because of the political sanction given to national form or to achieve professional confirmation from their Soviet colleagues for the method, Chinese architects started to produce a group of the finest designs based on Chinese traditional form, including the Minority Culture Palace (see fig. 13.7), the National Agricultural Exhibition Hall, the National Art Gallery (fig. 5.15), and the Beijing Railroad Station.⁹⁹ These works demonstrate a highly visible mastery of design skill, a confidence in managing form, and a conviction in establishing a new monumentality. In the lineup of the monumental structures that deployed Chinese traditional form produced during the first half of the twentieth century, the new designs distinguished themselves with the right degree of elegance, relaxed composition, and more flexible way of adopting traditional form, while still maintaining discernable individuality. Most of all, they revealed a quality of collectiveness and shared mission. For most of these attributes, we may find their Soviet parallels in the motivation and the managing of the classicist method, and the corresponding maneuvers in the Soviet Union and in China matured into two ideologically and methodologically related styles. Like



Fig. 5.15. Dai Nianci and others from Beijing Industrial Building Design Institute, National Art Gallery, Beijing, 1959. Photo by author.

every other style, which, to reapply A. D. F. Hamlin's notion, decays after reaching its peak performance, these styles also receded from their magnificent celebratory presentations.¹⁰⁰ In the Soviet Union the style was abruptly terminated by the political change that foretold Stalin's posthumous downfall. In China the style seemed to have died of "natural causes"—the economic recession of 1959–1961 and the ten-year (1966–1976) Cultural Revolution brought serious construction virtually to a halt.

Like the Friendship Hall in Shanghai, most of the old socialist monuments in Beijing have been dwarfed by the stormy construction boom that has reduced them to isolated dots on the new skyline of the city, a skyline that changes at a speed and magnitude that the political supervisors of these early monuments could never have imagined. But what might concern them most is the cause of the change: a fully charged commercialism has replaced their projected egalitarian utopia. In architecture, the scene is now run by an entirely new generation who are willing and able to explore unlimited new possibilities and challenge the existing ones, and the multisourced importation of architecture has replaced the single-sourced one. The imported and indigenously developed ideals value every conceivable method and form, and they are materialized into vastly expanded cityscapes. This is where we can find the real strength of Chinese socialist architecture: a shared vision and the pursuit of collectiveness. Although the celebratory architecture of the 1950s has been overshadowed by new waves of dazzling architectural thoughts and ideas, and although the monumental structures evoking the 1950s have been reduced to isolated dots by the overwhelming presence of new construction, when viewed as connected, they can still turn into sparks emitting the unmistakable zeitgeist to which they were all once committed.

Notes

1. These phrases are not intended to redefine the classicist method, but rather to differentiate the term from “classical form,” which in this chapter refers to Greco-Roman-based building parts prominently deployed in a design. I find the clarification necessary because in the wide range of the related literature a similar, classically generated design phenomenon may be termed differently, even reversed.
2. For a description of these buildings, see Zhang Xiyuan, “Changchun weiman shiqi jianzhu de diaocha yu jianjiu” (Investigation and study of the buildings in the Changchun puppet Manchuguo period), *Nanfang jianzhu* (Southern architecture) no. 4 (2006): 120–122. Comprehensive studies on Manchuguo architecture and urban planning can be found in Koshizawa Akira, *Manshukoku no shuto keikaku* (The planning of a Manchurian capital) (Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 2002); and also in his *Shokuminchi Manshu no toshi keikaku* (The planning of Manchurian cities) (Tokyo: Ajia keizai kenkyujo, 1978).
3. For a list of Chinese students who studied architecture and building in Japan up to 1917, see Cui Yong, *Zhongguo yingzao xueshe yanjiu* (Research on the society [for research on] Chinese architecture) (Nanjing: Dongnan University Press, 2004), 23.
4. Japanese architects with credentials in modernism, such as Arata Endo, who had studied at Taliesin, and Maekawa Kunio, who had apprenticed at Le Corbusier’s atelier, also designed in China during this period. For a brief biography of Arata Endo, see “Apprentices” in *Wrightian Architectural Archives Japan*, http://www.wrightinjapan.org/eng_wij/e_appentices/endoarata_e.html (accessed 17 October 2009). For Maekawa’s China-related design activities, see Jonathan M. Reynolds, *Maekawa Kunio and the Emergence of Japanese Modernist Architecture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), 118–129.
5. In addition to these professional sources, returning overseas Chinese in the nineteenth century transported Western classical forms they had seen while abroad and used this foreign style for their own buildings in a highly adaptive manner, through free interpretation. However, this activity was largely confined to Guangdong province, especially to the Meizhou and Kaiping areas, and may be considered rather exceptional.
6. For an outline of China-Soviet relationship in the 1950s, see “The Soviet Union and the Chinese People’s Republic,” in Richard C. Thornton, ed., *China: A Political History, 1917–1980*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982), 227–251. Detailed readings can be found in Odd Ame Westad, ed., *Brothers in Arms: The Rise and Fall of the Sino-Soviet Alliance, 1945–1963* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998).
7. The Soviets also had strong, politically related influence on architecture during the post–World War II period in Eastern Europe. An excellent study of this subject is Anders Åman’s *Architecture and Ideology in Eastern Europe during the Stalin Era*, Roger and Kerstin Tanner, trans., (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992). However, Soviet ideological influence in Eastern European countries began through military occupation, not invitation, making it a very different precondition from what happened in China.
8. According to Shen Jianxue’s study, from 1949 to 1960 China sent 8,613 students to the Soviet Union. Each year’s number of students going to the Soviet Union and the discipline they would study was approved by Premier Zhou Enlai. Shen Jianxue, “Zhong-E jiaoyu jiaoliu huigu” (A retrospective study on Sino-Russian exchange in education), *Shenzhou xueren* (China scholars abroad) no. 8 (2005), http://www.chisa.edu.cn/chisa/article/20050815/20050815007955_1.xml (accessed 17 October 2009). For a survey and bibliography on the subject of Chinese students in the Soviet Union, see Li Tao, “Guanyu jianguo chuqi fusu liuxueshen paiqian gongzuo de

lishi kaocha” (Historical study of Chinese foreign students in the Soviet Union in the 1950s and 1960s), *Dongnan daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* (Journal of Southeast University [Philosophy and Social Science]) (Nanjing, China) 7, no. 5 (2005): 112–117.

9. In his essay in this volume, Gu Daqing also recognizes the scarcity of materials of Chinese students in Soviet architectural school.

10. For more details about Soviet aid, see Shen Zhihua, “Jianguo chuqi Sulian dui hua jingji yuanzhu de jiben qingkuang: Laizi Zhongguo he Eguo de dang’an cailiao” (Basic situation of Soviet economic aid to China: Archival material from China and Russia) in *Ningjing zhiyuan*, <http://www.shenzhihua.net/zsxx/000140.htm> (accessed 27 August 2007).

11. Shen Jianxue, “Zhong-E jiaoyu jiaoliu huigu.”

12. For example, in the Anti-Rightist campaign of 1957, many victims were accused of being resentful of or reluctant to accept Soviet technical assistance.

13. Other actions contributing to this effect included the redistribution of land to the poorer population of the countryside and the elimination of prostitution, polygamy, and foot-binding.

14. The Soviet influence on literature in China was particularly strong. See Deborah A. Kaple, *Dream of a Red Factory: The Legacy of High Stalinism in China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

15. Ruth Hayhoe has provided a description of the ideological framework of China’s higher education rearrangement and its consequence in *China’s Universities, 1895–1995: A Century of Cultural Conflict* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 73–114. For a history of the influence of Soviet education in China, see Gu Mingyuan, “Lun Sulian jiaoyu lilun dui Zhongguo jiaoyu de yingxiang” (The influence of Soviet education theory on the education in China), *Beijing Shifan Daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* (Journal of Beijing Normal University [Social Science]), no. 1 (2004): 5–13. For a study of the impact of the rearrangement of the 1950s on the subsequent course of higher education in China, see Rui Yang, “Tensions between the Global and the Local: A Comparative Illustration of the Reorganization of China’s Higher Education in the 1950s and 1990s,” *Higher Education* 39, no. 3 (April 2000): 319–337.

16. The work of producing these standard textbooks for higher education was considerably delayed by the subsequent political movements. It was not until 1979 that the first edition of the standard textbook on the history of Chinese architecture was published. Its most recent edition is Pan Guxi, ed., *Zhongguo jianzhushi* (History of Chinese architecture), 5th ed., (Beijing: CABP, 2004).

17. Zou Denong et al., *Zhongguo xiandai jianzhushi* (Modern history of Chinese architecture) (Beijing: Jixie gongye chubanshe, 2003), 44. The eight architecture departments were located in Tsinghua University, Tianjin University, Tongji University, Harbin Industrial University, Chongqing Architectural Engineering Institute, Huanan Institute of Technology, Nanjing Institute of Technology, and Xi’an Architectural Engineering Institute. The last five institutions later changed their names, some two times or more. Only their 1954 names are given here.

18. It was after the Cultural Revolution, and after architects’ complaints, that the legal title of architect was (re)installed in 1980. The redeployment of professional titles also took place in other areas, apparently as part of the State Council’s 7 March 1978 approval of restoring academic titles.

19. It is interesting to note that in studies of Chinese socialist architecture, including this one, design credit that was once given to institutes has now been routinely converted to individual architects so that the discussion can be aligned with most other discussions based on the Western design system in which credited architects are assumed to have taken the responsibility of securing commissions for their designs. Whether the converted credit—with the business component

missing—is contextually accurate or ethically appropriate for China’s architectural activities in the 1950s, and how the government-run institute system played its role in shaping China’s socialist architecture, remain intriguing and open questions.

20. The advantage in management is obvious. While the Soviet experts were well-qualified professionals who worked wholeheartedly, the Chinese were often equally competent in their expertise. Chinese architects and designers must have extended a great deal of professional courtesy working under Soviet experts. For a history of Soviet experts in China, see Shen Zhihua, *Sulian zhuanjia zai Zhongguo, 1948–1960* (Soviet experts in China, 1948–1960) (Beijing: Zhongguo guoji guangbo chubanshe, 2003); and Deborah A. Kaple, “Soviet Advisors in China in the 1950s,” in Westad, ed., *Brothers in Arms*, 117–140.

21. “Fakanci” (The inaugural statement), *Jianzhu xuebao* (Architectural journal) 1 (June 1954): 1.

22. For an outline of the architecture of Soviet socialist realism, see Åman, *Architecture and Ideology*, ch. 3, “The Examples of the Soviet Union: Socialist Realism,” 49–58.

23. For the origin of Russian neoclassicism, see Dmitry Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West*, Antony Wood, trans. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 291. A case study on the impact of neoclassicism on Russian and Soviet architecture can be found in Blair A. Ruble, “From Palace Square to Moscow Square: St. Petersburg’s Century-Long Retreat from Public Space,” in William C. Brumfield, ed., *Reshaping Russian Architecture: Western Technology, Utopian Dreams* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 10–12.

24. For a detailed study of the Soviet ideological changeover to socialist realism in the political context of the profession, see Hugh D. Hudson, *The Blueprints and Blood: The Stalinization of Soviet Architecture, 1917–1937* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994).

25. See Catherine Cooke, “Beauty as a Route to ‘the Radiant Future’: Responses of Soviet Architecture,” *Design, Stalin and the Thaw, Journal of Design History* 10, no. 2 (1997): 155–158.

26. The changing attitude toward classical form in Stalinist architecture is reviewed in Greg Castillo, “Peoples at an Exhibition: Soviet Architecture and the National Question,” *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, special issue, *Socialist Realism without Shores*, 94, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 715–746.

27. Alexei Tarkhanov and Sergei Kavtaradze, *Architecture of the Stalin Era* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 144, 150.

28. For a sample of Chinese architects’ criticism of Modernist architecture, see Kerry S. Fan, “Socialist Ideology and Architecture: A Study of the Chinese Architectural Journal,” *Thresholds* 17 (1998): 38–40.

29. Mikhail Pavlovich Tsapenko, *O realiticheskikh osnovakh sovetskoi arkhitektury* (The fundamentals of Soviet architecture) (Moscow: Gos. izd-vo lit-ry po stroitelstvu i arkhitektуре, 1952). The book was later translated into Chinese as *Lun Sulian jianzhu yishu de xianshizhuyi jichu* (On realism in Soviet architectural art) (Beijing: CABP, 1955).

30. Chen Jiao, “Ping jianzhu de minzu xingshi” (Criticism of national form in architecture), *Jianzhu xuebao* 1 (1981): 40.

31. For comprehensive reviews of Chinese classic-revival architecture in the 1950s, see Fu Ch’ao-Ch’ing (Fu Chao-Ching), *Zhongguo gudian shiyang xinjianzhu* (Chinese new architecture classical style) (Taipei: Nantian Book Press, 1993), ch. 8, “Minzu de xingshi shehuizhuyi de neirong, 1952–1957” (National form and socialist content, 1952–1957), 165–184; and Peter Rowe and Seng Kuan, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), “The ‘Big Roof’ Controversy,” 87–106.

32. For a brief description of the All-Union Congress of Builders, Architects, and Workers in the Building Materials Industry and its aftermath in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in Eastern Europe, see Greg Castillo, "Cities of the Stalinist Empire," in Nezar AlSayyad, ed., *Forms of Dominance: On the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise* (Aldershot, England: Avebury, 1992), 280. For its impact on the Chinese antiwaste campaign of 1955, see Gong Deshun et al., *Zhongguo xiandai jianzhu shigang* (Concise history of modern Chinese architecture) (Tianjin: Tianjin Science and Technology Press, 1989), 67–70. An English translation of Khrushchev's speech can be found in *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, vol. 6 (Columbus, OH: American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, 1955).
33. Tarkhanov and Kavtaradze, *Architecture of the Stalin Era*, 9.
34. Zhang Jiafu, "Zai Zhongguo Jianzhu Xuehui chengli dahui shang de jianghua" (Speech at the inaugural ceremony of the founding of the Architectural Society of China), *Jianzhu xuebao* 1 (June 1954): 2–3.
35. I am very grateful to Professor Chen Zhihua of the Department of Architecture, Tsinghua University, for granting permission to be interviewed on 9 July 2008 and for sharing his recollections about Soviet architectural experts at Tsinghua. I am also grateful for his insightful advice on other critical issues for understanding Chinese socialist architecture.
36. Chen Zhihua, *Waiguo gujianzhu ershi jiang* (Twenty lectures on world architecture) (Taipei: Lin King Books, 2003), 396.
37. The book is Evgenii Andreevich Ashchepkov, *Arkhitektura Kitaia* (Chinese architecture) (Moskva: Gos. izd-vo literatury po stroitel'stvu, arkhitekt, 1959).
38. See Dmitry Shvidkovsky and Ekaterina Chorban, "Russian Traditions in Teaching the History of Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 1 (March 2003): 110–111. The methodological parallelism between the Soviet experts and their hosts at Tsinghua University is also noted in Gong et al., *Zhongguo xiandai jianzhu shigang*, 46.
39. Alexander Ryabushin and Nadia Smolina, *Landmarks of Soviet Architecture, 1917–1991* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 27.
40. This is probably the most popular topic of discussion in the history of Chinese socialist architecture. A frequently cited document in the related scholarly studies is, with various title translations and publication dates, "Editing Committee of the History of Beijing Construction," Sulian zhuanjia guanyu Beijing jianglai fazhan jihua de wenti de ziliao (Soviet experts' plan of Beijing's future development) in *Jianguo yilai Beijing chengshi jianshe ziliao* (Archive of Beijing's construction since the founding of the PRC), vol. 1, *Chengshi guihua* (City planning) (Beijing: Beijing chengshi jianshe weiyuanhui, 1985). The story is also widely told, often heavily dramatized, in the many biographies of Liang Sicheng and numerous printed and online articles by and about those involved in planning Beijing in the 1950s. English-speaking readers may want to refer to Winston Yan, "Carrying Forward Heritage: A Review of Contextualism in New Construction in Beijing," *Journal of Architectural Education* 50, no. 2 (November 1996): 117–119, and the articles cited below.
41. According to Victor F. S. Sit, three groups of Soviet experts assisted Beijing's Municipal Planning Commission in preparing plans for the city; they arrived in September 1949, March 1953, and April 1955. Victor F. S. Sit, "Soviet Influence on Urban Planning in Beijing, 1949–1991," *Town Planning Review* 67, no. 4 (October 1996): 466–470.
42. Liang Sicheng and Chen Zhanxiang, "Guanyu zhongyang renmin zhengfu xingzheng zhongxinqu weizhi de jianyi" (Proposal for the location of the administrative central areas of the

central people's government) in *Liang Sicheng quanji* (Complete writings of Liang Sicheng), vol. 5 (Beijing: CABP, 2001), 60–81. The original documents of the project have been published along with commentaries in Liang Sicheng and Chen Zhanxiang, *Liang-Chen fangan yu Beijing* (Liang-Chen project and Beijing), Wang Ruizhi, ed. (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 2005).

43. See Thomas J. Campanella, *The Concrete Dragon: China's Urban Revolution and What It Means for the World* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008), 100–104.

44. Xiao Hu, "Preserving the Old Beijing: The First Conflict between Chinese Architects and the Communist Government in the 1950s," James A. Rawley Graduate Conference in the Humanities, Department of History, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, April 2006, posted on DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska-Lincoln, <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/historyrawleyconference/8> (accessed 17 October 2009): 14.

45. The walls of the inner city of Beijing were fourteen miles long; the walls of the outer city were about nine miles long.

46. For a discussion of the removal of China's city walls and the European precedents, see Campanella, *The Concrete Dragon*, 109–112.

47. It was said that Mao Zedong, the undisputed leader of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China, had personally made the decision to place the new government complex in the center of old Beijing. See Wu Hung, *Remaking Beijing: Tiananmen Square and the Remaking of a Political Space* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 8. Before Mao joined the Chinese Communist movement, he worked briefly as a library clerk at Beijing University. He was an ambitious but anonymous provincial youth who spoke neither the cosmopolitan Beijing dialect nor any foreign language. Combined, these conditions would almost certainly assure that the elite circle in this prestigious community ignored him. Although Mao never openly complained, we may speculate that his early encounter with Beijing's intellectual elite and their culture was neither pleasant nor respectful. This is reflected in Mao's rather unstatesmanly comments during the debate surrounding the central government's seating and on the city itself: "Why could emperors live in Beijing, but I cannot?" Later, he would also say: "I feel houses in Beijing . . . are so nasty," and "Antique can be good, and also can be bad. Someone cried when Beijing dismantled the city walls and gateway entrances, which indicated the political attitude." All quotes are from Hu, "Preserving the Old Beijing: The First Conflict between Chinese Architects and the Communist Government in the 1950s," 15. For Mao's own account of his early experience in Beijing, see Edgar Snow, *Red Star over China* (New York: Grove Press, 1968), 150–152.

48. The work on the new national emblem formally started with a competition in July 1949; the finalized version, which was mainly based on the design by the team of Tsinghua University headed by Liang Sicheng, was announced on 20 September 1950. See "The Emblem of the People's Republic of China" (Zhonghua renmin gongheguo guohui) on *Xinhuanet*, http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2003-01/18/content_695298.htm (accessed 17 October 2009). It is interesting to note that while working on the emblem design Liang must also have been working on the Liang-Chen Project (submitted in February 1950), engaging simultaneously in two projects that appear to conflict conceptually.

49. Pan, ed., *Zhongguo jianzhushi*, 408.

50. Sit, "Soviet Influence on Urban Planning in Beijing, 1949–1991," 471.

51. For the influence of the 1935 Moscow Plan on Soviet urban planning, see Castillo, "Cities of the Stalinist Empire," 265–270.

52. Pan, ed., *Zhongguo jianzhushi*, 409.
53. Gong et al., *Zhongguo xiandai jianzhu shigang*, 45.
54. Cooke, "Beauty as a Route to 'the Radiant Future': Responses of Soviet Architecture," 155–158.
55. In many cases, the open space formed by peripheral apartment blocks in the neighborhoods planned under the Soviet influence would later be filled with another or even two rows of apartment buildings, such as the inserted blocks in the neighborhoods of Baiwanzhuang in Beijing and Lanyuan in Nanjing.
56. Tarkhanov and Kavtaradze, *Architecture of the Stalin Era*, 144.
57. For example, the designs of the China-Soviet Friendship Hall in Guangzhou (1955, demolished 1972) and the China-Soviet Friendship Palace in Wuhan (1956, demolished 1999) were scaled-down versions of the friendship halls in Beijing and Shanghai, albeit without the towers; the designs of Beijing Telegraph Building (1958) and the Railroad Station in Changsha (1977) both have a tower rising from the center of the symmetrically laid out building masses and are adorned with modernist ornamental features.
58. From here on, I have translated the names of the Chinese Web sources.
- For a brief biography of Silas Aaron Hardoon, see Xiao Li, "Hardoon: King of Real Estate (2003–01–20)," in *Shanghai Archives Information Network*, http://www.archives.sh.cn/docs/200806/d_204163.html (accessed 17 October 2009). Also see Chiara Betta, "Silas Aaron Hardoon (1851–1931): Business, Politics and Philanthropy in Republican Shanghai, 1911–1931," in *The Scribes* 75, (Autumn 2002), <http://www.dangoor.com/75060.html> (accessed 17 October 2009); and Edward Yamen, "Letters," in *The Scribes* 76, (Spring 2003), <http://dangoor.com/issue76/articles/letters/57.htm> (accessed 17 October 2009).
59. Xiao Li, "Aili Garden," in *Shanghai Archives Information Network*, http://www.archives.sh.cn/docs/200806/d_199752.html (accessed 17 October 2009).
60. Wang Guobin, ed., *Nanjingxilu yibaisishinian*, 1862–2002 (The 140th anniversary of Nanjing Road West) (Shanghai: Shanghai Academy of Social Science Press, 2003), 20–24.
61. Wang Huiqing, "Site Selection for China-Soviet Friendship Hall (2003–05–29)," in *Shanghai Archives Information Network*, http://www.archives.sh.cn/docs/200803/d_185180.html (accessed 17 October 2009).
62. The novel itself fell victim in 1954 to the campaign, "Criticizing the Study of *The Story of the Stone*" (Dui Hongloumeng yanjiu de pipan).
63. These are well-known abstractions used by the Chinese Communist Party to credit itself with having led the Chinese people to overthrow the three oppressing mountains: imperialism, feudalism, and capitalism.
64. According to the online *Shanghai Local Records*, the street was called Luoyang Road for a few years after World War II, <http://www.shtong.gov.cn/node2/node4/node2249/node4412/node17430/node17565/node62238/userobject1ai6463.html> (accessed 17 October 2009). However, the older name, Avenue Foch, was still unofficially used until well into the 1950s.
65. Wang, "Site Selection for China-Soviet Friendship Hall."
66. According to Zhang Qianquan, an assistant in the design of the Friendship Hall, in early April 1954, Soviet expert Khochman, the chief engineer for the exhibition hall in Shanghai, boasted in his speech, delivered at a banquet when he was half intoxicated, that construction of the Friendship Hall would start on May 1. The next morning when he realized the slip, it was already in the news.

The design team had to produce a workable plan in twenty days. For more details of this story, see Zhang Qianquan, “Ershitian yu erbaiwanyuan de gushi” (A story of twenty days and two million yuan), *Xinmin wanbao* (Xinmin evening news) (Shanghai, China, 2 January 2005).

67. There had been several plans (1929, 1938, and 1946) for a new urban center in the northeast area of Shanghai, all made in classicist fashion and featuring grandiose avenues, but only a few centerpiece structures were built. See Dong Jianhong, ed., *Zhonghuo chengshi jiansheshi* (History of Chinese urban construction) (Beijing: CABP, 1989), 203–213.

68. The high-profile status of the project may have spared it from criticism during the antiwaste campaign.

69. The sculpture was removed during the Cultural Revolution, probably in 1968. The sculpture now in front of the portico is a different one, installed in 2003 during the complete renovation of the complex.

70. Zhang, “Ershitian yu erbaiwanyuan de gushi.”

71. Lao Wang and Lao Ye, “Huihuang zai lishi de xijie li: jinian Shanghai zhanlan zhongxin jiancheng wushi zhounian” (Glory in the historical details: On the fiftieth anniversary of the completion of the Shanghai exhibition center), *Architecture BBS*, <http://abbs.com.cn/jzsb/read.php?cate=5&recid=12731> (accessed 17 October 2009).

72. For a discussion of the ideological implications of spires in Soviet monumental architecture, see Tarkhanov and Kavtaradze, *Architecture of the Stalin Era*, 141–144. Moscow State University also has been discussed as an imitation of the Woolworth Building and the Municipal Building in New York; see, respectively, “Moscow’s Eight New Woolworth Buildings,” *Architectural Forum* 100 (March 1954): 196–200; “Stalinist Architecture (Inspired by the Municipal Building, New York)” in *Tom Fletcher’s New York Architecture*, <http://www.nyc-architecture.com/SCC/SCC030a.htm> (accessed 17 October 2009).

73. William Craft Brumfield, *A History of Russian Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 356–358. For the nineteenth-century cultural climate in Russia and its architectural affiliation with Western Europe, see Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West*, Part VI: “The European Century,” 291–356.

74. Wend von Kalnein, *Architecture in France in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 134, 193–196.

75. Emil Kaufmann, *Architecture in the Age of Reason: Baroque and Post-Baroque in England, Italy, and France* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1968), 152–154; figs. 113–117, 120–122.

76. However, Dmitry Shvidkovsky has pointed out that Zakharov’s overall design for the rebuilding of the Admiralty reflected the influence of the megalomania of Ledoux and Boullée. Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West*, 299.

77. For more information on the high-profile events and dignitaries, see Editorial Committee of Local History of Jingan District, “Jing’an District—Special Record No. 33—Shanghai Exhibition Center,” ch. 4, “Reception of Honored Guests,” *District and County History, Office of Shanghai Local History*, <http://www.shtong.gov.cn/node2/node4/node2249/node4412/node17461/node19816/index.html> (accessed 17 October 2009).

78. For example, Soviet Communists took power in the cities and spread the revolution to the countryside; Chinese Communists occupied the countryside first and then took the cities. After assuming power, the Soviets nationalized industrial enterprises and collectivized agricultural resources through highly coercive and brutal processes, while the Chinese way was relatively more gradual and smoother. For a summary of the comparative early domestic strategies of the

Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, see John E. Schrecker, *The Chinese Revolution in Historical Perspective* (New York: Praeger, 1991), "Emulating the Soviet Union," ch. 7, "The People's Republic of China," 166–173.

79. For a summary of the Chinese Communist Party's disagreements with the Soviets, see Wu Lengxi, *Shinian lunzhan: 1956–1966 Zhong-Su guanxi huiyilu* (Ten years' debate: 1956–1966 memoir of the China-Soviet relationship) (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 1999), 314–334. In addition, there were the atrocities committed by the Soviet Red Army in Manchuria toward the end of the World War II; these were never mentioned in the media.

80. The relationship further deteriorated until 1969, when a small-scale military conflict broke out on the China-Soviet border. However, the two countries managed to gradually restore their relationship to normalcy in the decade before the republics of the Soviet Union became independent states.

81. For example, in the officially issued *Xin Zhongguo jianzhu* (Architecture of new China) (Beijing: CABP, 1976), no Soviet-designed or Chinese-designed Soviet-style building was included.

82. The name was changed to Shanghai Industrial Exhibition Hall in 1978. The complex became part of Shanghai Exhibition Center in 1984.

83. For the complete business record of the exhibition complex, see Editorial Committee of Local History of Jingan District, "Jing'an District—Special Record No. 33—Shanghai Exhibition Center," ch. 5, "Business and Management," *District and County History, Office of Shanghai Local History*, <http://www.shong.gov.cn/node2/node4/node2249/node4412/node17461/node19817/index.html> (accessed 17 October 2009).

84. The actual axis of the Portman building offsets slightly toward the east, and the flanking two slabs are not exactly symmetric to the one in the center. For the iconographic interpretation of the dialogue between the formal maneuvers of these two projects, see Jeffrey Cody, "Making History (Pay) in Shanghai: Architectural Dialogues about Space, Place, and Face," in Seng Kuan and Peter G. Rowe, eds., *Shanghai: Architecture and Urbanism for Modern China* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 2004), 128–132.

85. For information on the early operations in China of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, see Frank H. H. King et al., *The Hongkong Bank in Late Imperial China, 1864–1902: On an Even Keel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) and *The Hongkong Bank in the Period of Imperialism and War, 1895–1918: Wayfoong, the Focus of Wealth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

86. The Portman project also has a few superficial, half-digested local architectural features, such as the stepping out of the upper walls, which imitates traditional fire retardant walls (*matouqiang*), and the formation of the slabs implies the Chinese character "hill" (*shan*) in order to mix certain Chinese geomantic (*fengshui*) elements into the complex.

87. The other nine buildings were all built after 1985; among them are the highly popular Jinmao Building and the TV tower "Oriental Pearl." For a complete list of the awards with commentary, see Wang Ming, "Zouxiang jingdian" (Toward timelessness), *Jianzhu xuebao* 4 (2000): 64.

88. The Exhibition Hall in Beijing, although somewhat overshadowed by other grand monuments built in the late 1950s, entered the inaugural installation of the Beijing Preservation List for Recent Historic Buildings in 2008.

89. The first stamp was issued in 1954 to commemorate the Soviet Union Economic Achievement Exhibition. The second was issued for the Olympic Expo Beijing 2008. Both events took place in this building.

90. Cody, "Making History (Pay) in Shanghai," 128.
91. Paul Goldberger, *On the Rise: Architecture and Design in a Post-Modern Age* (New York: The New York Times Book Co., Inc., 1983), 26.
92. According to Hugh Hudson, the conclusive event for settling the debate was the Congress of Soviet Architects held from 16 to 26 June 1937 in Moscow. See Hudson, *The Blueprints and Blood*, "The Victory Congress?" 185–202.
93. This was most notable through the 1932 exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, a topic of wide discussion and commentary. A sample of the commentary can be found in Peter Blake, "Modern Architecture Revisited," *Interior Design* 63, no. 7 (May 1992): 239.
94. This view is derived from Castillo's insightful discussion in his "Cities of the Stalinist Empire," where he discusses the contrasting urbanistic ideals and their ideological implications of Soviet urbanism and Western modernist approaches.
95. This observation is summarized mainly from discussions on the relationship between socialist realism and Soviet architecture in Hudson, *The Blueprints and Blood*, 261–287.
96. Negative comments on Stalinist architecture can be found in many studies on this subject produced in the Cold War era, typically Anatole Kopp's *Town and Revolution: Soviet Architecture and City Planning, 1917–1935*, Thomas E. Burton, trans. (New York: G. Braziller, 1970).
97. This point is also supported by the fact that the design of the Friendship Hall was produced in an extraordinarily short time.
98. Another discussion about the relationship between professional ethics and socialist ideology, which has inspired mine, is Anders Åman's *Architecture and Ideology*, under the subsection "The Architects: Aesthetic and Ideology," 178–180.
99. These buildings are part of the Ten Great Buildings constructed in Beijing to celebrate the 1949–1959 anniversary of the People's Republic, and all were registered on the Beijing Preservation List for Recent Historic Buildings in 2008. Their design credits are: Minority Culture Palace, Zhang Bo and others from the Beijing Building Design Institute; National Agricultural Exhibition Hall, Chen Deng'ao and others from the Beijing Industrial Building Design Institute; National Art Gallery, Dai Nianci and others from the Beijing Industrial Building Design Institute; and Beijing Railroad Station, Yang Tingbao and others from the Nanjing Institute of Technology and the Beijing Industrial Building Design Institute.
100. Albert Dwight Foster (A. D. F.) Hamlin, *A Text-Book of the History of Architecture* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1896), xxii.

6 BEAUX-ARTS PRACTICE AND EDUCATION BY CHINESE ARCHITECTS IN TAIWAN

The influence of Beaux-Arts methods in Taiwan should be assessed by examining architectural practice and education, both of which began to change significantly after Japan colonized Taiwan, from 1895 to 1945. The first part of this chapter will examine the implications of that colonization on the island's architecture, explaining one way in which Beaux-Arts assumptions about architectural design were transmitted to Taiwan in conjunction with Japanese notions of architectural and urban space, form, and design.¹ A second, more intensive strain of Beaux-Arts influence began in 1949, when many anti-Communist architectural professionals accompanied the Nationalist government in its move from the Chinese mainland to Taiwan. The second part of this chapter will focus on the nature and results of that influence.²

Some of these professionals started their architectural practices immediately after arriving in Taiwan and applied Beaux-Arts-inspired approaches to their building designs. This phenomenon was strengthened by what is often called the “Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement,” when hundreds of public buildings were constructed as a result of Beaux-Arts composition but with a Chinese classical appearance stylistically. Beaux-Arts-influenced designs became one of the most important trends in postwar Taiwan, especially in the 1950s and early 1960s. Another measure of this influence stemmed from architectural education, because some of the Chinese architectural professionals became teachers at one of Taiwan's most influential training grounds for architects, the Taiwan Provincial College of Engineering, now known as Cheng Kung (Zhenggong) University,³ and these professionals instituted Beaux-Arts training approaches. The chapter will conclude by considering the implications of these Beaux-Arts approaches.

Beaux-Arts in the Context of Japanese Colonization, 1895–1945

Historians have suggested that Japan's seizure of Taiwan as a colonial dependency was in part linked to Japan's need for greater supplies of sugar and rice; others focus on the colonization as an early example of a pan-Asian foreign policy that ultimately led in the 1930s and 1940s to warfare in China and throughout the Pacific.⁴ During the first decade of their colonization of Taiwan, the Japanese appropriated facilities built during the Qing dynasty, constructed new facilities, and started to transform the island's cities. The demolition of city walls, which

were both symbolic and defensive in function, followed soon thereafter. This action implied the collapse of the old regime and the rearrangement into a new political map. By means of what was termed “City Improvement,” a mixture of gridiron and radiating systems was applied to urban patterns that Japan had adapted from the West. The reason was obvious: when Japan emerged as a major world power after the Meiji Restoration (1868–1912), Western models in architecture and urban planning had become Japan’s ideal models. City Improvement was the method that the Japanese adopted in the early stage of Taiwan’s urban transformation. The term “improvement” revealed the value judgment of Japanese colonialists with regard to traditional settlements and modern cities. When this judgment was applied to urban transformation, the preference was always for the ideal model of the colonial government, rather than the indigenous settlements of the colony.

The characteristics of traditional Taiwanese cities were thoroughly altered after fifty years of occupation by the Japanese. The emphasis on the urban façade by means of Western stylistic decoration, and the creation of urban nodes such as crossroads and traffic circles were most apparent. Both of these enhanced the architecture of the city. However, the essence of city improvement and planning was the scientific approach used to improve the urban built environment. The policy was strongly supported by the fourth governor-general, Kodama Gentaro, and his civil administrator, Goto Shimpei, who initiated many building projects to improve living standards in Taiwan. Moreover, urban nodes were created, where governmental buildings and train stations were located. The characteristics of monumentality and the symmetrical spatial organization of the buildings located at the traffic circles, crossroads, and ends of vistas were closely associated with the formal and spatial elements of Beaux-Arts design. The influx into Taiwan of architects possessing Western architectural knowledge was accompanied by the rapid growth of a stylistically hybrid architecture that reached its zenith in the 1910s, by which time the Japanese were creating a new central business district in the western gate area of Taipei (Ximending) and reinforcing commercial functions centered around the railroad station.⁵

Some of the public buildings constructed in the 1910s and 1920s were designed using Beaux-Arts methods that had been brought to Japan indirectly. Some of this transplantation came about because of foreign professionals who were themselves practicing under the sway of Beaux-Arts principles. Other transplantations of Beaux-Arts methodologies came via Japanese students who had studied architecture abroad. Most historians have concluded that the British architect Josiah Conder was the most influential foreign architect who initially practiced in Japan after the Meiji Restoration of the late 1860s. Conder (1852–

1920) and others, such as Charles Alfred Chastel de Boinville (1850–1881) from Scotland, assisted young Japanese architects in creating *giyōfu* (pseudo-Western-style) buildings, which served a nationalistic purpose: to “demonstrate that Japan was not a backward nation but a country worthy of being treated as an equal among other developed nations.”⁶ One critic has suggested that some of the buildings erected by Japanese architects in Taiwan may be read as symbols of “Japan’s derivative westernization. . . . Perhaps never [before] in global colonial history [did] a colonizing power [have] to appropriate a foreign design as the embodiment of its authority.”⁷

The eclecticism of this architecture, which sometimes also incorporated Indian and Chinese elements, also fit within historical assumptions about Japan’s pre-eminence as voiced by the influential Japanese architecture historian Itō Chūto (1867–1954), who helped develop “the first modern national style, the *shajiyō*, . . . that would reflect Japan’s broader cultural origins in Asia.”⁸ By the 1880s other kinds of architectural institutions were being established in Japan: the first Japanese architectural association was established in 1886 and the first architectural course was initiated at the Imperial Tokyo University in 1889.⁹ Although Josiah Conder and Itō Chūto played an important role in the history of Japanese modern architecture, their influence on architecture in Taiwan was not particularly significant. Instead, it was Tatsuno Kingo and Katayama Tokuma, two of Conder’s seven earliest student (later the first generation of Japanese architecture professors at Imperial Tokyo University), who exerted a strong influence upon young Japanese architects in Taiwan because of their roles as teachers. Moriyama Matsunosuke, Kondo Juro, Nomura Ichiro, Araki Eiichi, and Nagano Uheizi were the most famous of these young Japanese architects.

Although the complex history of architecture in Japan during this period reaches well beyond the scope of this chapter, it is important to understand that Japanese architects were just beginning to feel the effects of these architectural developments related to foreign influence when some of them began working in Taiwan as foreigners themselves. Architectural education in Taiwan was thus also established as a result of some of those Japanese-established architectural education programs in the 1910s, such as the Taiwanese governor’s Industry Learning Class and the Private Taiwan Commerce and Industry School. At Tainan Advanced Industry School, for instance, founded in 1932, a Department of Architecture was established in 1944. However, the practice of architectural design during the Japanese period was dominated by Japanese architects, and the participation of Taiwanese professionals was strictly limited. Although this department was the highest-level architectural education program in Taiwan, the objective of its

education was to train architectural technicians at construction sites rather than produce fully fledged architects who could design independently.¹⁰ Given the circumstances, the only Beaux-Arts-related course was one focused on rendering. Just as these architectural education initiatives were being generated, the Japanese colonial authorities passed a new urban planning ordinance for the island, which in 1936 provided new standards for infrastructure and land plotting. This resulted in new urban plans for seventy-two municipalities during the next decade.¹¹ These planning changes accompanied, and to some extent facilitated, the architectural shifts that were occurring in education and practice.

Beaux-Arts Instruction at Taiwan Provincial College of Engineering

On 15 August 1945, when Emperor Hirohito announced the surrender of Japan to the Allied Forces, Taiwan returned to rule by a Chinese government. However, just two years later, when an event known as the “228 Incident” began to further destabilize Taiwanese society, architectural development stagnated.¹² After the Nationalist government retreated from the Chinese mainland to Taiwan in 1949, Taiwan’s architecture, and indeed its culture, began to change radically, as politics reflected the psychology of the Nationalist leaders, who were determined not to relinquish the claims that sustained their hopes and sense of orthodox continuity. Consequently, the policy direction of cultural activities stressed those in the mainstream of the so-called “grand tradition.” Taiwanese architectural development became the responsibility of Chinese architects, who assumed control over the design of the public buildings commissioned by the Nationalist government. They also filled the teaching positions that had been vacated by departing Japanese teachers. Since almost all the Chinese architects who came to Taiwan were educated in schools that promulgated Beaux-Arts principles, they inevitably transplanted what they had learned—particularly the *analytique* and the technique of rendering—to architects’ offices and schools in Taiwan. Thus the Beaux-Arts phenomenon in postwar Taiwan, especially in the 1950s and early 1960s, should be viewed in the context of this dissemination, which came largely from the Chinese mainland. At the same time, as several authors in this book note, mainland China was experiencing its own cataclysmic architectural and political changes during the 1950s and 1960s.

When the Nationalist government took over Japanese schools in Taiwan in 1945, Tainan Advanced Engineering School was enhanced to the status of a college and renamed Taiwan Provincial College of Engineering. The Department of Architecture at the college aimed to provide advanced architectural education for

the best talent, chosen via examination. As Gu Daqing has explained in his essay in this book, Beaux-Arts teaching materials had been brought to China when Chinese students returned after graduating from Western universities in the late 1920s. These materials soon became the most convenient didactic tools for teachers to use. John Harbeson's *The Study of Architectural Design* (1926), translated into Chinese by Shi Linbing and published in segments in the periodical *Zhongguo jianzhu* (Chinese architecture), was the most popular contemporary architectural textbook.¹³ When Chinese architects replaced Japanese faculty at Taiwan's schools, they used Harbeson's and other Beaux-Arts-inspired teaching materials that had been brought from the United States to China and then from China to Taiwan.

The architectural education program at the newly formed Taiwan Provincial College of Engineering was intended to develop students' design and presentation skills through repeated training in artist and design problems. The emphasis of architectural education consequently changed from the technological courses the Japanese had taught to design studio and fine arts courses taught by Chinese teachers. To some extent the program was intended to imitate the Beaux-Arts-inspired curriculum at Central University in Nanjing and at the University of Pennsylvania in the United States. By comparing the new courses of the Taiwan Provincial College of Engineering in 1955 with those at Central University in 1933 and Penn in 1918, we can better understand how courses were transmitted from Penn to the Taiwan Provincial College of Engineering, via mainland China.

Table 6.1 Comparison of Architectural Design Courses
 Taiwan Provincial College of Engineering, Central University, University of Pennsylvania, and the École de Beaux-Arts

	Taiwan (1955)	Central University (1933)	Penn (1918)	École de Beaux-Arts (1864–1890)	
Courses related to Architecture and Design	Basic Architectural Composition	Basic Architectural Composition	Elements of Architecture	Order Problems and Details	Analytics and Projects
	Basic Principles and Drawings of Architecture	Basic Principles and Drawings of Architecture	Elemental Design		Twelve-hour Sketch Problems Archeology
	Architectural Design I, II, III	Architectural Design I, II, III	Design I, II, III	Advanced Projects Sketch Problems Archeology Problems	
	Interior Ornament	Interior Ornament			Composition in Ornament

Source: Lin Szu-ling, "Taiwan shengli gongxueyuan zhi xueyuanpai jianzhu jiaoyu chenxu tujing yu jiegou tantao" (A study of the transmission and influence of the Beaux-Arts education on the Architectural Department at the Taiwan College of Engineering), M.A. thesis, Cheng Kung University (Tainan), 1999, 3–33.

Table 6.2 Comparison of Drawing and Fine Arts Design Courses

Taiwan Provincial College of Engineering, Central University, University of Pennsylvania, and the École des Beaux-Arts

	Taiwan (1955)	Central University (1933)	Penn (1918)	École de Beaux-Arts (1864–1890)
Courses related to Drawing and Presentation	Descriptive Geometry	Descriptive Geometry	Descriptive Geometry	Descriptive Geometry
	Perspective	Perspective	Perspective	Perspective
	Shades and Shadows	Shades and Shadows	Shades and Shadows	
			Graphic Studies	
Courses Related to Fine Arts and Modeling/ Drawing	Freehand Drawing	Freehand Drawing	Freehand Drawing	
			Freehand Drawing from Life	Freehand Human Figure Drawing
	Drawing from a Cast	Drawing from a Cast	Architectural Drawing	Drawing from a Cast
	Water Color	Water Color	Water Color	Antique Figure Drawing
			Water Color Rendering	
			Modeling	Modeling from Ornament in Relief
				Modeling from Casts in Bas Relief
			Ornament Modeling	

Source: Lin Szu-ling, “Taiwan shengli gongxueyuan,” 3–33.

Beginning architectural education by studying the five Western classical orders became an important part of the course of study at Taiwan Provincial College of Engineering, so that students could learn about rendered drawing and Western classical architecture. Students were asked to use one of the five orders to design a small building, and their final presentations had to demonstrate mastery of Beaux-Arts rendering techniques (fig. 6.1). Why were students not asked to demonstrate a similar facility with Chinese classical architecture? The answer is that Chinese teachers with a background in Beaux-Arts education assumed that Western architectural education was better suited to the needs of architectural training in China than was traditional Chinese, craft-based training. Therefore, throughout the

1950s Beaux-Arts training methods and results became the core of design education at the Taiwan Provincial College of Engineering.¹⁴

In addition to curricular structure, the Beaux-Arts educational backgrounds of individual teachers also provided students with a first-hand Beaux-Arts learning experience. Almost all of the teachers during the 1950s and 1960s had been educated at Chinese universities, where architectural teaching was based on the Beaux-Arts system. Consequently, the Beaux-Arts teaching/learning model was introduced to the College. One of the most important clues about this model comes from Chin Chang-ming, teaching assistant to Tan Yuan, a professor known for his commitment to Beaux-Arts education.

Chin is famous not only for his studio teaching, but also for his skillful technique in shading and shadowing, basic tenets of Beaux-Arts education. Chin stressed the importance of this course by pointing out:

Architecture is the joint product of science and art. The difference between architecture and other engineering subjects is that architecture has soul and beauty at the engineering level. The subject of shades and shadow can help architects to present noticeably and three-dimensionally on paper the genius, personal will, and soul of engineering.¹⁵

Fig. 6.1. "1st Mention," student drawing at Taiwan Provincial College of Engineering. Photo by author.

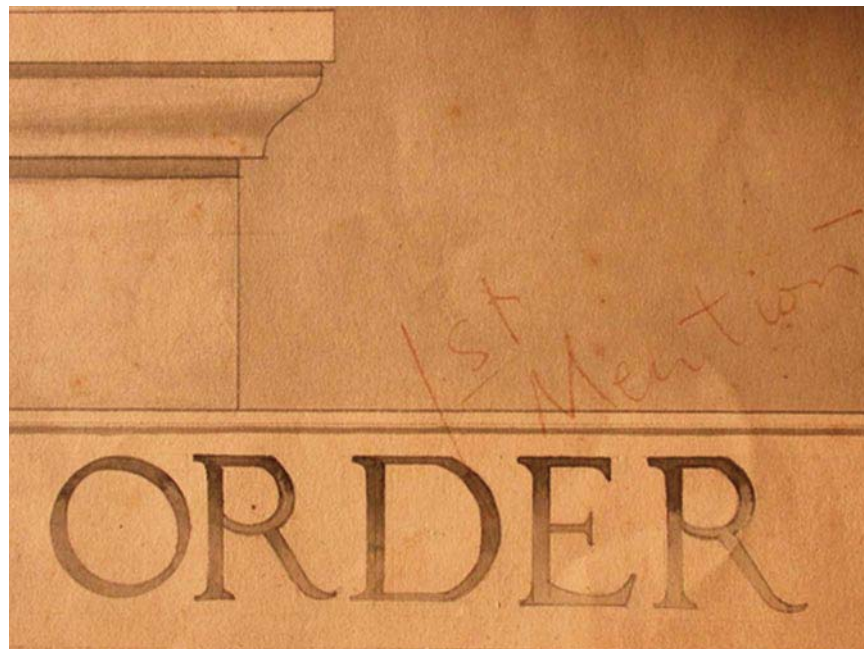


Fig. 6.2. ▶ Drawing for “Shades and Shadow,” unpublished textbook by Chin Chang-ming. Photo by author.

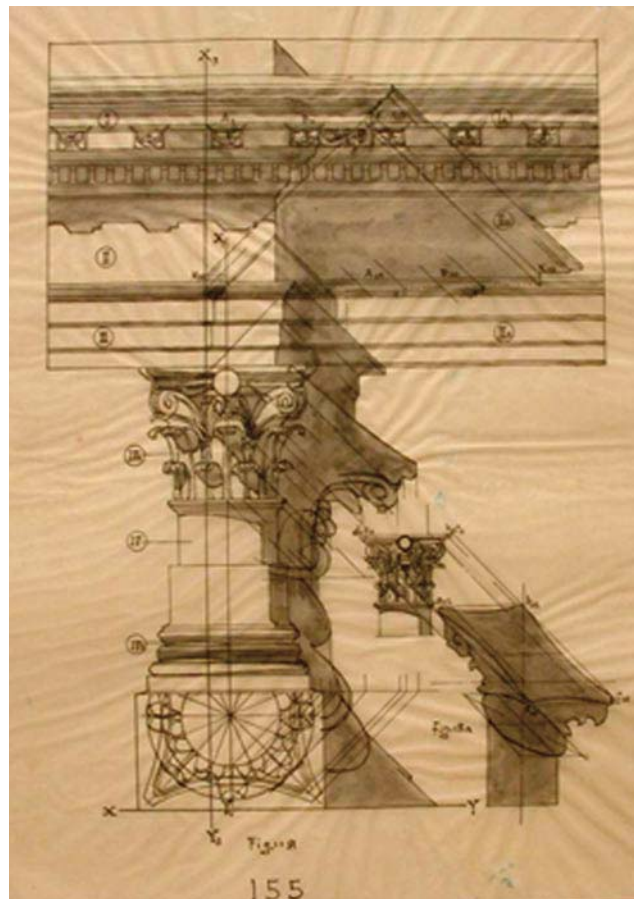


Fig. 6.3. ▼ Summer House, Student Project for Taiwan Provincial College of Engineering, 1956. Student drawing for memorial gate. Photo by author.



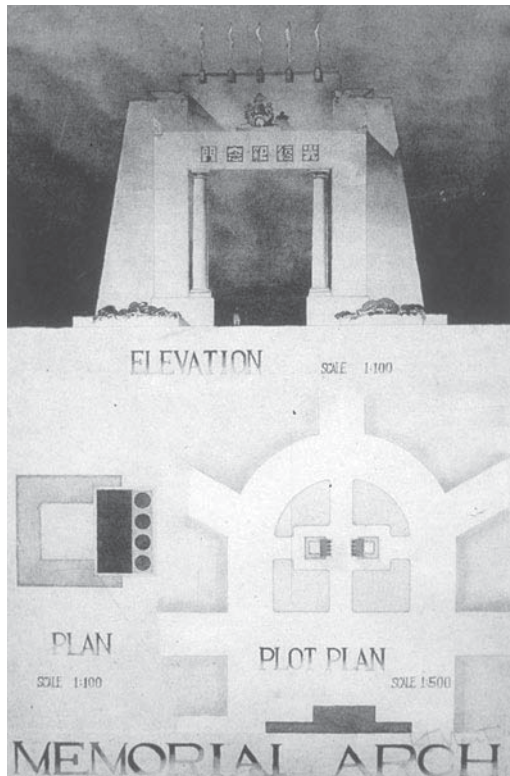


Fig. 6.4. (Above left) Student rendering of Memorial Arch, Taiwan Provincial College of Engineering. Photo by author.



Fig. 6.5. (Above right) Memorial Gate, Cheng Kung University, Tainan, Taiwan, 1956. Photo by author.

In order to help students understand the method of shades and shadow, Chin compiled an illustrative textbook that included hundreds of drawings (figs. 6.2 and 6.3).¹⁶ He wrote the text and drew the illustrations using pen and ink on tracing paper. This beautiful textbook is one of the best pieces of evidence that substantiates the connection between the Beaux-Arts and Taiwan Provincial College of Engineering.

In addition to its teaching methods and materials, the Beaux-Arts grading system was introduced as a substitute for the traditional Chinese grading system. “1st Mention” and “2nd Mention,” used in Beaux-Arts schools, were adopted to replace the traditional Chinese “*jiu, yi, bing, ding*,” or the 100-score, system. Proof of this transition appears in some of the drawings executed by students at Taiwan Provincial College of Engineering. In the 1950s one of the most common Beaux-Arts projects at the college was to design either a memorial gate or a triumphal arch (fig. 6.4). Perhaps not coincidentally, the Memorial Gate for Cheng Kung University in 1956, constructed to celebrate its enhancement from a college to a university, was designed by Tzu He-chen, a professor at the college, and executed entirely in this fashion. In this gate, classical moldings are applied to the base of the columns and traditional Chinese decorations are attached to the horizontal beam (fig. 6.5). Tzu introduced into the department a Beaux-Arts course in “architectural analytique,” and the course soon became one of his favorites.¹⁷

Beaux-Arts Influences on Chinese Architects, 1949–1966

Architectural practice in Taiwan during the 1950s and early 1960s also demonstrates the extent of Beaux-Arts influence during this critical period. Upon the establishment of the Nationalist government in Taiwan, the need to construct buildings to house different departments of the central government became a matter of great urgency. Most of these contracts went to architects from the mainland of China because of their close affinity to the Nationalist government there and to demonstrate the strength of political ideology in its architectural and stylistic expressions. The search for new Chinese styles in modern architecture had been a primary objective for many Chinese architects since the 1920s, and the same objective became their responsibility in 1949 when they began to design buildings in a style distinguished from such indigenous Chinese styles as Minnan and Hakka, as well as Western. The purpose was to establish a superior image for the central government's buildings. This effort was partly due to political ideology, but also partly due to the design decisions of individual architects.¹⁸ What is most impressive about the development of Taiwan's architecture is the fact that in the 1950s and 1960s the Beaux-Arts design method became the best way for Chinese architects in Taiwan to accomplish their goal of achieving a Chinese classical style.

Fig. 6.6. Elevation, Bank of Taiwan, Kaohsiung Branch. Drawing by author.



Several key examples reinforce this point:¹⁹

- Bank of Taiwan's Kaohsiung Branch (1949, Chen Yi-bo) (fig. 6.6)
- National Central Library in Taipei (1955, Chen Zhe, Lee Bao-dou)
- National Science Hall in Taipei (1960, Lu Yu-chin)
- Chinese Cultural University at Yangmingshan (1960, Lu Yu-chin)
- National History Museum (1964, Yong-Li Architects)
- Taipei National Palace Museum (1965, Huang Pao-yü [Boyle])(fig. 6.8)

Beginning in 1966, under the banner of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement, the application of this “grand style” to new buildings became the ideological fashion.²⁰ Hundreds of buildings commissioned by the Nationalist government were crowned with classical Chinese-style tiled roofs and dressed with palatial decorations to serve as hallmarks of the movement. Sun Yat-sen Tower (Zhongshanlou) at Yangmingshan (1966, Shiu Zhe-lan) (fig. 6.7), the National Palace Museum (fig. 6.8), and a series of national martyrs' shrines are the best examples of this significant movement.²¹

A feature common to all these examples is their dual character of Chinese classicism in terms of style and Beaux-Arts trademarks in terms of composition. As stated somewhat superficially by its architect, the Taipei National Palace Museum is “neo-renaissance Chinese architecture which satisfies Chinese people in general and foreign tourists in particular.”²² However, if we take the museum's site plan and spatial composition into consideration, we see that the museum demonstrates this fusion of Beaux-Arts practice and Chinese style. Located on a platform at the end of an axis, the site planning creates a strong sense of monumentality. The four-story museum, with its rooms arranged symmetrically along the central axis, can be accessed by climbing a series of steps from the road. In this axially and symmetrically arranged building, the architect has combined roofs of different Chinese classical styles in order to create a classical expression. Although the building's appearance is reminiscent of Chinese classicism, in both tower and museum the placement of its formal elements and spatial organization are indicative of a Beaux-Arts composition.²³

This simultaneously Chinese classicist/Beaux-Arts phenomenon can be observed from two points of view. On the one hand, almost all Chinese architects who designed the new Chinese architecture in classical styles had received a Beaux-Arts architectural education, either in China or abroad. Possessing little knowledge of traditional Taiwanese architecture, they reverted to a familiar design solution based on Beaux-Arts methods. On the other hand, since Beaux-Arts architecture and Chinese classical architecture share similar characteristics of symmetry, axis, and monumentality, some Chinese architects consciously combined



Fig. 6.7. ◀ Sun Yat-sen Tower, Yangmingshan, 1966. Photo by author.

the Beaux-Arts plan with Chinese classical styles. In other words, Taiwan's Chinese classicism of the 1950s and 1960s represents the re-emergence of a theme that harkens back to the Beaux-Arts tradition. Just as certain Beaux-Arts-inspired buildings had done in Europe and the United States, the conceptual core of, and the artistic justification for, a classical solution (in this case, Chinese classicism) was based on the assumption that this architectural approach best expressed a dominant, national political ideology (in the Taiwan case, one embraced by the Nationalist government and its architects).

Chiang Kai-shek Cultural Center Complex, 1980–1987

The marriage of the Chinese classical style and the Beaux-Arts tradition gradually faded away when, beginning in the mid-1960s, a taste for less historicist architecture began to emerge. However, the phenomenon of combining Chinese classical ornamentation with Beaux-Arts-inspired plans did not completely disappear until the 1980s. The Chiang Kai-shek Cultural Center Complex in Taipei (1980–1987) marked the final manifestation of this combination. To commemorate the late President Chiang Kai-shek's legacy, the government decided to build a cultural center complex that would include the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall, the National Theater, and the National Concert Hall, all designed by C. C. Yang & Architects & Engineers (fig. 6.9). Yang's design placed the main building at the east end of Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Park, which extended over 240,000 square meters in central Taipei. The main Gate of Great Centrality and Perfect Uprightness was placed at the western end of the axis, with two side gates (the Gate of Great Loyalty and the Gate of Great Piety) standing at the north and south sides of the site. The National Theater and the National Concert Hall, twin performing arts venues, stand respectively on the southern and northern sides of the square in front of the memorial hall. A processional Way of Homage connected the memorial hall, the National Theater, and the National Concert Hall with the square.

The cultural complex's role in the history of Taiwanese architecture is not limited to its physical characteristics. It also points out the differences in perceptions of the term "modern architecture" among administrators and architects. A key requirement among the criteria initially given to competing architects was that the complex should be designed to "represent the spirit of modern Chinese architecture." Ironically, the two projects that won the competition, both designed by the same architectural office, represent the last achievement of the Beaux-Arts-

Fig. 6.8. ◀ National Palace Museum, Taipei. Photo by author.



Fig. 6.9. C. C. Yang & Architects & Engineers, Chiang Kai-shek Cultural Center Complex, Taipei, design. Photo by author.

oriented Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement. In other words, some who judged this competition still thought, and doubtless still do, that the combination of Chinese classical style with Beaux-Arts composition was the best solution for new, or “modern,” architecture.²⁴

In an original perspective drawing for the competition, it is clear that Yang and his colleagues imagined that the Sun Yat-sen Memorial in Nanjing, the Lincoln Memorial in Washington DC, and the Taj Mahal in Agra were all composed in a Beaux-Arts manner. The Chiang Kai-shek Memorial has double eaves, an octagonal base, a pointed roof, and blue glazed roof tiles, and it sits atop a foundation of three layered platforms. Its massive blue-tiled roof is capped with a golden peak, evoking a majestic appearance. A classical archway at the main gate is flanked by two Chinese-classical-style buildings: the National Theater and the National Concert Hall. Their designs are clearly adopted from ancient Chinese palaces. The roofs are paved with glazed tiles, and the colonnades are painted bright red (fig. 6.9).

Conclusion

The development of Taiwan's architecture during the twentieth century can be confusing because various influences and ideas occurred simultaneously within a relatively short time span. Japan's colonization of Taiwan brought a first wave of Beaux-Arts influence because Japanese architects, either intentionally or unwittingly, were employing design assumptions linked to the Beaux-Arts, albeit not always directly. After 1949 a second wave of Beaux-Arts influence arrived with the Chinese architects who came to Taiwan with the Nationalist government. These architects were even more important than those from Japan because they contributed both through education and practice to a distinctively Taiwanese architecture, which is still developing in the early twenty-first century.

In the 1950s and early 1960s Chinese architects tried to blend Chinese classical characteristics with Beaux-Arts spatial organizations. Although the tactics and methods of these architects were often different, their goals and results were often nearly identical. In a pedagogical sense, the Beaux-Arts tradition was brought to Taiwan by Chinese teachers. Documentary evidence attests to the transplantation of ideas from Penn to the Taiwan Provincial College of Engineering via Chinese universities, especially Central University, Chongqing University in Sichuan, and Sun Yat-sen (Zhongshan) University in Guangzhou. Key curricular elements of contemporary architectural design courses at the university level included architectural composition, rendering and perspective, descriptive geometry, and fine arts (figs. 6.1–6.3).

The Beaux-Arts legacy in Taiwan's architectural development during the 1950s and early 1960s is significant because of the strong presence of Chinese architects from the mainland. This predominance is understandable, for at that time there were very few Taiwan-trained architectural professionals who were prepared to handle large-scale building projects or assume responsibilities for directing architectural education programs. Although the Chinese classicist and Beaux-Arts traditions have been largely replaced since the 1970s by an architecture characterized by modernist, postmodernist, or antiquarian approaches (that is, ones resonating with Taiwanese regional styles),²⁵ debates persist about the validity of these contrasting approaches. Meanwhile, Beaux-Arts influences remain embedded in the ongoing transformation of Taiwan's post-World War II architectural world, even though more than half a century has elapsed since Beaux-Arts ideas were transplanted to Taiwan from mainland China. The ideas continue to surface both in educational programs and in architectural commissions.

Finally, this examination of Taiwan in the context of Beaux-Arts architectural dissemination suggests the need for further research, not only within Taiwan, but

also in contexts such as Southeast Asia, where dominant architectural approaches were historically transmitted by agents of colonialism, imperialism, or globalization, and then these approaches were localized, transformed, imitated, and sometimes rejected. Such studies, in Taiwan and elsewhere, would elucidate, even more clearly, the dynamics of architectural change and, in so doing, would help clarify how significant Beaux-Arts approaches are and how far beyond Europe and Asia they extend.

Notes

1. Fu Chao-Ching, *Rizhi shiqi Taiwan jianzhu* (Architecture in Taiwan's Japanese period) (Taipei: Shijie chubanshe, 1999).
2. For a useful summary in English, see the chapter on Taiwan in David B. Stewart, *The Making of a Modern Japanese Architecture: 1868 to the Present* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1987).
3. Huang Jun-Shen. "The Formation of Architectural Discourse in Taiwan's College in the 1950s and 1960s" (in Chinese), Master's thesis, Tamkang University, 1996.
4. Chih-ming Ka, *Japanese Colonialism in Taiwan: Land Tenure, Development and Dependency, 1895–1945* (New York: Westview Press, 1998).
5. Reginald Yin-Wang Kwok, ed., *Globalizing Taipei: The Political Economy of Spatial Development* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 57.
6. Tokio Watanabe, "Josiah Conder's Rokumeikan: Architecture and National Representation in Meiji Japan, 1868–1945: Art, Architecture and National Identity," *Art Journal* 55, no. 3 (Fall 1996): 38–47.
7. William S. Tay, "Ideology, Identity, and Architecture: Modernism, Postmodernism, and Antiquarianism in Taiwan," *Humanities Bulletin* 4 (1995): 85–96.
8. Cherie Wendelken, "Pan-Asianism and the Pure Japanese Thing: Japanese Identity and Architecture in the Late 1930s," *Positions* 8, no. 3 (Winter 2000): 819–828.
9. Tokio, "Josiah Conder's Rokumeikan," 38–47.
10. This does not mean that the Beaux-Arts influence did not exist in the Japanese period. Rather, the relationship between Beaux-Arts and Japanese architecture is beyond the scope of this chapter.
11. Li-Ling Huang, "Urban Politics and Spatial Development," in Reginald Kwok, ed., *Globalizing Taipei*, 80.
12. The 228 Incident occurred on 28 February 1947. The arrest of a cigarette vendor in Taipei led to large-scale protests by the native Taiwanese against the corruption and repression of Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese Nationalist government. See George H. Kerr, *Formosa Betrayed* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965); and "Formosa Killings are Put at 10,000," *The New York Times*, 29 March 1947.
13. The translations appeared in *Zhongguo jianzhu* beginning in vol. 2, no.1 (January 1934).
14. For a more comprehensive discussion of design pedagogy, see Hsiao Pai-hsing, "Modernity of Dependency—the Discursive Formation of Design in Architectural Academies in Taiwan" (in Chinese), Ph.D. diss., National Taiwan University, 1998.

15. From the preface of Chin Chang-ming's unpublished "Shades and Shadow Textbook," written in the 1950s.

16. In addition to teaching, Chin Chang-ming also designed several buildings in the 1950s; however, his practice is basically modernist-oriented. He is one of the key people in the Architecture Today Research Group at Taiwan Provincial College of Engineering. The entire group advocated the spirit of modernism and cases of modernist architecture were introduced in the Taiwan-based journal *Architecture Today*. For a detailed discussion of the relationship between Chin and the Architecture Today Research Group, see Fu Chao-Ching, "Architecture Today Research Group, Architecture Today, Yeh Shih-yuan, and Chin Chang-ming: An Alternative History of Modern Taiwanese Architecture," *Yingzao* (Treatise on construction), no.1 (2001): 351–360.

17. Tzu He-Chen, "The Continuity of Tradition in Chinese Architecture," *Jianzhushi* (February 1989): 60.

18. For a detailed discussion of this issue, see Fu Chao-Ching, *Zhongguo gudian shiyang xin jianzhu: Ershi shiji Zhongguo xin jianzhu guanzhuhua de lishi yanjiu* (New Chinese architecture in classical styles: Historical studies in the institutionalization of new Chinese architecture of the twentieth century) (Taipei: Nantian shuju, 1993).

19. See Chou Wan-yao, *Taiwan lishi tushuo* (An illustrated history of Taiwan) (Taipei: Lian-Jing Publishing Co., 1999); and Yongsheng Yang, ed., *Zhongguo jianzhushi* (Noted Chinese architects) (Beijing: Xin shijie chubanshe, 1999).

20. The movement was the first structured plan of the Nationalist government for cultural development in Taiwan. Launched in November 1966 and associated with the 100th anniversary of Sun Yat-sen's birthday, it was established in response to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that erupted in the same year on the Chinese mainland.

21. Chao Chia-chih, "Yangwang xingxing—jianzhushi Hsu Ze-lan" (Looking up to a superstar—An interview with architect Ze-lan Hsu), *Jianzhushi* (April 2003): 90–95.

22. Boyle Huang, *Architecture, Landscape, and Urban Planning: Selected Essays of Boyle Huang* (Taipei: Dalu shudian, 1974), 754. Huang Pao-yü was a graduate of National Central University (now Southeast University) in China, where he received Beaux-Arts training and where he taught between 1945 and 1947. He and Hsu Ze-lan emigrated to Taiwan in 1949, and he became the first teacher to introduce a course in Chinese architecture at Taiwan Provincial College of Engineering.

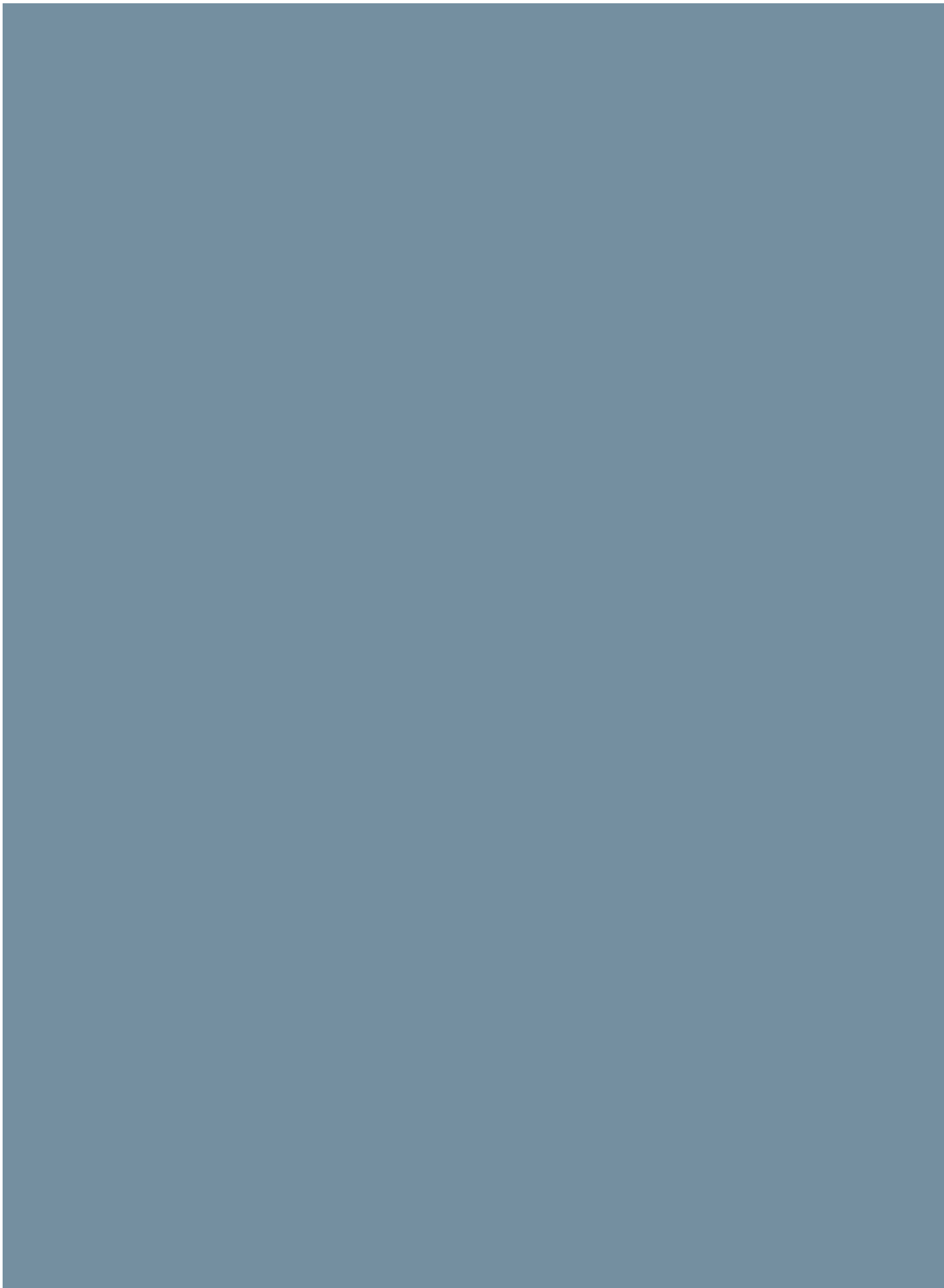
23. For an interview with Hsu Ze-lan that discusses these elements, see *Jianzhushi*, no. 340 (April 2003): 90–95. Also see King Yi-Jung, "An Interview with Fan Zu-zheng," *Chengda jianzhu* (Architectural journal of Cheng Kung University), no. 19 (1982).

24. Fu Chao-Ching, "The Story of Glazed Tiles Atop the Memorials of KMT [GMD] Heroes," *Jianzhu* (November 2002): 46–51.

25. Tay, "Ideology, Identity and Architecture," 85–96.

PART III

Influence to
Paradigm



INFLUENCE TO PARADIGM

Introductory Perspectives

The nine chapters in the section Influence to Paradigm explore the results of the First Generation's return to China in the 1920s and 1930s. Although some of the implications stemming from their return have been broached in the preceding section, the chapters that follow differ from those in Convergence to Influence in their scope, scale, and themes. In terms of scope, there are discussions of modernism, individual architects, and significant works by those architects that exemplify their influence. In terms of scale, we move here from discussions of individual commissions to the implications of Beaux-Arts influence at the level of the city. In thematic terms, we find discussions of modernism in the context of eclecticism; racism in the context of architectural practice; and urbanism beyond the Beaux-Arts. We are thus taken chronologically from the First Generation of the 1920s to the Fourth Generation during the first decade of the twenty-first century.

These chapters—for all their differences in approach and focus—cohere around the question of how, precisely, the members of the First Generation paved the way for subsequent Generations. Gu Daqing, in the previous section, provides one kind of answer by plotting the evolution of architectural education against political trends and contemporary architectural theory. He encapsulates his conclusions with the words transplantation (ca. 1925–1950), localization (ca. 1950–1980) and entrenchment (1980–present). In this section, we add another word to characterize this evolution—paradigm—in the sense that the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the term: “a pattern or model, an exemplar.”¹ Armed with a Beaux-Arts theoretical framework, Chinese First Generation architects provided a set of exemplary experiments that were sometimes copied and emulated, but at other times rejected and surpassed by subsequent practitioners, for both architectural and political reasons. In this section we get a clearer sense of the complexity and richness of some of these experiments. We examine only a few of the specific dynamics associated with the members of the so-called Second, Third, and Fourth Generations.

The nine chapters are grouped into three clusters. The first deals with three architects—Yang Tingbao, Dong Dayou, and Liang Sicheng—and how their work exemplified the tensions between “modern” and “ancient” in the architectural complexities of Republican China. Xing Ruan and Seng Kuan not only scrutinize the evolution of Yang's and Dong's architectural careers, but they also characterize Yang and Dong as critical architects who, from a Beaux-Arts base, moved beyond formulaic work in their quest to become the best architects they could be. Yang Tingbao's quality as an architect has been discussed in the previous section. Tony

Atkin, Gu Daqing, and K. Sizheng Fan all allude to the fact that Yang's work received prizes at Penn when he was a student, how strong his friendship was with Louis Kahn, and some aspects of his influence in terms of pedagogy and commissions once he returned to China. Xing Ruan here drills deeper into Yang's career, arguing that he was not only a modern architect, but that his modernism should be viewed as a key reason that "the classification of 'uncertain eclecticism' for twentieth-century Chinese architecture is inadequate, if not . . . inaccurate."

Seng Kuan's analysis of Dong Dayou, a less-known architect, is equally compelling in terms of grappling with Chinese architectural modernism during the Republican period, when, Kuan argues, there was a "robustness and openness of architectural discourse" in China, all too often overshadowed by trite stylistic categorizations. These authors suggest how critical it is to explore the issue of modernism in Chinese architecture with much greater clarity.² In other words, what was the "modern classical" architecture that Chen Zhi mentioned in the context of Cret's teaching? How should Bauhaus influences in China, which came via foreign architects as well as from Chinese such as Huang Jorsen, be understood in the context of "modernism"? Given how complicated the word "modern (*xiandai*)" is in the context of Chinese history of the last 170 years, is there a way to clarify this concept in terms of Chinese architecture? Ruan and Kuan pave the way by choosing the work of two seminal architects and demonstrating how we may better understand that work.

Zhao Chen focuses on Liang Sicheng, unquestionably the most famous of China's First Generation architects.³ In a personal essay, Zhao Chen offers a rare critique of Liang. He does so first by questioning Liang's understanding of key architectural principles or ideas, such as "façade" and "classicism." As Zhao phrases it: "Liang faced the fundamental problem of how an education in Beaux-Arts classicism might elucidate Chinese traditional architecture: the Beaux-Arts was a tradition of monumentality defined through ponderous buildings of permanent materials, while Chinese traditional architecture was a timber-frame system in which perishable wood was the main material used in a spectrum of buildings from palaces to halls of state to vernacular architecture." Thus Zhao analyzes not only how Liang addressed these problems of elevation and façade, but also how we may come to terms with Liang's limitations.

The second cluster of chapters focuses on Lü Yanzhi, Zhang Kaiji, and Zhang Bo, three architects whose creativity in the context of the Beaux-Arts is not as well understood as it should be. These significant architects were linked to Republican (in the case of Lü) and early socialist (in the case of the two Zhangs) politics. Rudolph Wagner and Delin Lai confront the significance of Lü's work, especially

in the context of Sun Yat-sen and the Republic. In my chapter I discuss the early stages of Lü's career when he worked for Henry Murphy in both New York and Shanghai, using Lü as an example of how well (and sometimes how poorly) Chinese and foreign architects collaborated. Wagner concentrates on Lü's most monumental commission, the mausoleum for Sun Yat-sen. He frames that work masterfully within the convoluted political and social enshrining of Sun during the Republican Period. Lai then explores Lü's final work, his Memorial Hall for Sun Yat-sen in Guangzhou, completed after Lü's untimely death in 1929. Yung Ho Chang reflects upon two other Zhangs: his father, Zhang Kaiji, and one of his father's most important contemporaries during the 1950s, Zhang Bo.

The third cluster of chapters examines cities as exemplars of Beaux-Arts and post-Beaux-Arts dynamics. Peter Carroll's chapter, "The Beaux-Arts in Another Register," looks at the influence of the Beaux-Arts in terms of civic centers and city plans, while Zhang Jie studies more recent Chinese urbanism. Both scholars reflect on how and why Beaux-Arts approaches have been either integrated within or ignored by contemporary planners.

These final nine essays, then, take the reader from the roots of the Beaux-Arts in Europe to the beginning of the twenty-first century in China, where the impact of Beaux-Arts composition and construction still reverberate through large building ventures and urban design projects by both foreign and Chinese architects. Finally, in a provocative afterword, Joseph Rykwert dissects some of the underlying conceptual assumptions associated with European approaches to space, implied by the number four, and vis-à-vis Chinese approaches, suggested by the number five.

Notes

1. Judy Pearsall, ed., *The New Oxford Dictionary of English* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 1344.
2. On this question, see especially Edward Denison and Guang Yu Ren, *Modernism in China: Architectural Visions and Revolutions* (Chichester, UK: John Wiley and Sons, 2008); and for the question of "modernity" among Chinese students in the United States, see Weili Ye, *Seeking Modernity in China's Name* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).
3. Wilma Fairbank, *Liang and Lin: Partners in Exploring China's Architectural Past* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).

YANG TINGBAO,
DONG DAYOU,
AND LIANG SICHENG

Modern and Ancient

7 YANG TINGBAO, CHINA'S MODERN ARCHITECT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Yang Tingbao, who produced predominantly eclectic buildings in twentieth-century China, should be regarded as a modern architect. In 1983 a monograph of Yang's architectural works and projects was published by the China Architecture and Building Press, the first such publication on an individual architect in the history of China.¹ Sadly, Yang did not see his own monograph; he died just a few days before it was printed. Although he was one of China's most renowned architects, Yang has not merited even a footnote in the canonical discourse of twentieth-century modern architecture published in the West: he is, up to this point, largely unknown outside China.² In part, this is because most of China's twentieth-century architecture was never considered modern by the West, due to "a century of rather varied and uncertain eclecticism, beginning with the arrival of foreign architects in Shanghai soon after the turn of the century."³ But Yang Tingbao's works prove that the classification of "uncertain eclecticism" for twentieth-century Chinese architecture is inadequate, if not inaccurate.

Trained at the University of Pennsylvania, Yang was a peer of Louis Kahn, who was to become one of the most remarkable modern architects in the twentieth century. Legend has it that in 1962 a young Chinese architect went on a pilgrimage to the Philadelphia office of the famed Louis Kahn. Instead of preaching to the young man, Kahn was apparently very curious to learn about the well-being of his Chinese classmate T. P. Yang (as Yang Tingbao was known at Penn), whom Kahn is said to have called a genius architect in front of the young admirer. Surprised and perhaps a little bewildered by Kahn's interest in Yang, the Chinese architect told Kahn that he had in fact been taught by Yang in China.⁴ Despite the fact that his works hardly resembled Yang's, Kahn remained an admirer of his former classmate. I suggest in this chapter that, like Kahn, Yang is a modern architect in the sense that his architecture is beyond the image of a stylistic modernity that has predominantly defined both the academic and the popular classifications of modern architecture in the West since the turn of twentieth century.

Conventional definition has it that modern architecture, seen as initiated by the European avant-garde architects in the early twentieth century, is bound neither by the nineteenth-century neoclassicism, nor the Renaissance revival of antiquity. Architectural form, as the doctrine goes, should be defined by function. Since both form and function subsequently succumbed to the success of the image of free architecture—that is, an architecture of smoothly white-washed walls and largely glazed fenestration—modernity in architecture has become a stylized

image.⁵ Modernity in the true sense of the word, however, embraces the universal human conditions that are beyond the bounds of culture and race. Free form and transparency in twentieth-century architecture, as a compelling imagery as well as imaginary representation, is the irresistible surrogate of freedom of space, which was made possible by the freedom of movement in transportation and human migration. But there is more in modern architecture than the imagery representation of freedom of space. The search for what is the common good and what is appropriate, as well as its inevitable cosmopolitan consequences, is one of the significant attributes that modernity has to offer. It is in this line of argument that the modernity of Yang's architecture should be understood.

From 1921 to 1925 Yang studied architecture at Penn, earning a B. Arch. and an M. Arch. Kahn, perhaps born in 1901,⁶ the same year as Yang, also started his architectural education at Penn in 1921, but completed his bachelor's degree in 1924. Both men studied architectural design under John Harbeson in their junior year and under Cret in their senior year. Harbeson was then a respected assistant professor, who in 1926 would publish *The Study of Architectural Design*;⁷ Cret had nearly two decades of teaching in the United States behind him when Yang and Kahn entered his studio.

Yang was a star pupil and a protégé of both Harbeson and Cret.⁸ Two of Yang's student projects are included as exemplary works in Harbeson's, *The Study of Architectural Design*. Evidence of Yang's glorious student days at Penn can be found in Philadelphia's *The Evening Bulletin*. An article from 2 September 1925 entitled "Chinese Student Gets High Honor" quotes Dean Warren Laird: "Yang is one of the most brilliant students there . . . He has won more individual prizes for his drawings than any other student in many years."⁹ Although evidently not as shining a student as Yang, Kahn, contrary to his frequent assertion that he was a very poor student and naturally bashful, did in fact win some design medals and mentions under Cret.¹⁰ At Yang's graduation ceremony in 1925, Cret asked Yang to stay in Philadelphia and work for him. Yang happily accepted the offer but only spent a year in Cret's office. En route back to China, Yang completed a short version of the grand tour through Europe, an expectation of young architects at the time.

Between 1944 and 1945 Yang returned to Philadelphia and visited Kahn's office. This was Yang's second and last trip to the United States. In his various recorded memoirs, Yang makes only slight mention of his meeting with Kahn. But in his final years in China, Yang recalled more that Kahn was a talented young musician who diligently juggled his architectural studies with playing piano for silent movies.¹¹ Kahn, too, must have also remembered Yang more as a jovial character (presumably Kahn did not know much about Yang's built works

Fig. 7.1. Graduation photograph showing Yang Tingbao (second back row, third from the right) and Louis Kahn (second back row, third from the left). The University of Pennsylvania Yearbook, 1924. Published courtesy of Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania.



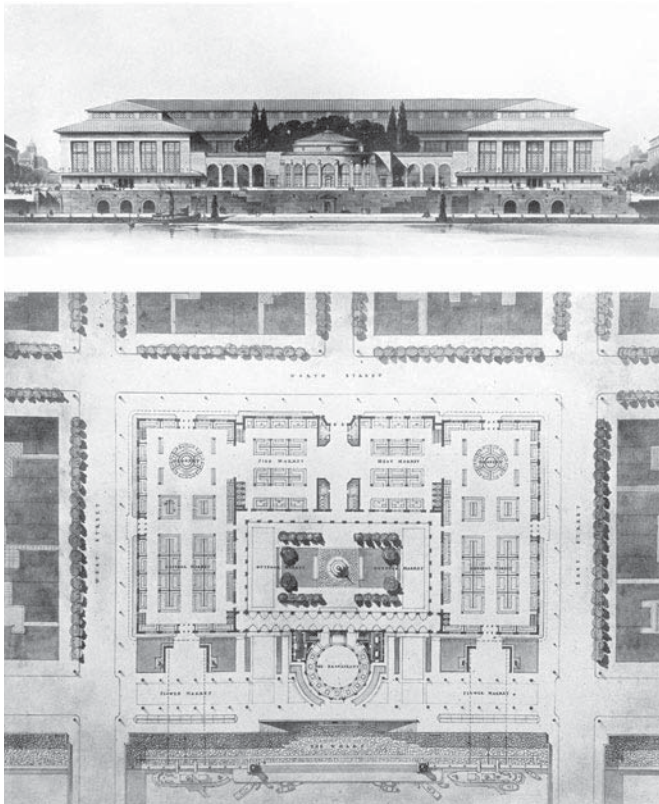
in China). In the same news story in the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*, Yang is described as “by no means a ‘grind,’” and “his joviality and his readiness to help underclassmen with their work have made him popular on the campus. His attainments have not turned his head in the least.”¹² In the 1924 Penn yearbook, we see the usual pose of the graduating young architects. Kahn, looking serious and a little clumsily bashful (in his own words), seems to have a mission ahead of him, whereas Yang is posed with his typical cheerful smile, as if nothing unexpected will come in his future career (fig. 7.1). Indeed, Yang’s works, unlike those of Kahn, can hardly be classified as modern due to their eclectic looks. But very much like Kahn’s works, they do embody faith in the common good rather than an overt emphasis on cultural specificity, even though to some extent the freedom of space in twentieth-century architecture has, ironically, led to the pursuit of the odd and peculiar.

The Virtue of Architectural Design

The earliest evidence of Yang’s architectural design can be found in the two student projects included in Harbeson’s *The Study of Architectural Design*. Of these, one, a Class A Problem, was awarded the First Prize and First Medal from the Beaux-Arts Institute of Design in New York; the other was a pencil study for a Class A Project. The merits of winning the design award and being chosen for inclusion

by Harbeson were achieved due to a skillful proper fit between the character of the building and its use according to the program. About the award-winning project, “A Municipal Market,” Harbeson remarked that in both plan and elevation, the restaurant and the market were “unmistakably expressed” (fig. 7.2).¹³ A symmetrical axial plan was convenient to achieve clarity and legibility in the arrangement of the program, which incorporated several indoor markets (meat, fish, vegetables, and groceries), an outdoor flower market, and a restaurant. The façade was eclectic, but made sense in the context of the program and its spatial character. The restaurant’s Spanish-style roof cleverly corresponded with the double-eave roof of the market, which also allowed extra skylights between the two eaves to illuminate the deep and high indoor market.¹⁴

Fig. 7.2. Yang Tingbao, A Municipal Market, Class A Problem in Elevation and Plan, University of Pennsylvania. From John Harbeson, *The Study of Architectural Design*, 1926, 180.



The other project of Yang’s that Harbeson included in his book was entitled “Pencil Study for a Crematory.” Harbeson used it to discuss the necessity of revision in architectural design. In fact, it explicitly illustrates how the character of a building (in façade in this case) should be made appropriate to its program.

Harbeson commented that a few columns in the existing elevation were changed from Ionic to Doric to significantly improve the aspect. Harbeson did not elaborate on what its “aspect” was, but he probably meant that the Doric order was more suitable for the character of a crematorium.¹⁵

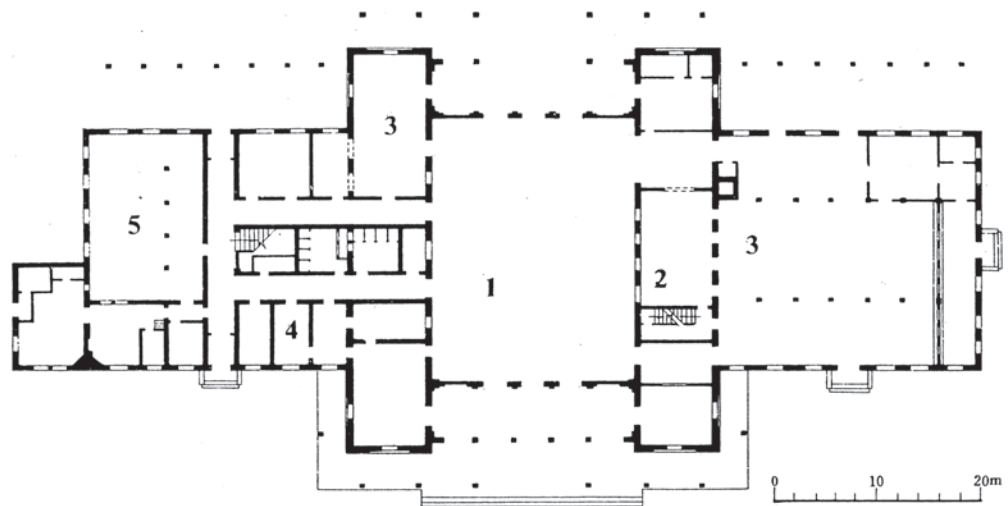
Yang was an early bloomer. By 1935, when Kahn had established his own practice and begun to work on his first independent project, the Ahavath Israel Congregation, Yang had already restored some major historical monuments in Beijing, including the famous Temple of Heaven, and had completed over thirty large-scale public buildings, including banks, universities, hospitals, and railway stations. Yang’s first project after he returned to China in 1927 was a major railway station of about 7,000 square metres in Shenyang in northern China. Though the typical Beaux-Arts “stripped classicism” and symmetrical axial planning may seem unsurprising, it was

Yang's first successful attempt at achieving a building character proper to both its content (the building's use) and its sociocultural context.

Yang had initially proposed a building with a modernist European appearance, but the railway officials, as well as Yang's architectural colleagues, all argued for a Western classical design that would recall an old neoclassical railway station in Beijing. In the end Yang's design had a touch of Western ornamentation while maintaining a clean-cut simplicity (see fig. 3.21). Without using classical orders and colonnades, the concourse space was grand, well lit, and, most importantly, open, due to its steel-arch structure. The ticket windows, waiting rooms, and other facilities were housed in three-story, flat-roofed buildings that were tied together by ground-level verandas, and these in turn surrounded the concourse symmetrically (fig. 7.3). The flat-roofed components were dressed with simplified eave details and gables, and the large-span roof structure of the concourse was fittingly built into the overall massing, as if the arched space grew out of the flat podiums. This visual feature was further enhanced by a vertical compositional theme. The integrity in this building showcased the twenty-six-year-old Yang's extraordinary confidence as an architect. But above all, the skillful fit of the railway station into both its content and context evoked a building character that, rather than being regional, catered to China's voracious appetite for things Western in the early twentieth century.

Although Yang produced mostly quasi-Beaux-Arts works that appear eclectic in style, he was rarely bothered by the problem of cultural identity, or, as we more frequently call it, place identity. To him, the problem of a recognizable identity

Fig. 7.3. Yang Tingbao, Plan of Shenyang Railroad Station, 1927. From *Yang Tingbao jianzhu sheji zouping ji* (Beijing: CABP, 1983), 12. Key: 1. Concourse. 2. Ticket windows. 3. Waiting rooms. 4. Offices. 5. Luggage storage. Published courtesy of CABP.



was merely about a building's "dress," but the essence of a building lay in its idea. My sense is that Yang searched for universal virtues in his architectural works. Surprisingly, the Chinese also accepted the mainly Western architectural eclecticism with ease. An early twentieth-century urban housing type found in many parts of China illustrates the country's adaptation to things Western even as its inhabitants maintained a domestic life considerably Chinese in character: A townhouse typically had a masonry façade, often embellished with eclectic Western ornaments; but the spatial configuration consisted of a square courtyard enclosed by a two-to-three-story timber house connected by open corridors, a form not only decked with Chinese ornaments, but also an urbanized Chinese courtyard house.¹⁶

This happy coexistence was evident in many of the works by the First Generation of American Beaux-Arts-trained Chinese architects, Yang included. Widely regarded as a work of maturity, his Dahua Cinema in Nanjing, completed in 1935, can be seen as a literal reproduction in civic architecture of the urban housing model described above. This 1,070-seat cinema is a clean, modest Art Deco building from the outside, while the interior is designed with splendid "Chinese Deco" (figs. 7.4 and 7.5). Vagaries of taste in its ornamentation aside, the building has been in service for nearly seventy years as a fine gesture of urban courtesy, bridging in a generous manner the spaces between its street-front and its deep interior. The Beaux-Arts axial planning ensures a simple, smooth circulation for both leisure and emergency movements. The theatrical double-volume lobby is a result of the eloquent manipulation of the "grand staircase," colonnade, rooms, and upper-level balconies based on a symmetrical, axial arrangement of elements (fig. 7.6). Judging by its look, Yang's Dahua Cinema is by no means visually avant-garde; it is, nonetheless, a piece of refined kitsch.

Cosmopolitan Architecture

Another work of Yang's shows a seamless fit between the West and the East, not so much in style, but rather in concept. In 1932 Yang built a *yinyue tai* (musical stage), which in fact is an amphitheatre, near the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum in Nanjing's Zijin Shan area (fig. 7.7). The notion of an amphitheatre, in which the audience sits on the ground in open air, was at the time, exotic, if not alien, to most Chinese. Within a fan shape, Yang made the natural slope of the site into the sitting area, with lawn and hard surfaces logically juxtaposed in radiation. The cloud-shaped stage and its masonry screen, which are adorned with Chinese Deco elements, are unapologetically oriental. Even more intriguing is the idea of the "moon pond" in front of the stage, which collects storm water, nourishes gold fish and lotuses, and replenishes water fountains—all coexisting effortlessly with one another—as if they

Fig. 7.4. Yang Tingbao, Dahua Cinema, Nanjing, 1935. From *Yang Tingbao jianzhu sheji zouping ji*, 94. Published courtesy of CABP.

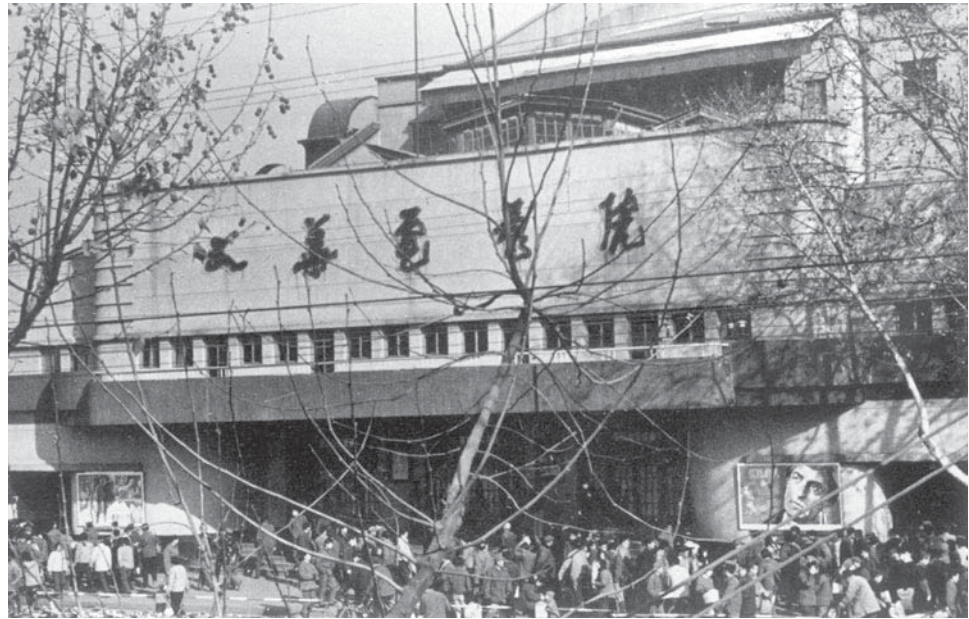


Fig. 7.5. Yang Tingbao, Lobby of Dahua Cinema, Nanjing, 1935. From *Yang Tingbao jianzhu sheji zouping ji*, 95. Published courtesy of CABP.

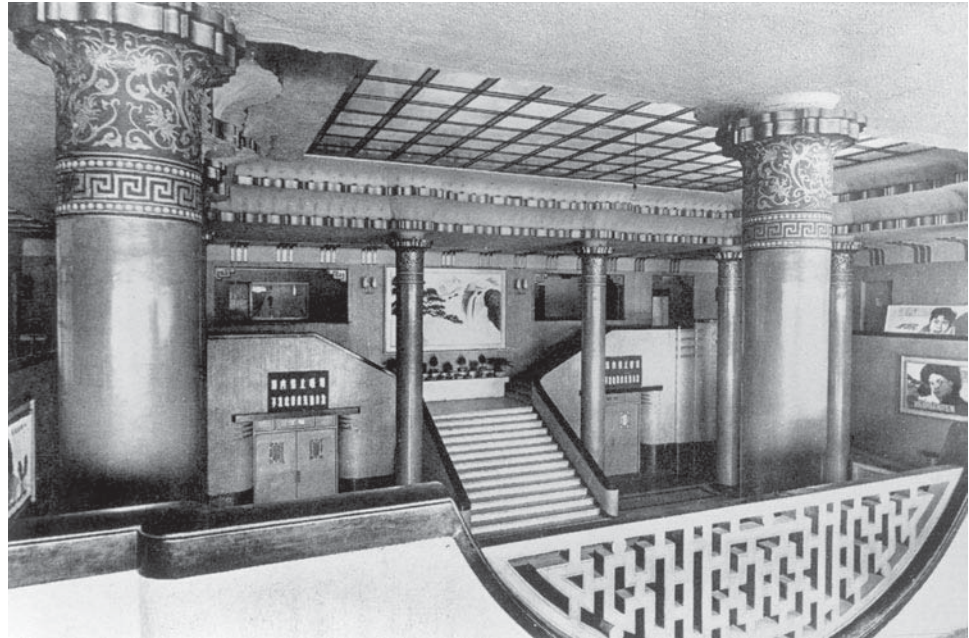


Fig. 7.6. Yang Tingbao, Plan of Ground Floor, Dahua Cinema, Nanjing, 1935. From *Yang Tingbao jianzhu sheji zouping ji*, 96. Key: 1. Lobby. 2. Ticket windows. 3. Exit corridor. 4. Plant rooms. Published courtesy of CABP.

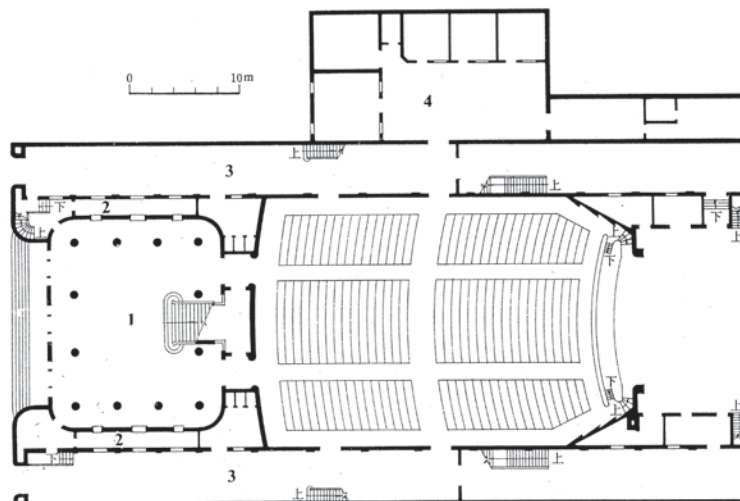


Fig. 7.7. Yang Tingbao, Plan and Section of Musical Stage, Nanjing, 1932. From *Yang Tingbao jianzhu sheji zouping ji*, 77. Published courtesy of CABP.

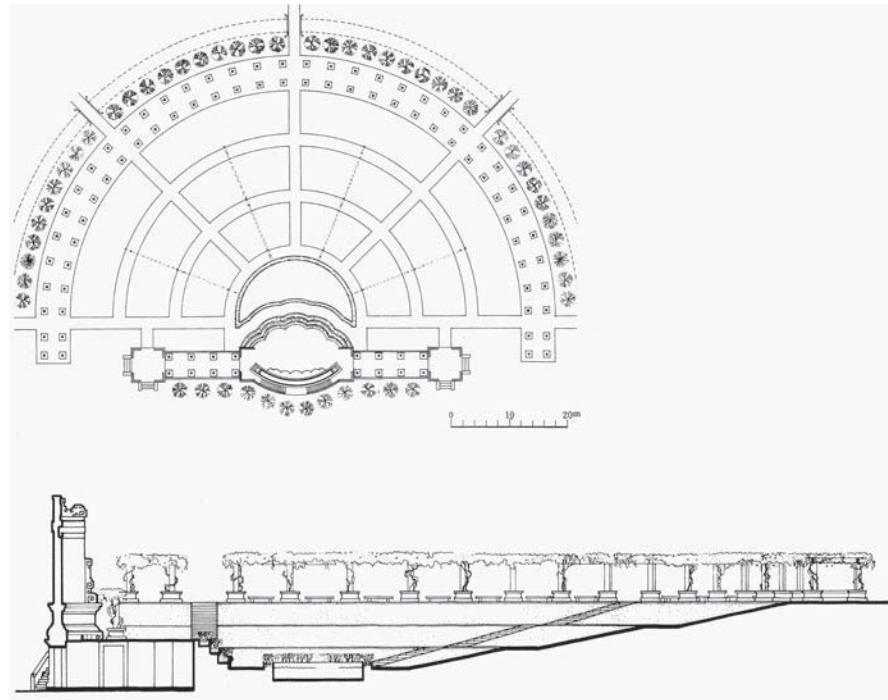


Fig. 7.8. Yang Tingbao, Musical Stage, Nanjing, 1932. Photo by author.

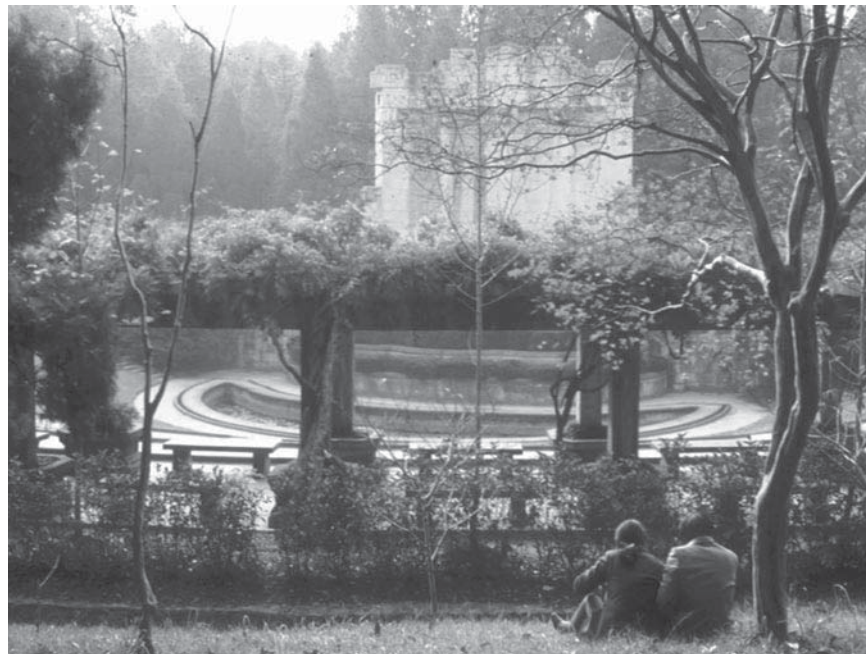




Fig. 7.9. Yang Tingbao, Musical Stage, Nanjing, 1932, showing pergola invaded by plants. From *Yang Tingbao jianzhu sheji zouping ji*, 81. Published courtesy of CABP.

had been there forever (figs. 7.8 and 3.22). The reinforced concrete structure is hidden behind the rough-textured terrazzo plaster, which weathered quickly to give the whole place a look of antiquity. Now, nearly three-quarters of a century later, plants have graciously invaded the pergola, and soot and rainwater have dyed the “artificial stone” surface into almost real stones (fig. 7.9). This work—it gets better as it ages—begs the question of “good” in architecture under the increasingly apparent, and yet bittersweet, paradox of modernity and place identity. Such cosmopolitan architecture, if we have to label it, is high modern. It is rooted in a place not through a narrow definition of culture but rather through an appropriateness of its fit in the situation and locality. Yet this is also an architecture of universal good. In this work the problem of choice between placeless modernity and place identity is redundant. Yang’s larger-than-

life mentality, embodied in his architecture, transcends this conflict.

If there is any surprise in Yang’s oeuvre, it is the Beijing Peace Hotel (1951–1953). When it first appeared, it was shocking to those who were used to Yang’s prior work (figs. 7.10–7.12). This building is stripped bare and certainly has a modernist look. A careful reading of its plan, however, reveals Yang’s subtle transformation and its potency within a specific context. On the one hand, the asymmetrical, rather diagonal composition was determined by three existing trees and an ancient well. A portion of an old courtyard house and a new wall were used to form an enclosed open space in front of the hotel, which was intended to echo Beijing’s urban pattern of inward courtyard houses. On the other hand, although asymmetrical, the hint of axial planning is evident, and one can safely assume that the plan and its spatial configuration were in fact worked out with this method.

The Beijing Peace Hotel reifies Yang’s elaboration on the Beaux-Arts and its affinities with premodern Chinese architecture. In Chinese temples and

Fig. 7.10. Yang Tingbao, Beijing Peace Hotel, 1951–1953. From *Yang Tingbao jianzhu sheji zouping ji*, 184. Published courtesy of CABP.



Fig. 7.11. Yang Tingbao, Plan of Ground Floor, Beijing Peace Hotel, 1951–1953. Key: 1. Entry. 2. Lobby. 3. Reception area. 4. Sitting area. 5. Dining room. 6. Stage 7. Banquet hall. 8. Kitchen. 9. Sky well. 10. Pre-existing teahouse. 11. Beauty parlor. 12. Club room. 13. Passageway. 14. Compound entry. 15. Existing ancient well. From *Yang Tingbao jianzhu sheji zouping ji*, 182. Published courtesy of CABP.

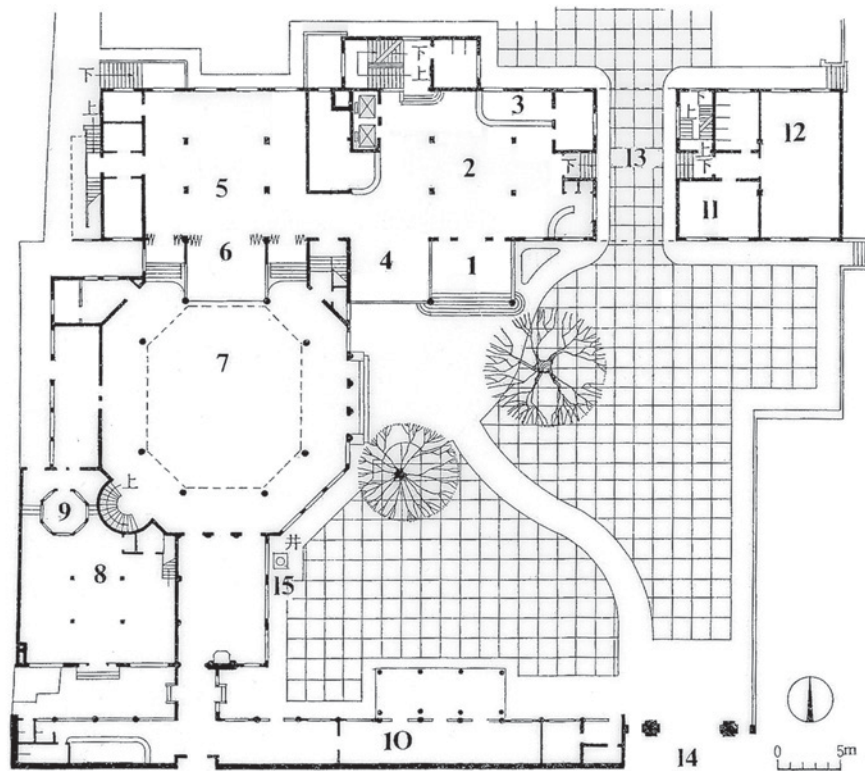
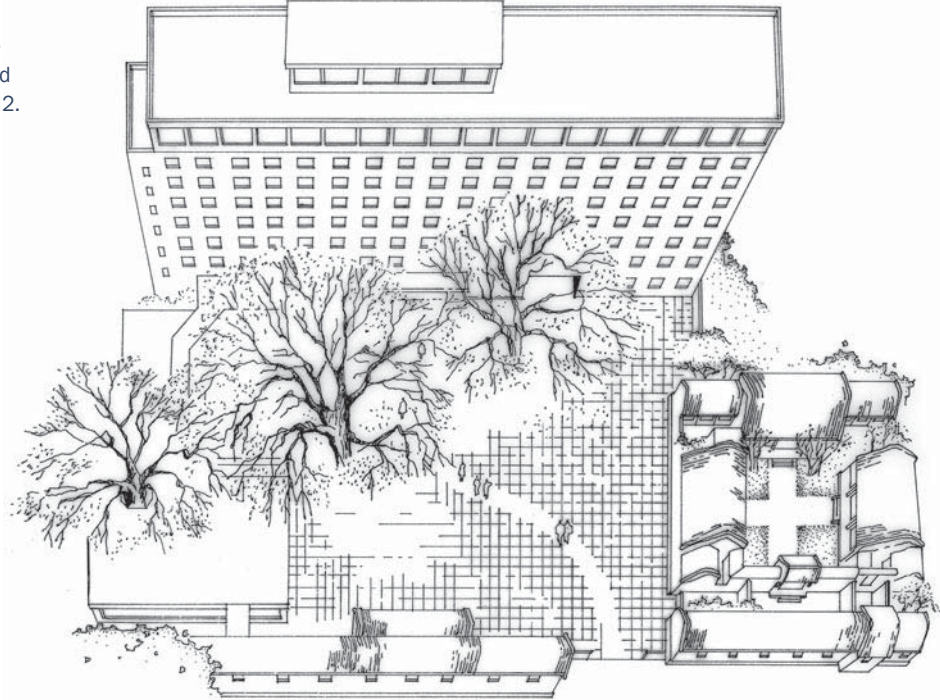


Fig. 7.12. Yang Tingbao, Aerial view, Beijing Peace Hotel, 1951–1953. Based on Qi, ed., *Yang Tingbao*, 2. Drawing by author.



gardens, Yang points out in an interview with his student, the spatial axis can be literally turned, twisted, and even slanted. The axis can be felt only if it is defined by buildings, and by the making of the ground, or the site. In so doing, the *shi* (propensity) can be achieved rather than released by the use of axis. Yang criticizes the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum in Nanjing, the subject of chapter 1, as well as some classic examples of Western architecture, such as Palais de Versailles, as a “what you see is what you get” spatial sequence caused by using straightforward axes: the *shi* is not spatially “collected.”¹⁷ The ground level of the Beijing Peace Hotel, on the contrary, is a complex combination of axes for each spatial “interest center,” which are articulated by turning and twisting the axes. Yang’s discovery of the axis complexity in Chinese architecture and his skillful transformation of it in a specific locality are not incidental. Harbeson devotes an entire section to asymmetrical plans and the significance of the program and site specificity.¹⁸

Though reductive on the surface, the Beijing Peace Hotel was nevertheless designed using a Beaux-Arts approach. Alan Colquhoun’s speculation on Le Corbusier’s transformation of the Beaux-Arts *poché* is relevant to this point. In eighteenth-century Paris, an elaborate series of service corridors and stores were

tucked away, as *poché*, behind the main rooms. Yang's Beijing Peace Hotel is very much handled in this manner. While *poché* is used as secondary space, or "servant spaces," to paraphrase Kahn, in the grand houses Corbusier designed in the 1920s, his transformation is more "radical"; Corbusier freed them in order not to conceal the structure—a "displacement," as Colquhoun terms it.¹⁹

As early as in the 1930s, Yang's fellow Penn classmates Tong Jun, Zhao Shen, and Chen Zhi, who were dealing with more entrepreneurial clients at the time, had already begun experiments to produce buildings with austere modern appearances.²⁰ Their experiments stopped after the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. Yang did a few reductive Art Deco buildings, but he never designed a stylistically modern building before 1949. Although his firm's clientele were mainly government officials who often requested Western or Chinese "cultural images" (as materialized in architectural styles), Yang remained singularly unconcerned with the problem of falling out of vogue. This, I suggest, is the true modernist spirit, because Yang, much like Kahn, saw the doctrines of what a modern building should look like as circumstantial. The austere modernist look of the Beijing Peace Hotel, devoid of ornamentation, was Yang's strategic response to his budget under the then relatively poor economic conditions in China, even though the extravagant Chinese classical revival was at its peak. Major public and institutional buildings, for example, often were crowned with gigantic, concrete Big Roofs that evoked Chinese temples. The Beijing Peace Hotel was initially designed as a local hotel; halfway through construction the government decided to use it for the Asia-Pacific Regional Conference on Peace. Since a building stripped of ornamentation made construction easier and faster, Yang further simplified the design in order to have the building completed in fifty days. Although Yang had great difficulties in getting approval from the city planning authorities, the building's subsequent sociopolitical life was influential. After its completion, the efficient construction process and the modest budget impressed then Premier Zhou Enlai, who would for the next three decades advocate a government building policy that was functional, economical, and, whenever possible, aesthetically pleasing.

During the 1960s and 1970s Yang built very little. However, unlike many of the high-profile intellectuals and professionals of his generation, Yang was not persecuted during the Cultural Revolution. His distance from the Cultural Revolution was nonetheless shrewd: he did what he could and was able to resume some of his official positions in the mid-1970s before the Cultural Revolution ended. His endurance, on the one hand, ensured a recovery of China's architectural education after almost a decade's suspension due to the disruption caused by the Cultural Revolution; on the other hand, quite expectedly, he continued the Beaux-

Arts methods in late twentieth-century China. Although the Cultural Revolution and Maoist era ended with the leader's death in 1976, Yang died in 1982 just as ideological controls began to loosen up. His "asymmetrical axial method" used in the Beijing Peace Hotel re-emerged, as Chinese architects once again discovered its greatest affinity was with premodern Chinese gardens, where symmetrical building components are asymmetrically composed with landscape components. Visual links often serve as powerful axes in the overall composition. This method, however, is not consciously recognized as a Beaux-Arts method.²¹

Yang was also part of the team that produced Mao's Mausoleum—the last monument for the totalitarian statesman and, in my view, a building of little architectural merit. Both in its symbolism and its raw reality, the mausoleum makes it even more difficult to gain a clear understanding of Yang's conviction as an architect. Like many grand-scale government buildings constructed in the second half of the twentieth century, the Mao Mausoleum was designed by a committee that included some of the chief architects of the state-run design institutes from major capital cities and provinces. The task was to design and build the mausoleum within a year. It is unknown what influence Yang had on the final scheme, but the design team responded to the call from a government in the throes of political turmoil before the fall of the Gang of Four. The final scheme was a hybrid version of several individual designs chosen by the then key political leaders of the central government.

Conventional wisdom may have it that Yang's eclectic architecture is intrinsically linked to his "flexible" persona. Indeed, Tong Jun, Yang's Nanjing colleague for many decades, has been remembered as almost the opposite: a man of principle who stopped practicing architecture after the Communists took control in 1949 and who devoted the remainder of his career solely to scholarship. Yet Tong and Yang maintained a great friendship until Yang's death in 1982. My sense is that the flexible dresses of Yang's buildings (their various eclectic styles) are more wayward than calculating. Yang was never obliged to express regionalism or even an individual artistic identity. He enjoyed a reputation as a guru both in his teaching and his practice, but this is the reputation of a master artisan who knows his work and does it well. Yang's real concern, as this chapter has attempted to show, lay in the pattern and meaning of a building's configuration, which may be comfortably attributed to the Beaux-Arts notion of *parti*, a concept crystallized towards the turn of twentieth century after more than two centuries of academic discourse in France. *Parti* is therefore a "party line," and it implies that the architect must make a choice through the configuration of a building, within which human life unfolds. *Parti*, in other words, is beyond shapes and dimensions. It inevitably transcends cultured

styles in architecture. It may be argued that *parti*, which represents the true meaning of earlier modernity in architecture, could have been a worthy secular replacement of the religious foundations of premodern architecture. However, it was quickly overshadowed due to the victory of modernist style in the early twentieth century.

“Boy Dislikes Rice” and the Modern Architect

The news story about Yang, “Chinese Student Gets High Honor,” in Philadelphia’s *Evening Bulletin*, had this amusing subtitle: “Boy Dislikes Rice.” Yang was reported to have told the Americans that rice was not his favorite food: “The American idea that rice is the chief food of the Chinese is wrong. Many eat it in the districts most visited by American tourists, but in the province of Honan (Henan), where I lived, rice is eaten very little.” Yang, both in life and through the practice of architecture, had made a clear choice to identify more common ground than cultural differences.²² That, I should like to think, is the essential ingredient for a cosmopolitan architecture, hence the virtue of modernity.

Notes

1. Yang Tingbao, *Yang Tingbao jianzhu sheji zuopingji* (Yang Tingbao, architectural works and projects) (Beijing: CABP, 1983).
2. In English, see my “The Character of a Building,” in Xing Ruan and Paul Hogben eds., *Topophilia and Topophobia: Reflections on the Human Habitat in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 92–113; *New China Architecture* (Singapore: Tuttle/Periplus, 2006); and “Accidental Affinities: American Beaux-Arts in Twentieth-Century Chinese Architectural Education and Practice,” in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* [hereafter *JSAH*] 61, no. 1(2002): 30–47. Some of what follows is drawn from these publications.
3. Kenneth Frampton, *World Architecture, 1900–2000: A Critical Mosaic* (Beijing: CABP; New York: Springer Wien, 2000), xiv. At the Beijing Union of International Architects Congress in 1999, Frampton expressed his regret for not adequately including the “other” modern architecture in his *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980). Subsequently, he was appointed chief editor for a ten-volume work, to be published by the China Architecture and Building Press, in which he seeks to record twentieth-century architecture on a global scale. In the introduction to the three volumes already published, Frampton says that there are two factors necessary to bring together such a compendium: “First, an obligation to bring China into the world debate on the future of architecture and second, a concomitant need to reactivate China’s own architectural culture, after a century of rather varied and uncertain eclecticism, beginning with the arrival of foreign architects in Shanghai soon after the turn of the century.”
4. See Lin Jianye in Pan Guxi, ed., *Dongnan Daxue jianzhuxi chenli qishi zhounian jinian zhuanji* (Commemorative symposium for the seventieth anniversary of the Department of Architecture at Southeast University) (Beijing: CABP, 1997), 69.

5. A free architecture, according to Sigfried Giedion, lies in the space conception of modern architecture, that is, free volumes in space, which is in contrast to the “hollowed-out” interior from the Roman Pantheon to the end of the eighteenth century. The free movement in space is seized and held in architecture, which can be seen as due to the transparency of modern architecture. A staircase behind a glass curtain wall is the quintessential example. See Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1963). As for white-washed walls as a stylised image in modern architecture, Mark Wigley has argued that it is a symbolically charged coat of dress rather than a naked architecture. See Mark Wigley, *White Walls, Designer Dresses: The Fashion of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001).
6. According to Anne Tyng's recollection, Kahn told her that he was actually born in 1902, but the year of his birth was incorrectly documented as 1901 by an immigration officer when he entered the United States. See Anne Tyng, ed., *Louis Kahn to Anne Tyng: The Rome Letters 1953–1954* (New York: Rizzoli, 1997), 8.
7. John Harbeson, *The Study of Architectural Design: With Special Reference to the Program of the Beaux-Arts Institute of Design* (New York: The Pencil Points Press, 1926).
8. I have argued elsewhere that Yang's success as a student at Penn may have been due to the accidental cultural affinities between China's artisan traditions and the Beaux-Arts methods. See Xing Ruan, “Accidental Affinities.”
9. Yang Tingbao won three major awards from the Beaux-Arts Institute of Design: the Municipal Art Prize, the Emerson Prize, and the Warren Prize. He also won the Samuel Huckel, Jr., Prize, 1922–1923, and was elected to Sigma Xi, an honorary fraternity for scientific achievement.
10. See Heinz Ronner and Sharad Jhveri, eds., *Louis I. Kahn: Complete Work, 1935–1974* (Boston: Birkhäuser, 1987), 9, 11; and David B. Brownlee and David G. De Long, eds., *Louis I. Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1991), 21.
11. Qi Kang, ed., *Yang Tingbao tan jianzhu* (Yang Tingbao on architecture) (Beijing: CABP, 1991), 99–100. This recollection about Kahn was widely circulated in the Department of Architecture at the Nanjing Institute of Technology (now Southeast University), when I began my first-year architectural course in 1982.
12. *The Evening Bulletin*, 2 September 1925.
13. Harbeson, *The Study of Architectural Design*, 179.
14. Lai Delin makes a similar observation in Pang Zuxiao and Yang Yongsheng, eds., “Yang Tingbao yu Luyi Kang” (Yang Tingbao and Louis Kahn), *Bijiao yu chaju* (Comparison and gap) (Tianjin: Science and Technology Press, 1997), 258–269.
15. Harbeson, *The Study of Architectural Design*, 395.
16. Examples can be found in Lü Junhua, Peter Rowe, and Zhang Jie, eds, *Modern Urban Housing in China, 1840–2000*, (New York: Prestel, 2001), 40–47.
17. Qi, ed., *Yang Tingbao*, 75–77.
18. Harbeson, *The Study of Architectural Design*, 191–200.
19. Alan Colquhoun, *Essays in Architectural Criticism: Modern Architecture and Historical Change* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985), 57–63.
20. Modernist experimentation by the Penn-trained Chinese architects has not been adequately studied. Future studies should question if they moved away from their Penn training or simply produced Beaux-Arts buildings in a reductive fashion.

21. When the author worked in the late 1980s as an architect under Professor Qi Kang, Yang's successor in the Nanjing School, numerous so-called "Garden Style" resort hotels were produced in this manner. Each courtyard, for example, is self-defined by its axis; the complexity of the axis network gives rise to a rich, hierarchical spatial sequence. Tranquil qualities, which Yang admired in the Beijing courtyard houses and preserved and recreated in his Beijing Peace Hotel, are achieved in these garden hotels in their themed landscape courtyards.

22. *The Evening Bulletin*, 2 September 1925.

8 BETWEEN BEAUX-ARTS AND MODERNISM

Dong Dayou and the Architecture of 1930s Shanghai

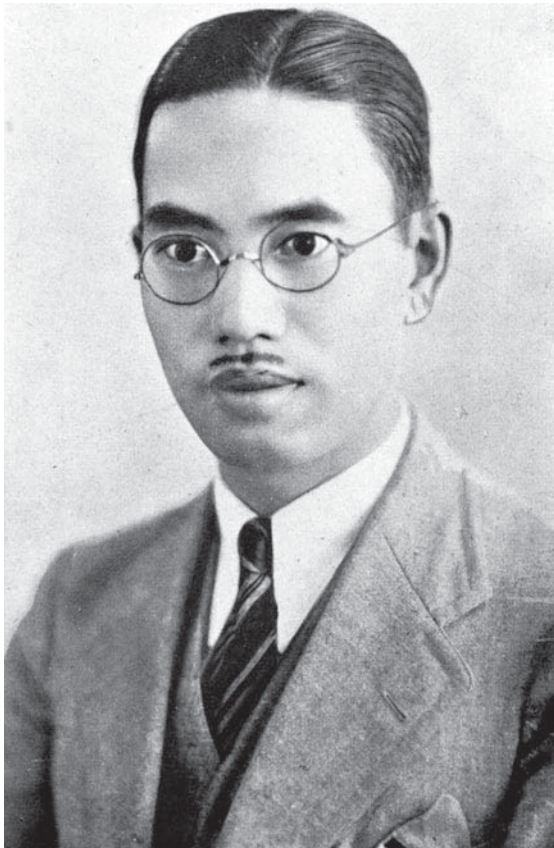


Fig. 8.1. Portrait of Dong Dayou. Published courtesy of Dong Aisheng.

Dong Dayou, also known as Doon Dayu, (1899–1973), is best remembered today for his Beaux-Arts-influenced plans and buildings for the Greater Shanghai Civic Center, which he carried out between 1929 and 1937 (fig. 8.1). Much less known are a series of modernist houses, including his own home, which he designed during the same period. Despite the paucity of studies about him, Dong was a significant member of what is commonly referred to as China's First Generation of modern architects and ran one of Shanghai's most prolific practices before World War II. His career illustrates the complex ways in which the Beaux-Arts tradition took on specific significance in China. Though trained in American and European academies in the Beaux-Arts tradition, Dong and his peers were in fact highly cosmopolitan individuals who were open to and capable of different styles and methods. Dong's apparent contradictions in taste and stylistic choice encapsulate the profound cultural pathos and political vicissitudes that he and his generation had to navigate and reveal their nuanced responses to this tension.

Recent scholarship on the First Generation has largely focused on the formal education of

these men and the compositional aspects of their work. We know from previous chapters that the timing of their education coincided with the last gasp of Beaux-Arts neoclassicism in Europe and the United States and that upon their return they transplanted Beaux-Arts back to China just before it fell out of favor elsewhere, leaving it to languish on its own over subsequent decades as China stood in isolation. As Dong Dayou's career illustrates, this conventional narrative cannot account for the robustness and openness of architectural discourse in China throughout the historical period under consideration. Nor can it explain the stylistic pluralism of the era as exemplified by ambidextrous architects such as Dong, who

designed in both Beaux-Arts and modernist styles. The modernist half of Dong's oeuvre adds important nuance to the history of architecture in twentieth-century China and offers a precious window into the construction of its monolithic, Beaux-Arts-centric history.

The term Beaux-Arts, as we have read, can simply denote a specific school in Paris, namely, the *École des Beaux-Arts*, or it can refer to a method of architectural education the *École* inculcated and signified. Beaux-Arts also describes a style of architecture with a specific set of formal, methodological, and ideological characteristics developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There is a third meaning of the term, as David Van Zanten has shown, where Beaux-Arts historically entailed a specific career path servicing the French state.¹ In examining the work of Dong Dayou, this study underscores this third, institutional, aspect of Beaux-Arts and focuses on the particular professional and social role that young architects like him occupied upon their return to China. Architects belonged to a new class of professionals that emerged in China in the first decades of the twentieth century. The repatriation of the First Generation of Chinese architects from their education abroad in the 1920s coincided with the founding of the new Republican national government in Nanjing. In a rare window of extended peace during the so-called Nanjing Decade of 1927–1937, a construction boom created opportunities for these architects. The choice of architectural style was often a highly deliberate gesture to convey aesthetic or political meaning, as a function of the particular programmatic requirements of the state. In this context the formal and historicist style associated with the Beaux-Arts fulfilled the need for a rhetorical state architecture that would have linkages with Chinese history, but which also incorporated an established international architectural vocabulary of power and prestige. Architectural creativity and the architectural profession both became circumscribed in the state's programs, image, bureaucracies, schools, and patronage.

The Greater Shanghai Plan

When the Guomindang (GMD) established a new national government in 1927, it chose Nanjing as its capital, but the regime was also eager to put its own stamp on the country's preeminent metropolis, Shanghai. The Greater Shanghai Plan refers to the development of a new urban settlement to the northeast of Shanghai's existing city center (fig. 8.2). One of the first Chinese ports opened to international trade, Shanghai had developed into one of the largest commercial centers in East Asia by the turn of the century. Administratively, the city was divided into three zones: the International Settlement, the French Concession, and the territories still under Chinese jurisdiction. As the International Settlement and the French Concession

had expanded westward in the preceding decades, northward expansion toward the deeper waters of Wusong occurred as the most logical alternative for the Chinese zone. The Republican administration set its eyes on Jiangwan, halfway between the International Settlement and Wusong.² After a series of false starts, the Greater Shanghai Plan commenced in earnest under the tenure of Zhang Qun, mayor of Shanghai between 1929 and 1932. Overcoming chronic budget crises, constant political and military interruptions, and above all a fantastic underlying premise, the new Republican administration in Shanghai managed to realize an extraordinary ensemble of buildings, all within one short decade until stopped by the Japanese invasion. Dong Dayou was responsible for the design of the Plan's centerpiece, the Civic Center, which consisted of the Mayor's Building, the Municipal Library, the Municipal Museum, the Athletics Complex, and the Medical Center, among other projects (fig. 8.3). The Greater Shanghai Plan built upon the Guomindang's early successes at city planning in Guangzhou and paralleled the Capital Plan for Nanjing, which was undertaken over the same period in the 1930s.³ In comparison, the Greater Shanghai Plan, with its clarity and efficacy brought about by the unified vision of Dong Dayou and his colleagues, emerged more successfully as a political and architectural project. It also makes a revealing case study of the Chinese architectural profession and its patrons during the Republican era.

The Greater Shanghai Plan benefited from the capable, elite group of young technocrats who staffed Shanghai's City Planning Commission. Most of its key personnel possessed advanced degrees from abroad. At the helm was Shen Yi (1901–1980), at the time director of the Bureau of Public Works, who held a doctorate in engineering from the Dresden Technische Hochschule.⁴ Dong Dayou was initially appointed as the Commission's architectural advisor.⁵ In addition, a number of foreign experts were retained as consultants, including C. E. Grunsky, an American civil engineer; Asa E. Phillips, an American city planner; and Hermann Jansen of Berlin University, known for his recent plan of Ankara, Turkey.⁶ The Commission completed a preliminary framework for the Greater Shanghai Plan in 1930.

The Civic Center's physical design was initially the subject of a public competition. It was won by Zhao Shen (1898–1978) and his wife, Zhao-Sun Ximing.⁷ Zhao Shen was also a prominent member of the First Generation and had been trained at Penn. Their scheme echoed City Beautiful proposals for smaller American cities such as Denver, St. Louis, and Kansas City,⁸ but they failed to impress the juries with a bold statement. The juries lamented that none of the entries, including the prize winner, was sufficiently "monumental," nor did they display "appreciation of the full possibilities of Chinese architecture and knowledge

Fig. 8.2. ▶ Greater Shanghai Plan (1929–1932), *Shanghaishi shizhongxin quyu jianzhu weiyuanhui yewu baogao* (Shanghai Municipality Central District Architecture Committee Activities Report), no. 2.

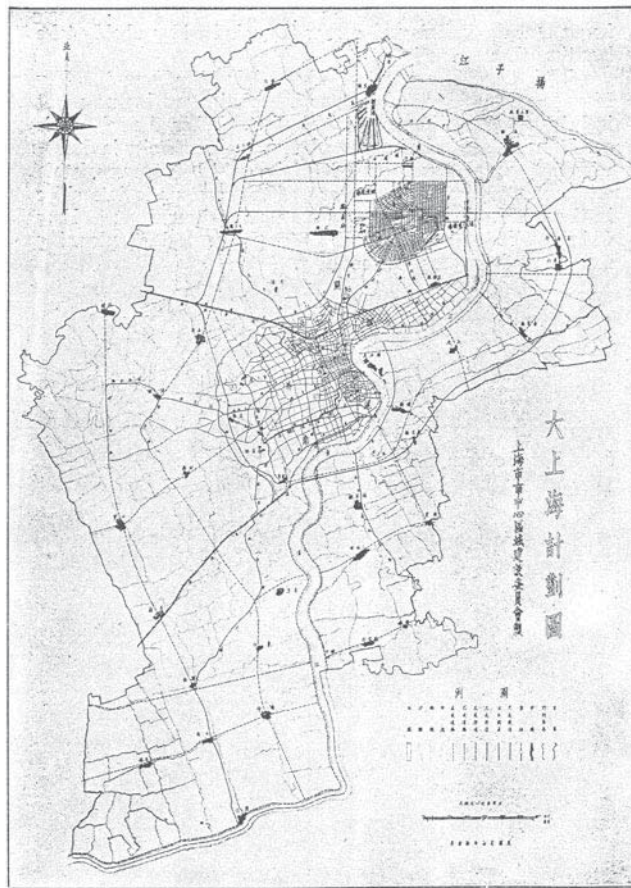
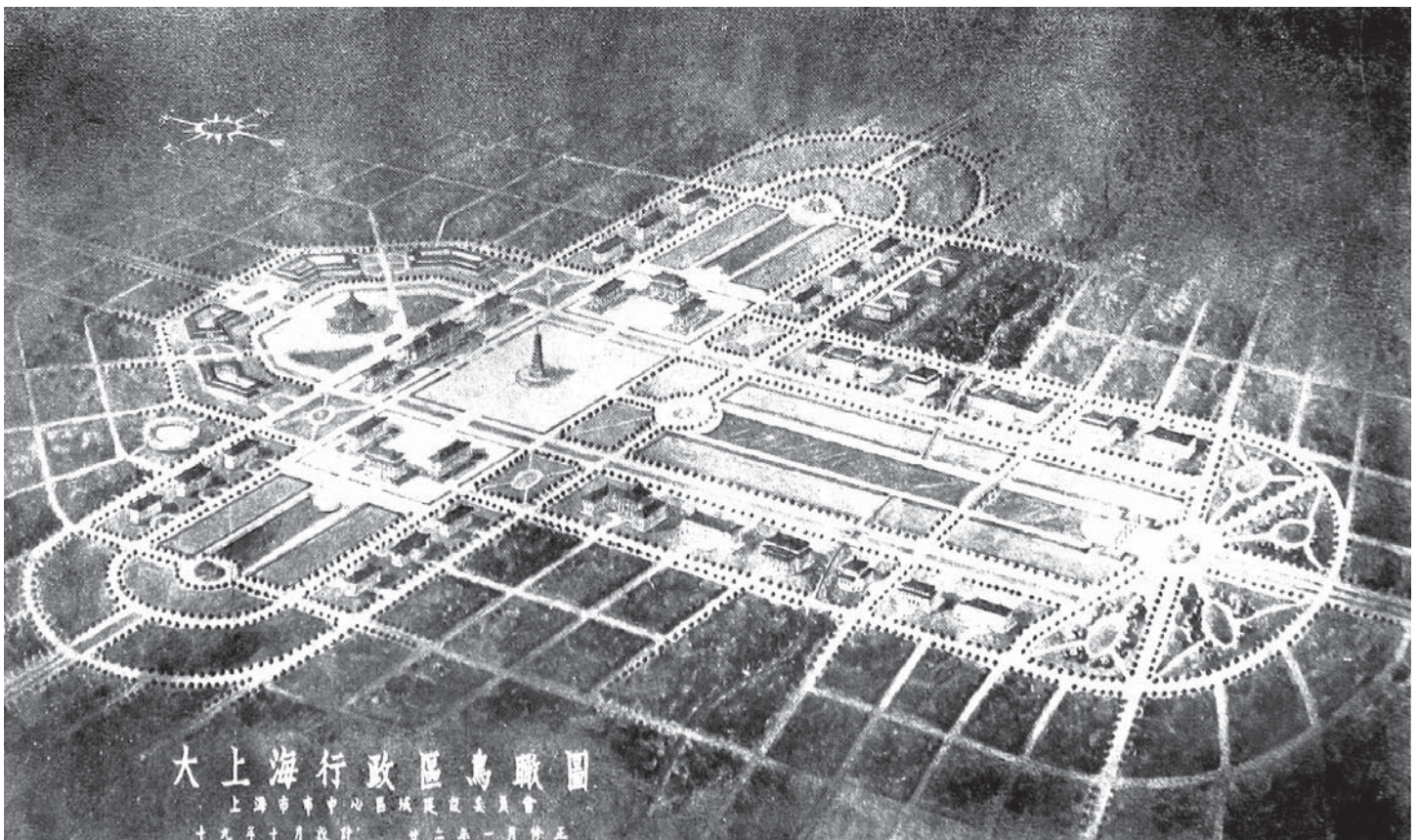


Fig. 8.3. ▼ Bird's-eye-view rendering of Greater Shanghai Civic Center. From *The China Critic* 10, no. 5 (August 1935).



of how to adapt it to the practical requirements of modern city-planning and construction.”⁹ To salvage the situation, the Commission promoted Dong Dayou to chief architect and charged him with preparing the definitive plans for the Civic Center as well as all the major buildings in the complex.¹⁰

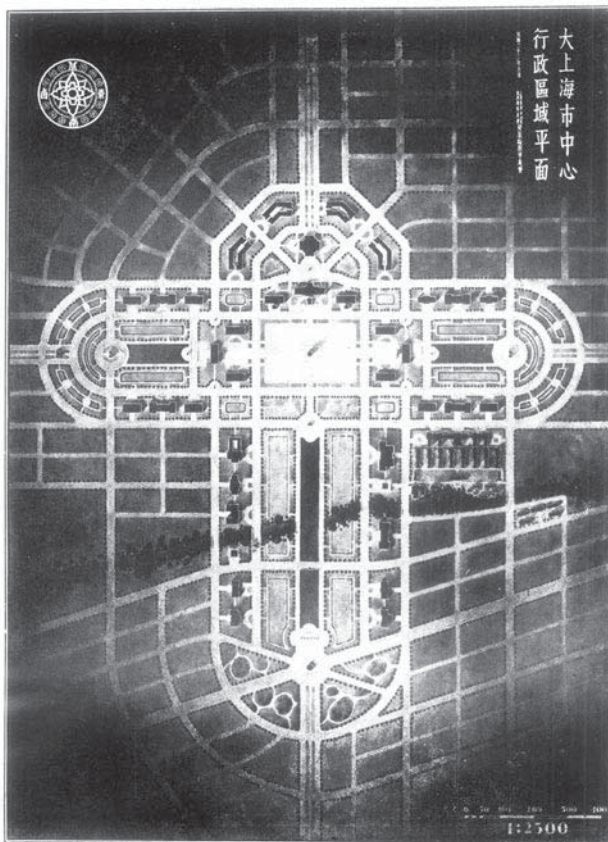


Fig. 8.4. Block plan of Greater Shanghai Civic Center. From *The China Critic* 10, no. 5 (August 1935).

Dong Dayou’s Civic Center

In a highly legible manner, Dong Dayou’s block plan for the Civic Center consists of two intersecting axes and neatly allocates open programs such as the library, concert hall, and museum along the north-south axis, and closed programs such as government offices along the east-west axis (fig. 8.4).¹¹ He appears to have fully grasped Julien Guadet’s tripartite dictum of Beaux-Arts planning: a tall visual element, a monumental approach, and architectural coherence among buildings.¹² The scale of the entire ensemble is superlative. According to Dong, “monumental buildings can only be seen to advantage if they are approached by streets of adequate width and length affording a view of them from a distance.”¹³ To achieve this scenographic objective, Dong created an open expanse of 170 acres that also contained a 2,000-foot-long reflecting pool.¹⁴ At the crossing’s center is a 50-meter-tall pagoda, forming a visual focus to the monumental approach. The conspicuous Latin-cross *parti* of the Civic Center has no obvious precedent

in premodern Chinese building practice, but instead alludes to Versailles and Washington. It is possible to discern some liturgical aspects associated with the Latin cross, for the approach exhibits the processional quality of a nave. The Mayor’s Building can be read as a choir screen, cutting off the public from direct view of the most sacred part of the program, the chancel, where a shrine and an effigy to Sun Yat-sen’s cult of personality are located.

The Mayor’s Building is the only structure in the Civic Center from which a relatively complete set of images and drawings survives (figs. 8.5–8.8).

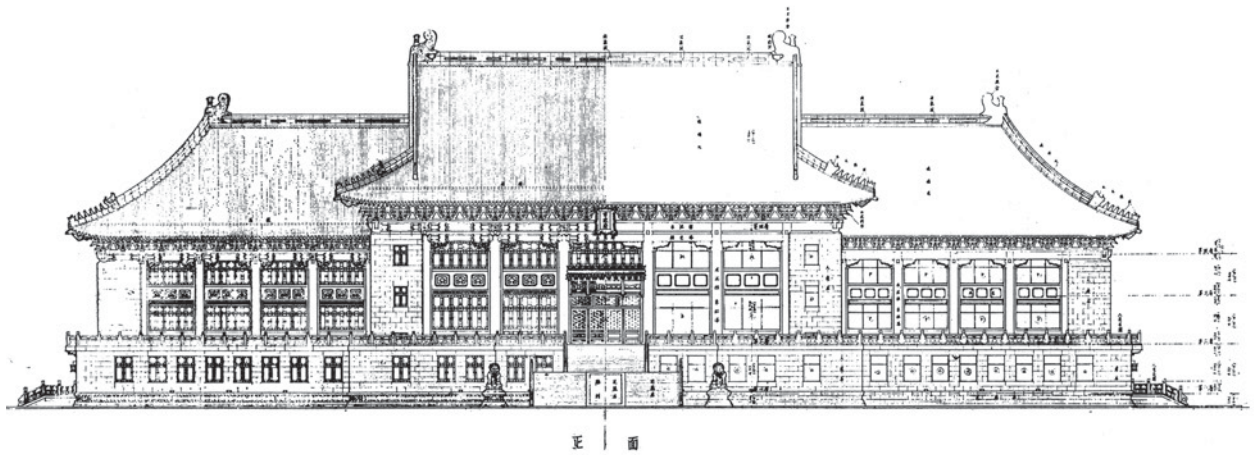


Fig. 8.5. (Top) The Mayor's Building. From *The China Critic* 10, no. 5 (August 1935).

Fig. 8.6. (Bottom) Elevation drawing of the Mayor's Building. From *Zhongguo jianzhu* 1, no. 6 (June 1933): 29.



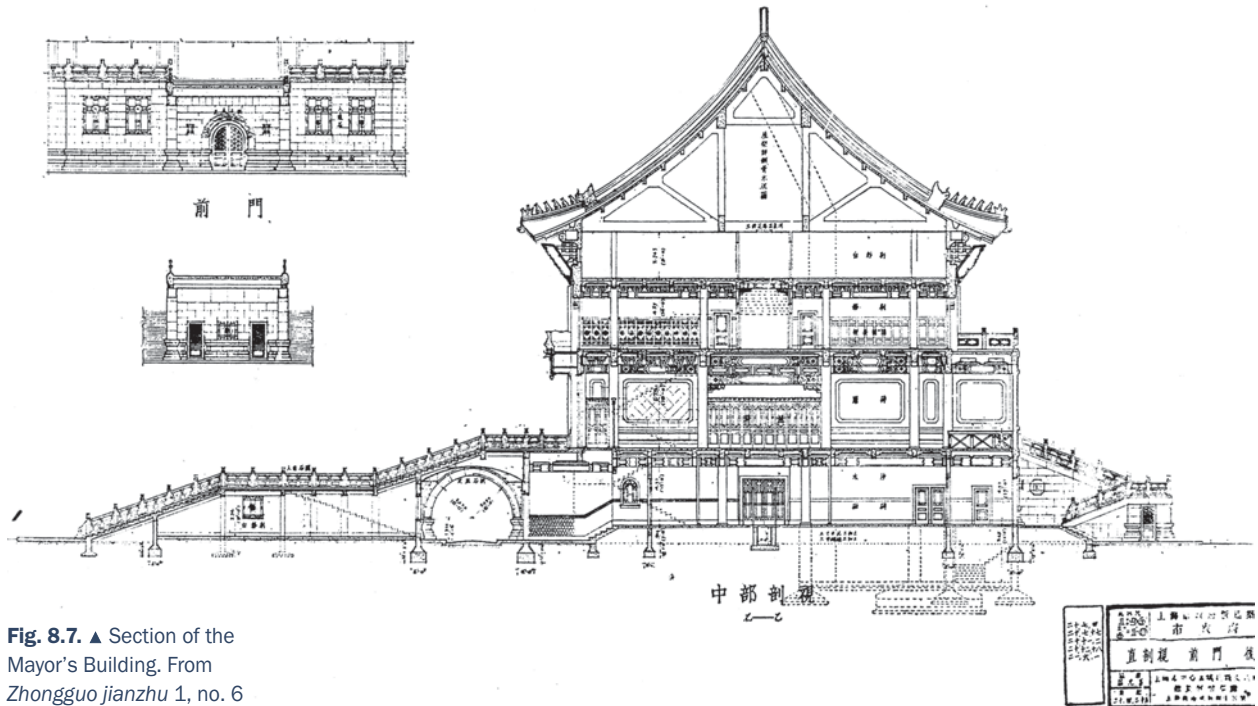
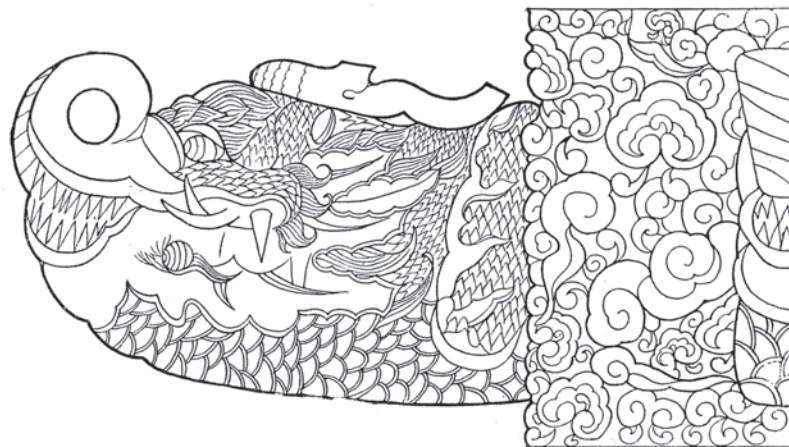


Fig. 8.7. ▲ Section of the Mayor's Building. From *Zhongguo jianzhu* 1, no. 6 (June 1933): 26.

Fig. 8.8. ► Drawing of decorative detail, the Mayor's Building. From *Zhongguo jianzhu* 1, no. 6 (June 1933): 22.

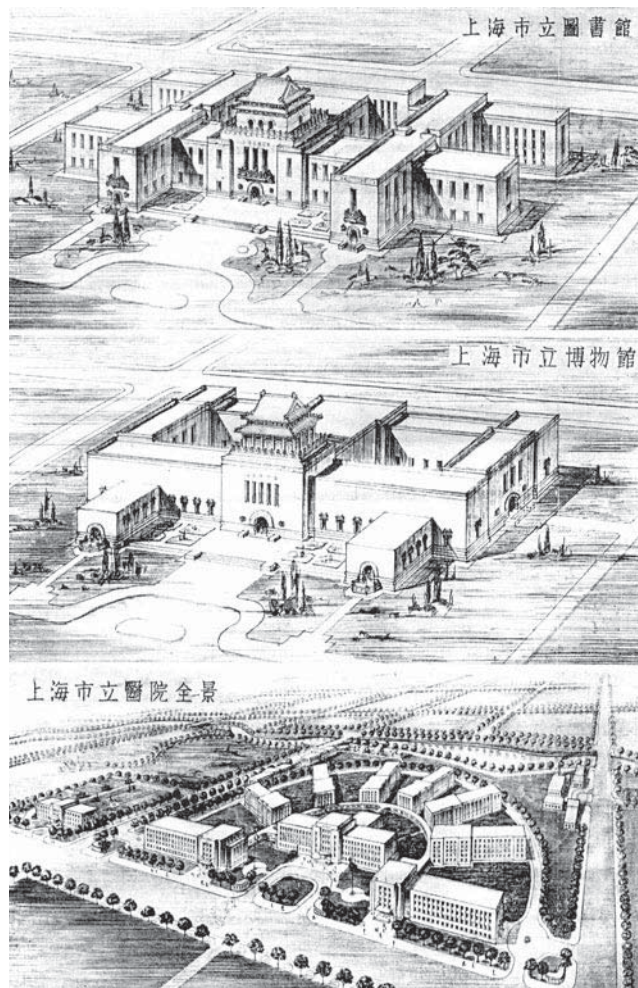


The elevation of the Mayor's Building is symmetrical and follows neoclassical proportions and compositional principles. In the building's details, decorative elements from the palaces and temples of ancient China are liberally borrowed and applied to its exterior façade and interior spaces (fig. 8.8). Though the building is built of concrete, components of timber construction such as brackets sets are incorporated onto the façade. Underneath the glazed tiles is a truss system supporting the roof, rather than the orthogonal *juzhe* ("raise and lower")

construction one would expect from the roof's outward appearance.¹⁵ Inside the building, intricate polychrome patterns adorn coffered ceilings and beams, and vermilion paint covers the columns. Even electrical lighting fixtures are disguised under lantern shades.

Construction of the Mayor's Building began in 1931 and was completed fifteen months later.¹⁶ Two other major public buildings, the Municipal Library and the Municipal Museum, were added in 1936 (fig. 8.9).¹⁷ The Athletics Complex, consisting of a stadium, gymnasium, and swimming pool, was finished in time for the 1935 National Games (fig. 8.10).¹⁸ These were joined by the Municipal Hospital and the China Aviation Exhibition Hall soon thereafter.

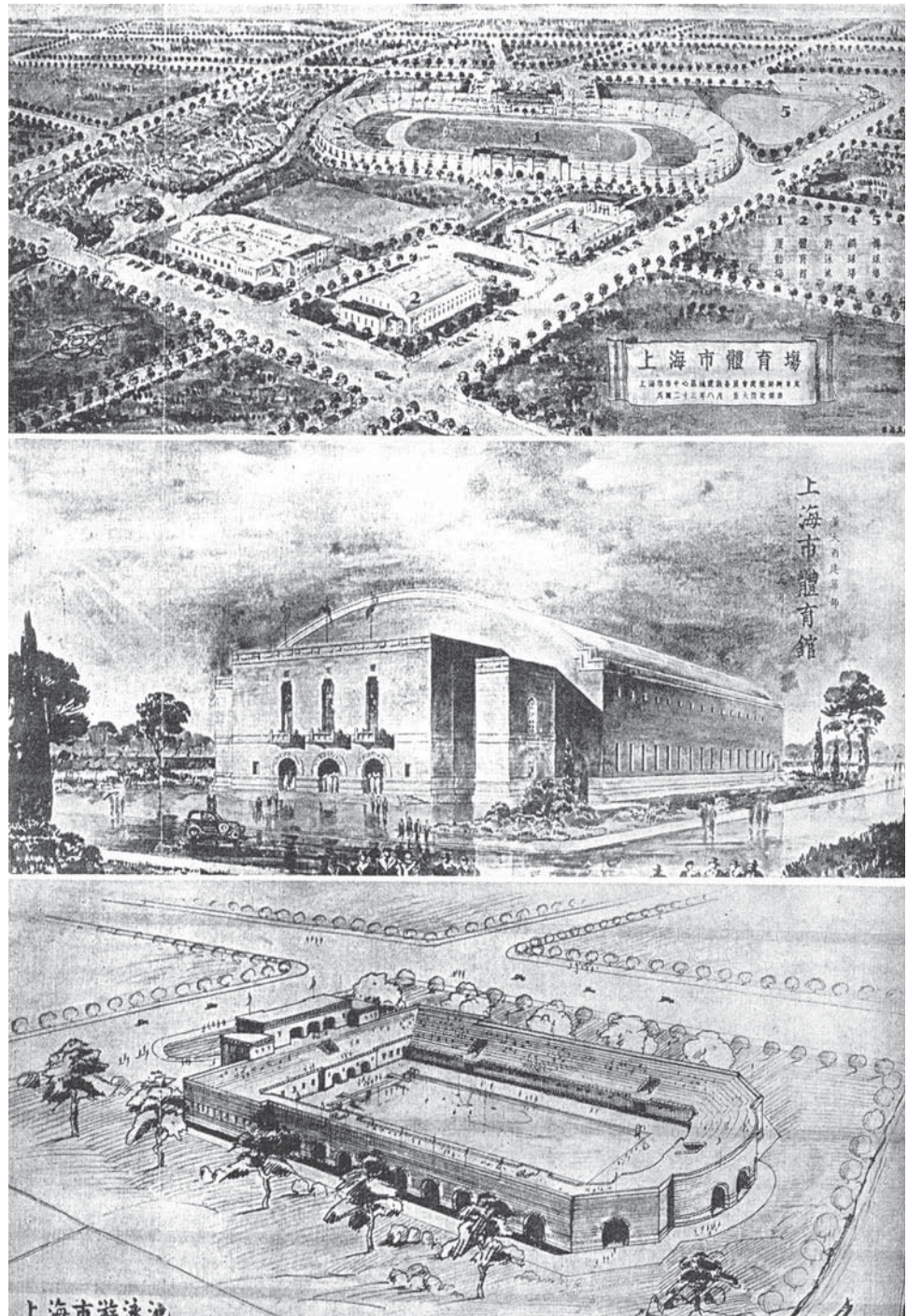
Fig. 8.9. Top: Municipal Library; middle: Municipal Museum; bottom: Municipal Hospital. From *The China Critic* 10, no. 5 (August 1935): 7, 14, 29.



Rendered in a style that can be broadly categorized as “stripped classical,” these secondary buildings in the Civic Center were finished in a more restrained manner. In the case of the Athletics Complex, historicizing motifs were generally limited to relief carvings on the masonry. When the projects were published, there was even a change in the method of representation, switching from the plans and elevations of the Mayor's Building that highlight planar compositional virtues to isometric and perspective drawings that convey a modern spatial presence. Traditional pitched and glazed roofing appeared on the central pavilions of the Library and the Museum, a gesture Dong acknowledged to be motivated less by stylistic restraint than by economy and the practical considerations of natural lighting.¹⁹

The architectural style Dong Dayou chose for the Mayor's Building reflected recent trends among institutional buildings in China. In the conclusion of his master's thesis at the University of Minnesota, which is a survey of China's architectural history, Dong Dayou noted recent pioneering attempts at reviving elements of China's architectural

Fig. 8.10. Top: Municipal Stadium; middle: Municipal Indoor Arena; bottom: Municipal Pool. From *The China Critic* 10, no. 5 (August 1935): 9–11.



heritage, citing Peking Union Medical College (1919–1921), the University of Nanking (1915–1926), and Canton Christian College (1910s).²⁰

Dong Dayou had left China for the United States in 1922, before construction began on the two most significant projects in this style, Ginling College and Yenching University.²¹ Both were the work of Henry K. Murphy (1877–1954), an American architect who spent an extended sojourn working in China. As Jeffrey Cody's monograph evinces, Murphy played a critical role in shaping the architectural ethos of Dong's generation. Describing himself and his peers, Dong wrote:

A group of young students went to America and Europe to study the fundamentals of architecture. They came back to China filled with ambition to create something new and worthwhile. They initiated a great movement, a movement to bring back a dead architecture to life: in other words, to do away with poor imitation of Western architecture and to make Chinese architecture truly national.²²

After his graduation from Minnesota in 1925, Dong Dayou briefly joined Murphy's office in New York and continued to work there on a part-time basis while attending graduate school at Columbia University.²³ In the early 1930s Dong's own office further assisted Murphy in preparing drawings for the Memorial Cemetery for Heroes of the Revolution at Linggusi in Nanjing.²⁴ Dong also lavished praise on the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum by Murphy's protégé Lü Yanzhi (1894–1929), referring to him as the leader of China's new architectural movement.²⁵ Dong also wrote positively about Lü's Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall in Guangzhou for the journal *Zhongguo jianzhu*,²⁶ and Dong's design of Greater Shanghai Civic Center's auditorium, also called Sun Memorial Hall, can be seen as an homage to Lü.

Dong Dayou and Beaux-Arts

Like those of his peers of the First Generation, Dong Dayou's architectural education and intellectual *Bildung* were deeply rooted in the Beaux-Arts tradition. Owing to his father's position in China's foreign service, Dong Dayou spent his childhood in Japan and Europe.²⁷ He was fond of recalling that it was during the three years he lived in Rome when the idea of a career in architecture first germinated.²⁸ Still, he had his high school education at Tsinghua School in Beijing, graduating in 1922. At the University of Minnesota, Dong benefited from the leadership of Frederick M. Mann, who steered the university's architecture program in direction of the Beaux-

Arts method of instruction.²⁹ Mann himself was trained at MIT, where William R. Ware had first adapted the Beaux-Arts pedagogical model to an American setting. Calling for a stronger humanistic grounding in architectural practice, Mann must have looked favorably upon Dong Dayou's scholarly aspirations. By completing a thesis, "Peking and Its Environs," Dong was the only recipient of an advanced degree in architecture from Minnesota in 1925. Joining Mann on Dong Dayou's thesis committee were distinguished teachers aligned with the Beaux-Arts method, including James H. Forsythe, H. S. Quigley, and Léon Arnal,³⁰ the last a graduate of the École and a Parisian colleague of Paul Philippe Cret.³¹

An aspiring young architect from the Midwest, Dong moved gradually eastward toward bigger cities, beginning with Minneapolis, then Chicago, and ending in New York.³² Between September 1926 and June 1928 Dong was enrolled in the graduate program in architectural history at Columbia, before returning to China in December 1928. Dong's journey from Minnesota to Chicago to New York is a familiar one, mirroring that of the great American architect Cass Gilbert, who grew up in St. Paul, Minnesota. Gilbert designed both the Minnesota State Capitol and the master plan for the University of Minnesota's campus.³³ Architecture students such as Dong Dayou undoubtedly were well acquainted with both works by the hometown hero. As further evidence of Gilbert's influence, Dong's one-time partner, E. S. J. Phillips, was a veteran draughtsman in Gilbert's office.³⁴

The most important precedent for Dong Dayou's Civic Center lies in the campus plans of America's City Beautiful Movement, particularly those of Frederick Mann and Cass Gilbert. Mann and Gilbert were rivals in their profession and often crossed paths in their careers. At Washington University in St. Louis, where Mann founded the architecture department in 1903, he executed the campus plan proposed by Cope and Stewardson—a commission for which Cass Gilbert also contended in his first foray into campus planning.³⁵ At the University of Texas in Austin, between 1907 and 1909, Mann created a new master plan for the campus as well as designing two new buildings, but the school soon decided to replace him with Gilbert, whose credentials as campus planner had recently been boosted by his proposal for the University of Minnesota (figs. 8.11 and 8.12).³⁶ Ironically, when Mann actually began teaching at Minnesota, it was Gilbert's scheme that he was asked to implement. Dong Dayou's Civic Center for Shanghai clearly echoes the axial and geometric qualities of the two American campus plans that Mann and Gilbert feuded over. The Latin-cross block plan seems to evoke the basic layout of the University of Minnesota. The Austin campus plan is divided into four quadrants by two intersecting axes, with public programs such as administration and auditorium placed at the crossing.

Fig. 8.11. Cass Gilbert, Preliminary Block Plan, University of Texas at Austin, 1909. Published with permission of New York Historical Society.

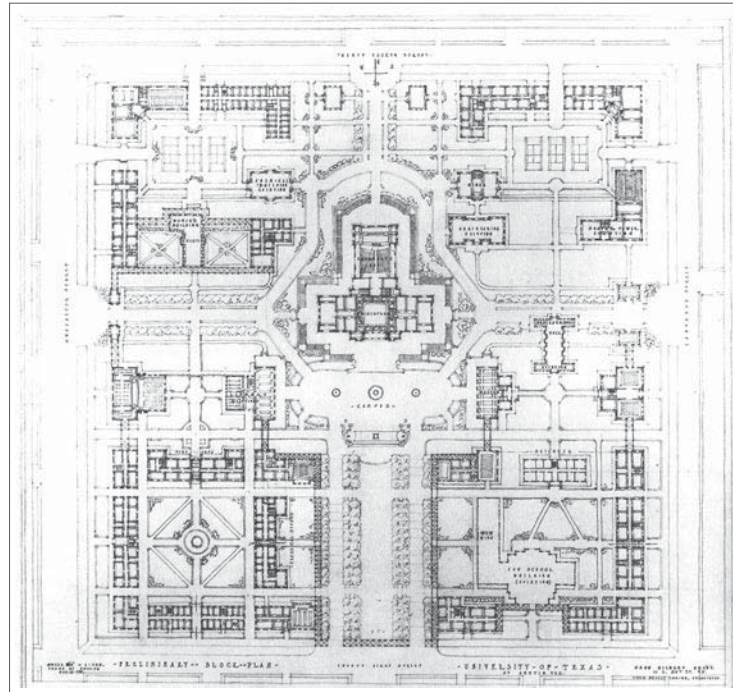


Fig. 8.12. Cass Gilbert, Plan and Section of University of Minnesota, 1905. Published with permission of University of Minnesota Archives.



Dong Dayou and Modernism

Dong Dayou's legacy today rests almost entirely on the Greater Shanghai Civic Center, but this one-dimensional image does not do justice to the full range of his interests and capability. It is unclear how much the Civic Center's Beaux-Arts style reflected his private aesthetic sensibilities in the 1930s, because at the same time he was working on the Civic Center, he was designing his own residence in a drastically different manner (figs. 8.13–8.16). The house's asymmetrical composition, white color, flat roof, industrial-grade fixtures, and ribbon fenestration suggest familiarity with the work of Le Corbusier and other contemporary European modernists. Inside the house, tubular steel is conspicuously employed in railings, lounge sofas, and dining chairs. Discrete interior spaces and volumes give way to openness and fluidity. The modernity of the Dong House arguably surpassed that of the famous Wu House (1938) by the Hungarian émigré Laszlo E. Hudec, usually cited as the harbinger of modernism in China.³⁷ The house Dong Dayou built for himself was a sumptuous bachelor pad for a member of China's new bourgeois class of professionals, complete with a tennis court, horse stable, and a rooftop swimming pool. In 1936 and 1940 Dong built two more private residences in the fashionable west end of the French Concession, and they were likewise modern in style.

The First Generation may have missed the advent of modernism in their formal training, but as educated professionals they were aware of and to some extent participated in an increasingly international discourse in architectural design. They were kept abreast of new trends and technologies by professional journals, by expatriate European and American architects in China, and by their own travels abroad. Foreign journals such as *Architectural Record*, *Pencil Points*, and *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* were readily available, and professional associations of architects, engineers, and the building industry all published Chinese-language periodicals. Dong was not the only Chinese architect who embraced modernism. The three partners of the Shanghai-based Allied Architects, all of them Penn graduates, also vocally rejected what they saw as conservative revivalism in the work of their peers, implicating the likes of Dong Dayou and Lü Yanzhi.³⁸

Tracing further the origins of Dong's affinity for modernism, one finds another pivotal figure in Dong's education: Joseph Hudnut. When Dong Dayou applied to enter Columbia University's graduate program in 1926, he would most likely have expected to study under the great architectural historian A. D. F. Hamlin, but Hamlin was killed in a car accident in spring 1926,³⁹ so Dong arrived at Columbia at the beginning of the fall semester to find Hudnut as the new professor of architectural history. Dong Dayou enrolled in what would be



Fig. 8.13. ▲ Dong Dayou residence and courtyard. Published courtesy of Dong Aisheng.



Fig. 8.14. ► View from street, Dong Dayou residence. Published courtesy of Dong Aisheng.

Fig. 8.15. ▶ Upper-level lounge and lower-level dining room, Dong Dayou residence. Published courtesy of Dong Aisheng.



Fig. 8.16. ▼ View from living room toward upper level, Dong Dayou residence. Published courtesy of Dong Aisheng.



today considered a Ph.D. program in architecture and departed two years later, in the spring of 1928, without completing a degree.⁴⁰ Courses on historical research with Hudnut and the eminent scholar of classical art and architecture, William Bell Dinsmoor, Sr., formed the bulk of Dong's coursework at Columbia. He also took a course in advanced design taught by the early American modernists Wallace K. Harrison and Harvey Wiley Corbett. Joseph Hudnut is best remembered today for his recruitment of Walter Gropius to Harvard, but as Jill Pearlman has shown, the appointment of Gropius was only one moment in Hudnut's long crusade to reform American architectural education.⁴¹ Even before the arrival of the German émigrés, Hudnut had already begun to undo the pedagogical methods of Beaux-Arts at Columbia.

China's Nascent Architectural Profession

How can we reconcile Dong Dayou's ambivalence between Beaux-Arts and modernism and the broader rhetoric against conservative revivalism? Beaux-Arts architecture in China, as in France, was inextricably associated with the state. Van Zanten's work on the *École des Beaux-Arts* underscores the official nature of the state-sponsored *École* and the careers of its graduates, most of whom went on to join architectural bureaucracies such as the *Conseil des bâtiments civils* and the *Commission des monuments historiques*. Top graduates were funded by the state to study the classical monuments of Italy. Upon their return to France, their mission was to replicate the glory of European antiquity in so-called representational projects that they would be awarded. Dong Dayou's government and official appointments bring his career closely in line with the French model. He held official positions on the Shanghai City Planning Commission and in this capacity was awarded major public commissions from the Greater Shanghai government. In 1933 Dong was elected by his peers to be president of the Society of Chinese Architects.⁴² The stamp of officialdom profoundly affected the design of the Civic Center in Shanghai and the new government buildings rising in Nanjing, many of which were designed by Dong's Chinese colleagues. In describing the architectural elite of nineteenth-century France, Van Zanten writes:

[Government] work occupied most of their time. Their reputations rested on it. They earned most of their income from it. Their ambitions were to succeed in this distinctive and elaborate structure and to carry a step further the realization of monumental Paris. Their designs were formed by the mentality, procedures, and standards of this enterprise.⁴³

David Van Zanten's words are equally apt for describing Dong Dayou and his peers. Of course the nascent Republican government did not possess the means to develop a vast technocracy of Beaux-Arts alumni, but in Shanghai and in Nanjing, a new campaign of nation-building generated a steady flow of government projects for these young, aspiring architects. Shanghai and Nanjing's new public buildings evoke many of the same representational qualities as Parisian landmarks such as Charles Garnier's Opéra. In the same manner that legibility became paramount for the French cases of representational architecture, in Shanghai and Nanjing historicizing symbols of Chinese architecture were exuberantly applied onto the new building. Architectural history was thrust to the fore, in both academia and in professional practice. Dong Dayou and Liang Sicheng did graduate work in architectural history after their professional degrees, but many others became amateur historians and learned on their jobs.⁴⁴

While the formal design principles of Beaux-Arts and the City Beautiful were passed down to Dong Dayou through Frederick Mann and his contemporaries, their ideological aspects were no less potent. As William Wilson has suggested, "Important as beauty was for itself, its role in environmental conditioning was never far from the minds of civic center advocates."⁴⁵ The sponsors of the Greater Shanghai Civic Center clearly believed in the normative values of design and planning and that they could elevate the moral condition of citizens through inspiring architecture and cityscapes. Nanjing's GMD government pioneered the model of party-state (*dang-guo*) in China.⁴⁶ Through this pervasive system of political and ideological control, the party sought to reunite and reorient the entire national polity toward the central government. The totalistic promotion of its cultural, social, and political values infiltrated the realm of architectural design. As studies by Charles Musgrove and Wang Liping have shown, in building its capital in Nanjing, the GMD fully exploited city planning and architecture as key vehicles in spreading its ideology and legitimizing its regime. One of the ideological campaigns launched by the Nanjing government was the New Life Movement. Bearing strong fascist overtones, the movement was a nationwide education campaign to build a modern citizenry possessing the cultural virtues of propriety and justice, a sense of collectivity, and military discipline.⁴⁷ On 3 April 1935, the Mayor's Building at Greater Shanghai Civic Center set the stage for one of the new regime's most press-worthy occasions. Fifty-seven young couples, the brides dressed in white wedding gowns, exchanged marriage vows on the steps of the Mayor's Building (fig. 8.17). This event was broadcast to the world by film studios such as Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and heralded as a declaration of China's newfound modernity.

Fig. 8. 17. Group wedding, the Mayor's Building, Civic Center, Shanghai, 3 April 1935.



Whereas classic American civic centers from the City Beautiful Movement were usually created at the expense of dense existing urban contexts, Greater Shanghai afforded its planners a unique opportunity to create a grand, Beaux-Arts-inspired vision on a blank slate. Because of this, the Greater Shanghai Plan is often compared to Canberra (1912–1913), as discussed in Van Zanten's chapter. However, the political context of the Greater Shanghai Plan places it closer to the New Delhi plan (1912–1916) by Edwin Lutyens and Herbert Baker. Both New Delhi and Greater Shanghai were defined in terms of an adjacent older city and a colonial relationship. While the old city of Shahjahanabad was actually a highly sophisticated urban plan undertaken by the eponymous Mughal ruler Shah Jahan (1628–1658) almost three centuries before the Lutyens plan, Shanghai's French Concession and International Settlement had suffered from decades of haphazard growth and improvised urban solutions. In fact, promoters of the Greater Shanghai Plan pointedly accused the inadequacies of the foreign concessions for stunting the growth of Shanghai.⁴⁸ As much as the skyscrapers rising in the foreign concessions, Dong Dayou's Civic Center projected a sense of modernity. Beyond technological advances in the buildings and urban infrastructure, the Civic Center conveyed a drastically new kind of spatial experience in China. The orderliness and legibility of the vast expanses of open space offered a panoramic visual experience that was entirely modern to this country.

The design program drafted by the Shanghai City Planning Commission lists three main reasons for choosing “China’s intrinsic style” (*zhongguo guyou xingshi*).⁴⁹ First, the Civic Center housed the executive branch of the municipal government and would serve as the main venue for receiving dignitaries. The program poses the question, “If we use the style of a foreign country, then how can we celebrate our national polity and excite the experience of our visitors?” Second, in recent years architecture in China had seen the invasion of European and American styles. The defense and promotion of Chinese culture was a top priority for the new regime. Third, an international chorus of business interests was pouring vast sums into building new office buildings, hotels, and apartment mansions in Shanghai’s concession areas, and the architecture of the new Civic Center had to compete and distinguish itself with a unique and monumental statement. Shanghai’s neoclassicism of the 1920s, characterized by buildings such as the Post Office, the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, and the Customs House, gave way to the more modern expressions and soaring heights of the 1930s, reflected in projects such as the Park Hotel, Broadway Mansion, and Grosvenor House. New York and Chicago skyscrapers found a hospitable audience here, as did Art Deco and a nascent modernism.⁵⁰ Most of these major commercial commissions were dominated by foreign practices. The young Chinese architects instead found a receptive clientele among China’s burgeoning modern bourgeoisie and, beginning in the late-1920s, the new Republican government.

The First Generation of Chinese architects belonged to China’s new social class of professionals. They were invariably trained in modern universities, at home or abroad. As China’s new elite, they harbored political values and aspirations of civil society that were often antithetical to those of the GMD regime. Professional associations such as the Society of Chinese Architects emerged to represent their collective interests. While the GMD clearly tried to bring these organizations into the fold of its corporatist state, in fact, throughout the 1930s the state and professional associations managed a difficult negotiation of mutual tolerance and cooperation.⁵¹ Blessed with a professional technocracy and shielded from political infighting and the bureaucratic intricacies of the capital, the Greater Shanghai Plan proceeded much more effectively than Nanjing’s Capital Plan drawn the year before.⁵² By 1937 the Mayor’s Building, a number of key bureaus, and the most complete set of municipal amenities in China were all in place. Among the most important new inhabitants of the Greater Shanghai Plan were the professional associations, which had planned their new clubhouses in the vicinity of the Civic Center.

The successes of Greater Shanghai were overshadowed by the escalation of military tension with Japan, which finally exploded in 1937, shattering any hope

of realizing the full potential of this enterprise. For much of the period since the Communist victories in 1949, Dong Dayou's buildings in the Greater Shanghai Civic Center—one of the few genuine achievements of the now-disgraced Republican regime—were carefully shielded from public consciousness in the walled-in compounds of suburban Shanghai.⁵³ Only the athletic facilities of the Civic Center maintained any public presence. While Dong chose to remain on the mainland, factory and workers' housing projects dominated his professional work between 1951 and 1966 and brought him away from Shanghai, to Xian, Beijing, Tianjin, and eventually to Hangzhou. It was not until the late 1990s, as Shanghai found new confidence to embrace its erstwhile glamour, that Greater Shanghai finally reentered the city's collective consciousness.⁵⁴ While the source of its patronage remains muted, the ambitious complex nonetheless represents a redoubtable patriotic spirit and national prowess. The athletic facilities of the Greater Shanghai Civic Center received a multimillion-dollar facelift that was completed in 2008, China's Olympic year. In contrast, the fortunes of Dong's own modern house were far less favorable. As Dong left Shanghai after 1949, it was being converted to accommodate the offices of a local factory. The house was quietly torn down in 2002.

In considering the architectural meaning of Greater Shanghai, the term *Beaux-Arts* must also be revisited for a broader view of the historical landscape. Architecture in nineteenth-century France was intrinsically linked to the fortunes, aspirations, and institutions of the French state and its successive regimes. The twentieth century for China was a no less tumultuous time, and architecture in its formal and institutional aspects developed in this national context. *Beaux-Arts* was a crucial component in the education of Dong Dayou and his peers in the First Generation, but the resilience of *Beaux-Arts* as a style was the result of a more complex set of conscious decisions by these historical agents of talent and conviction.

Acknowledgment: I thank Dong Aisheng for sharing his family's history and photo album with me.

Notes

1. David Van Zanten, *Building Paris: Architectural Institutions and the Transformation of the French Capital, 1830–1870* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
2. The idea of developing the area north of Shanghai's center was hardly new. Sun Yat-sen famously envisioned "the great port of the Orient" in his writings, but in fact in 1898 the viceroy of Jiangsu province, Liu Qunyi, had obtained an imperial edict to develop Wusong. In 1923 the Mandarin industrialist Zhang Jian tried to restart this program.
3. See Jeffrey W. Cody, "Building Cities: Sun Ke, Chiang Kai-shek and the Redesigning of Guangzhou and Nanjing, 1923–1930," in his *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy's "Adaptive Architecture," 1914–1935* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 173–203.
4. See Shen Yi's autobiography, *Shen Yi zi shu* (Autobiography of Shen Yi) (Taipei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1985).
5. How Dong received the appointment is unclear. In his memoirs, Zhang Bo insinuates that Dong owed his appointment to his friendship with Mayor Wu Tiecheng. See Zhang Bo, *Wo de jianzhu chuanguo daolu* (My journey in architecture) (Beijing: CABB, 1994), 62. In fact, Dong received the appointment from Wu's predecessor while Wu was still a general fighting in north China.
6. For a short discussion on Jansen's Ankara plan, see Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 70; also Lawrence J. Vale, *Architecture, Power and National Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 97–104. The Turkish nationalist movement was the subject of much intellectual interest in China in the 1920s. A report on the progress of Ankara was featured in *Dongfang zazhi* (The eastern miscellany) 24, no. 9 (May 1927): 29–33.
7. For a short discussion of the competition, see Zheng Shiling, *Shanghai jindai jianzhu fengge* (Architectural styles of modern Shanghai) (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995), 55.
8. It is probable that the often-quoted statement by Nebraska's Senator Kenneth Wherry, "with God's help, we will lift Shanghai up and up, ever up, until it is just like Kansas City," was actually not so much parochialism as celebration of the Greater Shanghai Plan. Kansas City's comprehensive park and boulevard system, developed under the direction of George E. Kessler, was one of North America's most acclaimed achievements of the City Beautiful Movement. See, e.g., William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement in Kansas City* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1964); William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); and William S. Worley, "Kansas City Architects George Kessler, Henry Wright and Sid and Herbert Hare," *Kansas History* 20, no. 3 (Autumn 1997): 192–205.
9. "Greater Shanghai: Building a New Port and City," *The Far Eastern Review* 26, no. 6 (June 1930): 296–297.
10. The public competition in 1925 for Sun Yat-sen's Mausoleum, which established a precedent for such commissions, is discussed at length in the essay by Rudolf Wagner and in earlier studies such as those by Wang Liping, "Creating a National Symbol: The Sun Yatsen Memorial in Nanjing," *Republican China* 21, no. 2 (April 1996): 23–63; Charles D. Musgrove, "The Necropolis of Nanjing," in "The Nation's Concrete Heart: Architecture, Planning and Ritual in Nanjing, 1927–1937," Ph.D. diss., University of California at San Diego, 2002, 202–275; and Lai Delin, "Chinese Modern: Sun Yat-sen's Mausoleum as a Crucible for Defining Modern Chinese Architecture, 1925–32," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2007.

11. Doon Dayu [Dong Dayou], "Greater Shanghai—Greater Vision," *The China Critic* 10, no. 5 (August 1935): 103–106.
12. Guadet is a prominent subject of the first chapter of Reyner Banham's *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960).
13. Doon, "Greater Shanghai."
14. The dimensions are roughly equal to those of the reflecting pool at Washington's Lincoln Memorial.
15. For illustrations and an explanation, see Wilma Fairbank, ed. *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984), 16–18.
16. For a description of the building project, see "Shanghai shizhengfu xingwu jianzhu jingguo," (The building process of the Shanghai municipal government's new building), *Zhongguo jianzhu* 1, no. 6 (June 1933): 1–2; and "Shanghai shizhengfu xingwu zhi gailue (Summary of the Shanghai municipal government's new building), *ibid.*: 8–9.
17. "Shanghai shi tushuguan bowuguan gongcheng" (Shanghai Municipal Library and Museum project summary), *Zhongguo jianzhu* 3, no. 2 (Feb. 1935): 5–6.
18. "Shanghai shi tiyuchang sheji gaikuang" (Shanghai Municipal Stadium design summary), *Zhongguo jianzhu* 3, no. 8 (Aug. 1934): 3–8.
19. Doon Dayu, "Architecture Chronicle," *T'ien Hsia Monthly* (Nov. 1936): 358–362.
20. Doon Dayu, "Peking and Its Environs (Architecture and Landscape)," M.S. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1925.
21. See Cody, "Building Campuses and Offices," in *Building in China*, 107–142.
22. Doon, "Architecture Chronicle," 359.
23. For biographical sketches of Dong, see China Weekly Review, *Who's Who in China*, Supplement to 4th ed. (Shanghai: China Weekly Review, 1933), 106–107; also George F. Nellist, ed., *Men of Shanghai and North China: A Standard Biographical Reference Work* (Shanghai: The Oriental Press, 1933), 105–106. I thank Jeffrey Cody for informing me of Dong's continued employment at Murphy & Dana in New York during graduate school.
24. China Weekly Review, *Who's Who in China*, 106–107.
25. For a brief biographical sketch of Lü, see, China Weekly Review, *Who's Who in China*, 3rd ed. (Shanghai: China Weekly Review, 1926), 113–114.
26. Dong Dayou, "Guangzhou Zhongshan jiniantang," (Guangzhou's Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall), *Zhongguo jianzhu* (The Chinese Architect) 1, no. 1 (Jan. 1933): 2–7.
27. Dong Dayou's father, Dong Hongyi, is listed as vice minister for education under the Beiyang regime of the Republic of China between 1912 and 1914 in Liu Shoulin et al., eds., *Mingguo zhiquan nianbian* (Annual rosters of officials of the Republic of China) (Beijing: Zhongguo shuju, 1995), 39. Dong Hongyi's postings in Europe during the Qing cannot be ascertained.
28. Dong's biographical sketch in Nellist, *Men of Shanghai and North China*, singles out Rome as one of Dong's childhood locales. The significance of Rome was corroborated by Dong Dayou's son Dong Aisheng in a personal interview, March 29, 2003.
29. Commencement Program (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1925); Rev. Gilbert Winkelmann, "Professor F. M. Mann," *Northwest Architect* 1, no. 1 (1936): 5, 26–27.
30. "Report of Committee on Thesis," the University of Minnesota Graduate School, May 22, 1925.

31. Leon Arnal Papers, cover page, Northwest Architectural Archives, University of Minnesota.
32. Nellist, *Men of Shanghai and North China*, 105.
33. See Barbara S. Christen, "Cass Gilbert and the Ideal of the City Beautiful: Campus and City Plans, 1900–1916," Ph.D. diss., Graduate Center, City University of New York, 1997; and James Gray, *The University of Minnesota, 1851–1951* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951), 287–288.
34. Cody, *Building in China*, 132. Phillips also worked in Murphy & Dana's New York and Shanghai offices.
35. For Gilbert's Washington University plan, see Ingrid A. Steffensen, "St. Louis: Public Architecture, Civic Ideals," in Barbara S. Christen and Steven Flanders, eds., *Cass Gilbert, Life and Work: Architect of the Public Domain* (New York: Norton, 2001), 235–251. For an overview of the work of Cope and Stewardson and their plan for Washington University, see Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984), 223–226.
36. Lawrence W. Speck, "The University of Texas: Vision and Ambition," in Christen and Flanders, eds., *Cass Gilbert*, 192–205.
37. For a biography of Hudec, see Lenore Hietkamp, "The Park Hotel, Shanghai (1931–1934) and Its Architect, Laszlo Hudec (1893–1958): 'Tallest Building in the Far East' as Metaphor for Pre-Communist China," M.A. thesis, University of Victoria, 1998.
38. The three partners were Zhao Shen (1898–1978), Tong Jun (1900–1983), and Chen Zhi (1902–2002).
39. See Peter S. Kaufman, "The Life of A. D. F. Hamlin," in "American Architectural Writing, Beaux-Arts Style: The Lives and Works of Alfred Dwight Foster Hamlin and Talbot Faulkner Hamlin," Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1986, 100–101.
40. Courtesy of Columbia University Archives. Dong Dayou was enrolled in the Faculty of Philosophy with a major in architecture.
41. Jill E. Pearlman, *Inventing American Modernism: Joseph Hudnut, Walter Gropius, and the Bauhaus Legacy at Harvard* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007).
42. "Ershi'er nian benhui nianhui jilu" (Records of the Society's 1933 annual meeting), *Zhongguo jianzhu* 1, no. 1 (Jan. 1933): 38.
43. Van Zanten, *Building Paris*, 16.
44. For instance, Yang Tingbao, as we read in Xing Ruan's chapter, participated in the restoration of the Temple of Heaven, and Tong Jun and Xu Jingzhi (Su Gin Dijn) published learned studies on landscape and architectural history, respectively.
45. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement*, 93–94.
46. William C. Kirby, "The Nationalist Regime and the Chinese Party State, 1928–1958," in Merle Goldman and Andrew Gordon, eds., *Historical Perspectives on Contemporary East Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 211–237.
47. William C. Kirby, *Germany and Republican China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), particularly chap. 6, "Frugality, Fascism, and 'New Life,'" 145–189.
48. Such is the rhetoric in the official English-language pamphlet of the Greater Shanghai Plan, "Scheme for Greater Shanghai Development" (Shanghai, 1933).
49. "Shanghai shizhengfu" (Shanghai city government), 1933.

50. “Xiandaizhuyi yu zhuangshiyishupai jianzhu,” (Modern architecture and Art Deco), in Zheng, *Shanghai jindai*, 255–285.

51. See Xu Xiaoqun, *Chinese Professionals and the Republican State: The Rise of Professional Associations in Shanghai, 1912–1937* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1–20.

52. In his autobiography, Shen Yi was gleeful about Shanghai’s achievements in comparison with Nanjing’s. See Shen, *Shen Yi zi shu*, 112–113.

53. The Mayor’s Building was converted into the main administrative building of Shanghai University of Sports. The Library became Tongji Middle School. The Museum, Hospital, and Aviation Hall were all incorporated into the Second Military Medical University.

54. Rediscovering Greater Shanghai, symbolic of the Republican regime, occurred significantly later than the edifices associated with colonialism and the mansions of the so-called “national capitalists” (*minzu zibenjia*). Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom chronicles the vicissitudes of the Customs House’s significance and iconography in “A Big Ben with Chinese Characteristics: The Customs House as Urban Icon in Old and New Shanghai,” *Urban History* 33, no. 1 (2006): 65–84.

9 ELEVATION OR FAÇADE

A Re-evaluation of Liang Sicheng's Interpretation of Chinese Timber Architecture in the Light of Beaux-Arts Classicism

Liang Sicheng (1901–1972), founder of the modern study of Chinese architecture in China, was one of China's most influential modern architects and China's leading architectural historian from the late 1920s and even posthumously.¹ Liang's most influential work before the year 1949 was accomplished when he was the pivotal member of the Zhongguo Yingzao Xueshe (Society for Research in Chinese Architecture).² Beginning in the 1950s he was a leader in the redesign of Beijing and the establishment of architectural policy for the People's Republic as well as the most renowned Chinese architect internationally. Whether as textual researcher and teacher, or in service with the Republican government or the People's Republic, Liang's methodology, work ethic, and interpretative writing were heavily influenced by his education.

Upon his return to China, Liang faced the fundamental problem of how an education in Beaux-Arts classicism might elucidate Chinese traditional architecture: the Beaux-Arts was a tradition of monumentality defined through ponderous buildings of permanent materials, while Chinese traditional architecture was a timber-frame system in which perishable wood was the main material used in a spectrum of buildings from palaces to halls of state to vernacular architecture. From the outset it seemed that understanding China's premodern buildings with a view toward Western classicism would unavoidably lead to controversy and misinterpretation. Indeed, James Fergusson (1808–1886) and Banister F. Fletcher (1866–1953) had already attempted to write global architectural histories that included China using criteria standard to the study of European architecture, but they had no formal training in Chinese art, culture, or languages.³ Liang Sicheng was aware of inherent contradictions between Western methodology and Chinese material that had not been perceived by Western architectural historians. The contradictions were intensified by the politics of nationalism in the China to which Liang returned from the University of Pennsylvania.⁴

In this chapter we explore one aspect of Chinese timber architecture that Liang Sicheng misinterpreted in his early research as a result of his adherence to Beaux-Arts and classicist training. It is apparent through three buildings, one in China and two in Europe.

The Chinese example is one that this author knows intimately, for it was revealed to him in 1984 when, as a graduate student, he was given the assignment of designing a temple in the style of Southern Song (1127–1279) China. The

first task was to make an elevation. Based on what we had learned in class at Tsinghua, I made many elevations for the main hall in order to determine the ideal proportion for the building. Once the roof, columns and connecting walls, and platform—the three fundamental parts of a Chinese timber-frame building—were added, each drawing looked amazingly different from the others. One, with a particularly high roof, drew a lot of attention from my fellow students. Its proportions were not the normal ones for a Song wooden hall, and it seemed I was trying to break from the regular form of a Song elevation. In fact, my drawing with within the proportional requirements stipulated for the Song that we had learned in class. My idea was that a hall with extra depth would allow better north-south ventilation, and this seemed particularly desirable for a building on the lower reaches of the Changjiang (Yangzi/Yangtze River) where the climate is uncomfortably hot and humid in the summer.

That I have chosen to write about this incident here, indeed to raise a question about the pedagogy of China's architectural icon, Liang Sicheng, shows how much the experience impressed me. I was fully aware of the dictums for Song architecture: the elevation of a Chinese timber structure was automatically delivered by its length and width; and the height of the roof could be determined by the section and its projection by the elevation. I also realized that it would be impossible to design a Chinese timber building based on the proportions of the façade, the system in Western architecture, especially of the Italian Renaissance, in which we had been instructed. I became suspicious of stipulations for classical Chinese architecture that I had read in our textbook, Liang's own *History of Chinese Architecture*.⁵

We had been taught that just as Western architecture of the Italian Renaissance and later neoclassicism—the Western monumental tradition—followed from pure classicism, “Chinese classical architecture” was to be interpreted following the models of imperial palaces and temples in Song China. Further, there were Chinese dictums for the palatial tradition: they were found in the most important architectural treatise that survived from premodern China, *Yingzao fashi* (Building standards), which had been presented to the Song court in 1103 by the court official Li Jie; this was a text that Liang studied extensively throughout his career.⁶ Liang and later others taught courses on *Yingzao fashi* to every Tsinghua architecture student, and even today these courses are an integral part of the curriculum throughout China.

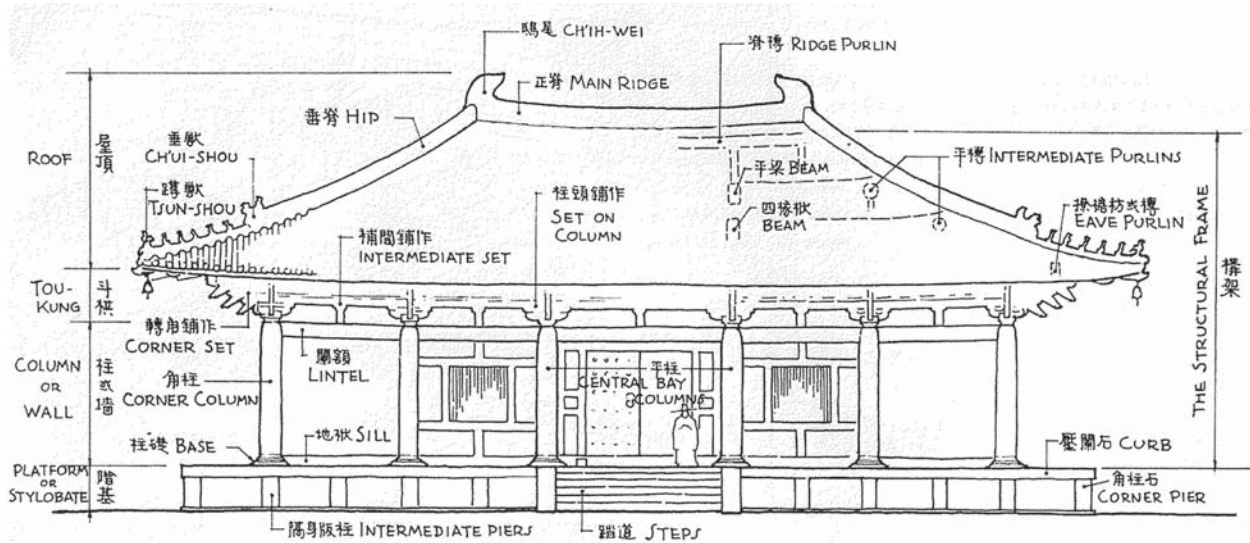
As I confronted this assignment, I thought of what I had learned about classical Western architecture in combination with Chinese timber-frame architecture. The elevation of a Song temple was to have three or four parts: (1) platform (stylobate), (2) column or wall, (3) *dougong* (bracket set), and (4) roof.

This was not so different from the elevation of a building of the Italian Renaissance (fig. 9.1). Proportions of the elevation were emphasized as an indication of the “period styles,” especially as they embodied the different dynasties (fig. 9.2). In Liang Sicheng’s *History of Chinese Architecture*, the historical development of Chinese architecture was interpreted as the evolution of dynastic styles, styles based on the expression of elevations as they developed over time. Elevations of Chinese timber architecture from different dynasties were presented with façades, just as in the Western classical tradition. This attempt to understand Chinese timber buildings through the illustrative vocabulary of Western architecture not only confused students in the 1980s, it confused the generation before us and continues to perplex students who study *Yingzao fashi* and Chinese buildings alongside classical Western buildings today. A basic misconception is the confusion between “elevation” and “façade,” my mistake in the above-mentioned drawing. The results of applying the Western methods correctly to a Song elevation are shown in figure 9.3.

Turning to a European setting for my second example, we position ourselves on the canals of Venice and ask what is meant by façade. Based on the European example, I suggest it can be argued that there is no such thing as a true façade in Chinese wooden architecture.

Ever since my first visit to Venice, I have been asked many times by friends in Europe about my impressions of the city. I always reply with confidence, “I now understand what façade means.” The views of architecture from boats along the canal have explained to me what I had never understood from my Tsinghua education as an architect: each old Venetian building has a true façade, one next to the other, some of which can be viewed only from the front because of the buildings’ close juxtaposition side by side. Together, the façades represent to me an ultimate expression of European urbanism, and inside the building interiors are organized in ways not apparent from a frontal view. A tourist map of Venice reveals another significant factor: the façades along the canal overlap on a plan of ground plans of the images. The plans are impressive simply because of their façades. In addition to pleasing the Venetian clients with interiors that suited their tastes, it seems to me that one main issue for their designers was how to compose a façade that would contribute to the comprehensive nature of the city’s series of façades, seen as a series of books on a shelf as one traveled by boat along the canals.

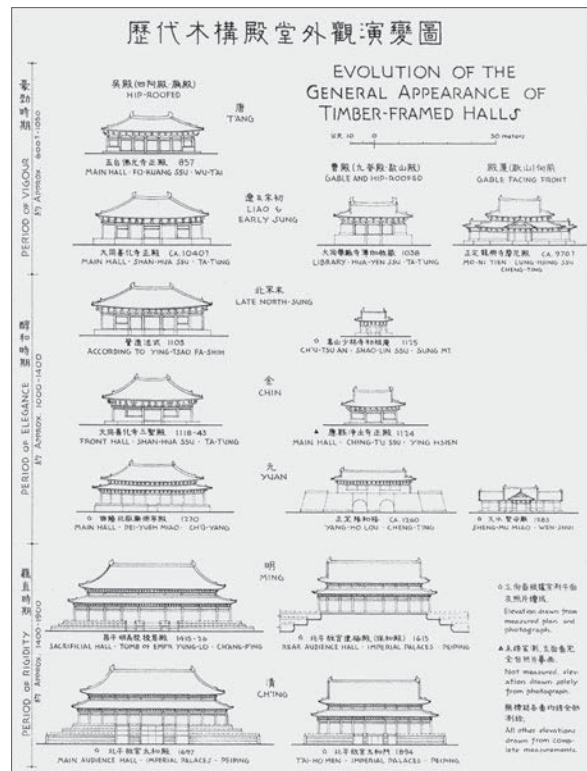
In contrast to what one finds in Venice, I realized that this kind of “façade” has never existed in the system inherent to Chinese timber architecture. If we seek to use the word “façade,” we are talking about something fundamentally different from the classical Chinese building system. Chinese architecture has a frontal



NAMES OF PRINCIPAL PARTS OF A CHINESE BUILDING
中國建築主要部份名稱音

Fig. 9.1. ▲ Liang Sicheng, Elevation drawing of a Chinese temple. Published courtesy of Zhao Chen.

Fig. 9.2. ► Liang Sicheng, Evolution of Chinese elevations through history. Published courtesy of Zhao Chen.



○ 此圖係根據實測平面及照片繪成
Elevation drawn from measured plan and photograph.
▲ 此種實測之立繪係完全照原物
Not measured. Elevation drawn entirely from photograph.
● 此種實測之立繪係根據實測平面及照片繪成
Elevation drawn from complete measurements.

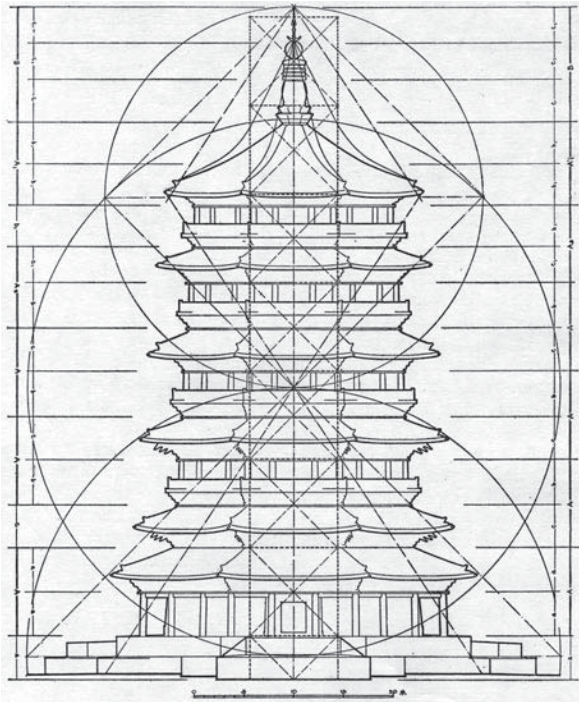


Fig. 9.3. Analysis of elevation of timber pagoda, Ying county, Shanxi, 1056, according to principles of analysis of Western classical architecture studied by Liang Sicheng at Penn. Photo by author.

presence, but fundamentally it is a system that places the interior, concealed timber frame above all else, and the wooden support system is not a dominant feature of a building's front. Reflecting on the education of Chinese architecture students through the 1980s, whose programs were highly derivative of the education Liang Sicheng had at the University of Pennsylvania and aspired to transmit to China, I conclude that in certain instances, it was too biased toward Western, Beaux-Arts style, and classicism; the desire to see Chinese buildings with façades was a prime example demonstrating that fundamentally Chinese and fundamentally European architecture were irreconcilable.

Although Liang Sicheng came to the United States with a vision of becoming an architect, it was only after he began to take classes at Penn, particularly with Paul Cret, that he became what one might call an academic architect. As the son of Liang Qichao, Liang was poised to become a rigorous scholar and engage in the study of texts like *Yingzao fashi*. As we have read, his father had sent him a copy of this text when he was a student at Penn. Liang Sicheng had a strong classical education, stronger than many of the First Generation, yet he felt an equally strong responsibility to contribute to the political movement in the China of the 1920s and 1930s, the revival of national culture.⁷

When he returned to China and designed the architecture curriculum at Northeast University in Shenyang and later at Tsinghua, Liang was an academic and an architect. He continued to study and teach classical Chinese methods expounded in *Yingzao fashi*, but Western classical historicism was at the center of his students' training. Wilma Fairbank, a close friend of Liang, describes Liang's attitude toward his education at Penn in this way:

In his final year at Penn, Sicheng made an extensive study of the Renaissance architecture in Italy. By comparing plans, facades, and other architectural features, he traced the structural developments throughout the period. The significance of this training cannot be overemphasized. We do not have his Renaissance project for reference, but we do have the important analogous drawings he made in China within the next fifteen years, which illustrate his conclusions on the evolution of Chinese architecture.⁸

Figure 9.2, an example of those drawings, shows that Liang's interpretation of façade was what the Western architectural tradition usually refers to as elevation. Once I understood that Liang had equated the two, I also understood the problem in Liang's interpretation of the evolution of the façade in the history of the Chinese timber frame, and I understood how this problem could have happened as well.

From reviewing Chinese traditional building manuals, I learned that Chinese carpenters rarely made drawings of carpentry elements. Instead, the manuals contained images related to section (*ceyang*) and floor plan (*dipan*). For most traditional Chinese construction, the system referred to in the *Yingzao fashi* as *damuzuo* (large-scale carpentry), the section (*ceyang*) is the most necessary information to present. Sometimes traditional carpenters made a one-to-one scale section directly on a wood panel or gable of a building. In many cases in these manuals, there was, in the absence of the concept of an elevation, an image that resembled a model (*tangyang*) or a three-dimensional scheme (*zhengyang*). Among the numerous illustrations in *Yingzao fashi*, there is none that could be called an elevation, but there are many sections and plans (fig. 9.4).

Liang's interpretation of Chinese timber architecture as a stylistic progression of elevations was thus an adaptation of the system of façades from Italian Renaissance architecture as that field was taught at Penn in the 1920s; it had no basis in Chinese traditional architectural methodology. Because of Liang's predominant influence on Chinese architectural academia throughout the twentieth

Fig. 9.4. Section (*ceyang*) of idealized building. From Li Jie (1035–1110), *Yingzao fashi*, *juan* 31/2a-b.

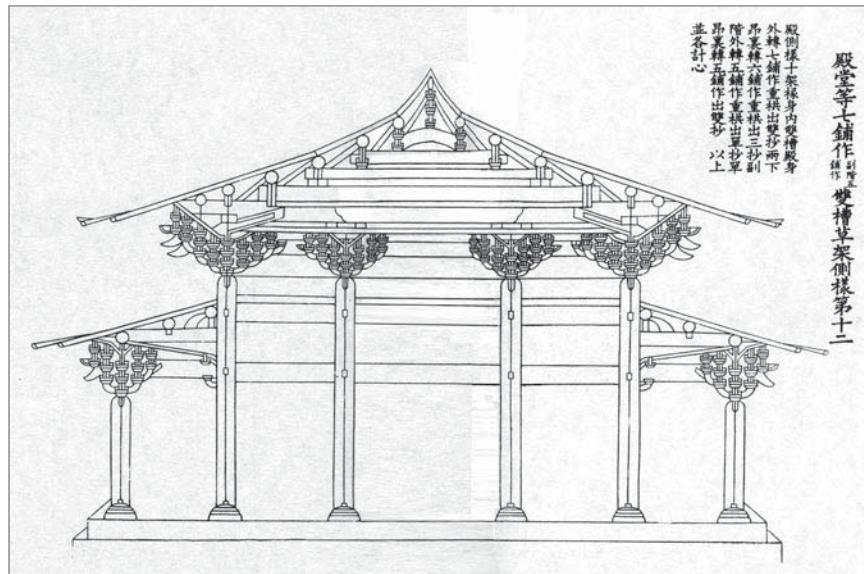


Fig. 9.5. Front façade., St. Paul's Cathedral, Macao. Flickr Photo Download: St. Paul's Cathedral, Macao.



century, and in part because of the limited communication between China and the rest of the world between 1949 and 1979, Liang's interpretation remains a force in the understanding of Chinese architecture even today.

My third example regarding the misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the concept of elevation in Chinese architecture concerns Western construction in East Asia. The ruins of St. Paul's Church are one of Macao's most famous tourist sites. The church overlooks the historic core of this Special Administrative Region (SAR). Designed by an Italian Jesuit, Carlo Spinola, and built by the Portuguese between 1602 and 1637 with the involvement of Japanese stone craftsmen who were brought to Macao by Portuguese colonists, it rose at a moment when commerce linked Macao with the Straits of Malacca to the south and Nagasaki in Japan. By the mid-seventeenth century, St. Paul's was considered by many to be the greatest church in East Asia.⁹ Sadly, it was destroyed by fire in 1835. The surviving granite façade is today a symbol of the Portuguese colonization of Macao. It is also the oldest Western architectural remains in East Asia (fig. 9.5).

Between 1990 and 1995, large-scale restoration work was carried out by the Instituto Cultural, the main cultural heritage office of the colonial government, to preserve the façade and reinterpret the meaning of the cathedral in a contemporary

context. The area behind the ruins was turned into a museum where paintings, sculptures, and liturgical objects from churches and monasteries in Macao were exhibited and stored. Yet St. Paul's is still most easily recognized because of its stone façade, known as *paifang*, the Chinese word for the kind of ceremonial archway found at the imperial Ming and Qing tombs. A façade alone, in other words, serves to represent an entire structure in Western classical architectural style.

Anyone familiar with Chinese traditional architecture knows the façade of St. Paul's in Macao could never have been constructed with Chinese materials, and further that the side of a building, even its front, would never be left untouched as a symbol of Chinese construction. The different construction logistics of the two traditions show us that the purpose of a façade in the West was to erect an elevated surface wall to face the public, with a prominent gable calling further attention to the façade, one so powerful that it could stand alone to signify a building. Behind this façade, the space consisted of a long, rectangular area surmounted by either gabled or shed roofs. One can find a multiplicity of examples in European architecture that demonstrate this type, from Roman basilicas to anonymous churches from the eastern Mediterranean to Scandinavia. In China, in contrast, the main face of a building toward the public is the eave, not the gable, so that there is never a full vertical wall without roof articulation and never, as we have mentioned, could a façade stand for a building. Occasionally a side view, seen from the gable side, can serve to represent a building in China.

When modern architecture—buildings made of concrete and bricks—appeared, and Western-derived façades became technically possible in China, the mixed, confused meanings of elevation and façade became evident. Liang himself contributed to the confusion right in Beijing. One example is found in Liang's own design work.¹⁰ In 1933 Liang Sicheng designed an extended façade for a building for the Jen Li Company in Beijing. The original structure had a Western classical façade. Jen (pronounced Ren) Li, a friend of Liang's who was also a scholar with a strong commitment to Chinese nationalism, wanted to transform the façade to be more Chinese in appearance. Liang selected simple yet clear elements of the Chinese timber frame, inverted V-shaped bracket sets, that would provide a well-proportioned "mask" (fig. 9.6).¹¹ Again it was through the façade that the transition of a building made of Western materials into Chinese style occurred.

Chinese architectural culture and Western architecture are, with few exceptions, mutually exclusive systems. To interpret Chinese timber-frame architecture on the basis of Western classicism or to try to accommodate the Chinese buildings system to Western modes is to shortchange both. The successful intersection could not be achieved even by Liang Sicheng, arguably China's

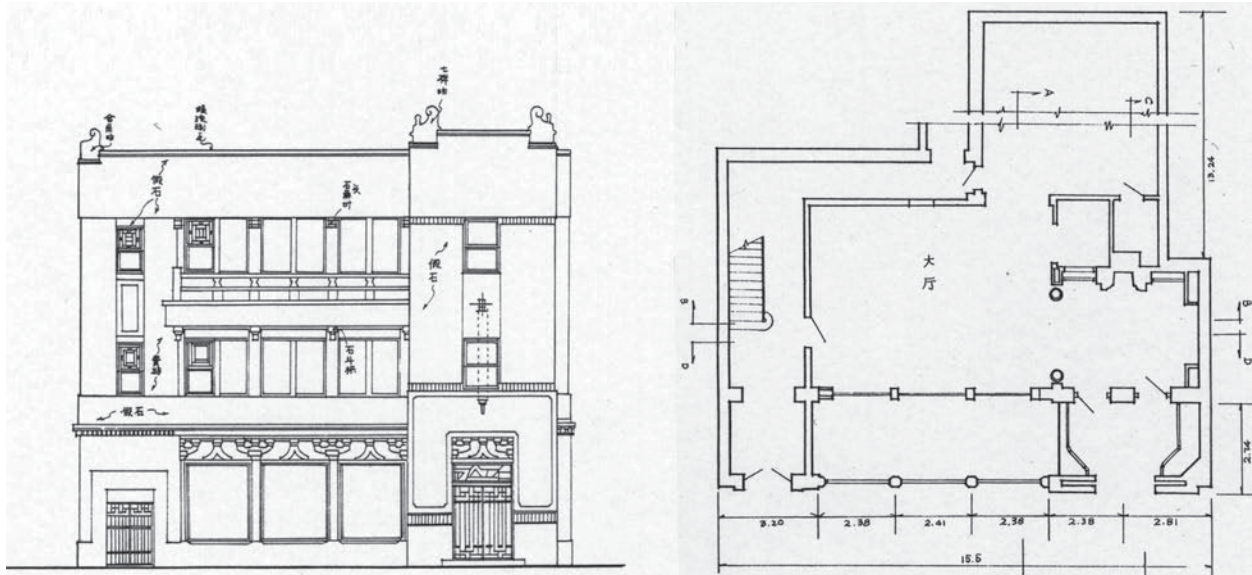


Fig. 9.6. Liang Sicheng, Elevation and Plan of Ren Li Rug Company, Beijing, 1930s. Published courtesy of Zhao Chen.

greatest architect and architectural historian, who in addition possessed the unique experience of a Paul Cret education. The façade is an obvious way to understand the inherent dichotomy in the two systems, but the same problems will arise if the situation is presented by attempting to transpose other aspects of the Western system onto Chinese architecture.

As I contemplate the profound contributions, direct and indirect, that Liang Sicheng made to the education in Chinese architecture of his generation and at least two generations afterward, and when I regard of the power of his intellect, drive, and emotion through several governments, it is amazing to me that Liang did not recognize the fundamental contradictions of the two systems. Perhaps his love of both of them—reflections of his devotion to his teachers on both sides of the Pacific—was so great that he could not allow himself to admit this reality.

In many ways Liang was self-critical, but not when it came to the image of his national architectural system as presented to the outside world. Never did he have the self-confidence to break away from the classicism of *Beaux-Arts* or even the influence of Banister Fletcher. Nor could he see that the timber frame could perhaps achieve what massive monoliths could not. In 1942 he wrote with regret:

Chinese structure is based on the material wood, and the existence of architecture is therefore limited, with little chance to endure through time. Would that it could find a way to last forever! It seems Chinese architecture

never sought the monumentality or eternity that was Egypt's, expressing as fact that artifice could not conquer nature, being satisfied with the logic of metabolism, that building, like life, should die a natural death. [In China,] the building changes as covering for a body or a coach for transport; it changes as does time, never ambitious to retain its form forever.¹²

Perhaps Liang could not accept that Chinese architecture did not seek eternity, but he understood its humanity, and he consoled himself with its unity of form over millennia. If he bemoaned that his tradition did not produce a Parthenon or St. Peter's, he took pride in the "organic structure" and "indigenous growth" of the Chinese building system.¹³

Most of Liang's generation of Western-trained architects were constricted by the same academic biases. This is not to belittle their contributions to architecture or education, but rather to help us understand some of their decisions and choices. It is up to us, the Third Generation of architects and educators after Liang, to use this understanding to help reinterpret modernity and integrate it successfully with the Chinese system, and to see Beaux-Arts architecture not just as Western classicism that seems to work according to Liang Sicheng's vision of grandeur, but as a construction method of perhaps even greater potential.

Notes

1. Extensive biographical information about Liang Sicheng, his complete written oeuvre, and many of his drawings, have been published in *Liang Sicheng quanji* (Complete works of Liang Sicheng), 9 vols. (Beijing: CABP, 2001).
2. This group conducted fieldwork to identify, draw, and photograph China's oldest buildings, which they followed with textual research. Most of their findings were published in the seven volumes of *Zhongguo yingzao xueshe huikan* (Journal of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture), 1929–1937.
3. Sir Banister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method: For the Student, Craftsman, and Amateur* (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1901), with many later editions; and James Fergusson, *A History of Architecture in All Countries, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, 5 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1893–1902), with two earlier editions.
4. This is the subject of Zhao Chen's study, "Nationalism and Classicism: An Analysis on Contradictions and Tragedy of Liang Sicheng's Academics of Architecture," *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Modern Chinese Architectural History* (Guangdong, 2000), n.p.
5. The book used, *Zhongguo jianzhu shi*, was the 1954 edition, distributed internally among students of architecture. Liang translated this book and published it with Wilma Fairbank as editor under the title *Chinese Architecture: A Pictorial History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984). It was published in Chinese in Taipei by Mingwen shuju in 1989.

6. On *Yingzao fashi*, see Else Glahn, "On the Transmission of the Ying-tsoo Fa-shih," *T'oung Pao* 61 (1975): 232–265. Only the first volume of Liang's intended work on the treatise was published. It is *Yingzao fashi zhushi* (Explanatory notes on the *Yingzao fashi*) (Beijing: CABP, 1983).
7. On the relation between Liang Sicheng's work and his father's, see Li Shiqiao, "Writing a Modern Chinese Architectural History, Liang Sicheng and Liang Qichao," *Journal of Architectural Education* (2002): 35–45.
8. Wilma Fairbank, *Liang and Lin: Partners in Exploring China's Architecture Past* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 26.
9. On this church, see M. Hugo Brunt, *An Architectural Survey of the Jesuit Seminary Church of St. Paul's, Macao* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1954); and Manuel Teixeira, *The Church of St. Paul in Macao* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos de Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1979).
10. Even though Liang is best known as a uniquely superior educator, researcher, designer, and public servant, he was also an outstanding draughtsman. Most of the drawings in his voluminous publications are in his own hand.
11. On this building, see Lin Zhu, "Liang Sicheng and the Renovation of the Jen Li Company Building, Beijing" (in Chinese), *Collected Papers of the Fourth Symposium of Study for Chinese Modern Architecture* (Beijing: CABP, 1993).
12. Liang, *Zhonguo jianzhu shi*, 9.
13. Liang, *Chinese Architecture*, preface.

LÜ YANZHI,
ZHANG KAIJI,
AND ZHANG BO

Republican and Early
Socialist Politics

Chinese and Non-Chinese Architects Working Together

In 1936 a Chinese scientist writing about the impact of young Chinese engineers and architects returning from the United States to China observed that “the introduction into China of railways, telegraphs, telephones, the new types of buildings and architecture, etc. which are distinctively inventions and achievements of the West, [has been] slow and generally improperly handled at the beginning” (fig. 10.1).¹ The writer then observed that, despite its dilatory nature and “improper handling,” there were “many new types of architectural design, which generally exhibit balance with a touch of dignity in the structural composition.”² These kinds of general appraisals near the end of the Republican period about how so-called “Western architectural achievements” were being “handled,” or whether new “types of design” were exhibiting “balance” or “dignity” are curious, but fuzzy, snapshots

of a multivalent, dynamic set of conditions concerning architectural change in China during the early twentieth century. However, one crucial and challenging question remains: how can we get beyond the general appraisal to grasp with more specific clarity the nature of that dynamic change in architecture?

This chapter seeks to answer that question, in part by focusing on one significant dimension of contemporary architectural practice: the working relationships between Chinese and non-Chinese architects, draftsmen, and other design-based practitioners. My main assumption is that by examining empirical evidence related to how contemporary architects either worked or (as sometimes happened) did not work with one another, we can better understand the variegated nature of architectural design and construction in China between the two World Wars. Even with the relatively scant data that has so far come to light, we can discern a spectrum of variations in how Chinese and non-Chinese architects related to each other. On the less positive end of that spectrum one detects relations operating at the lowest common

Fig. 10.1. Cover of *The China Builder* 1, no. 5 (August 1930).



denominator: cultural and personality differences creating a climate of either mere tolerance or outright hostility. On the other end we find true friendship and camaraderie. In between, there were relationships characterized by contradictory emotions of stimulation and disappointment, encouragement and humiliation, loyalty and resignation. I seek to elaborate this spectrum and suggest the need to become even more explicit about clarifying its hues, contrasts, characteristics, and implications.

There are at least three reasons why it is critical to scrutinize the interpersonal and cross-cultural nature of design in China-based practice from about 1914, when students from China began to graduate from U.S. architectural programs, to about 1937, when warfare brought so much architectural activity in China to a halt. The first reason is that architectural practices—often driven by clients who needed drawings, models, and other tangible results of design mediation—made palpable many of the underlying contemporary assumptions, theories, and ideals about design. In other words, if we seek to trace how Beaux-Arts-inspired architecture passed from the studios of Penn, Cornell, MIT, and other U.S. programs either to architectural offices in Shanghai or architectural schools in Shenyang and Beijing, then we should conduct a form of genetic analysis, not only on buildings and construction materials but also on places of practice and instruction. My focus here will be more on the places of practice. Architectural offices, where designs were put to paper, provide one measure of how, and in what versions, ateliers and other models of architectural behavior were transplanted to China. To what extent did the medium of practice contain the message of the Beaux-Arts?

The second reason why an analysis of working relationships warrants further scrutiny is because it helps us probe questions related to architectural “authorship.” When an architect’s name is attached to a building by virtue of it being “his/her” design, to what extent should we be revising that convention and, in so doing, be moving away from the “star system” or “hero-worship” and instead move closer to the reality of multiple authors in contemporary Chinese designing/building processes?³ And if more than one architect figured in the drama of design, then who were those others behind the names of the partners, and what roles did they play in contributing to the nascent profession of architecture in China?

Finally, by examining practice-based realities, we can address formidable questions related to ethnic, racial, and gender discrimination in the office and beyond. Recently, several scholars have begun to train their sights on the implications of discrimination in the architectural professions of the present or the recent past.⁴ However, few scholars have conducted research regarding ethnic, racial, or gender prejudice in architectural practices in China during the

early twentieth century. And yet one of the chief reasons why the first Society of Chinese Architects was established in 1928 was to create a professional body where Chinese architects could communicate more freely with one another, untrammelled by discrimination.

To venture into the terrain of how architecture was practiced in China between the onset of World War I and the outbreak of World War II is to some extent like taking a walk in the dark where single streetlights give us a tantalizing glimpse of either something or someone in a clearer spotlight. For me, because he worked for Henry Murphy, one of those beams of light has shone on Lü Yanzhi (fig. 10.2). Therefore, the first part of this chapter concerns Lü and what I call his post-studio spectrum of practice. Following this specific case, I shall discuss how Chinese architects in general—facing prejudice and powerlessness in the field of architecture in Republican China—sought niches in which to practice. Although discrimination



Fig. 10.2. Lü Yanzhi (circled) in photograph of Cornell Chinese Students' Club, 5 December 1914. Cornell University Archives. 37/61334. Box 1, vol. 1, part 1. Published courtesy of Cornell University Archives.

was pervasive, empirical evidence about its effects on contemporary architectural practice is scant. Although practitioners certainly knew that discrimination was prevalent, few talked or wrote about it.⁵ I have mainly used data from a few non-Chinese practices whose surviving archival documentation suggests the nature of relationships between Chinese and non-Chinese staff; sporadic testimonials from Chinese practitioners, either in print or interviews; and material from professional literature, such as the *China Architects and Builders Compendium*. Despite the dearth of comprehensive data, we can draw some tentative conclusions and as I do, I find the metaphor of a spectrum to be useful. The English word “spectrum” derives from the Latin word for looking (*specere*), and even more specifically from the word “spectre,” meaning an image or apparition.⁶ I begin, then, with the scattered images of Chinese students graduating from their U.S. university studios and entering the world of contemporary architectural practice, either in the United States, China, or both.

Lü Yanzhi's Post-Studio Spectrum

One of the most compelling images concerns Lü Yanzhi, who graduated from Cornell University in 1918. Although many are familiar with Lü's two major works, the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum in Nanjing and Memorial in Guangzhou, which are analyzed by Rudolf Wagner in the next chapter, and with Lü's tragic death in 1929 at the age of 35, the path he took from Cornell's studios to his first China practice with his friend Guo Yangmo—the Southeastern Architectural and Engineering Company (Dongnan Jianzhu Gongsi)—is less well known. That path demonstrates how, in Lü's brief career, his work with foreign architects shone sometimes brightly but at other times dimly along his post-studio spectrum.

One of the bright periods began in 1918 when, for reasons that remain obscure, Lü sought work in the so-called “Oriental Department” of Henry K. Murphy and Richard H. Dana's office in midtown Manhattan. As I have written elsewhere, in 1914, Murphy and Dana began to amass an impressive portfolio of China-centered work: Yale-in-China's campus in Changsha, portions of Tsinghua University in Beijing, and Fudan University in Shanghai, as well as other commissions throughout northern and eastern China.⁷ Murphy assumed that his partnership would benefit from hiring Chinese students—such as Lü—who had either just graduated or would be graduating from U.S. programs. As early as June 1914, Murphy wrote to his partner Dana to suggest they create a discrete “Oriental Department” within their practice (specifically on the 10th floor of 331 Madison Avenue), where Chinese draftsmen could work up a series of conceptual and detailed drawings that could then be sent to China for further elaboration.⁸ For recent Chinese graduates from U.S. programs, these tasks seem to have been extensions of their school studio work, except that in Murphy's office they were penciling, inking, or water-coloring Chinese-style features—but still within the Beaux-Arts conventions of plan, section, elevation, and perspective that they had just learned in U.S. universities.

Non-Chinese would also work with those Chinese students, supervising their work. Based on contemporary drawings from Murphy's office, Talbot Hamlin (later an eminent architectural historian at Columbia) was one of those supervisors; Henry McGill was another. Murphy was yet another supervisor when he was in New York and not on the road in China canvassing for other work. Hamlin thought it was “absolutely uncanny [how Murphy's office] aroused loyalty and affection.”⁹ One reason, Hamlin believed, was that Murphy and Dana sought a “professional” office instead of an “industrial” one. A professional office was characterized by “a spirit of cooperation” and an “intellectual” climate, where each architect working on a project would be given a copy of the preliminary program as well as photographs of

both complete and still-being-constructed work. These documents were circulated in the drafting room and discussed in detail, “encouraging draftsmen to think in terms of building rather than in drawing.”¹⁰ Another result of this file-sharing was to encourage collaborative group effort rather than more private work that might make others feel more isolated. Young Chinese architects would have likely preferred this group identity.

Unfortunately, however, precise pictures of the Oriental Department within the context of the larger office at Madison Avenue are far from sharp. There are no surviving photographs that show the configuration of the department’s spaces, nor do we know precisely how many Chinese and non-Chinese worked there at any given time. However, some Chinese who moved from their university studios to Murphy’s practice—and they included such figures as Li Jinpei and Fan Wenzhao—thought the department was a nurturing, positive environment where their work was highly valued.¹¹ Lü Yanzhi, for example, thought “it my good fortune to have been with you for such a long time, and considered as the most pleasant and profitable of my American days, those years I spent in your New York office, [where the atmosphere was so congenial].”¹²

However, in late 1920 or early 1921, when Lü Yanzhi returned to China and began working in Murphy’s office in the Union Building on Shanghai’s Bund, his working relationship with the supervising foreign architects there began to sour. In other words he moved from the end of the spectrum where he was a loyal friend and respected colleague of a foreign architect, to the opposite end, where he experienced arrogance, prejudice, and hostility at the hands of other architects in Murphy’s employ. When Murphy opened his Shanghai branch office in 1918, he had hoped that his first American manager, J. Duncan Forsyth, would bring the “congeniality” of the New York office to the Bund. However, Forsyth was an irascible character whom some considered to be “abnormal.” He “seldom laughed, was always in a nervous state and was constantly morose and depressed, and as a result, easily irritated.”¹³ Forsyth’s misguided stewardship ushered in an atmosphere of “petty tyranny” in which he, his wife, and a few other American architects (particularly Francis Berndt, Kent Crane, and, to a lesser extent, Elliot Hazzard) “effectively broke the spirit of all the members of the staff in Shanghai, so that work was done listlessly. . . . There was no system whatsoever; men were taken off half finished jobs and switched to different work without reason, and everything was at loose ends. . . . Forsyth and Berndt seem to be attempting to produce a plan factory of the worst sort.”¹⁴

In 1920, when the New York partners wrote this disturbing description of the office, there were at least four Chinese staff members in the Shanghai branch office,

Fig. 10.3. Chinese staff in Henry Murphy's Shanghai Office, ca. 1918–early 1920s.



with approximately twelve foreigners. When Lü Yanzhi arrived, he and other Chinese draftsmen (such as a Y. S. Chow) became disenchanted with the office's atmosphere where sometimes they were insultingly called "boys" (fig. 10.3).¹⁵ Furthermore, the fact that Lü would never be allowed to become "a regular partner" in China was probably another incentive for him to strike out on his own. In 1918 Murphy told his partners that "no foreign firm can have a Chinese as a partner on a basis of social equality."¹⁶ As Lü severed his ties with Murphy's firm, he moved to the middle of his post-studio spectrum, where he still retained a respect for Murphy himself, but was embittered by the incivilities of other foreign architects with whom he could never enjoy social equality.

Three Niches for Chinese Architects in Post-studio Practices

In the 1920s and 1930s many Chinese architects were seeking "equality" in this newly evolving profession that concerned design and construction. In that quest—which I would argue continues to this day—they found niches where they could work productively. Given the evidence, three kinds of niche seem particularly significant. One type is seen in firms established by Chinese (similar to Lü's Dongnan Jianzhu Gongsi), where lessons learned in U.S. or European studios

were applied to a fresh set of challenges. A second kind is seen either in already established firms such as Murphy's or especially during the time from 1918 to 1927 in newly minted businesses that hoped to capitalize upon burgeoning construction, especially in eastern Chinese cities, what Marie-Claire Bergère has dubbed "the golden age of the Chinese bourgeoisie."¹⁷ These included property development divisions of larger companies, such as Andersen & Meyer in Shanghai (fig. 10.4) or the Bank of China, which operated in many major cities. Chinese architects, as well as aspiring architects who could not leave China, found a third kind of niche among missionary organizations, of which there were several, such as the YMCA and missionary architectural bureaus. In all these cases, we can perceive the same kind of spectrum characterized earlier. Inequalities persisted, as did the need to cope with the ramifications of those inequalities. Specific examples help to bring this picture more clearly into view.

In the case of the first niche—Chinese companies created by Chinese architects returning from the United States—certainly two of the most significant were Allied Architects and Kwan, Chu, and Yang. However, rather than delve deeply into the dynamics associated with the establishment of these firms, I want to emphasize that Chen Zhi, one of the founders of Allied Architects and a member of the Penn class of 1927, mentioned something about prejudice in architectural practice in an interview I conducted with him. Chen explained that when he began practicing in Shanghai in 1931, after working from 1927 to 1929 with Ely J. Kahn

Fig. 10.4. Building Construction Department Staff, Andersen & Meyer Company, Shanghai, ca. 1928.



in New York followed by two years in Shenyang working with Liang Sicheng, the biggest difference he noticed was how many more architects were practicing in Shanghai. “Before Kwan, Chu, and Yang [and Dong Dayou], architectural practice was entirely monopolized by foreigners, *particularly* [Chen’s emphasis] the British.”¹⁸ I asked him how he would characterize the competition between Chinese and foreign architects?

Well, the reason why foreign architects were able to monopolize architectural practice in Shanghai was chiefly because the land in the Settlement and the French Concession had to be . . . registered with the foreign consulates . . . so Chinese architects had little chance of competing or even collaborating with foreign architects because they had almost complete control. . . . [In my case], I came to Shanghai because I had managed to get the [commission for] the National Commercial Bank.¹⁹ . . . It was a very difficult task because the lot was registered with [the architects] Atkinson & Dallas, who had long ago signed an agreement with the bank that if the bank should decide [to build a new structure] on the original lot, or even on a different lot, Atkinson & Dallas would have the primary privilege—I should actually say the sole privilege—of getting the job. . . . That was a common practice. However, unfortunately for Atkinson & Dallas, they had designed the Shanghai Commercial Bank²⁰ . . . to the great disappointment of the client [it had small windows with bars, which made it look more like a prison!] [Some] of the directors happened to be very good friends of my father, so the bank decided to pay Atkinson & Dallas a “fee” to abrogate that agreement and gave the job to us. So the competition between Chinese and foreign architects was very keen and usually the winner would be the British architect. (fig. 10.5)

Chen Zhi’s reminiscences underscore how prejudice against Chinese architects trying to establish themselves in their new profession—in cities where land use was stringently controlled by foreign interests—transcended simply an issue of being demeaned in an office environment. Instead, both land registration at foreign consulates and prior agreements about designing new structures conspired to prevent novice Chinese architects from competing on a level playing field. Social inequality was related, then, to contractual inequality and to circumvent that, Chinese architects used personal connections and payments of fees to level the field. As they did so, according to Chen, they tried not to compete too strenuously with each other, preferring instead “to find their own clientele,” or what I have called here their own niche.



Fig. 10.5. Shanghai Architects and Civil Engineers. From Arnold Wright, ed., *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hongkong, Shanghai, and Other Treaty Ports of China* (London: Lloyd's Greater British Publishing Company, Ltd., 1908), 622.

The second niche, which centered around already established firms such as Atkinson & Dallas, was in some respects more problematical for Chinese architects, not only because in those firms they had to confront formidable challenges associated with discrimination, but also because they could become targets of entrepreneurial and professional opportunity, whereby they received insufficient credit for the work they did. The firms provided incentives for potentially inspiring or lucrative employment. Because Chinese draftsmen were not always listed in professional directories, it is difficult to be precise about how many Chinese architects—either ones returning from the United States or “native” Chinese architects as they were then sometimes called—joined already established firms during the 1920s and 1930s. Documentation from Shanghai is the most extensive, but even there evidence is frustratingly sparse. By examining the *China Architects and Builders Compendium* from 1924 to 1937 we can note fluctuations in the number of foreign firms and occasionally a Chinese name appears under a given firm's particulars (fig. 10.6).²¹ However, because the *Compendium* did not list most Chinese workers, we

need to be cautious about using it as a comprehensive snapshot of the contemporary architectural scene.

Again, a specific example helps bring that scene alive. There is the case of Koo Hai (1901–ca. 1980), a Chinese manager of the Shanghai firm Spence Robinson, which was established in 1902 and was responsible for the Post Office along Suzhou Creek (1921–1922) and the Race Course along Nanjing Road (1926–1932) (fig. 10.7).²² During World War II, when the Japanese interned several European assistants and partners from Spence Robinson who had been stranded in Shanghai, Koo Hai, who was spared incarceration, was forced to work with Japanese supervisors in the company's offices. He regularly brought food to his former European coworkers in the camps, but in 1950, when they closed the company and moved to Hong Kong, Koo remained in Shanghai. He was persecuted both during the Anti-Rightist Campaign (1957) and the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). At the age of seventy-five he managed to enter Hong Kong, where he was surprised

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ARCHITECTS PRACTISING IN SHANGHAI		
<p>司公限有德爾愛商英 Algar & Co., Ltd. Algar Bldg., 5 Hongkong Road Private Office: Tel. 10849 Property Dept.: „ 18831 General: „ 10231 Nazir, A. P. Kalen, F. H.</p> <p>—</p> <p>*Architects Bureau of Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) Room 409, Missions Building 23 Yuen-ming yuen Road Tel. C. 8731 Gunn, Chas. A. Creighton, Roy L.</p> <p>—</p> <p>和通</p> <p>*Atkinson & Dallas, Ltd. 26 Peking Road Tel. 10012, 10712, 10713 Saker, R. M. Atkinson, W. L., M.I.C.E.</p> <p>—</p> <p>師程工士韻柏 Berents, Hans, B.S.C., C.E., M.A.S.C.F. 13A Canton Road Tel. 12099</p> <p>—</p> <p>司公限有利泰商英 Brandt & Rodgers, Ltd. 215 Szechuen Road Tel. 61119 Brandt, Wm., M.A.A.</p> <p>—</p> <p>利得開 Calatroni & Hsieh 14 Kiukiang Road Tel. 10355 Calatroni, E., B.S.C. Hsieh, Dr. E. S., C.E., D.ENG.</p>	<p>司公限有業營中華 Central China Realty Co., Ltd. Head Office: 36 Avenue Edward VII. Tel. 18549 Design Office: 22 Kiukiang Road Tel. 15574-5 Chiuin, L. Shih, arch.</p> <p>—</p> <p>司公業營興錦 Central Realty Co. 25 Jinkee Road Tel. 14967 Hsu, S., arch.</p> <p>—</p> <p>司公業實產地國中 China Investment Co. 14 Hankow Road Tel. 19870</p> <p>—</p> <p>師程工子交祿邵 Chollot, J. J. 85 Rue Marcel Tillot Tel. W. 971</p> <p>—</p> <p>Chollot, L. A. c/o Racine & Co., Glen Line Building Tel. W. 1640</p> <p>—</p> <p>Chollot, P. J. (Dipl. Eng. of Arts & M. mu- factures of the Central School of Paris) Fonciere & Immobiliere de Chine 9 Avenue Edward VII Tel. C. 7008</p>	<p>司公程工易貿合六 Continental Corporation of China 5 Szechuen Road Tel. 67311-2</p> <p>—</p> <p>益果 Corritt, A. 64 Route des Sources W. 4699 Corritt, A., B.S.C., C.E. Winther, A., B.S.C., C.E.</p> <p>—</p> <p>行銀款放品義 Credit Foncier d'Extreme-Orient 7 The Bund Tel. 11943 Dumail, J., arch.</p> <p>—</p> <p>行洋明克 Cumine & Co., Ltd. 7 Ningpo Road Tel. 61195 and 61196 Cumine, H. M., F.I.A.A. (LONDON)</p> <p>—</p> <p>行樣打理克 Curry, R. A., B.A.R.C.H. 9 Avenue Edward VII Tel. 13241</p> <p>—</p> <p>和瑞新 Davies & Brooke 4 Avenue Edward VII Tel. 10359 Davies, Gilbert, L.R.E.S. Brooke, J. T. W., A.R.I.B.A.</p>

Fig. 10.6. Architects Practising in Shanghai, *China Architects and Builders Compendium* (Shanghai: North-China Daily News and Herald, 1926), 110.

of employment—another niche—in which Chinese architects practiced. One window into this world is provided by Wang Dingzeng, who graduated from the University of Illinois in 1938, then returned to China and worked as an architect for the Bank of China. “Mostly we did our designs for the bank building projects. They had branches in many places and because they were also short of housing, we built housing for the staff and lots of air defense dugouts . . . because the Japanese bombed very intensively. . . . We had quite a number in the architectural division.”²³

The third niche where Chinese architects found growing acceptance was in mission-sponsored architectural design organizations such as the YMCA and mission architectural bureaus. Li Jinpei (Poy G. Lee), born in 1900 in New York of Cantonese parents and trained at Columbia and MIT, perhaps best exemplifies

not only to find that Spence Robinson was still flourishing as a practice there, but also that in 1950 his former employers had begun placing money in an account for him. Upon his arrival in Hong Kong, the principal in that account had ballooned to make Koo a rich refugee. Koo's experience with Spence Robinson suggests how relationships with foreign architects could become, unpredictably, the basis for professional and economic success.

Another curious trend observed in the *China Architects and Builders Compendium* is the degree to which during the 1920s and 1930s nonarchitectural businesses—banks, petroleum companies, and exporters, for example—were beginning to create design and construction divisions within the mother company. The number of these cases varied with each new issue of the *Compendium*—for example, from thirteen in 1924 to ten in 1928 and six in 1934—but the key point is that as some businesses diversified into the lucrative property development field, they provided another source



Fig. 10.7. Spence Robinson, Former Shanghai Race Course, Nanjing Road, 1926–1932. Photo by author.

how the YMCA provided a corporate niche for several Chinese architects, both foreign-trained and “native.” Having helped design two YMCA centers in New Jersey, Li was sent to China in 1923 by the National Council of the YMCA; in China he worked for YMCA’s Building Bureau until 1927, designing at least twelve centers throughout China (fig. 10.8).²⁴ The YMCA began internationalizing its operations about 1908; by 1910 the organization sent non-Chinese architects to design and build new centers throughout China. Li was one of many Chinese (such as Fan Wenzhao and Zhao Shen) who, by the mid-1920s, were designing alongside foreign architects for the Association. Simultaneously, several expanding missionary groups in China were beginning to amalgamate their design and construction staff into mission architectural bureaus. Fuzhou and Hangzhou were two cities where these bureaus began attracting Chinese staff. For example, Lin Zhun was a “native” architect who began working with the American architect Paul Wiant at the Fuzhou Architectural Bureau (also known as the Xiehe Architectural Institute)

Fig. 10.8. Li Jinpei, Shanghai Women's YMCA Building, Xizang Road, ca. 1926. Photo by author.

in about 1933 (fig. 10.9).²⁵ Lin was primarily a draftsman, who worked alongside his brother, an engineer, also employed by the Bureau. Both brothers “got along well with Wiant” and lived in the basement of his mission residence.

These three niches—Chinese design firms, private companies dominated by foreigners, and mission enterprises—were not the only places where Chinese architects moved from their studios to practice, but the niches figure prominently in the rich story of how Beaux-Arts modes of creating buildings enjoyed new leases on life in twentieth-century China.

Conclusions

The central argument in this chapter has been that a spectrum of variations characterized how Chinese and non-Chinese architects related to each

other between the World Wars. In the first section I emphasized one aspect of Lü Yanzhi's career, his experience in Henry Murphy's main and branch offices, as a salient example that demonstrates the breadth and complex nature of that spectrum. In the second section, I presented three niches that seemed to challenge and, in the best of cases, to nurture Chinese architects, whether they were schooled abroad or trained at home, between approximately 1920 and 1949. The data are culled from a disparate range of sources, but we must remain cognizant of their limitations. Faint pictures emerge of discrimination, prejudice, powerlessness, and frustration. However, fuzzy images also surface of Chinese architects being energized to action: to design with quality even though they could not compete fairly, to organize themselves “in friendship and cooperation, to uphold the dignity and standing of their profession, and to increase the efficiency and usefulness of their service to the community.”²⁶





Fig. 10.9. Lin Zhun in 1980s. Photo by author.

Three other conclusions emerge from these examples. First, architectural practice in Republican China, although related to studio work found at Penn and other U.S. schools, was far more multidimensional than the students' studio. This was not only because practice involved real clients, actual building sites, and a multitude of unexpected situations, but also because the processes that accompanied the routes from design to construction in China involved many more individuals than what a student normally encountered in a studio assignment at his drafting board. Lü Yanzhi, Chen Zhi, Li Jinpei, and undoubtedly many other Chinese architects quickly learned this when they made that transition from studio to practice, where they had no choice but to build upon their studio foundation and work with others on a common project. Although we know the names of many who succeeded in this transition, we know far too little about those who did not. Nor are we usually aware of how multiauthored the projects upon which they labored were. This brief scrutiny of the studio-to-practice transition, then, suggests the need to probe more fully into the process of

design and its relationship to construction. There were many involved in design-construction dramas; as of now they remain too far out of view. By drawing, detailing, and otherwise doing a host of tasks associated with building, these others—Y. S. Chow in Murphy's office, Koo Hai in Spence Robinson's, and Lin Zhun in Paul Wiant's, to name just a few—played unheralded roles in crafting a Chinese architectural profession.

Second, the world of practice in Republican China carried one of the messages of the Beaux-Arts—to design by using the unquestioned architectural vocabulary of tradition—but in so doing it also carried the seeds of Beaux-Arts' transformation into something distinctively Chinese. This was partially because, beginning with studio projects at schools like Penn and continuing into the world of practice in China, Chinese traditions were subsumed within the expanding Beaux-Arts stylistic vocabulary. Murphy, Liang Sicheng, and others facilitated this, but many of those

Chinese who worked with them also helped perpetuate the processes of absorption, assimilation, and association.²⁷ But perhaps another reason that architectural practice helped transform the Beaux-Arts approach into a Chinese hybrid offshoot was that when former Chinese students became practicing young architects, they saw the need to move beyond the norm, rules, and established conventions. Why? In part, perhaps, because some of those conventions (particularly those related to preferential privileges) were clipping the wings of the young architects and thus preventing the former students from growing as creative architects. Lü Yanzhi, Chen Zhi, Li Jinpei, and many other architects who figure prominently in this book broke away from conventional niches, became dissatisfied with prejudice and discrimination, and began to question inherited assumptions. In so doing, their working relationships with other Chinese and non-Chinese architects, firms, and institutions became crucial object lessons that helped them better understand what they could or might do as architects in a rapidly changing China.

Finally, these cases from the Republican period imply a need for examining in finer detail a stimulating series of issues bound up with practice in post-1949 China, from the immediate results of Liberation upon the architectural profession right up to the present. This chapter's subtitle, "Chinese and Non-Chinese Architects Working Together," may be misread as suggesting a historically rosy relationship, which clearly was not always the case. This begs the question of what occurred beginning in 1949 to studio/practice interactions, Chinese/non-Chinese interrelationships, Beaux-Arts/modern ideologies, and a host of other dichotomies and binary oppositions that persist to this day. The answers lie in research about the dynamics of architectural practice in the later twentieth century and indeed on into early twenty-first-century China.

Notes

1. S. M. Lee, "In Engineering and Architecture," *The American University Club of Shanghai, American University Men in China* (Shanghai: Comacrib Press, 1936), 90.
2. *Ibid.*, 98. As examples of these "types," the author listed the Sun Yat-Sen Mausoleum in Nanjing (Lü Yanzhi), the Municipal Hall at Shanghai's Civic Center (Dong Dayou), and the Administrative Building of the Ministry of Railways in Nanjing (Fan Wenzhao).
3. Denise Scott Brown, "Room at the Top? Sexism and the Star System in Architecture," in Ellen P. Berkeley and Matilda McQuaid, eds., *Architecture: A Place for Women* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 237–246.
4. See, e.g., Kathryn H. Anthony, *Designing for Diversity: Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Architectural Profession* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001); "Women in Architecture: Leveling a Playing Field," *Progressive Architecture* 76, no. 11 (November 1995): 45–49; Leslie

Weisman, *Discrimination by Design* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992); “Discrimination Still Rife in Architecture, says SOBA,” *Architects’ Journal* 215, no. 24 (20 June 2002): 9; Sumita Sinha, “A Shameful Disparity,” *Building Design*, no. 1529 (19 April 2002): 8.

5. In addition to other references about practice in this chapter, also see Poy G. Lee, “Multiplicity of Regulations Vex Life of Architect in Shanghai,” *China Reconstruction and Engineering Review* 4 (December 1934): 92–94.

6. Judy Pearsall, ed., *New Oxford Dictionary of English* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 1788.

7. Jeffrey W. Cody, *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy’s “Adaptive Architecture,” 1914–1935* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 61–105.

8. Letter from Henry K. Murphy to Richard H. Dana, Jr., 22 June 1914, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, Manuscripts #231, Box 11. Unless indicated otherwise, all letters relating to Murphy are in this file at the Sterling Library, and all references to “Murphy” are to Henry K. Murphy.

9. Letter from Talbot F. Hamlin to Murphy, 6 June 1917.

10. Letter from Talbot F. Hamlin to Murphy, 29 April 1919.

11. Cody, *Building in China*, 148.

12. Letter from Y. C. Lü to Murphy, 3 March 1922.

13. Letter from Henry McGill to Murphy, 17 January 1921.

14. Letter from R.H. Dana, Jr., Henry McGill, and Talbot Hamlin to Murphy, 2 July 1920.

15. Letter from Murphy to his New York partners, 1 September 1918.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Marie-Claire Bergère, *The Golden Age of the Chinese Bourgeoisie, 1911–1937* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); originally published as *L’Age d’or de la bourgeoisie chinoise, 1911–1937* (Paris: Flammarion, 1986).

18. Tape-recorded interview between Jeffrey Cody and Chen Zhi, 16 April 1988.

19. The National Commercial Bank was located at the corner of Jiangxi Street and Beijing Street. Also see Peter G. Rowe and Seng Kuan, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 214.

20. The Shanghai Commercial Bank was located between Beijing Street and Ningbo Street and between Jiangxi Street and Sichuan Street.

21. For example, in the 1929 *Compendium*, L. Shih Chuilin worked for the Central China Realty Company; C. K. Chien for the Eastern Asia Architects and Engineers Corporation; and H. F. Liu for the China Investment Company.

22. For Koo Hai’s case, I have relied on documents in the Hong Kong office of the architectural firm Spence Robinson. The company was first Stewardson & Spence, became Stewardson Spence & Watson around 1922, and finally, in 1928, Spence Robinson.

23. Tape-recorded interview between Jeffrey Cody and Wang Dingzeng, 16 November 1987.

24. See “Poy Gum Lee,” in George Nellist, ed., *Men of Shanghai and North China* (Shanghai: Oriental Press, 1933), 211; and William Yinson Lee, comp., *World Chinese Biographies* (Shanghai: Globe Publishing Co., 1944), 121. Also see Rowe and Kuan, *Architectural Encounters*, 72, 81.

25. Tape-recorded interview between Jeffrey Cody and Lin Zhun, 22 January 1988.

26. Poy G. Lee, "High Professional Status Attained by Chinese Architects in Brief Period," *China Reconstruction and Engineering Review* 6, no. 2 (May 1935): 60.

27. Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). Also see Jeffrey W. Cody, "American Geometries and the Architecture of Christian Colleges in China," in Daniel H. Bays and Ellen Widmer, eds., *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900-1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 27–56.

II RITUAL, ARCHITECTURE, POLITICS, AND PUBLICITY DURING THE REPUBLIC

Enshrining Sun Yat-sen

The founding of the Republic of China in 1911 meant the end of a ritual continuum tracing back two millennia and stretching from the court's ceremonies to the marriages, births, and deaths of the common people. It had included ritual signals and arrangements ranging from a mandatory hair style for men—the queue—to the legitimate cut, fabric, and colors of clothing people of different classes were permitted to wear, to the means of transport they were allowed to use, and finally to the imperial calendar that defined time. When the court's ritual hegemony ended with the fall of Qing, the other half of the state's control of society, the law, statutes, and institutions also came to an end.

Ritual Turbulence

During the late Qing, the court's rituals had not been public ceremonies. The court let it be known to a wider public, through the *Jingbao* (Peking gazette) and its successor, *Zhengzhi guanbao* (Zhengzhi gazette), that the rituals had been performed in due order. The court operated as a moveable forbidden city. The people—including foreigners—in the houses lining the streets of an imperial funeral cortege, as well as those between the Forbidden City and the Summer Palace, had to close their shutters when the imperial train went by. There had been attempts since 1907 to bring Qing ritual in tune with the planned constitution, but to no avail.¹ Qing ritual had last been evoked in grand style in 1908, in the elaborate burial rituals of Cixi, with their complicated burden of burying a woman who had in fact played a man's (the emperor's) role.² While for this last official burial of the Qing the foreign diplomatic community was for the first time included, photographers secretly trying to get a shot of the funeral cortege were severely punished. After the end of the Qing, court rituals continued in private and sometimes semiofficial functions inside the Forbidden City, and imperial ritual in general continued to hold some sway over the government of President Yuan Shikai (1859–1916), perhaps demonstrating more a lack of ritual fantasy than an adhesion to the old rituals.³ Many ritual practices among the people continued for decades until deeper cultural, social, and political changes began to have a strongly visible impact on them. The 1934 edition of the standard encyclopedia of all relevant knowledge for the literate city-dweller, *Riyong baike quanshu* (Encyclopedia for daily use) published by the

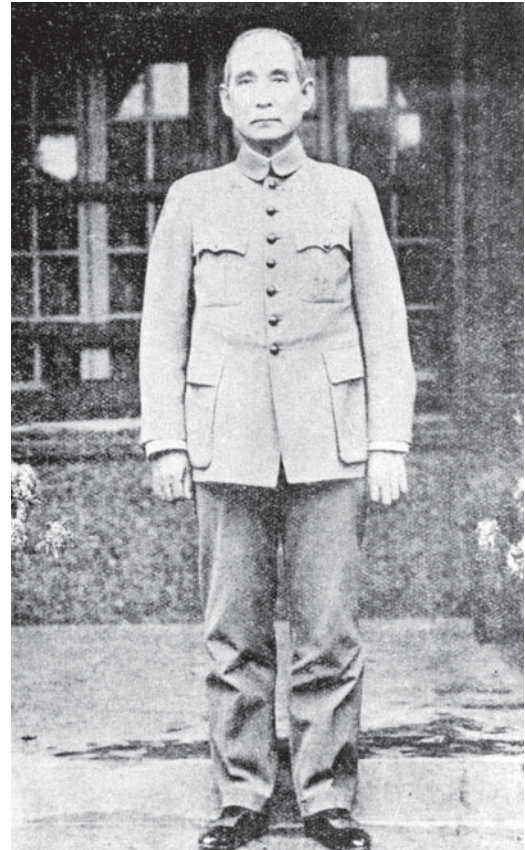
Commercial Press, still felt compelled, after printing the reform ritual, to give very detailed, practical instructions about the traditional rituals for the critical moments of marriage, birth, and death.⁴

The Republic started off politically unstable, with little control of the country. To mark the beginning of its existence, it focused an inordinate amount of attention on ritual matters. While this corresponded to traditions that had been in place since the Han dynasty of ritually marking the beginning of a new dynasty through a change in calendar, ritual, habit, and color, the early dynasties were largely in control of the country and did not have to publicly exercise in ritual control what they lacked in political control. The Republic tried to extend its political leverage through the introduction of new rituals and signaled its special ideological dispensation that set it off from all tradition by adopting a semi-Westernized set. In the absence of clear institutional and legal control over the country, ritual control and ritual governance became an important but contested testing ground for aspirants to real power.

For example, the Republic ended the imperial calendar and switched to the Western calendar, even though it refused to accept Christ as the beginning of new time. The old calendar and its implied imperial hegemony had been under attack since the Taipings had rejected the Qing and adopted the Western calendar in the early 1850s; after the demise of the Taipings, the treaty enclaves around Shanghai marked their own standing by switching to Western time, and their newspapers signaled the center's loss of calendrical control by defining each day through a plethora of different calendars, imperial, cyclical, Western, and often Japanese. This trend continued when papers such as the *Minbao* (People's newspaper) or the *Qiangxue bao* (Encouragement to study newspaper) started to set the beginning of their own time frames with the mythical emperor Huangti, the Duke of Zhou, or Confucius.⁵ The new government's order to abolish the queue and the Qing dress code, symbols of submission to Manchu rule, also made into national ritual policy what was already practiced in Shanghai. In its inability to take effective control of the country, the new government focused on establishing its ritual hegemony by promulgating a new ritual code, the *Zhonghua minguo lizhi* (The Republic of China ritual code), on 17 August 1912. With the rejection of the Manchu tunic, the kowtow, and the queue, it rejected three elements that had been recast into symbols of China's subservience to the Manchu in the propaganda writings of the previous decade. There was an option of achieving ritual hegemony in the country even without politically controlling a square inch of it. Ritual offered a field of symbolic power, and the quality of this public performance could help establish a claim to the exercise of actual political power.

Fig. 11.1. Sun Yat-sen in Guangzhou, 1924, wearing a jacket derived from Western military dress. Published courtesy of Guomindang Archive, Taipei.

Sun Yat-sen himself pushed for a new makeup of his countrymen, using himself as a model. He provided a new body, a more martial shape, and clothing fitted to the gestures of modernity, the Zhongshan (Yat-sen) suit, “Zhongshan *zhuang*” (fig. 11.1). Sun Yat-sen evinced a clear understanding of the importance of ritual for establishing a consensual basis for a Republican government; he was highly aware of being a modern public figure in need of public support; and he saw the state as responsible for the development of a public ritual that differed from earlier times through the active involvement of the populace. He was familiar with the importance of public ritual performances in the political life of Western nations, and he was highly conscious of the role of the media in purveying the ritual performance of statesmanship to a broader audience.⁶



For a successful political challenge, proposals for ritual alone would not do; a force in society such as a political party was needed to make the ritual stick. Sun's reorganization in April 1923 of the GMD (Guomindang) into a Leninist organization, which was aligned with the Communists, potentially created such a force.

The Messy Death of Sun Yat-sen

Ironically, it was Sun Yat-sen's own death, on 12 March 1925, that provided the need and the occasion for major decisions on ritual matters. As the Republic was still ritually turbulent, there was no clear or accepted precedent about how to proceed. Because his death was a family, Party, and state event, it required instant action, and it also offered the possibility and need for public ceremony. This emergency situation thus gave different actors (the GMD and its different

groupings, the Communists, and different factions, cliques, and warlord alliances) an opportunity to try to establish ritual hegemony and authority with the help of behind-doors political pressure, mass mobilization, activation of social groups, and newspapers. Sun's death occurred in the Beijing territory just a year after a coup by Feng Yuxiang (1882–1948), who had subsequently put Duan Qirui (1865–1936) in charge. However, the death had occurred in the presence of a number of Sun's close friends and associates, who therefore had his dying testament as their legitimization. The stage was set for ritual turmoil.

The scholarship on the post-mortem handling of Sun's body comes from four major sources: (1) reprints of archival records from the organizers of the ceremonies and modern archives; (2) information and opinion published in contemporary Chinese and foreign-language periodicals and newspapers; (3) Chinese "histories," which, while following the predictable master narrative of the moment, may contain a wealth of reliable and retrievable factual information; and (4) a small body of properly documented scholarship, mostly in English.⁷

My own arguments will focus first on the role of ritual control as a testing ground for political control in the early Republican transition period; second, on the transnational hybrid character of the *acta, verba, et gesta* of all persons and institutions involved in the post-mortem treatment of Sun Yat-sen; and third, on the transience and shifting meanings of all elements in the overall performance of Sun's post-mortem existence, including such seemingly solid things as architectural buildings, embalmed bodies, and last behests.

All participants in the debates and struggles I shall outline here, and these included the deceased, shared a common assumption: great individuals played a decisive role in history.⁸ This shared assumption greatly contributed to the notion that next to the core deeds and works, the physical remains of history-making individuals should be preserved and could continuously emanate the power needed to hold a nation together or keep one particular party at the helm.

The instant rush for precedents, common in such situations and familiar from events such as the French or Russian revolutions, provided little to go on. The burial ceremony for Yuan Shikai had been so strongly imbued with imperial flavor and a failed policy that it could hardly serve as a model for Sun's burial.⁹ As there were no credible Chinese precedents to go by, and time was pressing, a ritual had to be developed, ideally one with public and political benefits. Because the handling of Sun's death was the major ritual turning point in the history of the Republic, it produced an unusually large amount of documentation and scholarship.¹⁰

While in the Chinese tradition a *nianpu* (life chronicle) will end with the death of the subject, Sun's life did not end with his death, nor did his body stop

functioning and changing. As it turned out, Sun died no fewer than five deaths in a single moment.

In early 1925 Sun had gone north to promote his agenda for a national assembly, an abrogation of what were called the unequal treaties, and an end to warlord rule. It had been a daring move fraught with risks, but his body ended up destroyed by liver cancer in Beijing, then controlled by the “temporary government” set up a year before by Duan Qirui (1865–1936) with the support of Feng Yuxiang, the Fengtian clique, and the Japanese. With Sun was Wang Jingwei, who had helped him draft the document for the first national congress of the reorganized GMD in the previous year and who had been elected a member of the Executive Committee. Wang Jingwei joined with Sun’s son from his first marriage, Sun Ke, and two of Sun’s brothers-in-law to draft a “testament” for Sun, which Sun eventually signed.¹¹ Wang received Sun’s last wishes in the presence of Sun’s wife.

Sun’s Sun

Well aware of his role as a public persona, Sun had long been a conscious actor in modeling his own life and afterlife according to hagiographic patterns. He was concerned with the long-term prospects both of his spiritual heritage and of his corporeal body, and for both he devised strategies to preserve them as potent public icons.

In February 1912 Sun paid a highly publicized visit to the tomb of the first Ming emperor, Zhu Yuanzhang, on Mt. Zijin near Nanjing, to report to him that the fatherland had now been recovered.¹² Just as Zhu Yuanzhang’s rebellion had ended Mongol rule in China, this announcement by Sun claimed the establishment of the Republic to be an act of liberating China from the domination of the non-Chinese (Manchu) Qing dynasty. In this way Sun Yat-sen donned the cloak of founder of the new nation, side by side with the founder of the last native Chinese dynasty, Ming. However, simultaneously Sun was transferring a foreign model onto the Chinese stage, one similar to the ultimate first president, George Washington. Zhu Yuanzhang had only set up another dynasty. The establishment of the United States after a rebellion against a colonial power had opened the way for an unprecedented development of a new and prosperous, republican nation. Sun did not pioneer this strategy of casting his role in the pattern of a foreign model.¹³ The leader of the Taiping Rebellion, Hong Xiuquan, as god’s second son, had been modeling himself on Moses; as the late Qing reformer Kang Youwei had on Christ;¹⁴ and within a few years after Sun’s act, a model of international reputation was associated with every major Chinese intellectual, whether the Soviet writer Gorki

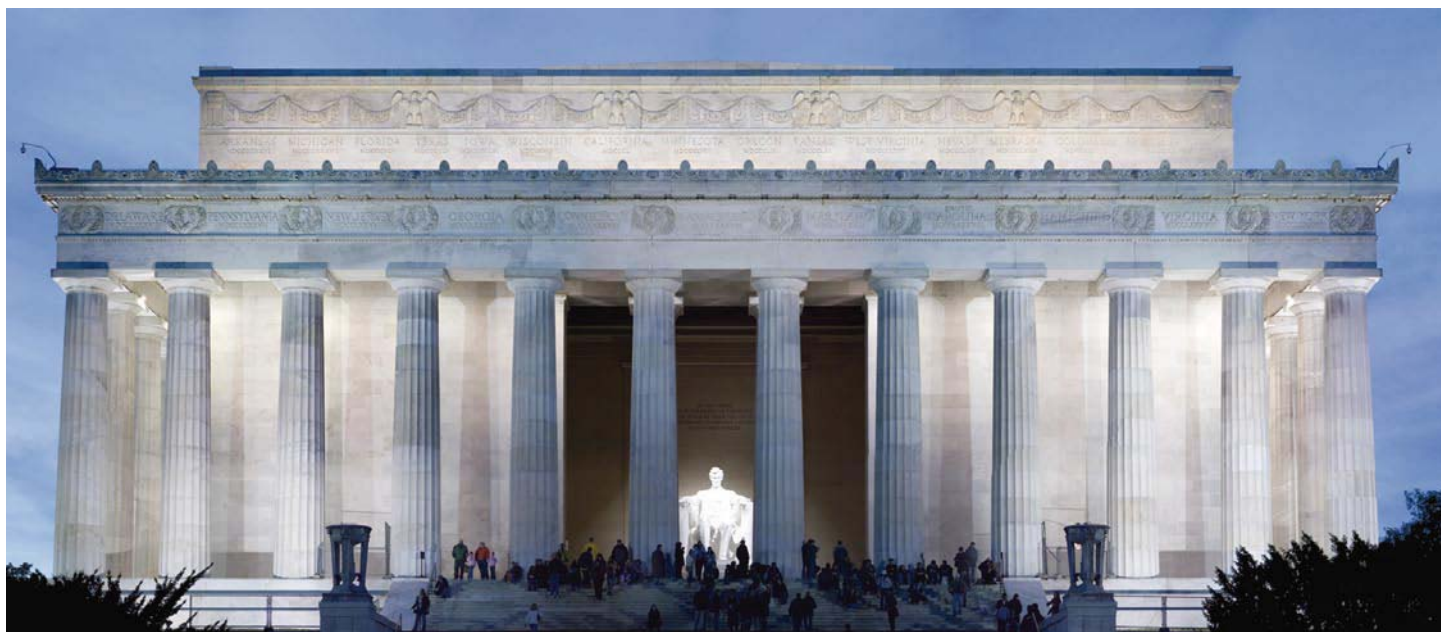


Fig. 11.2. Lincoln Memorial Hall. From http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/f2/Lincoln_Memorial_Twilight.jpg

(Lu Xun, the writer of “new” literature in the vernacular), the American pragmatist educator Dewey (Hu Shi, the leading advocate of a new scientific culture), the Harvard critic of modern ways Babbitt (Chiang Menglin, critic of a radical break with tradition) or Lenin (again Sun Yat-sen in his later years). Whether rebel, bandit, president, warlord, or Christian, Sun ranked himself with the likes of Zhu Yuanzhang, Lenin, and George Washington. He had read much about Washington in his childhood, and Westerners compared the two.¹⁵ Trusting in the standing and viability of his public persona, he uttered this wish: “If I could be later, after my death, buried here [on Mt. Zijin], my heart would be utterly content.”¹⁶ Also on 11 March 1925 he had said to Wang Jingwei that he wished to be embalmed and put into a coffin with a see-through glass lid accessible for public view in a mausoleum on Mt. Zijin near Nanjing, which in fact meant next to the tomb of the Ming founder.¹⁷

Sun was thus an active and early participant in the planning of his afterlife. The idea of a coffin with a glass lid obviously came from Lenin’s funeral a year earlier in 1924, and Sun must have known about the attraction and public binding power that Lenin exerted after his death through the accessibility of his remains. Sun had sent a funeral message to Lenin, and in a long English letter to the “beloved comrades of the Central Executive Committee” of the Soviet Union written a

day before his death, he expressed the hope that the GMD he left behind would continue to closely cooperate with the Soviet Union.¹⁸

Beyond Lenin there was another model: Abraham Lincoln. The Lincoln Memorial had been built in Washington in 1917–1922 as part of the new National Mall, and this had been the occasion for a plethora of books and articles with memorabilia about the man and his death. Chinese students and visitors in the United States, including students of architecture, could not have failed to have seen the building and some of the written materials, part of which had also spilled over into the international press (fig. 11.2). After Lincoln's death, his body had been on public view for many days, and as one could read in any book about him, the grief over his assassination did much to overcome the deep divisions in the country concerning his person and his policies, at the heart of which was the unity of north and south as well as the abolition of slavery.¹⁹ Perhaps a similar political effect could be achieved by a public mourning for Sun. Sun had more in mind for himself than just a state funeral. He set out to have his actual body become the ritual, and his words and deeds the ideological core of a new China, and as he was well aware that his bequest would quickly become a battleground, he worked hard to lay out in great detail how this should be done.

Duan Qirui's Sun

In the absence of a unified ritual framework under a unified state, what otherwise might have been some pulling and negotiating behind the scenes instantly turned into a very public struggle for the ritual control of Sun's body and heritage. The contestants were Duan Qirui, the man wielding actual power in Beijing, and his backers; the family of the deceased, especially Song Qingling; various GMD factions, who claimed Sun as the Party's founder; the Baptist church, which claimed Sun as one of its members; the nascent Chinese Communist movement; and the state, which had no institutional identity at the moment.

The situation was complicated by the fact that Sun's body had been brought directly after his death from the "travel residence" in Wellington Koo's house in Iron Lion Lane (Tie shizi hutong), which had been provided for him by Duan Qirui,²⁰ back to the Peking Union Medical College (PUMC) hospital to be embalmed in accordance with his own wishes. As a foreign institution, the PUMC was in a way extraterritorial, and it was run according to Western custom. In practical terms this meant that Sun's body was out of bounds for Duan Qirui, and without the consent of the family members no one would get hold of it. The family, however, consisted of prominent politicians involved in GMD factional

struggles, including Song Qingling and Sun Ke, and they had definite views about the political inheritance of the deceased.

Duan Qirui was quick to react to the chance offered by Sun's demise. When he heard of Sun's death, he instantly ended the meeting of his State Council as well as the regular routine of his presidential office and ordered the flags to be flown at half-mast. This signaled that he was prepared to treat Sun, who at the time headed the GMD but had no formal state position, to a burial appropriate for a state president. Duan ordered two officials to act as government representatives for the funeral.²¹

The Funeral Bureau set up in turn by Sun's followers under Wang Jingwei in Beijing eventually managed to get control over the ritual procedures; it opted, however, to leave a place to Duan and his government to pay their respects to Sun so as to prevent a conflict in the very center of Duan's power. On 24 March, Duan's government held its ceremony and although Duan in the last moment decided not to take part himself because of the huge crowds, he offered a couplet to the deceased.

The Republic has been achieved, and tracing its source, this
first contribution [by Sun] on its own moved mankind forward.

The revolution continues without a moment's relapse; that
old age was not granted him [Sun] was Heaven's bidding.

Duan was burying—and made sure to have buried—the state leader Sun Yat-sen, with whom he had cooperated on equal terms, to save and pacify the Republic. Sun had joined him in Beijing to continue in their work; Duan had taken care of him well; and now Sun's death left Duan as the only pillar of the Republic. The burial would cement his claim to national leadership. The GMD was not mentioned, and he did not see it as a candidate for national leadership. In a fine compromise the state funeral Duan arranged was an enclave within the official ceremonies. This kept the GMD master narrative intact while defusing the danger of a violent confrontation in which Duan's military and police superiority would clearly have put the GMD at a disadvantage.

Wang Jingwei's Sun

When the group accompanying Sun at the "travel residence" saw Duan's first edict, its members, afraid of being robbed of their control over the body, "together set up

a bureau for handling [Sun's] funeral in order to take care of these matters" on the evening of 12 March.²² The Funeral Bureau was national, with 182 persons from all of China's provinces participating, and a broad spectrum of politicians represented, including the Communist intellectual Li Dazhao. Its secretariat was headed by Sun's most trusted lieutenant, Wang Jingwei, and its managing office by Kong Xiangxi (1880–1967), the brother-in-law of Sun's wife, Song Qingling. Sun's immediate family was not represented.²³

The purpose of setting up such a huge group was practical, but it was also an attempt to establish a shield of authority and prestige that would prevent Duan Qirui from interfering. The Bureau's assessment of the danger was quite accurate. There were heated protests against this arrogation of legitimacy from associates of Sun as diverse as Tang Shaoyi (1861–1936), Zhang Binglin (1869–1936), and Hu Hanmin. They claimed it was "best to wait for an official government to grant a state funeral."²⁴ The Bureau instantly decided to ward off Duan's move that would have Sun buried by a "warlord" in the guise of a person with merits for the state and opted for making Sun's death into an occasion of social and public grief for his still-unfulfilled mission, expressed by all walks of society and organized by the GMD. His body was to lie in state for ten days at the symbolic center, the Altars of Soil and Grain, (Sheji tan, today Central Park) in the midst of Duan Qirui's Beijing power center. This was a bold move. Although the altar was from imperial times, it was symbolic of the spiritual core of the nation. To have Sun lie in state there would make him literally into what many texts written at the time made him, the *guohun*, the soul of the nation. Duan's representatives contested this site—they wanted to have him further away—but in the end they conceded. The move contested Duan's definition of what the dead man had stood for and had the potential to bury Sun as a fighter against warlordism. It also was risky. The only way to prevent an ugly confrontation was to be so correct in the assessment of the public mood and so efficient in the organization of these mourning activities that hosts of foreign excellencies, wealthy and influential overseas Chinese, students, and even common people would show up for the transfer of the body from the PUMC to the altar site and for the ceremonies. Only under these conditions could a coup by Duan be avoided.

The travel companions of Sun Yat-sen saw his death as their chance to assert their own primacy within the GMD, and they were not eager to hand over management of this affair to other GMD leaders. For the first ceremony immediately after Sun's death, they were probably unaware of Duan's actions a few hours before, and covered the body with the flags of both the GMD and the state. Then they lined up, several hundred people on the right and the left, and bowed

three times.²⁵ This bow was the great ritual prescribed for men on the occasion of great state rituals by the 1912 ritual code. The Committee was keenly aware of this otherwise little-known code. When Sun's body was redressed for the public ceremonies on 15 March, after the removal of the intestines and brain in the PUMC, they still insisted, as if a state funeral was planned, on his being dressed "in accordance with the Ritual Code of the Republic." This should be as a statesman, in the Great Ritual Dress (*da libao*), a long black garment in a day version that went down to the knees and an evening version that went down to the belly in front and to the knees in the back, and came with sleeves going to the wrists. The assumption is that this garment was put on Sun's body over Western-style underwear.²⁶ Again, in accordance with this code, a black top hat and leather boots were on his body.²⁷

The next time Sun's body was seen, however, on 19 March, the state flag had disappeared. It would not show up again in Beijing. The dead man had changed. The Bureau, it seems, decided it would have little to oppose Duan Qirui's state funeral if they kept the state flag on the body. For the Bureau, the ceremonies were to be in tune with the ongoing campaign against "superstition." The members of the Bureau prescribed in great detail a series of ritual gestures, which outlawed more traditional ones and would set the tone. An announcement for proper behavior was published, enjoining people on the street to take off their hats and bow three times. Other ceremonial regulations covered local government officials who were to attend the ceremonies. The confrontation between the two deaths quickly came to a head. Time was pressing; the funeral could not be deferred. On 16 March, the Bureau published its ritual agenda for the activities at the altars to begin on 19 March.²⁸ Whom, then, was the Bureau burying? From the inscriptions hung over the bier as well as in his Beijing resting place in the Biyunsi in the Western Hills, we may get an idea of the personality and political features of the man lying in state. It began with general slogans such as "All-under-Heaven a Commonwealth," "progressive transformation of the masses," and "Great Unity in the World"; then came evocations of the Three People's Principles and the intended constitution's five powers, which were joined by calls for action: "Citizens, Save the Country," "Restore International Equality," "For the Freedom of the State," and over the hall housing the bier, "As long as there is a will, it will be realized," "The revolution is still not completed," and "Comrades, you have to exert yourselves further."²⁹ Eventually a grandiloquent streamer was hung over Sun's temporary resting place in the Western Hills: "Merits higher than Washington's, knowledge broader than Marx's. To understand is easy, to put into practice is hard. His famous words circulate throughout the country. . . ."³⁰

Christ's Sun

With the transfer of the body to the PUMC, which was needed for expert embalming, Song Qingling and Sun Ke saw their roles enhanced. As long as the body was in the PUMC, they were the “family” who could determine what should happen. Both Sun Yat-sen and Song Qingling were Protestants. At the time China was in the throes of a cultural revolution whose activists came mostly from circles that had been politicized during the May Fourth demonstrations, with strong support from prominent intellectuals in the GMD. The campaign was directed against “superstition,” that is, folk religion, and against imperialism. Christianity, which sponsored a great number of schools in China, qualified as both religious or superstitious, and imperialist. The Chinese Christians, as well as the missionaries who two years before had held their meeting in Shanghai under the tactically brilliant title, “The Christian Occupation of China,”³¹ now reacted with desperate efforts to show their patriotism and to shed any semblance of their being dependent on mother churches abroad. They were greatly interested in decoupling the connection between superstition and Christianity and thus stopping what was officially called at the time “the Anti-Christian Movement.”³² Following GMD insistence, the persons attending the Christian ceremony had been “invited by the family, and were admitted only upon presentation of their invitation letter” to the Great Hall of the PUMC. In the hall was a large portrait of Sun painted in Japan, and when the coffin (at this time still a massive wooden coffin, the bronze coffin with the glass lid having not yet arrived from the Soviet Union) was brought in, it was covered with the GMD flag, not with the state flag. The presence of this flag makes it quite clear that the family was not just claiming Sun as a Protestant Christian, but as a Protestant Chinese Christian political activist. The Sun lying in state at the PUMC was a Christian revolutionary, merging the Christian social gospel with Communist goals. The ritual surrounding this man with his revolutionary flag on the bier in a Protestant ceremony is traditionally Protestant, including such very “superstitious” accoutrements (banned from his next burial) as candles.

Stalin's United Front Sun

The GMD, as reorganized by Sun in January 1924 along Leninist lines, had set its course in cooperating with the nascent Chinese section of the Communist International (Komintern), namely, the Chinese Communist Party. This new structure and these national and international links had been incorporated into the Declaration of the National Congress, which was one of the four texts canonized by Sun on his deathbed. Sun had reinforced the Bolshevik link through his close

cooperation with the Komintern emissary Borodin and his deathbed letter to the Soviet Party in which he had stated that he wanted to be buried embalmed like “his friend Lenin.”

In 1924 the then most famous avant-garde filmmaker of the Soviet Union, Dziga Vertov, had made a three-part cine-poem on the death of Lenin entitled *Leninskaia kino-pravda* (The Leninist film-truth). In March 1924 this film was shown in Peking and Tianjin under the title *Liening chubin ji* (Documentary on the farewell to Lenin), the earliest record of a Soviet film shown in China.³³ The Communists were operating as GMD members and would refer to themselves as the “revolutionary” GMD members as opposed to the “moderate” faction. The “moderate” group remained strongly opposed to cooperation with the Communists and the Soviet Union as well as the strongly anti-imperialist and anti-warlord Wang Jingwei, the main advocate of embracing the Communists. The “moderates” had no role in the GMD organization or management of Sun’s funeral.

Reporting at the time of Sun’s death and its aftermath in the Communist weekly *Xiangdao* (Weekly guide) emphasized Sun as an advocate of anti-imperialism, the abrogation of unequal treaties, and the struggle against warlords, and the only time GMD/Communist cooperation is mentioned is in a critical summary by the then head of the CCP, Chen Duxiu, about the treatment of Sun’s death in the international press. Against critiques that Sun had been leaning towards the Bolsheviks in his last years, Chen held: “We do not want to glue the name of a Bolshevik on Sun’s body because obviously Sun-ism and Bolshevism are two different things; at the same time it is not a crime that Mr. Sun should have leaned towards Bolshevism.”³⁴ We may thus not expect a Communist enclave to have paid respects to their particular Sun, but rather it would be a type of United Front activity that would primarily emphasize the unity of the GMD (into which the Communists had entered as members) based on the revolutionary core of Sun’s teachings. In terms of ritual, they would push for a strictly antisuperstitious and antireligious agenda while accepting that Sun embodied the objective trend of history at the moment and therefore deserved to be treated as a heroic individual in the Plekhanov sense. Seen from this angle, the Communist impact on the master narrative and the details of Sun’s Beijing funeral were very substantial and in many aspects even decisive, some blunders notwithstanding. The assessment of Edna Booker, a U.S. China journalist who had come to Peking for the funeral, is worth quoting:

The Chinese Communists, backed by the Soviet Legation, fought for a service like that held for Lenin in Moscow a year previously, and bitterly refuted the claim of the Christians, Chinese and foreign. They wired Moscow for

a pretentious glass coffin, a replica of that in which the embalmed body of Lenin lies in state in a magnificent mausoleum. The Russians wished to connect the names of Lenin and Sun in the minds of the Chinese masses; to take advantage of the hysteria caused by Sun's death to further the cause of Communism in China.³⁵

The coffin was indeed sent from Moscow, and arrived on 30 March. But an inspection proved that it was not airtight, and worse, the lid was made of glass instead of the promised crystal, and the casing was of tin instead of silver. These technical reasons allowed a rejection by the PUMC, which may have had political overtones. Nothing, however, could prevent the different groups from voicing their views of the deceased. When journalist Booker arrived at the Peking train station on 13 March 1925, she saw “crowds that poured from the train,” consisting of “delegations of students, labor leaders, politicians, bearing banners, the five-striped flag of China, the flag of the Kuomintang Revolutionists—red with a white sun on a blue field—and the blood-red banner of the Soviets.”³⁶ Another report has students of Beijing National University attending the ceremonies with red flags.³⁷ When the coffin was transferred from the Christian service in PUMC to Zhongshan Park, Booker “heard for the first time large groups singing the International.”³⁸

An Exercise in Ritual Governance Controlling Sun's Body and Message

The transfer from PUMC to Zhongshan Park in Beijing as well as the ritual there for the next ten days was a highly scripted “modern” affair. The carriers of the bier were “not to wear old-style ceremonial dress,” and the people lining the streets were “not to make use of things such as drums and funeral palls.”³⁹ For 19 March a detailed plan was laid out. The published version contains only the bare outlines, but from the record of the actual proceedings it is clear that the full version had been much more detailed.⁴⁰

The proceedings started with thirty-three cannon shots and a lowering of flags, a first effort at synchronizing events to create a feeling of unity and togetherness.⁴¹ There were 300 guards to prevent disturbances; there was a combined military and police band. Three Air Force planes flew over the streets through which the procession came, dropping pictures of the deceased. The coffin was followed by a delegation of about 200 from civic bodies associated with the GMD, each person carrying a placard that read “Mourning for Mr. Sun” and wearing a white flower on his breast and a blue cloth around his arm, the two colors representing the

GMD. There were two more bands from the Navy and the Ministry of the Interior. In the procession, precedence was given to local government representatives, followed by regional associations with about 500 people; there were about 10,000 schoolchildren, two battalions with their guns' muzzles down to indicate grief, and foreign delegates, dignitaries, and individuals numbering about 5,000, with the largest contingent of foreign delegates being Russian and Japanese. Everywhere one "heard the purr of the film cameras." There were 95 individuals in two rows, all named and ordered in sequence, following the hearse. The slogans were to be intoned along the route by specially assigned people so that others would follow them. They were to be "Long Live Mr. Sun Yat-sen-ism," "Long Live the Republican Revolution," "Down with Imperialism," and "Down with the Warlords."⁴²

Both the transfer of the coffin and the ceremonies in the park happily attracted large numbers of onlookers. An estimated 120,000 people packed the streets. Various plans had been aired concerning Sun's burial place, including a suggestion by Feng Yuxiang to put his tomb in front of Tiananmen in Beijing.⁴³ While Sun's own vote for Nanjing weighed heavily, transfer of his body there was not feasible at the time. The military situation was too unstable, and the time for a "regular government" to make use of Sun's body nationally and not just in Beijing had not yet arrived. A temporary resting place for Sun was found in the Azure Cloud Monastery (Biyunsi) in the Western Hills. The procession there marked the high point in the United Front's exercise of ritual governance.

The Nanjing Government's Sun

In April 1925, shortly after the Beijing ritual, the GMD Central Executive Committee established a twelve-member Preparation Committee for the Management of the Director's [Sun's] Burial. It had a seat in Shanghai and many of the original Beijing Committee were in it. The Committee's main purpose was to arrange for the eventual burial of Sun on Mt. Zijin in Nanjing. This involved developing a concept for the building and the ceremonies, getting the funds, acquiring the land, setting the parameters into which the mausoleum had to fit, selecting an architect, supervising the construction, managing the transfer of Sun's body to Nanjing, and developing the ritual for the reburial.

The first decision was about the exact location. The committee settled for the natural place, namely, the place chosen by Sun close to Zhu Yuanzhang's tomb. It also settled a question of rank. Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum was to be higher than that of the Ming founder, symbolically indicating that Sun had done more than Zhu Yuanzheng. In death, Sun managed to hold on to his self-assigned rank.

The Funeral Committee saw the building as something like a fossilized ceremony, a permanent tribute that would, on a lower level of intensity, regenerate the ritual performance around Sun and initiate a climax in the great inauguration ritual. People would later be able to visit Sun individually and collectively, and thus the building would provide a permanent ritual and publicity environment.

While the Shanghai Committee was at work, the framework within which it was operating changed. The Northern Expedition was a great step towards one of Sun's dreams, the creation of a regular national government. It was presented and could be read as a ritual activity to fulfill the last wish of the father of the nation. At the same time conditions in the immediate environs of Nanjing became safer as government control gradually extended. And finally, Sun Yat-sen also changed. With the split within the GMD leadership, in which Chiang Kai-shek increasingly asserted his authority, the Communists, an important part of Sun's agenda and inheritance, went underground. The public persona eventually buried in Mt. Zijin now stood not for the United Front, but for the unification of the country, the destruction of the warlords, and the abrogation of the unequal treaties—in short for a happy union of things Chinese and Western, and for a Party-state that would be operated by an elite committed to lead the people out of their superstitious darkness. The person to be buried was also a statesman of international dimensions who in his political teachings drew on many sources, was relevant for many countries, and attracted a large following among overseas Chinese and foreigners. The mausoleum would have to reflect in its style the internationality of the artists contributing their work and even that of the “advisors” asked to go through the plans and make recommendations to the Committee. All this had to be international. In discussions of the plans eventually submitted, one judge criticized the plan submitted by “Liberty” as being “entirely in old Chinese style,” which “did not seem to fit the spirit of Mr. [Sun] Zhongshan to merge China and the West.”⁴⁴

No grand conceptual discussions were held. While the Committee continued to show the innovative boldness characteristic of the Beijing ritual, the political essence of the Sun to be buried was left undecided.

The Committee combined in the construction on Mt. Zijin a ceremonial hall with a mausoleum to house Sun's body and open space for the public celebration of his political bequests. Already in 1925 a public contest was announced for the best plan within these specifications, and forty painters and architects, many of them foreign, entered the competition. Such a public contest itself was exceedingly modern, and the Committee further pioneered in calling upon a group of judges that included a foreigner, the “famous German architect Busch (Pushi),” that is,

E. Busch of Lothar Marcks and Busch in Hankou, who had been working in that city since 1904 and was to build the German Community Center and the Kaiser Wilhelm School in Shanghai in 1928–1929.⁴⁵ While Busch had worked in China for more than twenty years, it is not clear what made him “famous” enough to be included as part of the selection committee. The group would get only the plans, but not the names of the architects or their firms. But in the final judgment, the group and Committee largely followed the opinions of this one foreigner although Busch’s own postwar building strictly followed the international style and showed no trace of adaptive architecture.⁴⁶

Henry K. Murphy’s (1877–1954) notion of “adaptive architecture” offers us a term with implications far beyond the Sun Yat-sen tomb. The rules for the public competition as well as the statements of some of the judges show that this notion underlay the stipulations and allows us to define the concept in more detail. The stipulations separate what might be called the “functional core” of the building from the implications of its outward appearance.

The Committee requested that the Ceremonial Hall “should make use of old Chinese forms, but should be of a character that marked it as special and commemorative; but it is also acceptable to create a new style based on the Chinese architectural spirit.” And while for the tomb section “only Western forms” were available as models, the tomb should “not be too distinct from the Ceremonial Hall” within which it was supposed to be situated. Strangely, we do not find a stress on “harmony.” The painful conflict between Chineseness and stability came to a head in the little phrase “although the Ceremonial Hall [is to] look as if it is making use of Chinese forms, it is to be designed for eternity,” which is followed by the stipulation to use only stone and concrete. The functional core could not be entirely accommodated within the Chinese form. The four solid walls of the Ceremonial Hall effectively blocked too close a relationship. This rule shows that in the case of conflict, the Committee preferred to stay with the modern core functions rather than with a more ornamental Chineseness.⁴⁷ In the rules submitted to the judges for their evaluation, the Committee, as well as Sun’s surviving family members, stipulated that the plan should be “simple and majestic” (*jianpu zhuangyan*) and should not go for the “luxurious and pompous” (*shechi huagui*).⁴⁸ This disassociation of Republican values from Qing imperial taste for excessive ornament clearly set narrow limits on the Chineseness of the building.

The person to be permanently lying in state in Nanjing was not a Cantonese Baptist or a revolutionary always in search of funds, but a transnational linguistic hybrid, “Mr. Sun Zhongshan, the Founding President of the Republic of China,” a title where all the elements, from “Republic” to “President” to “Mr.” to the

revolutionary pseudonym “Zhongshan” were part of a new international nationalist rhetoric. For lack of a clear term in the newly imported Western terminology, the Committee turned to the ancient term *lingmu* (royal tomb) for the mausoleum. This came with a price. Sun had been fighting the Qing dynasty, but this term had originally been reserved for the tombs of emperors.⁴⁹ The southern orientation of the slope on Mt. Zijin combined popular notions of a good geomancy (*fengshui*) for a tomb with imperial notions that the emperor should face the cardinal direction south. The architectural ensemble, a ceremonial hall, tomb, and space outside large enough for up to 50,000 participants had no precedent in Chinese architecture. In particular, “for the structure of a tomb (with the inmate remaining permanently visible) there is no Chinese precedent,” only the new Lenin Mausoleum in Red Square came to mind.⁵⁰ Symbolically anticipating the stability of the new Republic, while still fearful of its actual instability, the ensemble had to be safe against robbers and fire. As a consequence there could be no open sides in the Ceremonial Hall as Chinese traditional architecture would have suggested, but rather “it had to have firm walls on all four sides,” while the outward form of the building had to accommodate concerns about the Chinese identity of the new nation.⁵¹

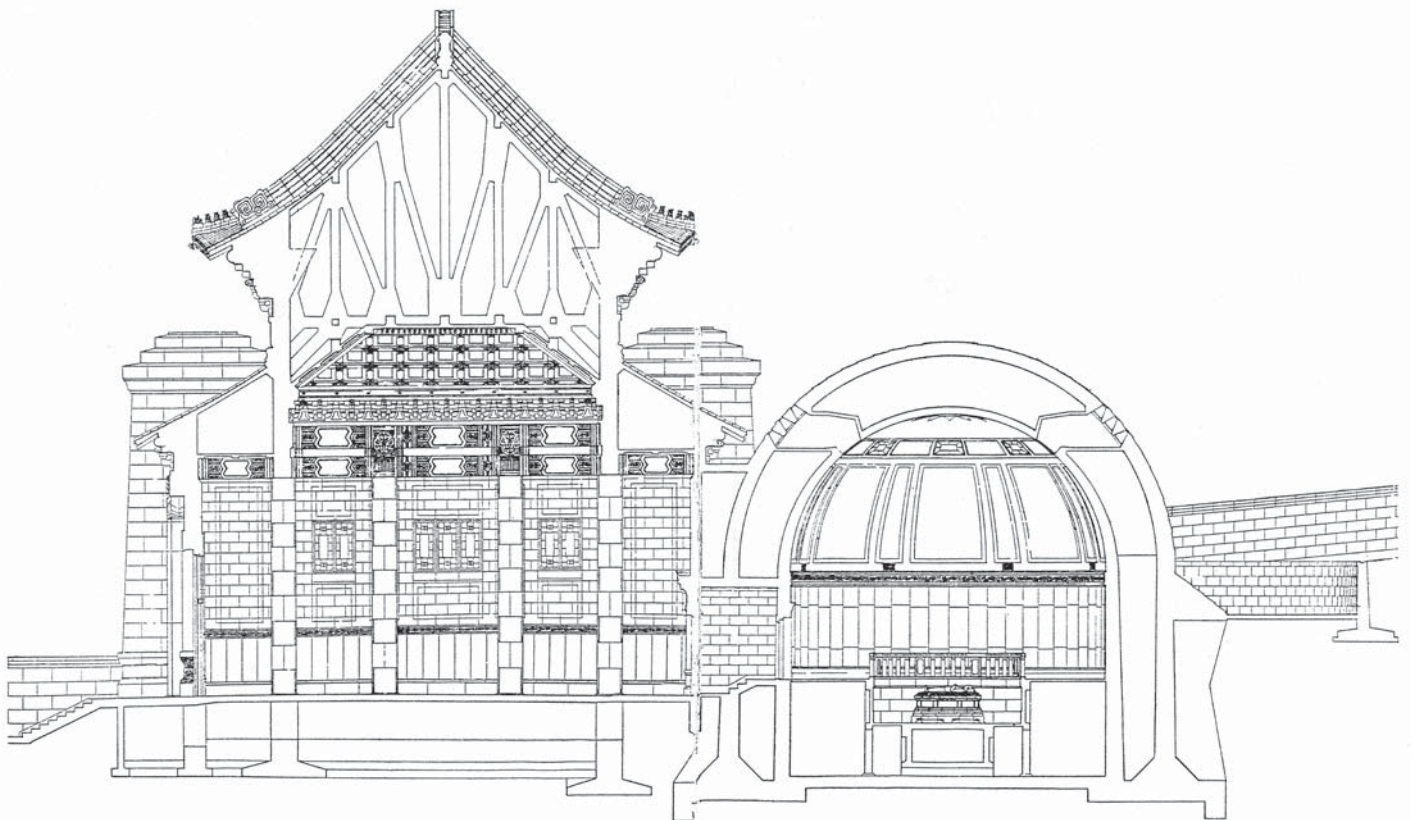
The winner of the design contest was Lü Yanzhi (1894–1929), a young architect who had gone to the United States after graduating from Tsinghua in 1913, had received a degree in mechanical engineering from Cornell in 1918, and had worked for a while in the “Oriental Department” of Henry K. Murphy’s New York office. The “renaissance of Chinese architecture” was started by the likes of Murphy and was eventually continued by Chinese architects such as Lü Yanzhi whom Murphy styled “the most promising Chinese exponent” of this type of adapted Chinese architecture.⁵² Although most participants in the contest were foreign architectural firms, three Chinese reached the top three positions, all with adapted Chinese architecture and all winning a high degree of agreement among the judges.

Murphy, as we have read in Jeffrey Cody’s essay, had been working in China since the 1910s. He had opened an Oriental section in his New York office in 1914 and was unique among foreign architects in developing an appreciation for traditional Chinese architecture. Many young Chinese intellectuals involved in the New Culture and May Fourth Movements rejected this architecture as feudal and antiquarian. But Murphy quickly became involved in the many building projects of Western missionary and educational institutions such as Yenching University in Beijing, Ginling College for Girls in Nanjing, and the YMCA, all of which were trying to find some modicum of accommodation between Chinese and modern architecture. Advocating what he eventually termed the “adaptive Chinese

architectural renaissance,”⁵³ Murphy was able to become a dominant voice in even larger Chinese projects, such as Sun Ke’s efforts at urban planning in Guangzhou (1922), and eventually the big urban plans for the new capital, Nanjing (1927), and for Greater Shanghai (1931), both of which could lay claim to follow Sun Yat-sen’s ideas on modern urban development as outlined in his *The International Development of China* (1922).⁵⁴ In 1928 the government made Murphy its official advisor to guide the development of the new China in the field of architecture.

In Murphy’s proud words, the driving forces behind this architectural renaissance were men like himself, and the young Chinese learned about Chinese architecture from them. About Lü Yanzhi he wrote, “this young Chinese studied the principles of Chinese architecture in New York under an American,” who was none other than Murphy himself.⁵⁵ As we read in the last chapter, Lü had been involved in Murphy’s offices in New York and Shanghai, and he remained on friendly terms with his former employer after setting up his own company in China in 1921.⁵⁶ One of the first firms run by Chinese architects and engineers, Lü’s company built a great meeting hall for the Shanghai Bank.⁵⁷

Fig. 11.3. Lü Yanzhi, Design for Ceremonial Hall and Mortuary Chamber of Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, Nanjing, 1925. From *Feng’an shilu*, Nanjing, 1928.



Four U.S.-trained Chinese architects made the short list or won honorary prizes among the forty submissions in the Sun Memorial Hall competition (fig. 11.3). After Lü Yanzhi, second prize went to Fan Wenzhao and third to another young Chinese architect with U.S. training, Yang Xizong. Also in late 1925, Lü Yanzhi was to win the contest for another memorial building for Sun, the very large Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall (Zhongshan jinian tang), in Guangzhou, which Murphy considered “a much finer piece of work, architecturally, than the mausoleum and more purely Chinese in basic concept as in details.”⁵⁸ Unlike in Beijing, the GMD had power in the Guangzhou government. This allowed it to impose the regular weekly worship of Sun Yat-sen on its administration and army at a very early date and to use state resources for collecting donations to finance the building.⁵⁹ The Guangzhou building, which could seat as many as 4,700 people, was completed only in 1931 by another Chinese colleague from Murphy’s New York office, Li Jinpei (Poy G. Lee) (fig. 11.4).⁶⁰ Lü Yanzhi in the same year also designed the highly abstract 37-meter-high Sun Yat-sen Memorial Stele (Zhongshan jinianbei) on the top of Yuexiu Mountain behind the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall (fig. 11.5).⁶¹ At the foot of the stele Sun Yat-sen’s testament is inscribed in golden letters in the calligraphy of Wu Zifu.⁶² The two buildings are linked into an ensemble through a staircase with 498 stairs leading from the Memorial Hall to the stele.

Lü Yanzhi, who also supervised the actual building of the Nanjing Mausoleum until his death, left only a rough outline of a description of his submission on which to draw for a reading of the implied symbolisms of the building.⁶³ But much of it is easy to see, especially when contrasted with the other plans.⁶⁴ Whether from Western architects or Chinese architects trained in the West, the plans all share the characteristic of using Western architectural features and building materials combined with an outer form and accouterments that alluded to Chinese architectural traditions, especially in the roof, which as architect/architectural historian Liang Sicheng noted, was the most marked particularity of Chinese architecture. The plans ranged from putting a Chinese-style roof on a European-style mausoleum (Fan Wenzhao) to a pagoda flanked by two smaller pagodas (Kales) to variants on imperial buildings. Lü Yanzhi’s explanation accompanying his successful application shows that this architect, who at the time was barely thirty years of age, was fully aware that this had to be a politicized building if he were to stand a chance in the competition. And he seems to have been willing to throw himself into the immensely tempting role of national architect of the future Party-state of the GMD with the same verve that had been brought to the National Mall in Washington and that would surround the new monuments and cities in the young Soviet Union, in Mussolini’s Rome, or Nazi



Fig. 11.4. ▲ Lü Yanzhi, Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall, Guangzhou, 1925; completed 1932; restored; bronze statue of Sun, 1956. Photo by Alice de Jong.



Fig. 11.5. ► Lü Yanzhi, Sun Yat-sen Memorial Monument and Site, designed 1925, built late 1920s. Photo by Roger Price.

Germany's Berlin. No nation or Party-state could do without architects willing and able to transform politics into powerful architectural performances.

Lü was the only one among the contestants to have an overall landscaping design for the entire ensemble on the southern slope from the bottom of the wide staircase to the top of the mausoleum (fig. 11.6). Lü wrote: "It forms the shape of a great bell," and indeed the maps accompanying the official record of the ceremonies in Nanjing, the *Zongli feng'an shilu*, clearly trace the outlines of this bell. It is a classic example of what might be called "adaptive political landscaping."

The Memorial Hall is the bell's crown and the Mausoleum with Sun's body is the point from which the bell clapper hangs. The architect does not spell out the meaning of this bell. One of the judges, railway engineer Ling Hongxun, wrote in his evaluation in 1925: "The entire structure of this plan is simple and dignified; it is best suited to the character of a mausoleum and to the shape of the terrain;

it furthermore forms the entire surface into the shape of a bell, which carries the meaning of the wooden bell that is to wake up the world."⁶⁵ Ling is referring to a *muduo*, a metal bell with a wooden clapper used in ancient China to announce important messages from the court. Through its use by Confucius in the *Lunyu* (Analects), however, it had come to assume a larger meaning. Claiming that the teachings of the Zhou dynasty had already been lost for a long time, Confucius asked rhetorically, "Is Heaven making use of me as a *muduo*?"⁶⁶ Commentators have explained that "this [bell] is the means to awaken the masses when government teachings are about to be dispensed." The bell carried enough of a modern meaning to allow Ling to reduce the symbolism to "wake up the world," which certainly was Sun's purpose, and to even imply Sun's ideas of strong guidance from the center. No bell of this type survives, and the fantasy illustrations in traditional sources do not correspond to the shape (fig. 11.7). Excavated bells from the Zhou do not have outward, but rather straight or inward curving mouths, and they are brought to sound by being struck from the outside.⁶⁷

Fig. 11.6. Lü Yanzhi, Plan of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum and Park, Nanjing, 1925. From Yao Qian and Gu Bing, *Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum*, 80.

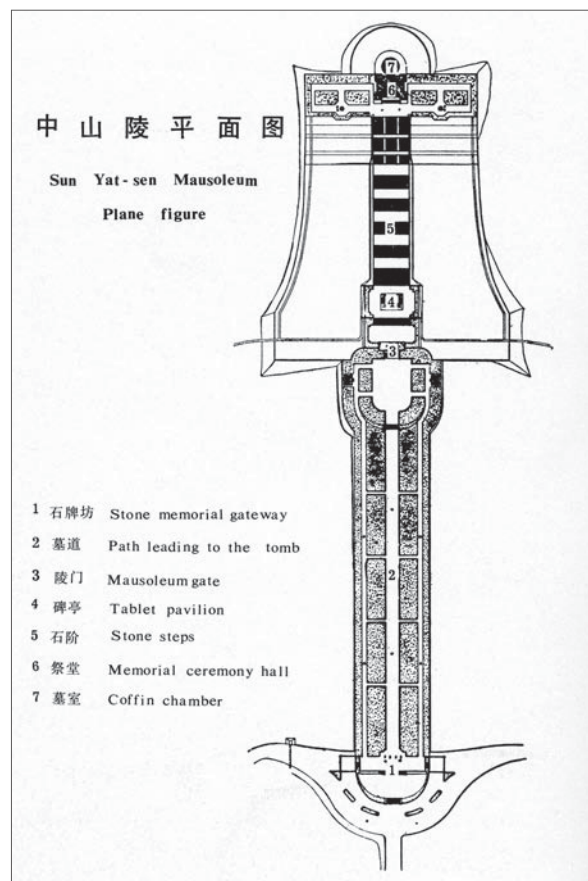




Fig. 11.7. (Above left) Wooden-tongued metal bell, *Handbook with Illustrations and Explanations to the Four Books* (in Chinese), from *Zhongwen dacidian* (Great Chinese dictionary) (Taipei: Zhonghua xueshuyuan, 1973), entry 14750.398.

Fig. 11.8. (Above right) Liberty Bell, Philadelphia. Photo by Mike Fitzpatrick.

Chinese literature since the late Qing is full of descriptions of the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia.⁶⁸ The notion of liberty as expressed through a neologism (*ziyou*) at this time rarely referred to individual freedom, but to national independence. This actually fits the original meaning of the Liberty Bell, which was cast for the newly renamed Independence Hall in 1776. Its association with individual freedom only came later, with the abolitionist movement (fig. 11.8).⁶⁹

The shape of the Liberty Bell also fits the overall design of Lü Yanzhi's landscape even better than the Zhou one. Still, the shape of Lü Yanzhi's bell retains a distinct hybridity between the two.

The meaning of the bell froze into that contained in the official description of the layout of the entire plan from October 1931 so that it formed an "alarm bell (*jingzhong*) with far-reaching deeper meaning."⁷⁰ In this double "adaptive" meaning we have Sun at the center of calling the Chinese to action, this time, like the fathers of American independence calling on their countrymen. The reference to the United States was apt because the spread of President Wilson's doctrine of sovereignty had

been instrumental in firing up Chinese nationalism in 1919.⁷¹ Its being defined as an “alarm bell” indicates the urgency of the nation to wake up to its duties.

The layout used further spatial symbolisms to evoke Sun’s ideas. The last slope before reaching the platform on which the memorial buildings stand is divided into three sections, an allusion to the Three People’s Principles; this was an idea also found in some of the other plans (fig. 11.9). The stairs between the gate and this last ascent are divided into five sections, an allusion to Sun’s doctrine of the division of the five powers (see fig. 11.6). The ascent prompts the visitor to ponder the bequests of the great man enthroned at the top. The trees planted alongside the staircase leading to the memorial hall bowed to form a permanent spirit path (*shendao*), such as is found in the approach to the Ming tombs. In a gesture to tradition as well as a break with it, they replaced the sculptures of kneeling officials that often lined the path to imperial tombs. The anniversary of Sun’s death became National Tree Planting Day during the Republican period.⁷²

Fig. 11.9. Ascent to Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, post-restoration. Photo by George Lunsford.



At the top of the staircase, forming the standard and goal to be reached through the strenuous effort of climbing, was to be a giant statue of Sun, rising some eighteen feet. Probably for financial reasons, this monstrosity was never realized, but the plan shows the thinking behind it. Instead of the giant, a seated statue was installed in the Ceremonial Hall. The platform on which the giant was to stand could accommodate some 50,000 people. This was to be the nation's shrine, where spectacular national ceremonies could be held.

The idea of giving political meaning to the overall spatial arrangement again shows the influence from the Mall in Washington. There the complex of Congress, White House, Washington Monument, Lincoln Memorial, and Jefferson Memorial is a reflection of the complex institutional interaction of the different powers as well as of the foundational personalities and ideas of the United States. Only after the MacMillan Plan was accepted in 1902 as the master plan for the entire area, and then the Lincoln Memorial was completed (1922) at the opposite end from the Capitol, did the Mall take on its present shape (figs. 11.10 and 11.11). Lü Yanzhi was familiar with the Washington arrangement. In fact, he sent his draft for the Nanjing competition in 1925 from the United States.⁷³ No direct imitation was possible at that moment on the mountain slope outside Nanjing, but the idea of symbolizing the person enshrined there through landscaping adapts the general idea upon which the Mall was developed, and the long access path to the Memorial Hall with the stairs leading to it directly recalls the access to the Lincoln Memorial and the intent to inspire awe.

Fig. 11.10. Plan of Mall, Washington, DC, showing Lincoln Memorial, Washington Monument, and U.S. Capitol on one axis (http://wikitravel.org/upload/shared/6/64/National_Mall_map.png).

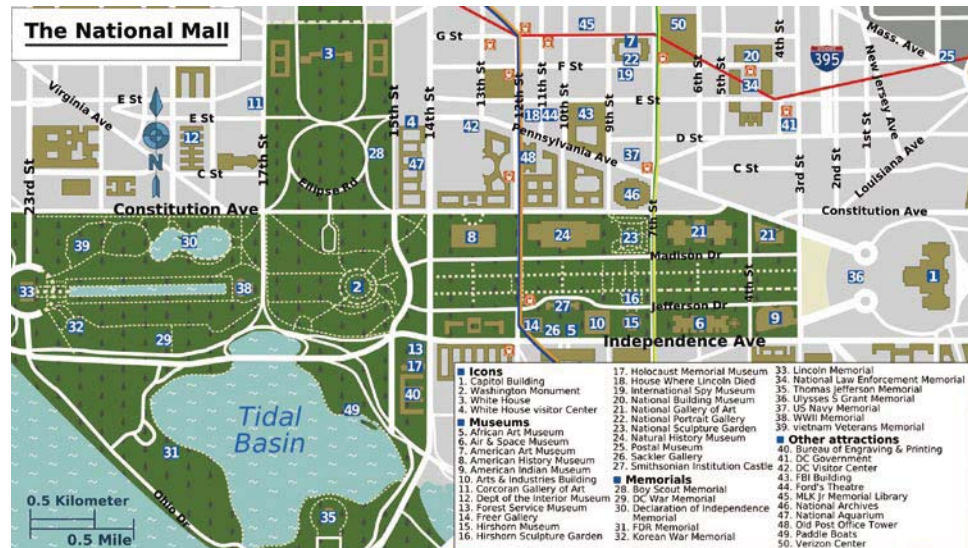




Fig. 11.11. Aerial view of Mall, Washington, DC. U.S. Navy photo 051128-N-2383B-006. Published courtesy of the United States Navy.

The Lincoln Memorial was also built in something of an adaptive style. Its classical columns did not follow the contemporary trends of modern architecture, but rather those of mausoleum and memorial architecture, where Greek forms were associated with grandeur, depth, dignity, and beauty. Lü envisaged a similar front for his building, to be topped by the marker of Chinese adaptive architecture, a Chinese-style roof (fig. 11.3).

The Ceremonial Hall with its towers “resembles,” in Lü’s words, “a fortress.”⁷⁴ This was a reference to the premodern symbolism of the towers as defensive bulwarks, but had nothing to do with the actual security of the building. Militarily, the towers were dysfunctional; they were symbolically supplemented by the massive walls around the building, with their equally massive secured doors. This vision was for the future. The political reality in 1925 was perceived as that of a country divided among warlords, each of whom had close connections to one or another foreign power. There was hardly a national institution intact.⁷⁵ Lü’s building offered a vision of a sovereign-free China with firm borders, guarded by towers of military might, and in fact made with the most modern reinforced concrete, complete with a copper-plated roof. Such a roof was resistant to the slow corroding action of the plants that would settle in the cracks of the old imperial tiled roofs, with the predictable consequence of the eventual collapse of the imperial edifice.⁷⁶ To verify this reading of the building, we have to go inside. There we find the envisaged GMD state.

Fig. 11.12. Lū Yanzhi, Ceiling, Ceremonial Hall of Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum with GMD Symbol, 1925; removed between 1950 (?) and 1981; redone in 1981. Photo by Ruth Anderson.



Inside the building, in the cupola, we have “the ornament of the blue sky and the bright sun,” the Party emblem of the GMD, a white sun on blue ground (fig. 11.12). The floor of the Hall is covered with red burned brick to correspond to the symbolism of “the entire land is red.” The state flag sponsored by the GMD had the Party emblem set into a large red field to symbolize the revolutionary fervor throughout the land as well as the “partification” (*danghua*) of the state, in other words the control of the state by the GMD and the penetration of GMD members and ideology into all state sectors. The emblem had been designed by Sun Yat-sen for an uprising of the predecessor of the GMD, the Tongmenghui, against the Qing. Squeezed between the cupola and the red floor, the visitor would be under pressure to live up to this expected fervor. Internationally, this arrangement was an innovation in propaganda architecture.

A copper roof being too expensive, the Committee eventually settled for blue tiles on the roof. This enhanced the symbolic elements, and its color symbolism added its share to security. The cement floor around the Hall and the walls were all white, while the blue tiles in the GMD colors, *qingtian bairi* (blue sky, white sun), were repeated inside.⁷⁷ In 1946 Guo Moruo was to dream up a plan to adjust the outside of the building to completely match the inside by changing the white of the cement floor to red.⁷⁸ To make sure that the dominance of the GMD over the state

was symbolically expressed, an inscription was carved into a commemorative stele that read: “The Chinese Republican Party has here laid to rest Mr. President Sun Zhongshan.” This was a Party, not a state, burial.

The symbolic overdose the building offered does not stop here. Again we have an architect taking it upon himself to define in great detail the core pieces of GMD doctrinal canon at the time. On the walls Lü suggested having “the texts of Mr. Sun Zhongshan’s *Testament* and [his] *Strategic Plan for State Building*, etc.”⁷⁹ The “etc.” does not leave the rest open, but alludes to a specific set of core texts designated by Sun Yat-sen himself in his last hours as the essence of his teachings to the nation. The *Testament* is also found behind the speaker’s podium in the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall, which Lü designed for Guangzhou in the same year. Here Lü is clearly returning to the model of the Lincoln Memorial. The Lincoln Memorial is filled with political messages. They range from the number (thirty-six) of pillars surrounding the building and Lincoln standing for the thirty-six states of the United States in 1865 to the inscription over the statue:

In this temple
as in the hearts of the People
for whom he saved the Union
the memory of Abraham Lincoln
is enshrined forever.

Finally, two of Lincoln’s canonical texts have been engraved on the inner walls of the Memorial Hall, the Gettysburg Address and the Second Inaugural Address; they are supplemented by paintings “emblematic of Lincoln’s principles.”⁸⁰ When the Lincoln Memorial was built, it could, much like the Sun Mausoleum, also be read as a grand project for a future United States and not a satisfied celebration of past achievements and glories. It would, in fact, take many more years before the first black man was allowed to visit the Lincoln Memorial, not to mention to be the celebration speaker within the Hall. At the same time the difference between the two buildings remains marked; the Lincoln Memorial celebrates the leader of the nation, not a party politician.

Nevertheless, in the Lincoln Memorial, as in the Sun shrine, we have a relatively small, single-purpose, single-story building with one major room. Both buildings are set up as national pilgrimage shrines and share the feature of a gradual ascent to the sphere of the eternal and important to meet the political founder, who is surrounded by the architectural, decorative, and verbal symbolic paraphernalia of the nation he was to bring about. Lü follows the international fashion of the day,



Fig. 11.13. Bohuslav J. Koči, Sun Yat-sen Sculpture above Coffin, Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, Nanjing, 1929. Photo by Lothar Ledderose.

which for buildings for great national purposes followed the Beaux-Arts tradition rather than avant-garde trends such as the Bauhaus.

Sun's Body in Crisis

Before any building activity even started, however, Sun's body in Beijing was threatened, and with it the entire project. The maintenance or decay of such a body takes on a political meaning of its own and is linked to the viability and power of the thoughts and political bequests of the original occupant. This also occurred with the embalmed bodies of Lenin and Mao Zedong. As a rumor spread that one of the northern warlords, who was being battered by the GMD/CPC Northern Expedition, wanted to vent his wrath on Sun's body in the Western Hills, the loyal guards opened the coffin and moved the body elsewhere. According to some sources, the ensuing natural decay of the body prompted the abandonment of



Fig. 11.14. Louis-Tullius Joachim Visconti (1791–1853), Tomb of Napoleon I, Saint-Louis des Invalides Cathedral, Paris, 1848. Photo by Kristian Tvrdak.

tomb of Napoleon I in the Dome des Invalides in Paris (fig. 11.14).⁸² Needless to say, Visconti had studied at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris.⁸³

As is normal, there is a long way from a plan to a building, and many changes are made for financial, or in the present case also political, reasons. One major change was the replacement of the monumental standing sculpture of Sun by a much smaller statue of Sun sitting inside the Ceremonial Hall. This, in fact, followed the Lincoln Memorial Hall model even more closely than the original design.

Plans for the Lincoln Memorial had begun in 1911. Eventually it was built by the Beaux-Arts designer Henry Bacon (1866–1924). After its opening in May 1922, Daniel French's huge statue of a seated Lincoln quickly became a national icon (fig. 11.15):⁸⁴ “Before long a million people a year were coming to visit it. The figure is sitting on a high pedestal in this templed space as if on an altar and has instilled the hearts of many with patriotic reverence, even without deserving the name of a great work of art.”⁸⁵ Sun, like Lincoln, sits on a pedestal to which the spectator will look up in reverence. Sun's sculpture, still an imposing fifteen feet, is from the hands of Paul Landowski (1875–1961), a Parisian sculptor and illustrator strongly influenced by Rodin and specializing in memorial sculpture, whose worldwide fame was peaking at the time (fig. 11.16).⁸⁶ He is best known for the gigantic statue of Christ dominating Rio de Janeiro.⁸⁷ GMD leaders such as Hu Hanmin, Sun Ke, and Wang Zhonghui had decided during their visits to Europe to ask a French sculptor, and eventually the Funeral Committee decided on Landowski. Sun Ke visited the

exhibiting it in a coffin with a glass lid.⁸¹ No change was made in the overall plans to have the Sun Memorial Hall in Nanjing combine a mausoleum and a memorial hall. Instead of a glass lid on the coffin through which the body could be seen, the visitors would find a sculpture of Sun on the coffin lid. The coffin itself was several meters below in an attached domed building, which was good for security (fig. 11.13); visitors would look down onto Sun's body or eventually sculpture in an architectural arrangement modeled on Ludovico Visconti's

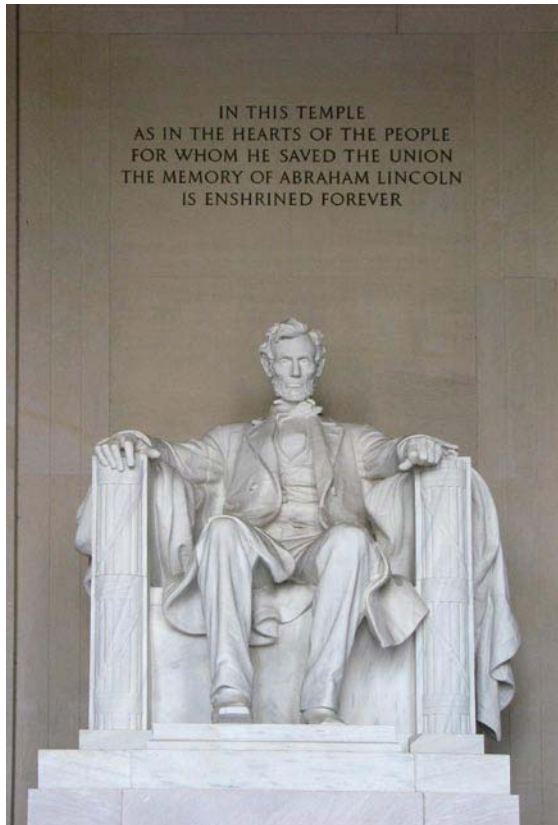


Fig. 11.15. (Above left) Daniel French, Lincoln Seated, Lincoln Memorial, Washington DC. Photo by Prentis T. Keener, Jr.

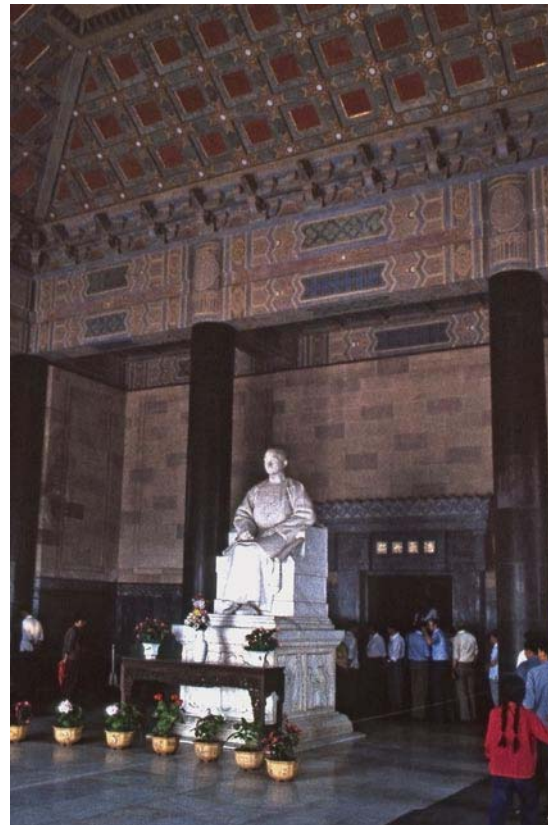


Fig. 11.16. (Above right) Paul Landowski, Sun Yat-sen Seated, Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, Ceremonial Hall, Nanjing, 1930. Photo by Lothar Ledderose.

artist in 1928, brought a film about Sun Yat-sen and sundry photographs to help Landowski in his drawings, and eventually sat in lieu of his father to allow the artist to make sketches.⁸⁸

Landowski had no problem being a foreigner called upon to make the sculpture for this Chinese national monument, but he seems to have felt that Sun, being Chinese, definitely had to wear what Landowski considered authentic Chinese dress, even though, perhaps unknown to Landowski, Sun had worked so hard to abolish this very dress. It is a twist reminiscent of the debates about “adaptive architecture.” Sun is depicted in a long scholar’s gown, but wears Western-style leather shoes.⁸⁹

The reclining sculpture was placed over the coffin in the attached half-buried mausoleum building with its dome of reinforced concrete. This sculpture, which was to be on view instead of the body and which, of course, has no counterpart in the Lincoln Memorial, is by the Czech sculptor B. J. Koči (Gaoqi), who had

Fig. 11.17. (Below left) Bohuslav J. Koči, Relief Portrait of Lü Yanzhi, Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum Park, Nanjing, May 1930. From Zhou, *Zhongshan ling yuan boji* (Nanjing: Jiangsu Renmin chubanshe, 1989), n.p.

Fig. 11.18. (Below right) Platon Dějev, *Vtvarnici legionářů* (Legionnaire artists). V Praze: Čsl. legionář MNO, kancelář československých legií, 1937, 140.

been working in China since 1920 and had sculpted bas-reliefs and sculptures with Chinese themes, among them, as a Czech dictionary claims, a feminist, a beggar, and a Shanghai ricksha puller.⁹⁰ This statue, which was accessible only on rare occasions to high dignitaries, properly wears the Zhongshan dress (fig. 11.13). Koči also was commissioned to do a fine relief portrait of Lü Yanzhi, which was installed in the park of the Mausoleum in 1935 (fig. 11.17). One earlier sculpture by him is known (fig. 11.18).

By the time Landowski was asked to do the sculpture, the option of Sun standing at the top of the stairs was out of consideration. For the statue of Sun sitting inside the ceremonial hall, Landowski followed the Lincolnization of Sun Yat-sen by keeping very close to French's Lincoln statue in Washington. He surrounded the sides of the pedestal on which Sun's seat had been mounted with bas-reliefs on themes of GMD propaganda and hagiography, most probably suggested to him by the GMD leaders. They show Sun as a medical doctor treating small children whose parents have brought them to him in great numbers (fig. 11.19). This is a reference to a statement in a



Fig. 11.19. Paul Landowski, Sun Yat-sen Caring for the People. Sun Yat-sen Cares for a Baby, side of pedestal for seated statue of Sun Yat-sen, Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, 1930. From Yao and Gu, *Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum*, 48.

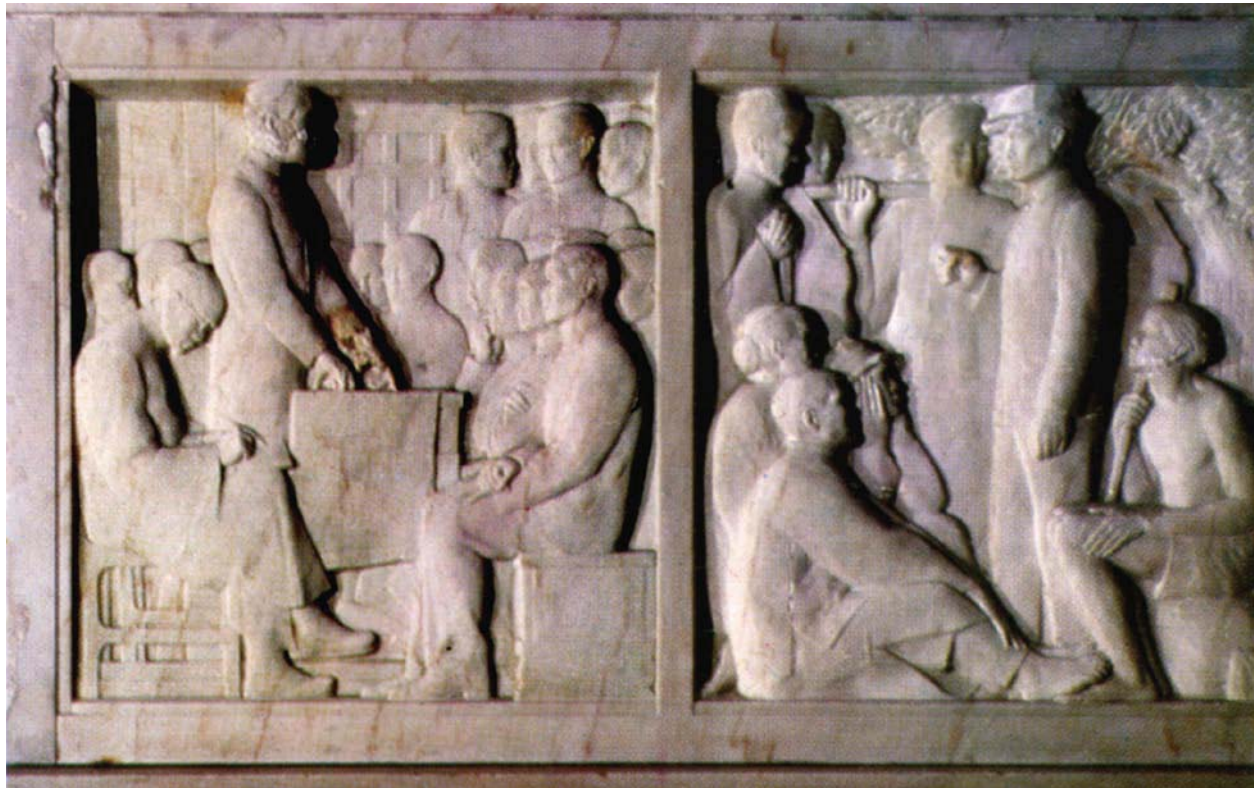
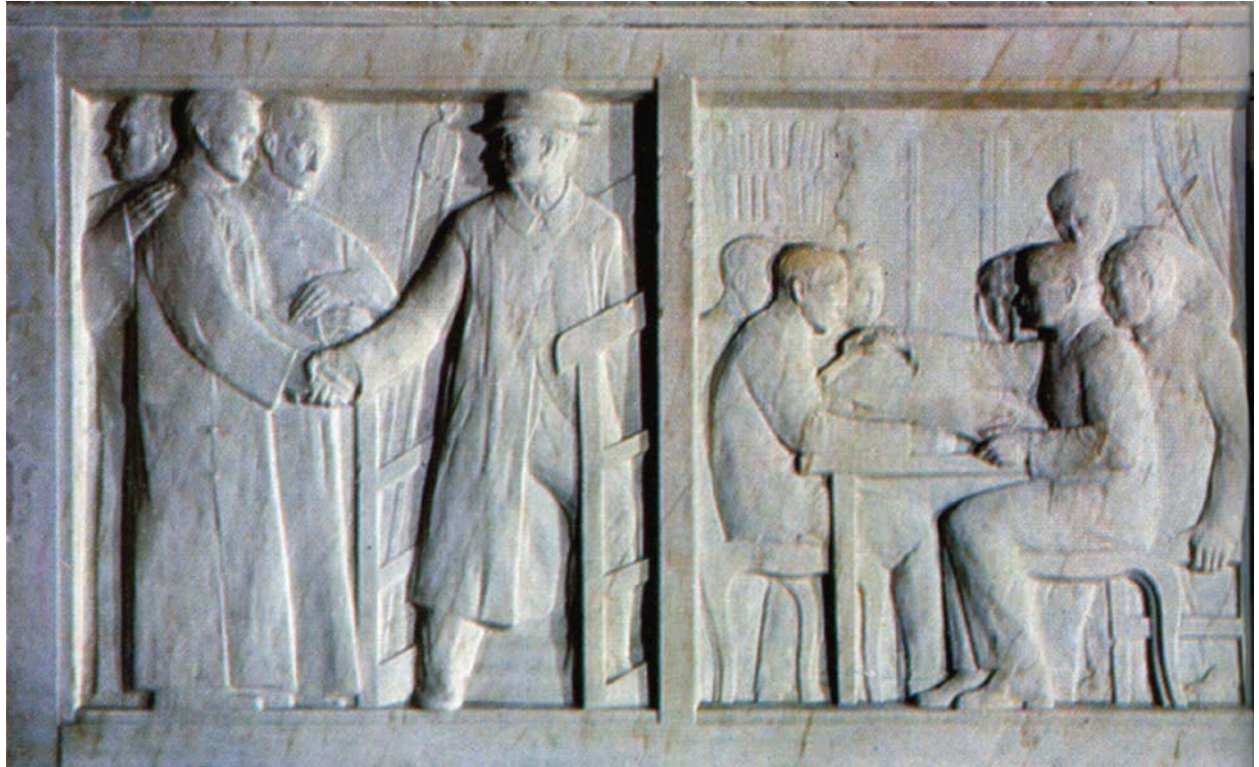
Fig. 11.20. (Opposite top) Paul Landowski. Left: Sun Yat-sen Going Abroad and Spreading Revolution; right: Making Propaganda, side of pedestal for seated statue of Sun Yat-sen, Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, 1930. From Yao and Gu, *Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum*, 48.

Fig. 11.21. (Opposite bottom) Paul Landowski. Left: Sun Yat-sen Speaking Out Against Yuan Shikai, Who Tries to Restore the Monarchy, and Thus Safeguarding the Nation; right: Sun Yat-sen Awakening the Laboring Masses, side of pedestal for seated statue of Sun Yat-sen, Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, 1930. From Yao and Gu, *Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum*, 49.



Chinese classic, the *Shangshu* (Book of history). There, King Wen of Zhou exhorts one of his sons in principles of good government: “(Deal with them) as if you were protecting your own infants, and the people will be tranquil and orderly.”⁹¹ The relief nicely interacts with Sun’s medical training and symbolically claims that the weak, namely, women, children, and the old, have trust in the man. The second relief is divided into two themes, “going abroad to make propaganda” and “holding discussions on making revolution” (fig. 11.20). Both show Sun actively promoting the Chinese revolution among leaders abroad, and among overseas Chinese. They highlight the international dimension of his activities. In the third relief, the “revolution is achieved,” and the “new parliament elects him to be president of the Republic.” But the Revolution had not ended. Sun denounces Yuan Shikai, who tried to restore the monarchy, and in this way he saves the nation. He now relies on mobilizing the working people (fig. 11.21).

Lü’s idea to have two canonical texts of Sun’s engraved on the walls was confirmed by the Committee meeting chaired by Cai Yuanpei on 27 October 1927.⁹² Eventually, the *Jianguo dawang* was carved after Sun’s own hand and the Testament was carved in the handwriting of Hu Hanmin.⁹³ But Chiang Kai-shek had been on the ascendant since the success of the Northern Expedition, and he needed the stature to be a close confidant. Already during the visit to Azure Cloud Monastery in Beijing to prepare for the southward transfer of the body, Chiang



had taken over the ritual initiative by suddenly bursting into tears in front of Sun's coffin, going onto his knees, and then giving a long speech. He quickly consolidated his powers in the Funeral Committee by making it into a government organ under his direct orders. Given the importance and duration the inscriptions had in buttressing the legitimacy of the succession, there was no way to keep him from having his own hand clearly visible in the Ceremonial Hall inscriptions. This started with Dai Jitao proposing to ask Chiang to write "progress of mankind" and "great unity in all under heaven," both signal quotations from Sun, for a large inscription on the side of the door to the Mausoleum.⁹⁴ To soothe Song Qingling's anger both about Chiang Kai-shek's takeover of the Committee and control of her husband's funeral ceremonies, a short postface from her hand was allowed to be added in the last minute to Sun's *Jianguo dawang* on 18 June 18 1929.⁹⁵ Finally, and without even a formal note in the protocol, Chiang Kai-shek managed to get his handwriting of a full text of Sun's *Teachings Bequeathed by Mr. Sun Zhongshan*, carved onto the wall of the Ceremonial Hall.⁹⁶ The glaring absence of the Resolution of the first GMD Party Congress with its leftist, united-front message is directly evident and marks the abandonment at this time of this line of GMD thinking. The other glaring absence is Wang Jingwei, who had dominated the early ritual proceedings, but had lost out in the power struggle after the Northern Expedition. But, as we shall see, he was still to have his moment in the sun.

Sun Yat-sen's Tomb and the New Capital

Although the combination of the Mausoleum and the Memorial Hall does not follow the Lincoln pattern and is an inheritance from a Leninist past gone awry with the deterioration of the corporeal body, the overall setting quite clearly remains within the Lincoln mold. This link again was not without foundation in Sun's own thinking. Lincoln and Rousseau were his two main heroes before he turned to emulate Lenin; his Three People's Principles had been suggested by Lincoln's formula of democracy, "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."⁹⁷ The shift backward in model, of course, affected the person commemorated there. The theme of preserving the unity of the nation and preventing a north-south split had been at the heart of Sun's last trip to Beijing. The Northern Expedition eventually more or less achieved this goal while the planning for the Zhongshanling (the Sun Mausoleum) went on. By the time serious thought could be given to actually transferring Sun's body to Nanjing for the official burial ceremony, history had offered a satisfying new reading for him, which dramatically strengthened the links with Lincoln. Evidently this was not the doing of the Funeral Committee; history itself obliged. Through the GMD/CCP (Chinese Communist Party) split, the

Lenin option was now definitely out, and the image of Lincoln as the man from the United States who went to war to prevent the break-up of the nation and held north and south together was too good a model to discard.

Sun himself had willed that Nanjing should eventually be the capital of China, and this had been a point of agreement among most of the GMD. From the outset the building of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum on Mt. Zijin had been linked to the notion that the capital would eventually be in Nanjing. With the end of the Northern Expedition, Nanjing now began to resemble a capital in terms of its political function, although security and government control even a short distance from the city walls remained often fragile. In architectural terms, Nanjing was at that time a field of ruins. To rapidly develop this city into the dignified capital of a dignified nation became one of the top priorities of the GMD leadership under Chiang Kai-shek. The minister of finance, Sun Ke (Sun's son), controlled the purse strings of the new government; he had been the most active player in the Funeral Committee, and as the first mayor of the first Chinese-run city with a municipal government, Guangzhou, he had hired Murphy in 1922 to design a master plan for the modern development of this city. It included installations such as public toilets that would prompt citizens to adopt modern forms of behavior. Sun Ke and Murphy became close friends.⁹⁸

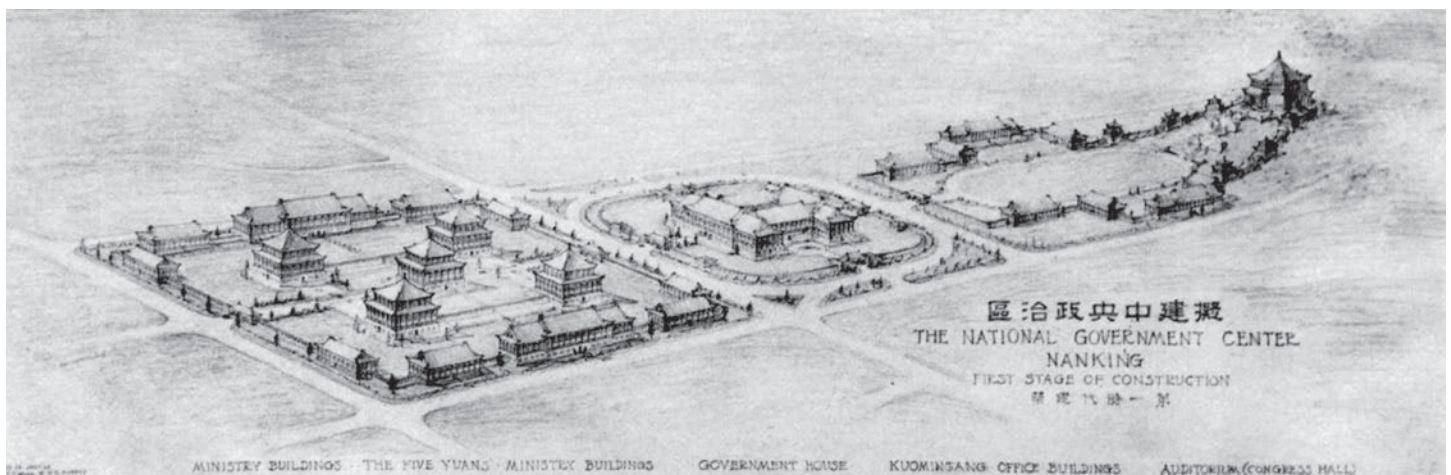
The Lincoln Memorial had inserted itself into an already existing architectural ensemble housing political institutions and markers; this was now redesigned to symbolize the foundation stones of the nation. This certainly was not the case for the Zhongshanling. Situated as it was on a mountain slope outside Nanjing, it was linked to some of the spiritual and political heritage of the country, but it was not integrated into any kind of urban architecture. Yet while the Lincoln Memorial was the finishing piece of the MacMillan Plan, the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum was to become the beginning and the point of orientation of a new architectural ensemble that was to match that of Washington, DC.

When Henry Murphy was hired by the GMD in 1928 to be in charge of city planning, the link with Sun Ke, then minister of railways, cannot have been without influence. Murphy's first duty was to develop a master plan for the new capital.⁹⁹ This was a new nation, it was in need of a new capital, and the idea to squeeze the core political institutions and symbols into the preset grid of old Nanjing seemed utterly counterproductive. Following international trends in the treatment of old walled cities, most clearly visible in the transformation of Barcelona and Vienna late in the nineteenth century, Murphy picked up the lead from his former young colleague and proposed a master plan for the new Nanjing capital at the heart of which lay an axis with the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum at one end and the core political

institutions arranged along it to form a government center. He submitted the plan in 1929 (fig. 11.22).

This first stage of “Capitol Hill” included three groups of buildings, one for the GMD’s congressional offices, a Government House for the head of state, and a “Five Houses (Yuan) and Ministries Group” for the five segments of the executive branch of government. All were sketched in the modified Chinese architectural style. As needs would increase, the triangle was to be extended to the south, organized around a central axis and a focal tower (or pagoda) that was to symbolize Nationalist rule.¹⁰⁰ The purpose of a pagoda, to keep unruly spirits at bay underneath, was an apt and adapted symbol of the way the GMD conceived of its rule. The pagoda was planned for the spot where the Washington Monument would be found in the U.S. equivalent. Symbolically, the Government Center exemplified and symbolized the new political arrangement, with power and legitimacy flowing southward from the Zhongshanling into the GMD and the head of state, and only through them to the Five Houses. Sun Yat-sen here is assigned not only the anchoring place of the Liberty Bell, but also the seat of the traditional Chinese emperor, who faces south with all his subjects looking northward up to him. In this architectural ensemble no complex democratic interaction or balance of power was envisioned. The Leninist-plus-traditional structures and aspirations survived the split with the Chinese Communist Party. Clearly this is not simply a draft by a foreign architect ignorant of Chinese politics, but an arrangement that presupposes a close interaction with leading GMD figures to achieve the desired symbolism. The plan is anything but a simple imitation of the Washington plan. It takes up the basic idea of a symbolic

Fig. 11.22. Henry Murphy, Planned Government Center in New Nanjing Capital, 1929. Published courtesy of Jeffrey W. Cody.



and very public ensemble at the heart of the nation and fills it with very Chinese characteristics that encode into architecture the GMD leadership's political vision. The positioning of the GMD congressional offices, closer to the Zhongshanling than to that of the head of state, also indicates that at the time of this plan, Chiang Kai-shek's political position was not that of a supreme leader who could claim to be above the Party.

Security concerns eventually meant that this plan was never realized. The government offices, mostly in adaptive style, were put into the walled town along the new and widened Zhongshan Road that led through the city to the Mausoleum. Still, in the virtual universe of the political imaginaire, the Zhongshanling defines the axis of power and legitimacy. As we shall see, some other parts of the Washington, DC, model, such as the Heroes' Cemetery, the Chinese Arlington, also were realized by Murphy.

From Ritual to Political Control

Transferring the Body to the Zhongshanling

The transfer of Sun's body from Beijing to Nanjing was planned by the Committee as a multipurpose media, political, and emotional event. Made possible through the success in the Northern Campaign, the Nanjing funeral of Sun Yat-sen was to celebrate the final integration of ritual and political control under GMD leadership. The decision that it was time for the transfer was made on 9 November 1928 by the Nanjing government based on a recommendation by the Funeral Committee.¹⁰¹ As part of the effort to immortalize and record the feat of this transfer, all aspects of it were as carefully recorded as if they had been scripted.¹⁰² Again Lincoln provided an important model. After his assassination a quick decision had been reached to have him buried in his hometown of Springfield, Illinois. But the government decided to have the funeral rites begin in Washington, DC, and then bring him by funeral train over 1,700 miles to Illinois. Lincoln's body was transferred in a grand funeral procession. The train that carried his remains was viewed by over seven million people, almost one-fifth the population of the United States at the time (fig. 11.23).

The trip became an occasion for the divided nation to unite in grief and in the process to commit to the Union. Wherever the train passed or stopped, local citizens, even those opposed to him during his lifetime, gathered to pay their last respects. The procession became a living symbol of a united nation.¹⁰³ Messages of sympathy and condolence flooded in from all over the world. Quite unintentionally, other aspects of Lincoln's procession, such as the public obsession with the

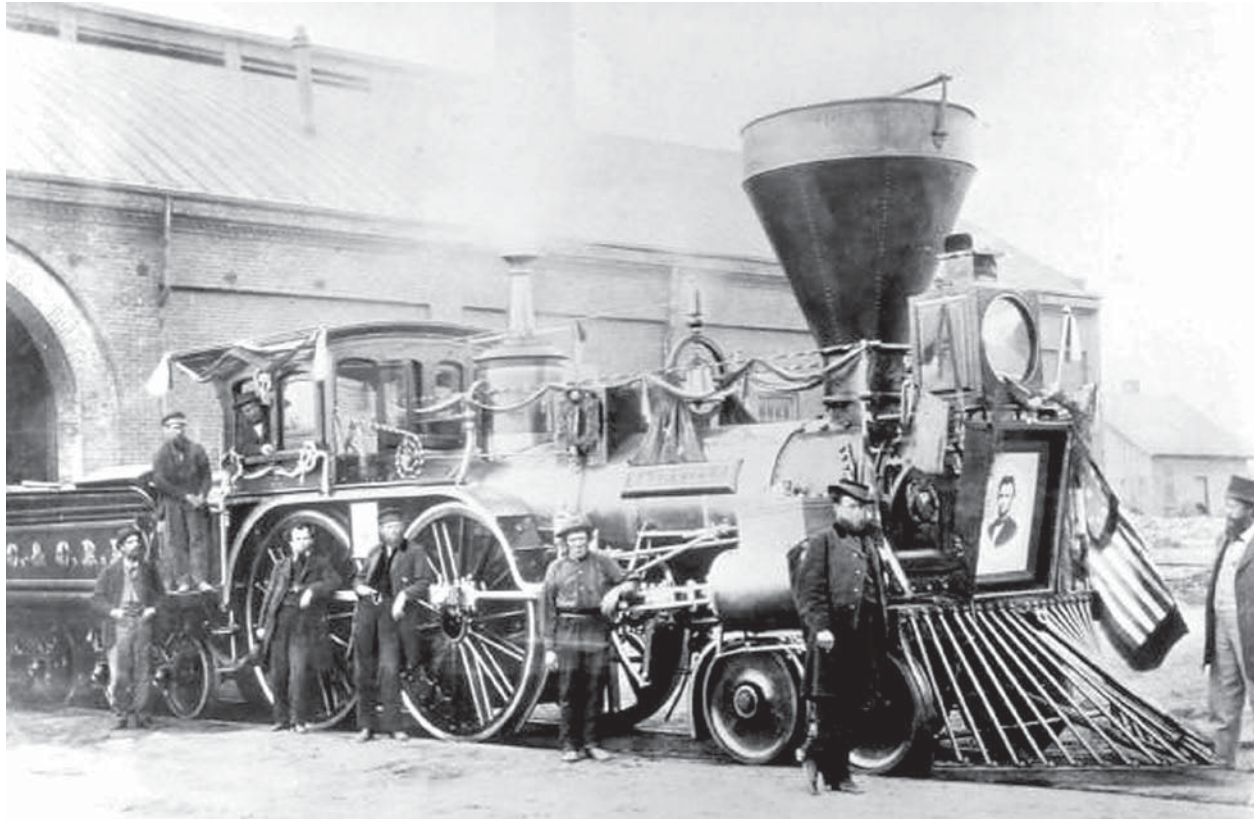


Fig. 11.23. Lincoln Funeral Train. From <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:LincolnTrain.jpeg>.

deterioration and smell of his body as the train rumbled over the long miles, would also find their echo in Sun Yat-sen's event.¹⁰⁴

The transfer of Sun's body would be modeled on this defining moment in U.S. history, but again the event was to have special GMD characteristics.¹⁰⁵ The unique American combination of the government-organized train with the locally and independently organized mourning activities of the citizenry was replaced in China by a highly scripted, centrally administered program of ritual behavior. This was to instill momentarily the behavior appropriate to the new government/citizen relationship, which the GMD set out to implement on a permanent basis.

The transfer was designed as a long, drawn-out, mobile media event that was to spiritually mobilize, modernize, and unify the population around the spirit and body of Sun Yat-sen. The train was known as the Soul Train, *lingche* (fig. 11.24). Again, this was designed as a rather noisy affair with its ten blue carriages all painted with slogans in white and filled with members of the press, foreign dignitaries,



Fig. 11.24. Propaganda Train preceding Sun Yat-sen's Burial Ceremonies, Nanjing, 1929. *Liangyou huabao*, no. 37 (1929), 3.

propaganda material, a military band and police guards, and a generator to power the broadcasting and screening devices as well as the lights for the stage where sketches were performed during stops.¹⁰⁶ The ease with which this exercise in ritual control could be written contrasted starkly with troublesome conditions in the real world. The building process in Nanjing was time and again interrupted by security concerns; the 12-kilometer road from Nanjing to Mt. Zijin was not ready for the procession; the propaganda train moving north suddenly turned up in Tianjin at 9:00 a.m. instead of at 7:00 p.m., which meant that the masses who planned to witness the event were not there; Song Qingling was late, having nearly refused to come back from Berlin because of Chiang Kai-shek's turn against the Communists; and another battle between Chiang Kai-shek and Feng Yuxiang that threatened the Beijing-Hankou line over which Sun's body was to be transported was

looming. On 19 May it was reported that the railroad bridge over the Yellow River had been blown up, compliments of Feng Yuxiang.¹⁰⁷ A delay had to be discussed.¹⁰⁸ Minister of Railways Sun Ke was the key figure in all this, but while he might have the necessary railway carriages, he had no military with which to protect the tracks.

Still, with minor adjustments and much juggling of dates and routes, the process continued. Most importantly, the entire transfer from Azure Cloud Monastery to Nanjing was made into a nationally distributable media event, filmed by the North China Film Company (*Huabei dianying gongsi*) under contract from the government to immortalize the feat and its main actors.¹⁰⁹ On 9 and 10 May, the Peking papers carried the extensive ceremonial rules promulgated by the Committee for the process of transferring Sun's body from Azure Cloud Monastery to the train station.¹¹⁰ They added editorial comments on civilized behavior during the ceremonies.¹¹¹ Similar rules were promulgated for the ceremonies during the stops of the train in Tianjin, Jinan, and other places. The most detailed rules and prescriptions were for the Nanjing ceremonies, down to a ban on the display of

unauthorized banners. These rules are contained in the *Zongli Feng'an shilu*.¹¹² The exercise in ritual governance was no longer the performative anticipation and theatrical arrogation of actual power, but an enhancement, consolidation, and legitimization of the claim of the Nanjing government to be the true government of a unified modern state. Sun was on his way to receive a proper state funeral now, because a truly national government existed, able to prepare it for him. The state flag was on his coffin. The basic organizational structure was to place overall command in the Committee, which had now been recast as an entity under the Nanjing government; to have the local Party, government, and military leaders along the train route select and organize active participants from different associations in society as the core performing units; and to have the general populace as onlookers, largely passive, but highly disciplined. As there was only one body available, it was hard to involve south China in the transfer event. However, an analogous, although much-less-reported, train was set in motion from the south to make its way slowly to Nanjing bringing the southern delegates to the ceremonies. For places not passed by either train, ceremonies were arranged to coincide with the Nanjing events.

The Beijing events were a general rehearsal for the national ceremony in Nanjing. Here we have the first real exercise in national ritual control by the GMD government. The entire country was to observe a three-minute silence at noon on the day of the ceremony, accompanied by three bows; all flags were to be at half-mast; all entertainment establishments from brothels to theaters were to stop operating for a few days. Representatives of the different localities, classes, and professions from the entire country were to attend the Nanjing events after being vetted and approved by local GMD operatives. And an endless stream of local ceremonies was to accommodate those who had not made it into the august group of the select.

Great attention was paid to the diplomats from the twelve countries that by now had official diplomatic relations with the GMD government. They were to come from Beijing in a special train and were given a prominent place in the order of the guests. After the event, international reactions were carefully reviewed. The foreign governments and press showed themselves impressed that this was the first post-Qing-era government strong enough to merit some serious attention.¹¹³

As might be expected, Chiang Kai-shek continued to stage himself as the true heir to Sun's bequests. Although he could now, after his marriage to the sister of Sun's wife, be counted a "family member," he continued to treat Sun's body as an utterly political object. It belonged to the GMD and the new GMD state, not to the family. He was the new generalissimo.

The Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum and the 1929 ritual marked in space and time the pinnacle of the new Sun Yat-sen cult promoted by the GMD Party-state. In terms of spatial arrangement, it found its local replicas in the standardized image of Sun mandated for the central place in all meeting halls and in the Zhongshan parks with their Sun Yat-sen statues and slogans that had been developed in many urban centers next to the local government building since 1925.¹¹⁴ In time, regular weekly and yearly devotional activities became routine, and they extended beyond the government, party, and military to popular circles.¹¹⁵ However, even these efforts at a unified, pervasive state propaganda, based on Soviet, Italian, Japanese, and German models, could not arrest history.

The Shifting Fate and Meaning of Sun Yat-sen and the Mausoleum

We have seen that all elements of this story, from Sun's body to the Funeral Committee, from the plan for the mausoleum to the ceremony to the building itself, share a number of features. Rather than being fixed entities, they were performances, including Sun's body and the mausoleum. The building may be constructed of reinforced concrete, but it actualized its meaning only in a public and contentious process that continues to shift to this day and does not leave either the remains or the physical building untouched.

I will reinforce this argument with a short glimpse at the further development of Zhongshanling. Mt. Zijin had gained in "modern" spiritual power through the presence of Sun's body. Many held traditional notions of some magical power that continued to exude from such illustrious bodies, and this prompted people to wish to bury their dead in close proximity in part to share in the fine geomancy, but also to siphon off some of this magical power.¹¹⁶ The GMD had already passed stringent regulations to prevent this and had established rigid controls over any new building or tomb in the park area after Sun Yat-sen was buried there. However, to enhance the standing of Mt. Zijin as the resting place of the nation's top revolutionary leaders, a controlled development was undertaken in 1928. The GMD asked Murphy to develop a Chinese counterpart of Arlington National Cemetery in the park of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum: a resting place for the GMD's most prestigious generals and officers that would benefit from the spiritual energy (*qi*) flowing from Sun's mausoleum nearby. The place had been assigned, building started in 1932, and the cemetery was finished in 1935. In all, more than 33,000 names are listed on the 110 black marble slabs as being buried here. But for top leaders, this was not good enough. Gradually Sun Yat-sen's tomb, following a practice traceable to the tomb of

the First Emperor in the late third century BCE, became surrounded by individual tombs. Among them was Fan Hongxian, who had been killed in 1914 by an agent of Yuan Shikai's while organizing military resistance against Yuan. He was buried here as a martyr in 1935 after having been posthumously elevated to the rank of a general. Liao Zhongkai (d. 1925), a top aide of Sun Yat-sen, was moved here in 1935. Han Hui, whom Sun had put in charge of organizing a Northern Expedition to unify the country militarily and who had been killed by the northern warlord government in 1922, was the first in the later Chinese Arlington in 1928. And Tan Yankai was here, a leading GMD figure and famous calligrapher who managed to find enough space for an entire architectural ensemble designed (about 1935) by Yang Tingbao.

The new pro-Japanese reform government set up in Nanjing was eager to be seen as an inheritor of Sun's bequests, and Sun obliged by having had very close contacts with various individual Japanese and even closer contacts with Japanese government representatives.¹¹⁷ Eventually Wang Jingwei took over this government. After being cut out from the Nanjing events in 1929, he now had his day. Chiang Kai-shek is said to have considered taking Sun's body with him to Chongqing, but decided against it.¹¹⁸ For Wang Jingwei, just having control over Nanjing, Mt. Zijin and Sun's body would not do. His GMD needed a very particular marker to set it off against Chiang Kai-shek's.

Wang Jingwei remembered that when Sun's body had been prepared for preservation at the PUMC Hospital in 1925, the brain and the entrails had to be taken out. Upon inquiry, it turned out that they had been kept there, preserved in alcohol. Wang now contacted the Japanese government in Beijing and asked to be allowed to transfer these innards to Nanjing. Well aware of the potential uses of Sun's pro-Japanese leanings, the Japanese authorities were quick to oblige. Ending with a grand ceremony on 5 April 1942 that was closely modeled on the original transfer ceremony, Sun's entrails, now sometimes called *lingzang* (Sacred Entrails), were transferred to Nanjing to be reunited with Sun's body beside which they were placed.¹¹⁹ Chiang Kai-shek, was the implied claim, had cut off a part of Sun's bequests just as he had enshrined only a part of Sun's body, and the Western imperialists who controlled the PUMC had "privately appropriated" the entrails of the president. With the Sacred Entrails, Wang Jingwei now had the body complete. With his own pro-Japanese politics, Sun's political inheritance was now completely enacted. Since 1925 the GMD had the practice of beginning every meeting by reading the testament of Sun Yat-sen aloud. Wang Jingwei's GMD now supplemented this ritual by having each Nanjing GMD meeting start with this reading as well as three ritual bows in the direction of the Sacred Entrails. Without

having moved an inch, by just having a container added in which a human brain and human entrails were lying in alcohol, the body and the entire building changed meaning and function.

The Chongqing GMD, however, was not standing by idly. In 1941 it resolved to officially confer the title “father of the nation” (*guofu*) upon Sun, thus reestablishing the direct link with George Washington’s anticolonial enterprise, for in Chinese-language writings since the 1830s the neologism *guofu* had been exclusively used for George Washington.¹²⁰ By the early twentieth century, many founding figures of new national states, such as Kemal Atatürk, had been given this official title.

Mt. Zijin itself was a contested ground. Sun had set the tone by insisting on a higher rank than Zhu Yuanzhang. To assure that only officially approved national heroes be buried on Mt. Zijin, the Funeral Committee had made it a rule that no private burials would be allowed there anymore. But it was clear that Sun’s successors in the leadership would start thinking about their own places on this mountain. Wang Jingwei thus set out to prepare for his post-mortem life. He selected a site above that of the Ming founder and below that of Sun Yat-sen. Informed about the vagaries of history, and well aware that a post-mortem attack was a regular political practice in both premodern and modern China, Wang’s mausoleum was built with multiple reinforcements intended to shield his body and inheritance. Wang died in Japan in November 1944 and was properly buried with great pomp and ceremony in his own mausoleum on Mt. Zijin. This building shows the frailty such reinforced monsters have, if their meaning goes adrift.

Once Japan had capitulated and Chiang Kai-shek’s army was back in Nanjing, Chiang set out to undo the damage done to Mt. Zijin as a national site, to Sun’s teachings as those of the Father of the Nation, and to this Father’s body. One night, Chiang had the entire area of Mt. Zijin sealed off. With a huge quantity of explosives he had the Wang Jingwei Mausoleum leveled on 21 January 1946. Wang’s body was cremated in Nanjing.¹²¹

As the executions of “traitors” started after the war, Wang’s prime minister, Zhu Minyi, went to Mt. Zhongshan and took Sun’s Sacred Entrails as security against persecution. When Zhu was incarcerated in a “special prison” in Suzhou and threatened with execution, he offered in a letter to Chiang Kai-shek the Sacred Entrails in exchange for his life. The prison officials found other means to extract the location of the entrails from him. Because they had been thoroughly polluted by contact with the Wang Jingwei government, gasoline was poured over them, and they were burned.¹²²

A grand state ceremony on Mt. Zijin on 5 May 1946, on the occasion of the official return of Chiang Kai-shek’s capital to Nanjing, celebrated the repurified

body of Sun and his repurified spiritual bequests, which had been cleansed of Wang's pro-Japanese leanings.¹²³ Then, after his plane crash in March 1946, the body of Dai Li, Chiang Kai-shek's secret police point man, found highly fortified rest on Mt. Zijin.¹²⁴ Chiang Kai-shek himself had in the 1930s reserved a place near the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum.¹²⁵ In this place a small pavilion, the Zhengqiting (Spirit of Correctness Pavilion), designed by Yang Tingbao, was built in 1947. The inscription was in Chiang's own hand, and a stele in the back by Sun Ke made it clear that this place had been reserved for Chiang Kai-shek. In the same year W. Y. Tsao defined, in a book designed to introduce China's constitutional government to a Western audience, the purified Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum as China's National Shrine.¹²⁶

In 1949 Chiang Kai-shek again pondered taking Sun's body with him, this time to Taiwan, and yet again decided against it. Chiang's own body was until a short while ago "temporarily" kept in Taiwan, waiting for the reconquest of the mainland and the chance to be properly buried next to Sun Yat-sen. Eventually, when Chen Shuibian's Democratic Progress Party with its pledge to Taiwan statehood ran the government, it withdrew the guards with their political implications and ended the "temporality" of waiting for the reconquest of the mainland. Chiang lies in, we assume, eternal rest in Taiwan.

As might be expected, the stability of this set of tombs and buildings entered another period of turmoil after the PRC (People's Republic of China) gained control over the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, Sun's body, and the park in 1949. In the PRC vision of things, Sun Yat-sen remains a positive revolutionary figure. While he was a "bourgeois" revolutionist whose revolution went only against "feudal" Manchu rule, it still had been a necessary step. Better, he had understood the weakness of the Chinese bourgeoisie and therefore had opted for the alliance with the workers and the Soviet Union. His body and the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum therefore faced no immediate threat of government destruction, whereas Dai Li's tomb was leveled after 1949.

Buildings, too, paid their toll. The manifest GMD emblems in the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum were removed or covered from early on, and the inscriptions within the ceremonial hall that were not from Sun Yat-sen's and Song Qingling's hands but from those of Chiang Kai-shek and Hu Hanmin were scraped off during the Cultural Revolution. Chiang Kai-shek's pavilion survived the first years after 1949 as a decorative and slowly decaying structure. During the Cultural Revolution, even the memory of Chiang Kai-shek that might linger in this pavilion was erased by its being burned down.

When Zhou Enlai started to push for a normalization and for the "four modernizations" in 1972, the situation of the surviving dead on Mt. Zijin improved.

The tombs and buildings came under the administration of the Office for the Protection of Cultural Relics. Since the early 1980s the political capital hidden in Mt. Zijin was rediscovered. The Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum could be used to promote the “return” of Taiwan to the fatherland. In a major renovation effort, parts of the original decoration (such as the GMD flag on the ceiling) in the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum were restored and the park, which had not been cared for during a long period, was put in order. Even Chiang Kai-shek’s Sprit of Correctness Pavilion was completely rebuilt, “warts” (the inscriptions by Chiang and Sun) and all.

The PRC in its turn added a few tombs to Mt. Zijin. It refrained, however, from dotting it with Communist heroes, for whom a special Heroes’ Cemetery was built in Babaoshan cemetery in Beijing. Mt. Zijin thus remains the mountain where the doubly acceptable parts of the bourgeois revolution have been allowed to rest next to the virtual capital of Republican China that was never built below Sun’s Mausoleum. Among the plans submitted for Mao Zedong’s Mausoleum in 1976-1977, one suggested Mt. Zijin as the location. But by that time, the Lenin model was back in fashion, and Mao was made to lie in state, embalmed, in a mausoleum right in the middle of China’s counterpart to Red Square in Moscow, Tiananmen Square in Beijing, in a building that also, perhaps not coincidentally, took after the Lincoln Memorial Hall (fig. 11.25).

Fig. 11.25. Mao Zedong Mausoleum, Beijing. Photo by Raymond Cunningham, Jr.



By and large the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum has retained a function and continued to reinvent itself as much as its occupant. At present, after major renovation of the building to coincide with the shift in the mainland's policy toward Taiwan, visitors are brought there, and the mausoleum is invoked as a symbol of "national unity" between the PRC and Taiwan. It acts as a testing ground for the PRC in exercising ritual governance over the entire "fatherland," including Taiwan, a hopeful forerunner of actual political governance.

Notes

1. The author thanks his research assistant, Marieke Ohlberg, for help at many stages of this project. The Institute for Advanced Studies in Berlin and the Heidelberg Cluster, "Asia and Europe in a Global Context: Shifting Asymmetries in Cultural Flows," have been generous enough to offer me both stimulus and time to finish this project. On the sacrifices, see Marianne Bastid-Bruguière, "Sacrifices d'État et légitimité à la fin des Qing," *T'oung Pao* 83 (1997): 162–173.
2. Margareta Grieszler, *Das Letzte Dynastische Begängnis. Chinesisches Trauerzeremoniell zum Tod der Kaiserinwitwe Cixi. Eine Studie* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991).
3. Peter Zarrow, "Imperial Rituals and Confucianism in Early Republican China (1912–1924)," paper prepared for the Conference on State and Ritual in East Asia, June/July 1995, 22ff.
4. Huang Shaoxu and Jiang Tie, eds., rev. ed.; He Songling and Wang Yanlun, eds. orig. edition, [Chongbian] *Riyong baike quanshu* (Encyclopedia for daily use) (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1934), 5798–5799, for the new burial ritual, and *ibid.*, 5801ff, for the old ritual.
5. See my "Constructions of May Fourth," in M. Dolezelova and O. Kral, eds., *The Appropriation of Cultural Capital: China's May Fourth Project* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 103–109.
6. See *ibid.*, 107. On rituals' providing a space for hijacking, inversion, and challenge to the authorities, see, Paul Cohen, "Remembering and Forgetting National Humiliation in Twentieth-Century China," *Twentieth-Century China*, April 2002.
7. An example is Wang Liping, "Creating a National Symbol: The Sun Yat-sen Memorial in Nanjing," *Republican China* 21, no. 2 (April 1996): 23–63. Although useful, the author seems unaware of earlier scholarship regarding this topic.
8. The belief was rooted in the cult of the protean genius fostered by the European romantics. It had been translated into conservative mass fare first by Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) with his *On Heroes, Hero Worship and the Heroic in History* (1841), which took care of the likes of Napoleon and Beethoven; and then into leftist mass fare by Georgii Valentinovich Plekhanov (1856–1918) with his *On the Role of the Individual in History* (1898). This work made an important historical role of the individual hinge on his or her capacity to embody the progressive tendencies of a given period, and it provided a theoretical basis for the accolades eventually offered to the likes of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Sun Yat-sen, and Mao Zedong.
9. Mona Ozouf, *La fête révolutionnaire, 1789–1799* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976); and Peter Zarrow, "Imperial Rituals," 41ff.
10. Frederik Wakeman, "Mao's Remains," in J. Watson and E. Rawski, eds., *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 257ff. Also see R.

Wagner, “Reading the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall in Peking: The Tribulations of the Implied Pilgrim,” in S. Naquin and C.-F. Yü, eds. *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 388–394. John Fitzgerald, *Awakening China: Politics, Culture, and Class in the Nationalist Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 12–15; and Henrietta Harrison, *The Making of the Republican Citizen: Political Ceremonies and Symbols in China, 1911-1929* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), chap. 4, deal with Sun’s death. Harrison’s chap. 6 looks at his burial in Nanjing.

11. Harrison, *The Making of the Republican Citizen*, 136, argues for a split between Sun’s family (especially Song Qingling) and the four men who drafted the testament. Three of the four men were also “family,” but Wang Jingwei himself was clearly the successor Sun preferred. Politically, Song Qingling was with the leftist faction around Wang. The later differences between Song Qingling and Chiang Kai-shek at the time of the opening ceremonies for the Sun Yat-sen Memorial would be less a family/political contest than a strictly political and factional split. The same would be true for the differences between Jiang Qing and Hua Guofeng about the control of Mao’s body. “Family” here is at best a tactical moment in the battle for control.

12. “Ye Ming taizu ling zhugao guangfu chengong minguo tongyi wen (Text of the communication to the soul of Ming Emperor Taizu reporting the successful recovery of the Fatherland) 15 February 1912,” in *Guofu quanji* (Complete writings of the nation) (Taipei: Zhongguo Guomindang zhongyang weiyuanhui dang shi weiyuanhui, 1988), vol. 4B, 1397, and “Ye Ming Taizu ling wen,” (Text of the report to the soul of Ming emperor Taizu), *ibid.*

13. Pan Guangzhe, *Huashengdun zai Zhongguo: Zhizao “guofu”* (Washington in China—Constructing a “father of the nation”) (Taipei: Sanmin, 2006).

14. See R. Wagner, “The Philologist as Messiah: Kang Youwei’s 1902 *Commentary on the Confucian Analects*,” in Glen Most, ed., *Disciplining Classics: Altermumswissenschaft als Beruf* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2002), 143–168.

15. Luo Jialun, *Guofu nianpu xiuding ben* (Taipei: Zhongguo Guomindang zhongyang weiyuanhui dangshi weiyuanhui, 1985), 26. Harold Schiffrin writes that “an influential American magazine described Sun as ‘the Father of the Chinese revolution,’ and Calvin Coolidge would later recall seeing in Sun a ‘combined Benjamin Franklin and George Washington of China.’” Harold Schiffrin, *Sun Yat-sen* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980), 165.

16. Zhou Daochun, *Zhongshan lingyuan boji* (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe), 42. I have not been able to verify the date of this event. The German doctor in the Peking Union Medical College who had treated Sun in 1925 wrote into his report that “before his death he told Mrs. Sun that he wished his body to be embalmed like that of his friend Lenin, and wished it to be buried in Nanjing.” See “Deguo yisheng Keli guanyu Sun Zhongshan bingshi baogao” (Report of the German Doctor Keli about the disease of Sun Yat-sen), quoted from *Zhongshan ling dang’an xuanbian*, in Xu Youchun and Wu Zhiming, eds., *Sun Zhongshan feng’an dadian* (Ceremonial for the entombment of Sun Zhongshan) (*Jiangsu wenshi ziliao* no. 26.) (Beijing: Huawen chubanshe, 1989), 6. The *Shenbao* was specifying in reports after Sun’s death that he had actually thought of Mt. Zijin. See Zhou Daochun, *Zhongshan lingyuan boji*, 43. The Committee for the Preparation of Mr. Sun Chung-shan’s Funeral signaled in a report on 10 October 1925 and in January 1926 that it assumed Sun had made the “last wish that his tomb was to be on Mt. Zijin in Nanjing.” Sun Zhongshan zangshi zhoubeichu guanyu lingmu tu’an zhengqiu jingguo baogao (Report of the Preparatory Committee for the burial of Sun Zhongshan about the process of soliciting designs for the mausoleum), reprint from “Zhong Shanling dang’an xuanbian” in *Sun Zhongshan feng’an dadian*, 87. See also Sun Ke’s report, *ibid.*, 104.

17. A reproduction of the text is in *Guowen zhoubao* (National news weekly) (Shanghai) 2, no. 9, 15 March 1925. The text is also in *Minguo ribao* (Republican daily), (Shanghai) 16 March 1925. This is reproduced in Xu and Wu, eds., *Sun Zhongshan feng'an dadian*, 3–4. No one else seems to have been present at this meeting. However, already on 12 March, Shao Yuanchong noted in his diary: “Furthermore, as according to the bequest left behind by Mr. [Sun] [that] he wished to have his remains buried in Nanjing on Mt. Zijin, order was given to preserve the body in the manner it had been done with Lenin.” *Shao Yuanchong riji: 1924–1936* (Diary of Shao Yuanchong: 1924–1936) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1990), 21. While there seems to be no record showing that Sun explicitly referred to Lenin’s body, that seems to have been quite self-evident to Shao. The nervousness surrounding this last statement signed by Sun and possible challenges to its authenticity are evident both in the dying man’s willingness to put his signature to it and in the distribution of photographic reproductions of the signed will to the press on the next day.

18. “*Dao Su E yishu* (Letter left behind to Soviet Russia) (March 11, 1925),” in *Sun Zhongshan quanji* (Complete writings of Sun Zhongshan) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), vol. 11, 641. The letter was originally in English. It has been omitted from the Taiwan edition of Sun’s complete works.

19. See Merrill D. Peterson, *Lincoln in American Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press 1994), 20–21, for a modern account based on publications from 1865 to 1923. See below for this connection. See also Boris Groys, “Lenin und Lincoln: Zwei Gestalten des modernen Todes (Lenin and Lincoln: Two configurations of modern death),” in *Die Erfindung Russlands* (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1995), 180–186.

20. “Zhisang baogao” (Report on the burial), in Sun Zhongshan xiansheng guozang jinian weiyuanhui, ed., *Aisi lu* (Record of expressions of grief) (originally 1925) reprint in *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan* (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1974), vol. 569, no. 1, 98ff. This two-volume collection is by far the most detailed source on the burial ceremonies in 1925. It has been reprinted in interpunctuated form in Xu and Wu, eds., *Sun Zhongshan feng'an dadian*, 58–85. The indication in *Sun Zhongshan feng'an dadian*, 58, that it had been compiled in “the third month of 1925,” obviously is wrong because it includes the transfer of Sun’s body to Biyuni in April 1925, but the year date “1925,” also given in *Sun Zhongshan nianpu* (Life chronicle of Sun Zhongshan) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 378, seems correct. The *Sun Zhongshan feng'an dadian* takes its text from the *Aisi lu* and does not have archival evidence for the date it gives. Still, this “Zhisang baogao” reproduces historical materials without adjusting the narrative to later political developments in the GMD. Another *Aisi lu* seems to have been first published on the occasion of the Nanjing ceremony in 1929; see Zhou, *Zhongshan lingyuan boji*, 126. Zhou seems to refer to another work because he claims the head of the GMD Central Propaganda Department, Liu Luyin, had written the title, while the titles for the three parts in the reprint quoted above were written by Wu Jingheng, Zhang Renjie, and Hu Hanmin, respectively. Amazingly, however, neither the original *Aisi lu* nor its reprint has been used in the scholarship mentioned in notes 14 and 15. The information that Sun was lodged in Wellington Koo’s residence is in Lyon Sharman, *Sun Yat-sen, His Life and Its Meaning: A Critical Biography* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1934), 306.

21. “Zhisang baogao,” 128.

22. *Ibid.*, 115.

23. *Ibid.*, 116–126. We have the line-up of this committee only from its own report published later (probably 1927) in a commemorative volume for the Beijing ceremonies, the *Aisi lu*. The report is dated “March 1925” because it deals with all the ceremonies, and it may be that other members were added during the days following Sun’s death.

24. Guan Guoxuan, "Lingqi Binyunsi, Changchen Zijinshan: Sun Zhongshan xiansheng feng'an dianli wushiwu zhou nian jinian" (Temporarily resting in Azure Cloud Monastery, eternally reposing on Mt. Zijin: In Commemoration of the fifty-fifth anniversary of the burial ceremony for Mr. Sun Zhongshan), *Chuanji wenxue* 44, no. 6 (1984): 10.
25. "Zhisang baogao," 128. Other sources claim that no state flag was there. They mostly refer to the diary of L. Carrington Goodrich, who had been present at the Christian funeral ceremony in the PUMC and claimed that the casket at that time was "draped in a Kuo Min Tang flag." Quoted in Clarence Martin Wilbur, *Sun Yat-sen, Frustrated Patriot* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 281. There is agreement that only the Guomindang flag was shown in the public display of the body at the altar complex.
26. The underwear is mentioned in the report in *Yishibao* (Social welfare), 16 March 1925, 2.
27. "Zhisang baogao," 130.
28. *Ibid.*, 131. There had been negotiations with Duan concerning the place where Sun's body would lie in state. See Harrison, *The Making of the Republican Citizen*, 138–140.
29. "Zhisang baogao," 133.
30. Guan, "Lingqi Binyunsi, Changchen Zijinshan," 11.
31. Milton T. Stauffer, ed., *The Christian Occupation of China: A General Survey of the Numerical Strength and Geographical Distribution of the Christian Forces in China Made by the Special Committee on Survey and Occupation* (Shanghai: China Continuation Committee, 1922).
32. This movement even came in for an occasional cheer in the Western press. See W. B. G., "A Word for Anti-Christianity," *The China Weekly Review*, 28 February 1925, 344. A Chinese "Anti-Christian Students Federation" was founded in 1922; see Jessie G. Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions: The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920–28* (Notre Dame, IN: Cross Cultural Publications, 1988), 48.
33. See Jiang Chunfang, "Sulian dianying zai Zhongguo" (Russian film in China), *Dianying yishu* 5 (1959): 23.
34. [Chen] Duxiu, "Ping Zhongshan xiansheng sihou zhi gefangmian" (Critical note on some aspects of Mr. Sun Yat-sen after his death), *Xiangdao*, 107 (21 March 1925): 897.
35. Edna Lee Booker, *News is My Job: A Correspondent in War Torn China* (New York: Macmillan, 1940), 185.
36. *Ibid.*, 184–185.
37. *Far Eastern Times*, 20 March 1925, quoted in Léon Wieger, *Chine Moderne*, tome VI: *Le Feu aux Poudres* (Shanghai: Hien-hien, 1925), 173.
38. Booker, *News is My Job*, 186. An Italian businessman filming what he called the "Funeral Procession of Little Lenin" (*Il funi del piccolo Lenin*) stated in a text accompanying scenes of the musical corps in the procession that they were intoning the Internationale. Venanzio Sella, *Tra i Figli del Cielo* (Among the Sons of Heaven), a silent film with Italian titles and commentary, restored in 2000 by the laboratory Bruno Favro for the Museo Nazionale del Cinema, segment starting in minute 30.16.
39. "Zhisang baogao," 132.
40. *Ibid.*, 132–133.
41. *Yishibao*, 19 March 1925, 2.
42. "Zhisang baogao," 153–158.

43. “Zhongshan zhang Tiananmen” (To bury Sun Yat-sen at Tiananmen), *Shuntian shibao*, 24 March 1925. See Wang Liping, “Creating a National Symbol,” 28, and n. 17.
44. “Wang Yiting guanyu lingmu tu’an pingpan baogao” (Report by Wang Yiting on the judgment concerning the plan for the mausoleum), in Nanjing shi dang’an guan Zhongshan lingyuan guanlichu, ed., *Zhongshan ling dang’an shiliao xuanbian* (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji, 1986), 147.
45. Torsten Warner, *Deutsche Architektur in China: Architekturtransfer* (Berlin: Ernst und Sohn, 1995), 130–131. A photograph of the Shanghai building will be found here. This building, situated on the corner of West Yan’an St. and Huashan St., was torn down in 1989 to make space for the International Equatorial Hotel.
46. Among the four judges, Busch was the only one who had proposed ranking the first three winners, an action eventually adopted unanimously by the Committee. On the ranking of the first two, Ling Hungxu, the president of Nanyang University, also agreed, while the sculptor Li Jinfa inverted it. The vote of the remaining judge, the *guohua* (Chinese-style/Nationalist) painter Wang Zhen, is not known to me. See also Guan, “Lingqi Binyunsi, Changchen Zijinshan,” 12.
47. Sun Zhongshan xiansheng zangshi zhoubi weiyuanhui, “Lingmu xuan jiang zhengqiu tu’an tiaoli” (15 May 1925) (Regulations for the competition to find a plan for the mausoleum), in *Zhongshan ling dang’an shiliao xuanbian*, 149–150.
48. *Ibid.*, 152.
49. See Wang Liping’s comments on the use of the term *lingmu*, referring to an imperial tomb, for Sun’s mausoleum, “Creating a National Symbol,” 33.
50. Sun Zhongshan xiansheng zangshi zhoubi weiyuanhui, “Lingmu xuan jiang zhengqiu tu’an tiaoli,” 152.
51. *Ibid.*
52. Henry Killiam Murphy, “Architecture,” in Harley Farnsworth MacNair, ed., *China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946), 369.
53. Henry K. Murphy, “An Architectural Renaissance in China,” *Asia* 28 (1928): 468–475.
54. On Murphy, see three works by Jeffrey W. Cody, “Henry K. Murphy, an American Architect in China, 1914–1935,” Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1989; *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy’s “Adaptive Architecture,” 1914–1935* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2001); and “Striking a Harmonious Chord: Foreign Missionaries and Chinese-style Buildings, 1911–1949,” *Architronic* 5, no. 3 (1996), <http://architronic.saed.kent.edu/v5n3/v5n3.03a.html>. Murphy wrote extensively about the development of Chinese architecture; see his “Architecture,” 363–371. On city planning in Guangzhou, see Cody, *Building in China*, 174–182, and “American Planning in Republican China, 1911–1937,” *Planning Perspectives* 11 (1996): 352–355. For Sun Yat-sen’s utopian master plan for China, which would attract huge amounts of international capital for its development (as, in fact, it does at present), see Sun Yat-sen, *The International Development of China* (London: London Office, Chinese Ministry of Information, 1922), 27–34, for Shanghai; 51–52, for a short note on the prospects of Nanjing, for which no plan for a capital is included; and 147–150, for the housing industry.
55. Murphy, “Architecture,” 369.
56. See “Lü Yanzhi yu Zhongshan ling” (Lü Yanzhi and the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall), *Renwu* no. 5 (1986), 95.

57. Lin Keming, “Lü Yanzhi,” *Zhongguo da baike quanshu. Jianshu, yuanlin, chengshi guihua* (Beijing: China Encyclopedia Press, 1988), 312. The dates in this article are not always reliable.

58. For an illustration of this building, see Gong Deshun, Zou Denong, and Dou Yide, *Zhongguo xiandai jianshu shigang (1949–1985)* (Historical sketch of Chinese modern architecture [1949–1985]) (Tianjin: Tianjin kexue jishu chubanshe, 1989), 2. For the evaluation, see Murphy, “Architecture,” 369. For an analysis of some aspects of this building see Fitzgerald, *Awakening China*, 12–15. I cannot find the evidence for Fitzgerald’s assumption that this building was planned and completed before the mausoleum in Nanjing.

59. See the fine documentation in Chen Yunqian, “‘Zongli yixiang’ yu Sun Zhongshan chongbai” (The commemorative photo of the president and the veneration of Sun Zhongshan), *Jiangsu shehui kexue* 6 (2006): 106–108.

60. The first three places in the competition all went to Chinese architects with a foreign education. The seven honorary prizes all went to foreign architectural bureaus; see Preparation Committee for the Management of the President’s Burial, “Report on the Handling of Submissions for the Memorial,” in *Sun Zhongshan feng’an dadian*, 89. This report is dated 10 October 1925.

61. The photo is under the URL http://axing.81630.com/WebGUIAdmin/index.pl/landscape_15 (downloaded 3 January 2004). There is a possible visual parallel, kindly suggested by Horst Bredekamp, to the first abstract modern commemorative monuments, the Marinedenkmal in Laboe, near Kiel, Germany, designed by Gustav August Münzer in 1927, and finished in 1936, and the roughly contemporary Monumento al Marinaio d’Italia in Brindisi. For images, see <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/4718173> (25 August 2008), and http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monumento_al_Marinaio_d%27Italia (25 August 2008).

62. See the description in the website of Yuxiu Mountain Park: <http://www.yuxiupark-gz.com/zsjnb.htm>. To make room for this enlightened stele, the old monastery to the bodhisattva Guanyin on this mountain was torn down in 1929. To this day, however, the mountain is popularly referred to as Guanyin Mountain.

63. See his statement accompanying the plan as submitted in 1925: “Lü Yanzhi guanyu Sun Zhongshan lingmu jianshu tu’an shuoming,” in *Sun Zhongshan feng’an dadian*, 94–97. The text is the same as Lü Yanzhi, “Sun Zhongshan xiansheng lingmu jianshu tu’an shuoming” (Explanatory notes on the plan for building the mausoleum for Mr. Sun Yat-sen), *Liangyou huabao* (December 1925): 13.

64. The diverse plans are reproduced in *Sun Zhongshan feng’an dadian*, unnumbered illustrations at the beginning of the volume. See particularly the plans that received honorable mention from the architectural bureau by Cyrill Nebuskad, Zhao Shen, and the firms Francis Kales, C. Y. Anney and W. Frey, W. Livin Goldenstaedt, and Zdanwitch and Goldenstaedt. See *Sun Zhongshan feng’an dadian*, 89.

65. “Ling Hongxu guanyu lingmu tu’an pingpan baogao” (Ling Hongxu’s report of his evaluation of the plans for the mausoleum), *Zhongshan ling dang’an shiliao xuanbian*, 161.

66. Confucius, *Lunyu* (Analects), 3, 24, *Lunyu yinde* (Taipei: Chinese Materials and Research Aids Center, 1966).

67. The symbolism of Sun Yat-sen’s tomb has been picked up by PRC propagandists. An official PRC website has this to say: “The historical mission of ‘arousing the masses of the people’ was assumed by the leaders and the political party leading the new democratic revolution and socialist revolution and construction. The bell culture developed further. When the 11th Asian Games opened in Beijing in 1990, the sponsors held an impressive bell-and-drum-beating ceremony to

enhance the spirit of striving to make the Chinese nation stronger and stronger and promoting virtue by material means. . . . New “Admonish-the-World” bells, such as motto bells and school motto bells, appeared in China in 1992. These bells explored the resources of moral worship from ancient Chinese bells and carried forward the ethical progress in the course of the Chinese revolution over the past dozens of years, turning the Chinese bell culture into a new culture of practical importance in which bells play a guiding role. The core of the bell culture is education.” “The age old Chinese bell culture,” <http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/FbiCh/78450.htm> (3 January 2004).

68. See Catherine V. Yeh, “Zeng Pu’s Niehai Hua as a Political Novel: A World Genre in a Chinese Form,” Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1990, chap. 1.

69. <http://www.ushistory.org/libertybell/> (downloaded 3 January 2004).

70. *Zhongshan ling dang’an shiliao xuanbian*, 154. In 1946 Guo Moruo complained that what he called the “Liberty Bell” of the landscaping could be seen only from an airplane, but not by normal pedestrians. Guo Moruo, “Nanjing yinxiang 8: Ye ling” (Nanjing impressions 8: Paying respects to the Mausoleum), *Wenhui bao* (28 July 1946): 7.

71. This spread was greatly helped by the efforts of the China branch of the U.S. Committee on Public Information, which Wilson had originally set up in the United States to convince his countrymen to join in the Great War in far-away Europe. See George Creel, *How We Advertised America: The First Telling of the Amazing Story of the Committee on Public Information that Carried the Gospel of Americanism to Every Corner of the Globe* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937); Hans Schmidt, “Democracy for China: American Propaganda and the May Fourth Movement,” *Diplomatic History* 221, no. 1 (1998): 1–28.

72. Chen Yunqian, “Zhishujie yu Sun Zhongshan chongbai” (Tree Planting Day and the veneration for Sun Yat-sen), *Nanjing Daxue xuebao. Zhexue, rewen kexue, shehuikexue* 5 (2006): 76–90.

73. Jiang Yi (Chiang Yee), *Chongfang Zhongguo* (China revisited), quoted in Guan, “Lingqi Binyunsi, Changchen Zijinshan,” 12. The submission date was postponed because a number of foreign competitors asked for an extension, as they could not make the deadline.

74. *Zhongshan ling dang’an xuanbian*, 153.

75. The actual situation was more complex, as Julia Strauss has shown through her study of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in that period: Julia Strauss, *Strong Institutions in Weak Politics: State Building in Republican China, 1927–1940* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), chap. 6.

76. *Zhongshan ling dang’an xuanbian*, 153.

77. This observation follows Guo Moruo’s in his “Nanjing yinxiang 8,” 7.

78. *Zhongshan ling dang’an xuanbian*, 153.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Ibid.*, 214.

81. The story is probably based on the chapter “Zhongshanling heyi jian zai Zijinshan” (Why has Zhongshanling been built on Mt. Zijin), in Du Qin, *Xinhai fengyun* (Anecdotes from the Xinhai Revolution), quoted in Guan, “Lingqi Binyunsi, Changchen Zijinshan,” 12. *Beijing ribao* reported on 20 May 1929 a discussion between Song Qingling, Sun Ke, and doctors in the PUMC about the conservation of the body, especially as it was planned to allow participants in the ceremonies in Nanjing to see it with their own eyes. Wang Liping quotes a memoir from someone who claims to have seen the body when it was re clothed in Beijing and noted no signs of decay. Wang Liping, “Creating a National Symbol,” 62, n. 87, quoting from Han Zhengli, “Zhongshan ling de xin jian

yu Zhongshan xiansheng feng'an" (The new building of Zhongshanling and the funeral ceremonies for Mr. Sun Yat-sen), *Jiangning chunqiu* (November 1984): 51–52. The members of the Funeral Committee in Peking, however, wrote to the GMD Central Committee after having checked the body in Azure Cloud Monastery that Sun's "appearance had not changed and his clothes looked like new." "Yinjiu banshi chu shimo," *Zhongshan ling dang'an xuanbian*, 243.

82. I thank the Institute for Advanced Study, Berlin, where I had the honor and the pleasure to be a Fellow for a year, to allow me to present my findings. In our discussions various links were suggested by other Fellows, on which I have followed up.

83. Françoise Hamon and Charles MacCallum, eds., *Louis Visconti, 1791–1853* (Paris: Delegation a l'Action Artistique de la Ville de Paris, 1991).

84. Daniel French (1850–1931) was the most acclaimed sculptor of public monuments in the United States at the time. Other works of his include the sculpture of Captain John Parker in Lexington, Massachusetts, and of John Harvard at Harvard University.

85. Peterson, *Lincoln in American Memory*, 214–217.

86. The plaster original is today in Taipei.

87. Since his "Mur des Reformateurs" (The wall of the reformers) in Geneva (1909), Landowski's international fame had spread, reaching a high point with his large installation Temple de l'Homme (Temple of Man) for the 1925 Exposition Internationale des Arts Decoratifs et Industriels Modernes, which gave Art Deco its name. After World War II, Landowski became director of the Beaux-Arts school. A photograph and short description of the sculpture of Christ (designed by Heitor da Silva) will be found at <http://www.travellatinamerica.com/articles/general/2001/christ.htm>. A photograph of the Mur des Reformateurs, without mention of Landowski, can be found at <http://monsie.wanadoo.fr/bd.ch.geneve/page7.html>. A museum dedicated to his work is the Musée-Jardin Paul Landowski in Boulogne-Billancourt. He did more than 2,400 illustrations for the *Divina Commedia*. An introduction to his memorial monuments by Marjorie Sauvage can be consulted at <http://perso.club-internet.fr/batmarn2/landowsk.htm> (21 September 2003). The Temple de l'Homme has recently been the object of an exhibition at the Petit Palais in Paris, which asked Robert Wilson to create a performance based on Landowski's drawings, donated to this Museum for the project. *Paul Landowski, Le Temple de l'Homme* (Paris: Bruno Foucart, 1999). Landowski was also the object of a Taipei exhibition: Zheng Shumin and Huang Guangnan, eds., *Baoluo Longdefusiji diaosuzhan/ Sculpture: Paul Landowski* (Taipei: Taibei shili meishuguan, 1995).

88. The exact dates of Sun Ke's visits in 1928 over a period of some three months are not known because Landowski's journal for the period is sketchy and a part appears to be lost.

89. The story has it (Zhou, *Zhongshan lingyuan boji*, 31) that a conflict ensued between Chiang Kai-shek and Hu Hanmin on one side and Song Qingling, He Xiangning, and others over this clothing. Letters from Landowski to the Funeral Committee show, however, that the suggestion to have Sun in this apparel and not in the Zhongshan suit came from Landowski himself. This does not preclude that the sculptor was an unwitting actor in a political confrontation with wider ramifications. Liu Haisu seems to have alerted him to Sun's efforts at creating a revolutionary dress. By that time, however, the sculpture was already too advanced. The decision about Sun's "Chinese-style dress" was made by the Funeral Committee on 20 October 1928; see *Zhongshan ling dang'an shiliao*, 130. It is not clear from the protocol who made the suggestion. On 1 December 1928, the Committee also ordered a bronze bust of Sun Yat-sen from Landowski, *ibid.*, 133. A photograph of Landowski in his studio next to Sun's sculpture was auctioned by Vintage Works in 2002 and can be seen at http://www.vintageworks.net/search/result_list.php?newSearch=1&cpNameStr=Keystone+View+Co (20 September 2002). For the shoes, see Zheng and Huang, eds., *Baoluo Longdefusiji diaosuzhan*, 110.

90. See entry Koči in Prokop Toman, *Nový slovník československých výtvarných umělců* (New dictionary of Czechoslovak artists) (Prague: V Praze, R. Ryšavý, 1947), 308. This article refers as its source to the *Hexagon*, a Shanghai English-language journal “devoted to architecture, construction, and designs” that was established in 1929. I have not been able to locate a copy of the issue of this journal containing this information. Koči worked on the Sun sculpture, which was made from white Beijing marble over a period of one year and three months. See *Beijing ribao*, 30 May 1929, 4. On the presence of Czech artists in China and their role in the Beijing Art Academy at the time, see “Vojtech Chytil: A Czech Painter in Beijing,” *Orientations* (Hong Kong) 22, no. 8 (August 1991): 26–32.
91. *Shangshu*, Kanggao, trans. J. Legge, *The Sacred Books of China, The Texts of Confucianism*, Pt. I: *The Shu King* (London: Clarendon Press, 1879), 168.
92. “(Zangshi zhouweihui) huiyi jilu, 52nd session, 27 October 1927” (Protocol of the Preparatory Committee for the Funeral, 27 October 1927), in *Zhongshan ling dang’an shiliao xuanbian*, 112.
93. The decision to ask Hu Hanmin to write the script from which the Testament would be cut was made at the meeting on 7 January 1928. See *ibid.*, 117.
94. “(Zangshi zhouweihui) huiyi jilu,” 65th session, 13 December 1928 (Protocol of the Preparatory Committee for the Funeral, 13 December 1928), *ibid.*, 137.
95. *Ibid.*, 147.
96. “(Zangshi zhouweihui) huiyi jilu, 61st session, 25 September 1928” (Protocol of the Preparatory Committee for the Funeral, September 25, 1928), *ibid.*, 128.
97. Leonard Shihlien Hsü, *Sun Yat-sen, His Political and Social Ideals* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1933), 35.
98. Cody, *Building in China*, 180.
99. Murphy involved three collaborators in the project: Ernest P. Goodrich, Colonel Irving C. Möller, and Theodore T. McCroskey. See Jeffrey Cody, “American Planning in Republican China,” 355, referring to *China Critic* 2 (1929): 517.
100. Cody, *Building in China*, 186–187. Murphy’s drafts are reproduced on these pages. The description here closely follows Cody. The plan was published in 1929 in Nanjing. Guodu sheji jishu zhuan yuan banshichu, *Shoudu jihua* (Plan for the Capital), Nanjing, 1929. I have not seen this work. During the same period, we see other plans for capitals following the model of the National Mall in Washington, such as the plan for New Delhi by Sir Edwin Landseer Lutyens with his particular brand of adaptive style and Canberra designed by the Chicago Beaux-Arts architect Walter Burley Griffin, which is discussed in the essays by Van Zanten and Kuan.
101. *Zongli feng’an shilu* (True record of the funeral ceremonies for the president), Nanjing, 1930, 3b. I am grateful to the Second Archive in Nanjing for providing me with a copy of this item. Henrietta Harrison also lists it in her bibliography.
102. The most important source is *Zongli feng’an shilu*. This very extensive document offers the integrated master plan for the entire Nanjing enterprise and can be used for the same purpose as the extensive article in *Jianzhu xuebao* that was used for my analysis of the Mao Zedong Memorial Hall transfer.
103. Peterson, *Lincoln in American Memory*, 14–35. Lincoln, in his turn, was directly linked to Washington. See also the more detailed description in the Lincoln biography by Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1940), vol. 6, 394–404. Sandburg is part of an American hagiographic literature on Lincoln that has close affinities with the Chinese writings about Sun Yat-sen.

104. For this aspect, see Shirley Samuels, "Lincoln's Body," *The Mickle Street Review: An Electronic Journal of Whitman and American Studies* (Summer 2001), no. 14 (<http://micklestreet.rutgers.edu/archive/#>). I am indebted to Dr. Thomas Hahn for drawing my attention to this article (consulted 15 October 2003).
105. At this moment I boldly assume that the Funeral Committee was familiar with the story of Lincoln's funeral train, at least through the literature surrounding the completion of the Lincoln Memorial Hall, but I do not have proof.
106. *Dagong bao*, 19 May 1929, 11.
107. *Ibid.*, 4.
108. *Ibid.*, 21 May 1929, 4.
109. *Ibid.*, 30 May 1929, advertisement, 16. I was not able to obtain a copy of this film.
110. *Ibid.*, 10 May 1929, 3–4. Also see *Beijing ribao*, 9 May 1929; 12 May 1929, 2; and 13 May 1929, 2. The full text of the regulations is in *Zongli feng'an shilu*, 6b-11a.
111. *Beijing ribao*, 15 May 1929, 11.
112. *Zongli Feng'an shilu*, 4–12.
113. *Dagongbao*, editorial, 2 June 1929.
114. See Chen Yunqian, "Kongjian chongzu yu Sun Zhongshan chongbai: Yi Minguo shiqi Zhongshan Gongyuan wei zhongxin de kaocha" (Reconstruction of space and veneration for Sun Yat-sen: An investigation focused on the Sun Yat-sen gardens during the Republic), *Shilin*, no. 1 (2006): 1–8.
115. See Li Gongzhong, "'Zongli jinian zhou' yu Minguo zhengzhi wenhua" (The weekly commemoration for the president and political cultural of the Republican period), *Fujian luntan. Renwen shehui kexue ban*, no. 1 (2006): 56–60.
116. For the survival of these beliefs among revolutionaries, see Virgil Kit-Yiu Ho, "Martyrs or Ghosts? A Short Cultural History of a Tomb in Revolutionary Canton, 1911–1970," *East Asian History* 27 (2004): 103–138.
117. Marius B. Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955). Wang Jingwei strengthened this aspect of Sun's past through an English-language compilation; see Sun Yat-sen, *China and Japan: Natural Friends—Unnatural Enemies: A Guide for China's Foreign Policy*, Tang Leang-li, ed. (Shanghai: China United Press, 1941).
118. Zhou, *Zhongshan lingyuan boji*, 337.
119. *Minguo ribao*, 6 April 1942.
120. Pan, *Huashengdun zai Zhongguo*, 12.
121. "Wang Jingwei mu pinghui ji," (Flattening the tomb of Wang Jingwei) *Yangcheng wanbao*, 8 August 2002. See <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2002-08-04/1653659802.html>.
122. Zhou, *Zhongshan lingyuan boji*, 309–322. Wang Jingwei continued to have a shameful afterlife. In the early 1990s the administration of the Zhongshanling set up a small statue about 130 cm high on the site of Wang's original tomb. The marble statue shows a kneeling Wang Jingwei with tie and tailcoat (Japanese style), hands handcuffed behind his back, bowing in the direction of Sun Yat-sen's tomb to confess his guilt as a traitor. The statue was removed in 1997 because onlookers had taken to polluting the site by spitting and urinating on the sculpture, and because a discussion about Wang Jingwei had begun in the PRC that went beyond depicting him as a traitor. A journalist from the *Nanjing chenbao* discovered the statue in 2008 hidden in a

shed next to the tomb of the first Ming emperor. “Nanjing Meihuashan faxian Wang Jingwei guixiang, guixiang zeng mianchao Sun Zhongshan lingtang” (On Meihua Mountain in Nanjing a statue of Wang Jingwei kneeling was discovered, which originally bowed in the direction of Sun Yat-sen’s tomb. I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for informing me about this statue. For pictures of the statue, see: <http://blog.163.com/ziling6@126/blog/static/25206374200772162548694> and <http://news.artxun.com> 2008-03-24 19:01:54 (downloaded 13 July 2009).

123. *Wenhui bao*, 6 May 1946, 1.

124. Zhou, *Zhongshan lingyuan boji*, 324–326.

125. *Ibid.*, 332.

126. W. Y. Tsao, *The Constitutional Structure of Modern China* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1947), 89.

Delin Lai

12 THE SUN YAT-SEN MEMORIAL AUDITORIUM

A Preaching Space for Modern China

In his pioneering work, *A History of Building Types*, Nikolaus Pevsner interprets the rapid increase and evolution of different building types in the nineteenth century as the response to the modern transformation of Western society.¹ The book uses structures such as monuments, libraries, theaters, hospitals, prisons, hotels, and factories as examples. However, it overlooks two other important types—the classroom and auditorium. Serving as both facilities for mass education as well as lecturing spaces, these two building types, which I here call “preaching space,” have played significant roles in China’s modern transformation, especially for nation-state building during the Republican period in the first half of the twentieth century. Their significance in modern Chinese architectural history will become more evident if we look at any Chinese architectural history book, in which palace, temple, pagoda, theater house, residential compound, and garden dominate each chapter on the architecture of premodern China. How did a preaching space appear in modern China, and how did it serve China’s nation-state building? How did it bring new requirements to architectural design and how did a Chinese-style architecture both accommodate and respond to these requirements? This chapter answers these questions through a case study focusing on the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Auditorium in Guangzhou, built between 1926 and 1931 (fig. 12.1). Until 1959, when the Great Hall of the People in Beijing was built, the Sun Yat-sen Auditorium remained China’s largest auditorium, and it survives as one of the most important examples of a Chinese-style, modern structure.

Fig. 12.1. Lü Yanzhi, Sun Yat-sen Memorial Auditorium, Guangzhou. Photo by author.

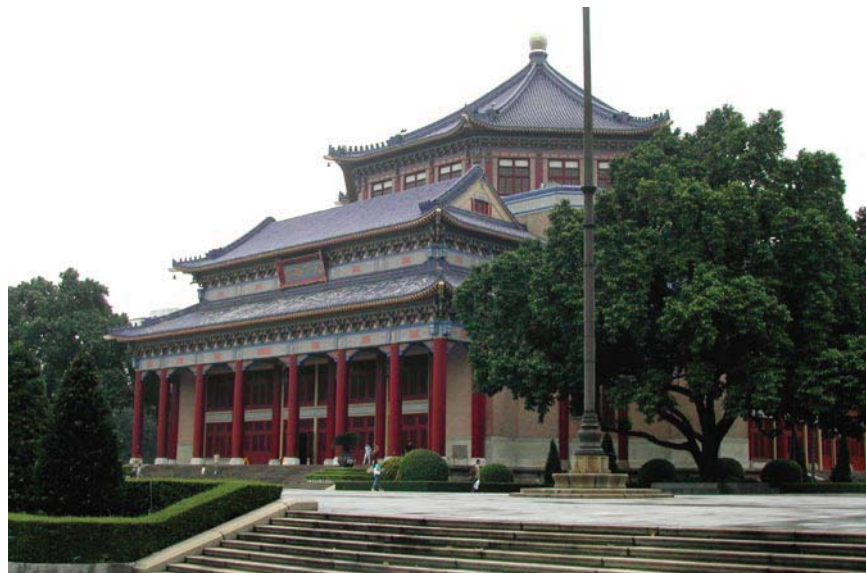




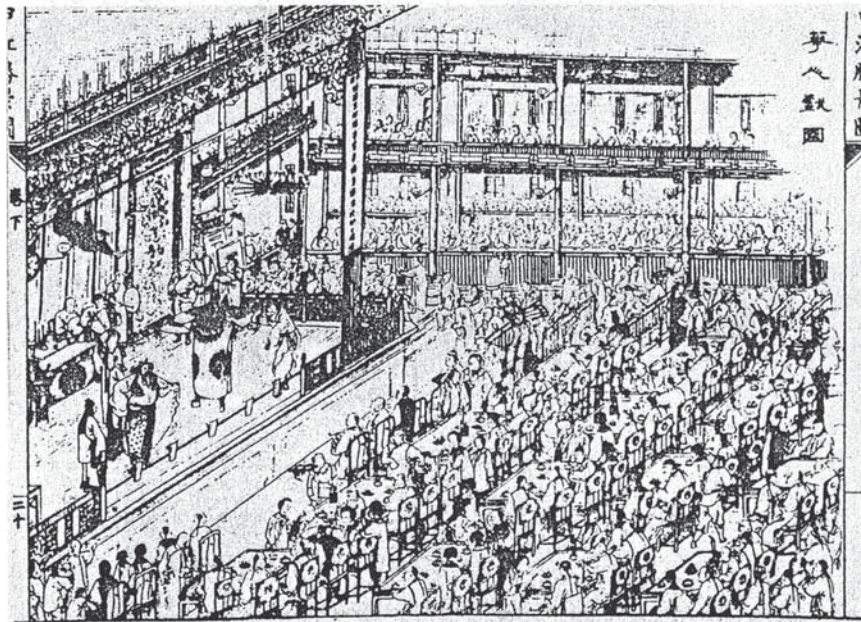
Fig. 12.2. Teacher and students at a private school. From Yu Jixing and Chen Zuen, *Lao mingxin pian: Fengsu pian* (Old post cards: customs collection) (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1999), 132.

Traditional Chinese Congregation Spaces vs. a Modern Preaching Space

In February 1926 the Nationalist government, led by the Guomindang (GMD), decided to build a monument in commemoration of Sun Yat-sen, who had died a year earlier. The building derived its name, Jiniantang (memorial hall), from the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC. However, the new building in Guangzhou was not merely conceived for the purpose of commemoration. The auditorium, traditionally used for assemblies, lectures, mass education, and religious preaching and rituals was intended to commemorate Sun and disseminate his thought.

Historically, China has a tradition of educational spaces, particularly lecture halls in Buddhist monasteries and Confucian academies. However, since the development of Pure Land Buddhism in the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279), the hall for worshipping Buddhist icons in a monastery had come to supersede the lecture hall as the most significant place.² Furthermore, since the crackdown against the liberal intellectuals of the Donglin School in the late Ming dynasty and the

Fig. 12.3. Wu Youru, A Chinese Theater. From Wu Youru, *Shenjiang shengjing tu* (Famous sights of Shanghai) (Shanghai: Dianshizhai, 1885), vol. 2, 19–20.



continuing tight control of the Qing court over scholars, Confucian academies changed from institutions of freethinking to the place for civil examinations, which emphasized writing over lecturing.³ This continued until the late nineteenth century with what the Westerners saw as they began to document Chinese society and Chinese schools with their cameras. These images showed teachers who sat either behind or beside students. Clearly the teachers' role in the classroom was less that of a lecturer than a supervisor (fig. 12.2).

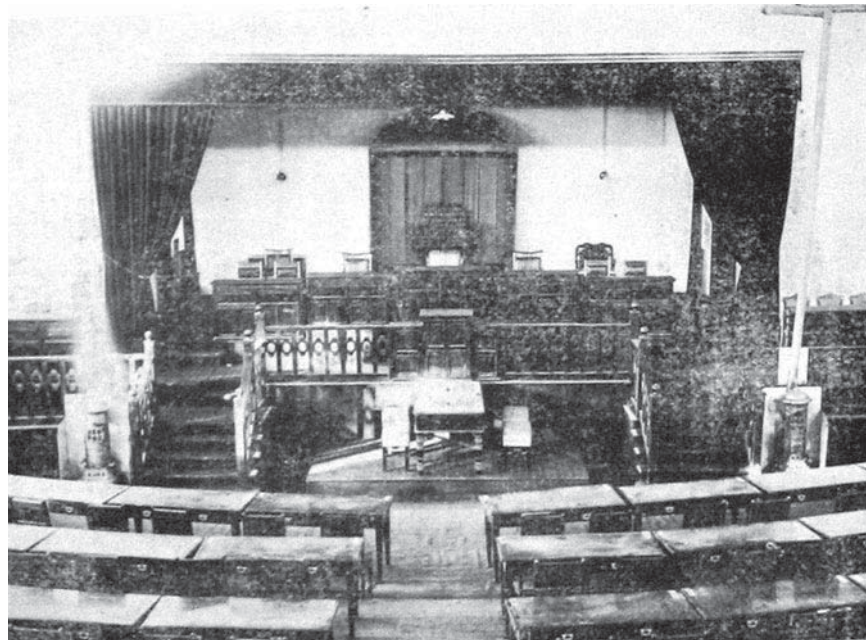
A congregational and educational facility, the auditorium reappeared in Chinese social life during the modern era after the downfall of the Qing dynasty and with the emergence of Western influence. Accompanying the expansion of foreign powers in China—militarily, economically, as well as culturally—the auditorium was also popularized in other forms, such as churches and schools.⁴ They competed with the Chinese state for believers through preaching and lecturing, methods different from those that were traditionally employed in China, which, as a result of the imperial examination system, emphasized recitation and memorization more.

A modern auditorium differed fundamentally from the traditional Chinese theater house and guild hall, two of the most important Chinese building types associated with mass congregation until the early twentieth century. In these

traditional congregation spaces, the stage protruded outward into the audience space (*chizi*), and the actor, surrounded by the audience on three sides, thus performed in the midst of the audience rather than completely separated from those who witnessed the performance. In that audience space, seats were clustered around tables to enable the audience to snack, drink tea, chat, and even walk around while watching the stage performance, to which they freely responded with disdain, passion, applause, or jeers. The theater space gave the actors limited authority over the audience; it had to be gained through reputation, charisma, and performance abilities. The theater house and guild hall, therefore, were typical “amusement spaces” (fig.12.3). The amusement space was characterized by its disorderliness and lack of discipline because of the lack of regulation of movement, the placement of people within the space, and the possibility of communication among the audience.

Compared with traditional mass congregational spaces, their modern counterparts differed in their deliverer-receiver relationships. First, the preaching space clearly delineated the speaker’s zone and listeners’ zone; they faced each other to enable direct communication. Second, it provided a disciplined space for the audience, where seats were arranged in an orderly manner that was recognizable by the speaker. The order made the speaker feel that the audience was under his

Fig. 12.4. Architect unknown, Parliament Hall, Beijing, ca. 1910. From *Dongfang zazhi* 8, 2 (April 1911).



control; his authority was enhanced. Third, a stage or podium privileged the speaker's position in the space. Facing the audience, the speaker was the visual focus as well as the information source. The acoustic design and equipment allowed the voice of the speaker to be heard easily by the audience but not vice versa, restricting communication to one direction so that the interaction between deliverer and receiver was privileged over that of the interaction among the members of the audience. Rather than an ordinary gathering place, the classroom and auditorium became a preaching space that enabled a large number of people to be educated, and one where the roles of leader and led, speaker and audience, were explicitly defined by space.

China's transformation from monarchy to republic was accompanied by public rallies and lectures among newly formed social groups and political parties. Modern-style schools, public speaking, and newspapers were "three effective instruments of popularizing modern civilization," as the Japanese politician Inukai Tsuyoshi stated, and as was avowed by the Chinese reformer Liang Qichao.⁵ Several changes in modern Chinese education could be facilitated by the new type of communication, including the use of spoken rather than classical language in teaching, note-taking in learning,⁶ oral expression in training,⁷ and the emergence of the preaching space.

When political propaganda relied on the public sphere, spaces for public congregation, such as auditoriums, cinemas, traditional theater houses, or guild halls, were appropriated to serve an educational function. For instance, from August to September 1912, Sun Yat-sen delivered five lectures in Beijing at the Hu-Guang Guild Hall (Huguang Huiguan). When he addressed the public a month later, on 15 October, in Shanghai, it was at the Great China Opera House (Dahua xiyuan), a modernized entertainment space.⁸ Similar to religious preaching, the auditorium building embodied a modern notion: to facilitate mass education through spatial design, a notion also reflected in Christian churches and schools run by Western missionaries. Not by accident, in the early twentieth century, famous Western auditoriums were introduced in Chinese publications, as were the principles of acoustic design.⁹

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, another congregational space, the parliament hall, also appeared in China. To enable the participants in the space to discuss political issues, a parliament hall had to provide them with the possibilities not only of audio but also of visual communication, while simultaneously prioritizing the position of the speaker. The parliament of the late Qing dynasty was one such example. Since Japan was the most successful country in East Asia and had achieved modernization under a monarchical-constitutional

system, the spatial design of the Qing parliament was modeled after Japan's Diet hall (Yoshii Shigenori, Adolph Stegmüller, and Oscar Tietze, 1890–1891).¹⁰ The main focus of the space was the throne, where the emperor presided. In front of the throne were rostrum seats for the speaker and the vice speaker, other seats for military and civic officials that flanked the forum, and eight rows of seats for 200 congressmen. The congressmen's seats were arranged in a fan configuration centered around the throne, so that the emperor and his representatives could face one another with the shortest possible distance between them. This distance was less than 25 meters, allowing both sides to see each other's expression and, in so doing, to better understand their colleagues' political attitudes by what was implied by their faces, emotions, and overall demeanors (fig. 12.4).

Fig. 12.5. Old Shanghai Church: the Church of the Immaculate Conception built in 1640. From *The Chinese Recorder* 63 (July 1937), frontispiece.



In the early twentieth century, parliament buildings also appeared in certain provincial capitals, notably Wuhan, Guangzhou, and Nanjing. Unfortunately in 1913, Yuan Shikai, the president of the Republic of China, and his followers, who were progressively pursuing authoritarianism, assassinated Song Jiaoren, the leader of the GMD, which held a majority in both houses of the National Assembly. To silence differing opinions, Yuan went on to dismiss the Assembly altogether a year later. These actions ended, at least for a while, China's experiments with parliamentary politics during the early Republican period. They also hindered the development of parliamentary spaces in modern China.

Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary Agenda and a Preaching Space

In his lifetime Sun Yat-sen consciously addressed various kinds of congregations in order to propagate his revolutionary agenda. As Tang Chengye has pointed out, these congregations included reception parties (*huanying hui*), funeral services (*zhuidao hui*), commemoration services (*jinian hui*), and celebrations (*qingzhu hui*), which helped to achieve what Sun had

expected, namely, “to unify people’s mind and to gather the mass’ force” (*tuanjie renxin, jiuhe qunli*).¹¹ Sun also expressed this expectation in his final testament, when he said: “For forty years I have devoted myself to the cause of National Revolution, the aim of which is to secure for China a position of independence and equality among nations. The accumulated experience of these forty years has fully convinced me that to attain this goal it is necessary to awaken the mass of our own people.”¹²

Within a year after Sun’s death, the GMD introduced and institutionalized a weekly service (*jinian zhou*) in commemoration of him. Intended to imitate a Christian religious service as a means of inculcating a belief among the Chinese people, the service was to be held every Monday (originally Sunday) morning and to include such activities as standing in silence, bowing three times to Sun’s portrait, reading aloud his testament, reciting his other talks, and reporting on Party affairs in front of his portrait.¹³ Constructing an auditorium in Sun’s memory would combine both functions of commemoration and ideological propaganda. In other words, rather than participants actively paying homage to the deceased, they could be acted upon, receiving Sun’s teachings and, in the process, helping him posthumously to realize his will.

Nonetheless, the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Auditorium was not to be an ordinary lecture hall. Its location and capacity reveal the significance that the GMD placed upon it. Located right in downtown Guangzhou, the site had been, during the Qing dynasty, part of the governor’s headquarters. During the early Republican period it was used as the military governor’s headquarters, and in 1921 it served as the presidential palace when Sun held the provisional presidency. The GMD probably selected this particular site as the location for the Memorial Auditorium because the previous building compound on the site had already been destroyed during the Chen Jiongmeng Coup in 1922 and because, by erecting a new monument to Sun in that spot, the GMD created a new urban ritual center that exclusively represented the Party’s ideology. In addition, the scale of the proposed Auditorium was as significant as its location. Published in April, the competition guidelines for the design of this monument specified 5,000 seats, an unprecedented capacity of interior space in Chinese history. This was almost fifteen times the representative number of attendees at the GMD’s national congress,¹⁴ and it equaled that of the world-famous Auditorium Building in Chicago (designed by Adler and Sullivan, 1887–1889).¹⁵ No record explains why or how the GMD chose this size, and yet a large scale would be commensurate with Sun’s status in and contribution to modern China. Furthermore, a large capacity would allow an exceptional number of people to participate in the commemoration and the lessons provided by Sun’s teaching.



Fig. 12.6. Harry H. Hussey, Chapel, Peking Union Medical College, Beijing, 1918. Photo by author.

“Translation” Approach and the Design of the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Auditorium in Guangzhou

The architectural competition for the design of the Auditorium ended in September 1926. No foreign architect submitted a proposal, probably because Guangzhou was coincidentally then the center of anti-imperialist movements and the Grand Strike of Guangdong and Hong Kong, which lasted from June 1925 to October 1926, were still on-going. The architect Lü Yanzhi, who the year before had won a prize for his design for the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, was once again awarded the first prize in Guangzhou.¹⁶ The second and third prize awards went to Yang Xizong and Fan Wenzhao, winners of the third and second prize awards, respectively, in the Mausoleum competition. Yang, a classmate of Lü’s and a 1918 graduate of Cornell, was practicing in Guangzhou and Hong Kong, while Fan (University of Pennsylvania, 1921) was practicing in Shanghai.¹⁷ There is no published record about other proposed designs except a list of names, including three that received an honorable mention. The names of the three winners give the impression that the Auditorium’s preparatory committee may have expected that the competition would appear in tandem with the one in Nanjing.¹⁸ Lü continued his approach to a Chinese-style modern architecture that he had applied to the design of Sun’s tomb, which had been praised by the jury because it “purely used a Chinese style, and was best characterized by its ability to preserve Chinese art [tradition].”¹⁹

In terms of the design of Chinese-style auditoriums, there had been two basic modes reflected in the existing buildings and architectural designs prior to the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Auditorium. One I call a “translation from Chinese to Western,” and the other a “translation from Western to Chinese.” The first drew similarities between the rectangular Chinese building plan and a Western basilica plan, but turned the ritual procession, which was along the short axis of a building in traditional China, so that it proceeded down the long axis. In this case the end walls of a building, especially the one at the entrance side, acquired an increased visual prominence. One of the earliest Christian spaces in China for sermonizing, the Church of the Immaculate Conception (Jingyi tang) in Shanghai, built by the Italian priest Francesco Brancati in 1640, may have represented the first attempt at the church’s sinicization. Different from most traditional Chinese buildings, the church had an entrance on the side of a gable. To emphasize the entrance, a Chinese-style archway with a cross on top was attached (fig. 12.5).²⁰ The chapel of the Peking Union Medical College (PUMC), Beijing, designed by the Canadian architect Harry H. Hussey in 1918, represented an important example of this first approach. Its volumetric form consists of three Chinese-style rectangular structures arranged in an I-shaped plan, with the audience hall in the middle, and the vestibule and the stage at either end (fig. 12.6), a plan traceable to much earlier times in China (see figs. 1.3 and 1.4).²¹

Fig. 12.7. Emile Cyprien Mondeig, Church, Cizhong village, Deqin county, Yunnan, 1914. From Yang, “Lun Yunnan diqu de Jidu jiaotang jiqi jianzhu wenhua,” fig. 14. Published courtesy of Tsinghua Daxue chubanshe.



Fig. 12.8. Yang Xiliu, Fitch Memorial Church of Christ, Darroch Road, Shanghai, 1927. From *The Chinese Recorder* 60, no. 1 (January 1929), frontispiece.

Designed by the French missionary Emile Cyprien Mondeig in 1914, the church in Cizhong village, Deqin county, Yunnan, seems to have adopted the second “translation” approach.²² The design shows a bell tower attached to a gable of a basilica-plan church. Since this composition certainly was modeled after the ideal scheme of a Catholic church proposed by A. W. N. Pugin in his famous book *True Principles of Pointed Architecture* (1841), but had the Gothic style changed into a hybrid version of Chinese, we can regard the design as a translation from Western to Chinese, because the corresponding elements in the Western model are replaced with Chinese-style ones (fig. 12.7).

The Fitch Memorial Church of Christ in China (Hongde tang) on Darroch Road, Shanghai, which was designed by the Chinese architect Yang Xiliu (Sih-tue Yong) in 1927, followed the same approach (fig. 12.8).

Another Western model adopted for translation was architecture of the Greek-cross plan, a plan favored by many humanists since the Renaissance because of its concentric and balanced appearance, although an auditorium of this plan might be challenging in terms of its acoustic design. The chapel of Fukien (Fujian) Christian University, designed by Henry Murphy in 1918 and characterized by a Greek-cross plan surmounted by Chinese style roofs, was a key example of the second mode (fig. 12.9).²³ Yet this building might also be interpreted as a derivative of the auditorium at Shantung (Shandong) Union College in Weifang, designed by an unknown architect in 1904 (fig. 12.10).

No matter what Western models were appropriated for the translation from a Western style to a Chinese one, the second “translation” approach itself embodied a Beaux-Arts notion of architectural design. As Julien Guadet elaborated in his monumental work *Eléments et Théories de L'Architecture* (1902), architectural design consisted of two fundamental issues: elements and composition. Elements refer to





Fig. 12.9. T. F. H. (Talbot F. Hamlin), painter. Murphy & Dana, Perspective View of Chapel, Fukien Christian University, ca. 1918. Published with permission of Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University.

walls, cornices, doors and windows, porticos, and especially pillars. Composition refers to the fine logical arrangement on plans of different architectural types, such as residences; edifices for teaching and public instruction; administrative, political, judicial, and prison edifices; and hospitals. Although Guadet took examples from the repertoire of Western architecture, his separation of architectural elements from composition opened a way for architects to substitute elements of different architectural traditions for the Western ones in a composition of an architectural type that developed in the West.

Lü's design of the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Auditorium shows an octagonal pyramidal roof and four pavilions, all in a Chinese style, on a Greek-cross plan

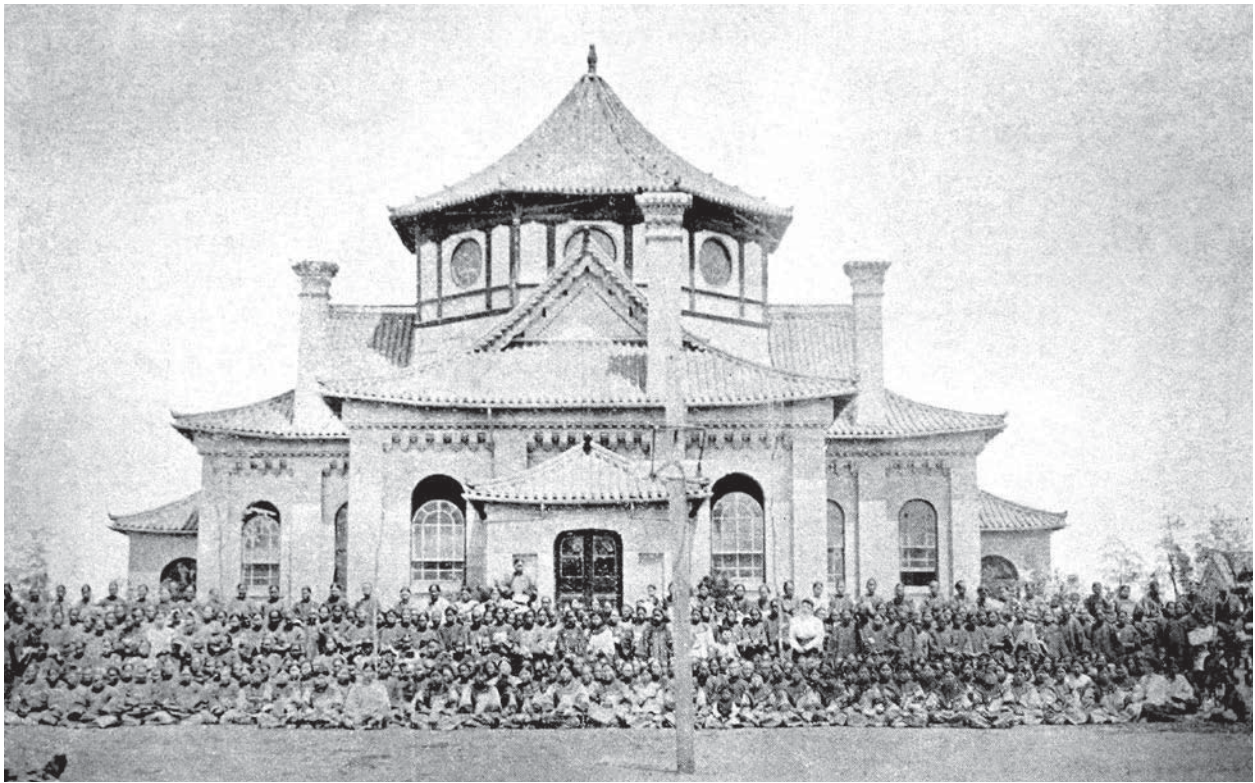


Fig. 12.10. ▲ Architect unknown, Auditorium, Shantung Union College, Weifang, 1904–1906. From *The Chinese Recorder* 37, no. 10 (October 1906), frontispiece.

Fig. 12.11. ► Lü Yanzhi, Design of Sun Yat-sen Memorial Auditorium and Monument, 1926. From *Tuhua shibao*, 10 October 1926.



Fig. 12.12. ► McKim, Mead, and White, Low Library, Columbia University, New York City, 1893. From Robin Middleton and David Watkin, *Neoclassical and 19th-Century Architecture* (New York, 1977), 315.



(fig. 12.11). In his combination of a Western architectural model with Chinese motifs, Lü obviously benefited from his training in the Beaux-Arts tradition, from his having lived in New York City, and especially from his work as an employee with Murphy, first in Manhattan and subsequently in Shanghai. For example, the Low Library at Columbia, a masterpiece of neoclassicism by McKim, Mead, and White, was merely a couple of blocks from Lü's residence at 119 West 115th Street when he was working at Murphy's New York City office from 1919 to 1921 (fig. 12.12).²⁴ In two important ways, Lü created an imposing, Chinese-style public building that was unprecedented in Chinese history. First, he changed the Western, classical-style corridors in the Western model into a dual-roofed Chinese-style pavilion. Second, he combined the drum and domes of a Western building into a Chinese-style octagonal pyramidal roof, in such a way that eight sloping ridges tapered to form a gilded, spherical finial. This stylistic change was most likely inspired by the chapel Murphy designed for Fukien Christian University.

Fig. 12.13. Murphy & Dana, Auditorium, Tsinghua College, Beijing, 1914–1921. Photo by author.



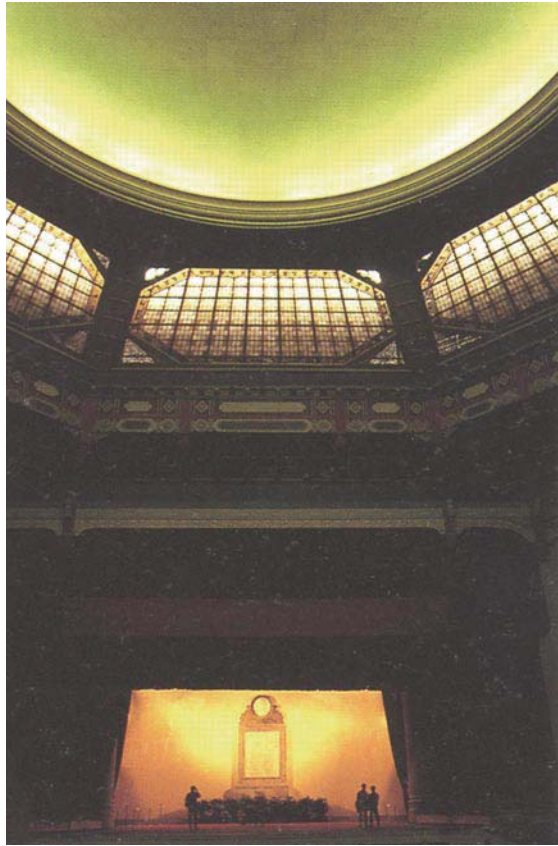


Fig. 12.14. Lü Yanzhi, Interior of Sun Yat-sen Memorial Auditorium. Photo by Changxin Peng. From Fu Chao-Ching, *Zhongguo gudian shiyang xinjianzhu* (Taipei, 1993), 123.

north-south axis. There are 4,608 seats, including thirty rows totaling 2,181 seats on the main floor, eight rows totaling 837 seats in the corridor, and ten rows totaling 1,590 seats in the balcony.²⁷ Both the corridor and the balcony were arranged in a U-shape that embraces the main floor area. The width of the auditorium space is longer than 150 feet. Although the U-shaped plan provides spectators with a better view than if Lü had employed a more longitudinal basilica plan, the distance in such an enormous space between most individual audience members and the speaker is too far to allow for either close eye contact or the identification of facial expressions. Instead, each individual is submerged in a sea of people that form the mass in front of the speaker.

During his lifetime, Sun Yat-sen often occupied the center of many kinds of gatherings and rallies. Now his final testament is inscribed in marble on the back wall of the stage and his facial relief, in a sun-like halo and with strong spatial focus, rises above cloud formations and looks down upon the Auditorium's participants.

It is also worth noting that the Greek-cross plan is visible in the auditorium of Tsinghua University, designed by Murphy from 1914 to 1921 (fig. 12.13).²⁵ This building may have embodied the enthusiasm of both the architect and the client for the newly established Republic of China, for although both Murphy and the president of the school, Zhou Yichun (Chow, Y. S.), were graduates of Yale, a campus known for its Gothic-style architecture, they employed Thomas Jefferson's University of Virginia, the Pantheon of Rome, and its derivations such as Monticello (Jefferson, 1769–1792, 1796–1809) as the models for the plan of Tsinghua and the style of the auditorium.²⁶ Therefore, Lü's use of the Greek-cross plan for the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Auditorium was adequate for the expression of the Republican ideal, although without his own words, we cannot prove this connection was intentional.

The Auditorium's scale is unprecedented: it measures 234 feet from south to north, 207 feet from east to west, and 161 feet from the ground to the top of the pyramidal roof supported by eight steel trusses, each with a span of about 120 feet. It has an octagonal plan, with the stage on the north end of the

Fig. 12.15. Interior of the Great Hall of the People, Beijing. From Remin Dahuitang Guanliju, Zhongguo Zhaopiandanguan, eds., *Renmin Dahuitang (1959–1989)* (The Great Hall of the People [1959–1989]) (Hong Kong: Xianggang Zhongguo Guanggao Gongsi, 1989), 83.

Similar to the sanctuary or the altar in a Christian church, the iconic image of Sun and his monumentalized will made the deceased party leader not only the highest supervisor of the space but also its most revered instructor. Attending gatherings in the Auditorium, the participants often gazed up at Sun's image, read his testament, and simultaneously imagined they were being overseen by the deceased Party Leader. Hence, gatherings in the Memorial Hall became a ritual ceremony centered on Sun as the spiritual leader, to whom people reported and from whom people received tutelage. Meanwhile, the Auditorium space provided the organizer of any lecture or other event with a double status similar to a priest in a church: (1) when bowing to Sun's image, the speaker had the audience at his/her back and played the role of the leader; and (2) when addressing the audience, the speaker was backed by Sun's image and his final testament, and thus became the representative and the embodiment of Sun's will (fig. 12.14).



When Lü Yanzhi died his untimely death in 1929, construction of the Auditorium was continued by his partners, the architect Li Jinpei (Poy Gum Lee), the manager Huang Tanfu (Tan-po Wong), and two structural engineers, Li Keng and Feng Baoling,²⁸ as well as the contractor Voh-Kee Company, one of the most innovative contracting firms then working in China, which specialized in reinforced concrete.²⁹ Though very much delayed, the edifice was ultimately opened to the public on National Day, 10 October 1931.³⁰

Auditoriums as a Preaching Space for Modern China

As a political preaching space, the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Auditorium was a material embodiment of Sun Yat-sen as well as many other revolutionaries' notion of an "awakening China."³¹ As a monument where the architectural languages came from both the Beaux-Arts tradition and traditional Chinese architecture, it reflected the Chinese nationalist ideal for a modern China that would combine the merits of both Western and indigenous Chinese traditions. As a structure designed by a Chinese architect, the Auditorium stands as a great achievement that demonstrated China's modernization in architecture.³² In terms of methodology, the architect adopted a "translation" approach to designing a modern Chinese-style building. Although this approach was initiated by Western architects, Lü was undoubtedly the first Chinese architect who applied this method in his own pursuit of China's architectural modernization. Both his designs of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum in Nanjing (1925) and the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Auditorium in Guangzhou epitomized his efforts. The "translatibility" (*keyilun*) of architecture of different cultures became an issue further discussed and dealt with by Liang Sicheng and certain other Chinese architects in the 1950s.³³

Moreover, as the ritual center of a modern political party, it provided those engaged in the urban planning of a modernizing Chinese city with a coordinate point. One result of this occurred in 1929, when the Guangzhou municipal government decided to build a new city hall. It was located south of the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Auditorium, still under construction, to form a new planning axis for the city. Following Guangzhou, the Plan for the National Government Center, proposed by Henry Murphy in Nanjing (see fig. 11.22), and the Plan for the Civic Center of Greater Shanghai, proposed by the Chinese architect Dong Dayou (fig. 8.3), each adopted a Chinese-style, GMD Headquarters building based upon a Greek cross. This, as Seng Kuan points out, was based on the precedent of urban axes designed in the United States during the City Beautiful Movement, in which planners who were influenced by the Chicago Plan of 1909 and others often created

governmental centers and other monumental urban features that were spatially linked by long vistas and asphalt roads.³⁴ In his chapter in this book, Peter Carroll explores this issue further.

The Auditorium was also a precedent for another famous lecture hall in Chinese Party politics of the second half of the twentieth century—the Great Hall of the People (Zhao Dongri and Zhang Bo, 1959), built on the tenth anniversary of the People’s Republic on the west side of Tiananmen Square (see fig. 13.1).³⁵ The Hall is an embodiment of Mao Zedong’s “democratic centralism,” for if each of the provincial halls symbolizes democracy, namely, to allow representatives to discuss state affairs in a relatively smaller space, the 10,000-seat auditorium, similar to its precursor in Guangzhou, reflects centralism. (fig. 12.15).

Conclusion

In the first five or six years after Sun Yat-sen’s death, two major architectural complexes memorialized Sun as a pivotal figure of the new, post-Qing China. These structures also helped educate two kinds of audiences. One kind of audience was made up of the men and women who visited the Mausoleum and the Memorial Auditorium as didactic places of pilgrimage to Sun and what he stood for. These men and women were continuing to be educated about Sun through the architectural efforts of Lü Yanzhi and others, which were in turn strongly influenced by Beaux-Arts principles. The second audience being educated by the Mausoleum and the Memorial Auditorium were young Chinese architects, who learned lessons about spatial organization, stylistic adaptation, and what Liang Sicheng later called “translatability.” Some architectural contemporaries were inspired by the Memorial Auditorium; others, such as Liu Shiyong from Suzhou, discussed by Peter Carroll, were less impressed. However, whether praised or criticized, the Memorial Auditorium became a catalyst for important architectural discussion, and more than eight decades later the Memorial Auditorium continues to be a significant architectural icon. Inevitably, without the tragic deaths of Sun, the political philosopher, in 1926 and Lü, the architectural prodigy, in 1929, the legacies of these two figures would have been entirely different. The building in honor of Sun helped teach Sun’s ideas in a reverential setting worthy of his stature. The building designed by Lü was an object lesson about Beaux-Arts design principles in an urban and social context far removed from the banks of the Seine. Both Sun and Lü were memorialized in the Auditorium.

Notes

1. Nikolaus Pevsner, *A History of Building Types* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).
2. Zhang Shiqing, *Zhongguo Jiangnan Chanzong siyuan jianzhu* (Architecture of Chan Buddhist monasteries in southern China) (Wuhan: Hubei Jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002), 72–74.
3. Li Guojun, ed., *Zhongguo shuyuan shi* (A history of China's Confucian academies) (Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994), 799–821.
4. For more discussion of missionaries in China, see Yeh Wen-hsin, *The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919–1937* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).
5. Liang Qichao, “Chuanbo wenming san liqi” (Three effective instruments of popularizing modern civilization), in *Ziyou shu* (Self-determination) of Liang Qichao's *Yinbingshi zhuanji* (Monographs from the Ice-drinker's Studio), vol. 6, pt. 2 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 41. Translation mine.
6. A requisition issued by the Ministry of Education on 4 April 1913 reads:
Colleges and universities of foreign countries, in teaching various subjects, use few textbooks; instead, teachers instruct orally and students take notes. So their interpretations are very elaborate and the understanding very clear. Colleges of our country began to follow this method, but students still feel it is hard to take notes. This is certainly because schools vary in terms of level, but lack of practice ordinarily is also responsible for the difficulty or the failure of writing down the gist of the teacher's lecture. Some schools have to use textbooks or teaching materials as a compromise. The Ministry has decided that all the middle school and normal schools, from the third grade onward, must choose a subject for students to take notes on lectures two to three hours a week. The lecturer may check the notes at any time and correct the mistakes, so that [the students] can be prepared for continuing study in the future without difficulty or hardship. Even those who will not go to upper grades will be able to benefit greatly from the training for writing faster.
See *Zhengfu gongbao* 341 (19 April 1913).
7. For example, on 24 December 1914, the Global Association of Chinese Students (Huaqiao Zhongguo xueshenghui) held an oratorical contest (*yanshuo jingzheng dahui*) among six Shanghai universities and colleges, for “meeting and lecturing are beneficial affairs, of which the significance has been emphasized by countries of both the West and the East.” See “Liu xiao jingsai koucai” (Oratorical contest among six schools), *Shen bao*, 26 December 1914.
8. See Shen Nian Yue, ed., *Liulichang shihua* (A pictorial account of Liulichang) (Beijing: Wenhua Yishu Chubanshe, 2001), 107; Guangdongsheng Shehui Kexueyuan Lishi Yanjiusuo and Zhongshan Daxue Lishixi Sun Zhongshan Yanjiushi, eds., *Jinian Sun Zhongshan xiansheng* (In commemoration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen) (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1981), pl. 140.
9. For example, *Jianzhu xin fa* (New methods of building construction), China's first modern architectural book, written by Zhang Yingxu, a Chinese author, and published by Shangwu yinshuguan in 1910, devoted a section to the acoustic design of a theater; and *Da Zhonghua* (Great China) magazine, managed by Liang Qichao, published a picture of the auditorium of the University of Michigan in its 20 July 1916 issue (*Da Zhonghua* 2, no. 7, n.p.). The photo caption read: “The most perfect auditorium in the world, its podium is at the focus of a parabola, enabling the sound to reach the ears of each audience member directly.”

10. For information on the Japanese model for the Chinese Diet Building, see Jonathan M. Reynolds, "Japan's Imperial Diet Building: Debate over Construction of a National Identity," *Art Journal* 55, no. 3 (1996): 38–47.

11. Tang Chengye, "You jihui kuishu Zhongshan xiansheng 'huanqi minzhong' zhi geming xuanchuan" (Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary propaganda of "awakening masses" as seen from congregations), *Guoshiguan guankan*, resumed issue (17 December 1994): 75–93. Sun Yat-sen also said in 1919: "How can democracy develop? It must start from unifying the peoples' mind and gathering the group's force. To unify the people's mind and gather the group's force, it is impossible to achieve success without congregations." (Sun Yat-sen, "Preface" *Minquan chubu*, in *Sun Zhongshan quanji* (Complete writings of Sun Yat-sen), vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 413.

12. Min-ch'ien T. Z. Tyau, ed., *Two Years of Nationalist China* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1930), n.p.

13. Lu Baoqian, "Dai Jitao xiansheng de weijing shiye: Zhili zuoyue" (The incomplete career of Mr. Dai Jitao: Making rites and composing music), in Zhu Huisen, ed., *Dai Chuanxian yu xiandai Zhongguo* (Dai Chuanxian and modern China) (Taipei: Guoshiguan, 1989), 87–100.

14. "Xuanshang zhengqiu jianzhu Sun Zhongshan xiansheng jiniantang ji jinianbei tu'an" (Competition guidelines for the designs of the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Auditorium and Monument), *Guangzhou Mingguo ribao*, 23 February 1926. The third GMD National Congress in 1929 had 330 representatives; the first, in 1924, had 165; and the second, in 1926, had 256.

15. Joseph M. Siry, "Chicago's Auditorium Building, Opera or Anarchism," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 57, no. 2 (1998): 128–159.

16. "Zhengqiu Sun Zhongshan Xiansheng Guangzhou jiniantang tu'an chengji qishi" (The result of the competition for the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Auditorium in Guangzhou), *Shenbao*, 27 September 1926. On Lü Yanzhi, in addition to Wagner's essay in this volume, see "Gu Lü Yanzhi jianzhushi xiaozhuan" (A brief biography of the late architect Lü Yanzhi), *Zhongguo jianzhu* 1, no. 1 (July 1933): 1; Jeffrey W. Cody, "Lü Yanzhi," in <http://wason.library.cornell.edu/Tianjin/Lu/lubio.html>; Jeffrey W. Cody, *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy's "Adaptive Architecture," 1914–1935* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 63, 134, 148; Lai Delin, Wang Haoyu, Yuan Xueping, and Si Chunjuan, eds., *Jindai Zhejiang lu: Zhongguo jindai zhongyao jianzhujia, jianzhushiwusuo minglu* (Who's Who in modern Chinese architecture) (Beijing: Zhongguo shuili shuidian chubanshe, Zhishi chanquan Chubanshe, 2006). A recent book by Lu Jiefeng, *Lü Yanzhi yu Huang Tanfu: Guangzhou Zhongshan Jiniantang Miwen* (Lü Yanzhi and Huang Tanfu: Unreleased stories of the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Auditorium in Guangzhou) (Guangzhou: Huacheng chubanshe, 2007), also provides valuable information about Lü's life, especially his relationship with the family of Yan Fu, an influential translator and reformer in modern Chinese history. In my view, however, the author's interpretation of the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Auditorium as a modification of the Chinese pagoda is questionable. Not only do I not see the formal connection between a vertical pagoda and the massive, multivolumed, equally horizontally oriented Auditorium, but also because this interpretation does not consider the different context of history and education.

17. For more information about Yang and Fan, see Lai et al., eds., *Jindai Zhejiang lu*, 28–30, 176–177.

18. The sequential variation in names of the second and third winners in the Guangzhou case may be due to the fact that Yang was a native of Guangzhou. He returned to China with Sun Yat-sen's son, Sun Ke (Sun Fo), and had served in the Guangzhou municipal government as the

commissioner of the Public Works Department in 1922. See “Zuijin huiguo zhi liuxuesheng” (Most recent Chinese students returned from abroad), *Shenbao*, 2 November 1918; “Yeung Sik-chung,” Bo De ed., *Zhongguo jindai mingren tujian* (Shanghai: Tianyi chubanshe, 1925).

19. “Zongli Jiniantang, Jinianbei dianji dianli” (The groundbreaking ceremony of the Party Leader’s Memorial Auditorium and Monument), *Guangzhou Mingguo ribao*, 2 September 1929.

20. For more discussion of the contributions of foreign missionaries to the design of Chinese-style architecture, see Jeffrey W. Cody, “Striking a Harmonious Chord: Foreign Missionaries and Chinese-style Buildings, 1911-1949,” *Architronic* 5, no. 3 (1996).

21. Cody, *Building in China*, 75–85. Similar designs are visible in the Anglican Church (Nangouyan Qiuzhutang, or Zhonghua Shenggonghui Jiaotang, architect unknown, 1907), Beijing; see Zhang Fuhe, *Beijing jindai jianzhu shi* (History of contemporary architecture in Beijing) (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2004), 55–56; and the Sage Chapel of the University of Nanjing (A. G. Small, 1921), Nanjing; see Deke Erh and Tess Johnston, eds., *Hallowed Halls: Protestant Colleges in Old China* (Hong Kong: Old China Hand Press, 1998), 48–55.

22. Yang Dayu, “Lun Yunnan diqu de Jidu jiaotang jiqi jianzhu wenhua” (On Christian churches in Yunnan province and its architectural culture), in Zhang Fuhe, ed., *Zhongguo jindai jianzhu yanjiu yu baohu* (Modern Chinese architecture and preservation) Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2008), 20–33.

23. Cody, *Building in China*, 89–92.

24. Lü’s address is listed on a student information card with the dates 1914 to 1938. The card is in his file in the Cornell University Archives. The card also contains information about Lü’s date of birth, 28 July 1894; home town, Anhui, China; school he last attended, Tsinghua College; the date of his B. Arch degree, 20 December 1918; and an address in Washington DC, 2006 Columbia Road.

25. Although Lü may not have seen the Tsinghua building while it was under construction because he was at Cornell at the time, he must have been familiar with it, not only because it is on a campus where he had studied before he came to the United States, but also because of his close relationship with Murphy. A roughly two-feet by two-feet picture of the Tsinghua Auditorium is still preserved in Murphy’s archives in the Sterling Memorial Library. Because of its size, this picture probably hung in Murphy’s office.

26. A sentence in the article “Tsing Hua New Buildings,” which was published in the *Tsing Hua Journal* of June 1918, may buttress my point. It reads: “Our Auditorium may well be regarded as the Forum Romanum where budding Ciceros will deliver their orations”; quoted from Cody, *Building in China*, 68.

27. Lin Keming, “Guangzhou Zhongshan Jiniantang” (The Sun Yat-sen Memorial Auditorium in Guangzhou), *Jianzhu xuebao*, March 1982, 33–41.

28. Li Jinpei graduated from the Department of Architecture of Pratt Institute in 1920; Huang Tanfu graduated from Leeds University’s Department of Textile Industries in 1922; both Li Keng and Feng Baoling graduated from Cornell with masters degrees in civil engineering, one in 1916, and the other in 1922. Lin Keming, who was trained in France, also contributed to this monument. His role was as consultant architect for the client, the Construction Committee of the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Auditorium. For more information about the two Lis, Feng, and Lin, see Lai, *Jindai Zhejiang lu*, 32, 62–64, 80–81.

29. For Voh-Kee Construction Company, see Voh-Kee Construction Company, *China Builds: Twenty-five Year's Progress* (Shanghai: Voh-Kee Construction Company, 1946); and *Voh-Kee Construction Company Ltd.: Sixty Year's Service, 1922–1982* (Taipei: Privately published, 1982). I thank Jeffrey Cody for this reference.

30. For political factors involving the construction of the Auditorium and on the Guangdong GMD's intention to legitimate itself with this monument as Sun Yat-sen's orthodox successor in the party's struggle against the Nanjing GMD, see Delin Lai, "Renewing, Remapping, and Redefining Guangzhou, 1910s–1930s," in Jennifer Purtle and Hans B. Thomsen, eds., *Looking Modern: East Asian Visual Culture from Treaty Ports to World War II* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 140–171.

31. John Fitzgerald regards "awakening China" as a key theme in modern Chinese history. See John Fitzgerald, *Awakening China: Politics, Culture, and Class in the Nationalist Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

32. The Nationalist Government issued a decree in June 1929 in honor of Lü; see *Guomin zhengfu gongbao*, no. 189, 1. Lü was the first and only Chinese architect who received this honor before 1949. It must also have been in commemoration of his contributions to modern Chinese architecture in the designs of both the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum in Nanjing and the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Auditorium in Guangzhou that his name was listed first in the "List of Members of the Society of Chinese Architects," published in the preview issue of the society's journal, *Zhongguo jianzhu*, in November 1932.

33. See Liang Sicheng, "Zhongguo jianzhu de tezheng" (Special characteristics of Chinese architecture), *Jianshe xuebao*, January 1954, 36–39, in *Liang Sicheng quanji* (Complete works of Liang Sicheng) (Beijing: CABP, 2001), vol. 5, 179–184. Several other Chinese architects continued this translation approach, among them Zhao Dongri in his design for the Auditorium of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Beijing (1955) and Zhang Bo in his designs for the Friendship Hotel (1954) and the Minority Culture Palace (1959), both in Beijing.

34. For more discussion of American cities and the City Beautiful Movement, see John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965); and Gilbert Stetler, "Rethinking the Significance of the City Beautiful Movement," in Robert Freestone, ed., *Urban Planning in a Changing World: The 20th Century Experience* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2000), 98–106.

35. Beijingshi Guihua Guanliju Shejiyuan Renmin Dahuitang Shejizu, "Renmin Dahuitang" (The Great Hall of the People), *Jianzhu xuebao*, Oct. 1959, 23–30.

13 ZHANG VS. ZHANG

Symmetry and Split: A Development in Chinese Architecture in the 1950s and 1960s

Zhang Bo and Zhang Kaiji were prominent figures in the field of architecture in China, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s. Although not related, the two Zhangs shared more than a family name. Zhang Bo (1911–1999) was born a year earlier than Zhang Kaiji (1912–2006), and both received their architectural education at National Central University in Nanjing, today Southeast University, where the curriculum was based upon Beaux-Arts principles, and both worked at the state-owned Beijing Institute of Architectural Design and Research (BIADR) as chief architects from BIADR's founding days in the 1950s until their retirements, 1995 for Zhang Bo and 1997 for Zhang Kaiji (see their short biographies at the end of the chapter). While at BIADR, although the government was their sole client, neither Zhang seemed to be fully in line with Marxist ideology. For instance, neither Zhang became a member of the Chinese Communist Party. In 1959, when Tiananmen Square was redesigned to become the symbolic political and cultural focal point of the country to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic of China, Zhang Bo led the design team that created the Great Hall of the People on the west side of the Square, while Zhang Kaiji was responsible for the Revolution and History Museums of China on the east side. However, as colleagues and friends, as well as rivals, the two architects not only created a symmetrical pair of monumental anchors for the center of the nation's capital—thus epitomizing a Beaux-Arts-inspired, classicist influence in China—but with their designs they also signaled a barely distinguishable split in the aesthetic direction of Chinese architectural development, which then was amplified in the second half of the twentieth century. This chapter seeks to decipher the nuanced differences between the built work of the two architects and to elucidate the significant impact that the two approaches eventually had on contemporary Chinese architecture. By comparing three pairs of buildings in Beijing designed by the two Zhangs, we can draw conclusions that show specifically how the notions of color, figure, aesthetic taste, and cultural value vary from one architect to the other.



Fig. 13.1. ▲ Zhang Bo, Great Hall of the People, Beijing. Photo by author.

Comparison I

Zhang Bo's Great Hall of the People (Renmin Dahuitang, 1959) and Zhang Kaiji's Museums of Chinese History and the Chinese Revolution (Zhongguo Geming Lishi Bowuguan, now the National Museum, 1959)

The Great Hall of the People (figs. 13.1 and 13.2), a grandiose compound flanking the west side of Tiananmen Square, reflects the official socialist ideology of the state and epitomizes some of the direct influences on China from the contemporary architecture in the Soviet Union, which are the focus of K. Fan Sizheng's chapter in this book. However, the building also imposes and reconfirms aesthetic principles that have their roots in the long traditions of imperial China. For example, the use of glazed, golden yellow roof tiles, similar to those found on the palaces of the Forbidden City on the northern end of the Square, puts a twist of obvious Chinese flavor in the otherwise Western classical composition of the Great Hall. On the exterior, solidity and opacity are the main expressions of the complex, qualities

Fig. 13.2. ▼ Zhang Bo, Great Hall of the People, Beijing, 1960. Photo by author.





Fig. 13.3. (Top) Zhang Kaiji, Museums of Chinese History and the Chinese Revolution, Beijing. Photo by author.



Fig. 13.4. (Bottom) Zhang Kaiji, Museums of Chinese History and the Chinese Revolution, Beijing, ca. 1960. Photo by author.

also reminiscent of the nearby Forbidden City. Coincidentally, and probably deliberately, the Great Hall reveals its own somewhat ironically forbidden nature, in the sense that it, too, is guarded and is open to the public only on special occasions. After all, its architectural typology was that of a palace, which was probably more familiar to Zhang Bo, an architect coming from a strong, Beaux-Arts-inspired training, than a socialist-democratic conference center, which was the main function of the Great Hall.

Although it is similar in many ways to the Great Hall of the People, from the grand front stairs and colonnade to its symmetry and monumentality and to its compliance with social realism imported from Russia, the Museums of Chinese History and the Chinese Revolution (figs. 13.3 and 13.4) also differ from the Great Hall that they face across the Square. The museums' creation of a void, or a court in the middle of the Square-side façade, demonstrates a smart strategy not only to divide the two museums within one massive structure, but also to counterbalance the massive volume of the Great Hall on the opposite side of the Square. At the same time, the opened-up center transforms a seemingly two-dimensional elevation into a three-dimensional space, which is accessible—if not to some extent inviting—in contrast with the more exclusive appearance of the Great Hall of the People. The absence of colors, with the exception of the red Soviet-style banner-emblem over

the colonnade, makes the building monolithic, and yet that absence also imparts a tranquil and harmonious atmosphere to the building that suits, appropriately, the cultural nature of the facilities. The use of the courtyard may not necessarily make the museum more in keeping with its Beijing location, a city dominated by *sibeyuan* (courtyard-style houses) in *hutong* (lanes and alleys), but the inclusion of the courtyard makes it lean ever so slightly more towards the Chinese architectural tradition than Zhang Bo did in the Great Hall.

Comparison 2

Zhang Bo's Friendship Hotel (Youyi Binguan, 1954) and Zhang Kaiji's Sanlihe Government Complex (Sibu Yihui, or Four Ministries and One Commission Buildings, 1955)

One wonders whether the architectural prototype for the Friendship Hotel, once located in the open rice paddies in the western outskirts of Beijing, is also a palace, in this case a *xinggong*, or "travel palace" between urban destinations. The hotel (fig. 1.19) is a multilevel complex clad with traditional, local, gray clay bricks that serve as a formal datum, while green glazed tiles cover a series of classical, Chinese-style pitched roofs that reach a glittering climax. The premodern décor is completed with *caihua*, colorful murals that adorn the underside of the eaves. This design creates a modern program of hotel within an historic envelope from which all the architectural elements seem to achieve a kind of sophisticated richness, and perhaps even a barely detectable sense of decadency, referring to the dynastic past. On an urban level, the complex is organized as a *dayuan*, or a big courtyard formation of gated community, to keep its residents—most of whom were foreign expatriates—protected, isolated, or both.

Although inspired by the gate buildings of imperial Beijing's city walls, Zhang Kaiji was most interested in the design of urban blocks when working on the Sanlihe project (figs. 13.5 and 13.6), also located outside of the old city of Beijing on its west and a significant part of the ambitious New Beijing project, the failed attempt of the 1950s to preserve the old city. Like the Friendship Hotel, the complex reaches a maximum height of five stories, forms clear edges along the streets, and uses the contextually sensitive gray bricks employed by Zhang Bo. Significantly, the glazed roof tiles are of an unusual dark gray color. One could argue that, unlike the Friendship Hotel, the gray brick wall is not a neutral background to emphasize the more intense colors on the roof, but instead seeks to achieve variations of gray as colors, evoking the traditional black-and-white palette of Chinese ink-brush painting.

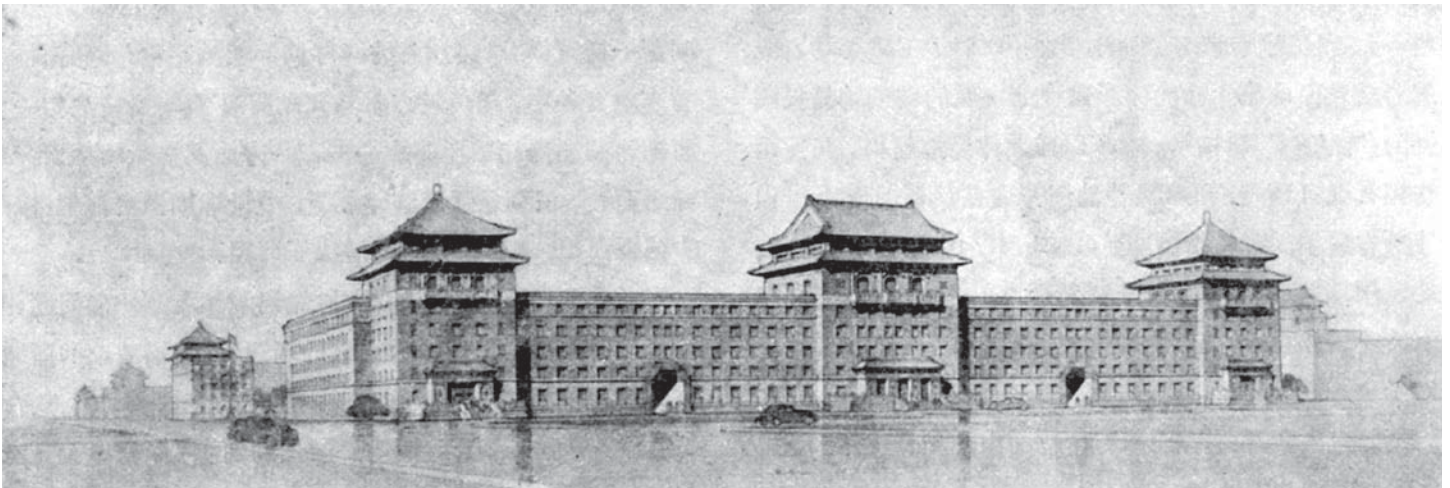


Fig. 13.5. (Top) Zhang Kaiji, Sanlihe Government Complex. Photo by author.

Fig. 13.6. (Bottom) Zhang Kaiji, Sanlihe Government Complex. Conceptual rendering by author.

Both buildings were heavily criticized in the late 1950s as being expensive, wasteful, and, particularly the Friendship Hotel, too luxurious. Since the traditional “Big Roof” (*da wuding*) was perceived as the symbol of such wastefulness, the construction of the central building of the Sanlihe Government Complex was stopped before the pitched roof was built.

Comparison 3

Zhang Bo’s Minority Culture Palace (Minzhu Wenhua Gong, 1959) and Zhang Kaiji’s Beijing Planetarium (Beijing Tianwenguan, 1957)

Although it is mute when compared with the more recent boom-town architecture in Chinese cities of the early twenty-first century, the Minority Culture Palace (figs. 13.7 and 13.8) had a color scheme that was brighter than most of its peers: green tiled roofs and decorative frames over a white tiled body. Zhang Bo did not seem



Fig. 13.7. (Top) Zhang Bo, Minority Culture Palace. Photo by author.

Fig. 13.8. (Bottom) Zhang Bo, Minority Culture Palace, ca. 1960. Photo by author.

to be concerned with the gray context of Beijing and intentionally wanted to use white and green in contrast to gray. The building stands out not only because of its colors but also due to its figure. The slender tower on the axis is possibly the first and definitely an ostentatiously freestanding object in contemporary Beijing, foreshadowing an urban landscape of the present-day Chinese capital that is inundated with skyscrapers and other iconic buildings. The tower design was such a formalist exercise that its interior space was too cramped to be used for any major functions.

The Beijing Planetarium (figs. 13.9 and 13.10), which has a domed rather than a pitched roof, does not remind one of a Chinese classical building. Instead,

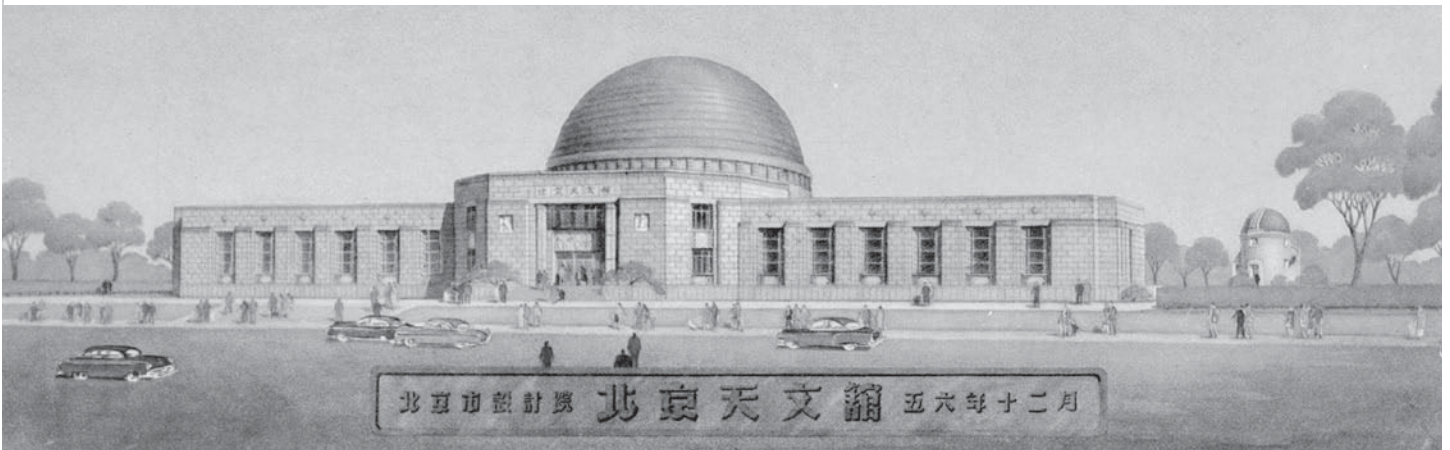


Fig. 13.9. (Top) Zhang Kaiji, Beijing Planetarium. Photo by author.

Fig. 13.10. (Bottom) Zhang Kaiji, Beijing Planetarium. Conceptual rendering by author.

it resembles an orthodox Western classical building. However, a closer examination leads to the discovery of details, especially decorative motifs, that are unmistakably Chinese. In fact, in the case of the Planetarium, Zhang Kaiji collaborated with painters and sculptors from the Central Academy of Fine Arts, who created murals and reliefs from Chinese mythology on the building's ceilings and walls. The surface of the planetarium is covered with a layer of textured cement, which has a uniform, brownish gray tone. The dome was a steel structure clad with copper. Still classical in essence, Zhang Kaiji himself saw the building as an attempt to interpret Art Deco, in which he was intensely interested. In my view it was also an effort to break away from the Chinese classical style defined by the Big Roof, which was being perfected; and became stagnant in the late 1950s.

These three case studies allow us to make certain key general observations. The four issues discussed below, beginning with the more superficial and moving to the more fundamental, are chosen to emphasize the basic visible aesthetic differences between the two architects.

Color

Color in Beaux-Arts-derived architecture had a flip side. Classicism favored routinely monochromatic and subtle tones; however, a very bright architecture was also established by the Beaux-Arts, with its traces in antiquity, now known through excavation to have included color, and this pushed harmony-centric classicism to the edge. The discrepancy in how these two Chinese architects employed color in their designs reflects an age-old dichotomy in Chinese architecture (figs. 1.6 and 1.16). Furthermore, color always hints at bigger aesthetic questions that also underline architectural designs.

Figure

In China today the mainstream typically sees buildings as objects and values an architecture characterized by strong visual images. We can see in Zhang Bo's work an early formation of such a tendency. This "sculpture"- or "art"-driven understanding of architecture further projects a picturesque city that will undo urban spaces, such as street and alleyway, or undermine urban fabric, such as the block, street-based commerce, a sense of community, and, ultimately, urbanity itself. On the other hand, Zhang Kaiji, in the Sanlihe residential district design, proposed the "double periphery block" formed by three-story apartment buildings, indicating an interest in urbanism as well as interpreting the basic urban spatial structure of traditional Beijing—particularly the courtyard—in which architecture defines space by making enclosure rather than by occupying space figuratively.

Taste and Value

Zhang Bo, a northerner from Shandong, was the son of the last governor of Guangdong and Guangxi provinces in the Qing dynasty and always close to power, whereas Zhang Kaiji came from a family of paper fan makers in the southern city of Hangzhou. His father, an antique-collecting, self-proclaimed intellectual, was the principal of Fudan High School in Shanghai. It is curious to observe that later in their practice in Beijing, Zhang Bo, of elite heritage, was favored by the Beijing government and given more political projects, while Zhang Kaiji, of humbler origins, was relegated to more cultural ones. Following this thinking, we might suggest that the standoff in Tiananmen Square was, to a certain extent, predominantly one between politics and culture.

As far as architectural aesthetics, we could detect the southern literati's inclination for *qing*, *dan*, *wen*, and *ya* in Zhang Kaiji's work. The four Chinese characters, roughly translated as lightness, subtlety, cultivation, and sophistication,

are exemplified by the white-wall-and-black-roof image of a southern town. Zhang Kaiji's restrained use of color is thus consistent with that literati culture. In Zhang Bo's design, the glory of the northern Ming and Qing ruling class lingers on. Historically, both the powerful and the popular favored the more dramatic forms, which, with the development of conditions inherent in a consumer society in China today, have become the taste of the majority. Unfortunately, what was lost is not only a particular taste of a few. Gone with it also are the fundamental traditional Chinese values of frugality, modesty, simplicity, and the Chan Buddhist notion. One cannot but wonder if Zhang Bo's artistic preference eased his way to a full collaboration with the power.

Modernity

Modernity is an extremely complex issue. In the China of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, modernization has been more a concern than modernity. For Chinese architects, the notion of modernism is more familiar. However, both modernization and modernism are too specifically about technology and style, respectively. Modernity, on the other hand, defines a broad modern mentality, and that is why modernity should be used in a discussion about Chinese architecture more than modernism or modernization. Both Zhangs mastered the formal language of ancient Chinese architecture, and some of their work represents a mature, and arguably the best of, modern Chinese classical style. While Zhang Bo never ventured outside classicism, Zhang Kaiji experimented with Chinese Art Deco in Shanghai housing projects that closely follow their European origins as well as public buildings like the Beijing Planetarium that are laced with an elaborate, formalized Chinese design. Further, Zhang Kaiji even tried his hands at modernism, in projects such as Xiaotangshan Sanitarium in Beijing. Zhang Kaiji was clearly the more open-minded of the two, as I remember Yang Yongsheng, the retired editor-in-chief of the China Building Industry Press, observing in a conversation we had a number of years ago. However, it is important to mention that, also during the 1950s and 1960s, a form of Chinese modernism that asked questions similar to those raised by the European modernist movement was pursued in China by a handful of other architects, most notably Feng Jizhong in Shanghai and Hua Lanhong (Leon Hua) in Beijing, who took on issues such as space and tectonics along with experiments in new materials and an unseen aesthetics. Their voices were hardly audible at the time but now have been proven to be important milestones in the development of a contemporary Chinese architectural culture.

Development

Zhang Bo's slightly bolder design approach (note: "slightly" is a critical adverb, since his work was not at all flamboyant and far from vulgar) may be suspected only in retrospect as the prelude to the trends of postmodernism and commercialism in China from the 1980s on. It was eventually developed into a widely accepted architecture of striking visuals, while Zhang Kaiji's more subdued design seems to have faded with the emergence of the market economy. However, we may also argue that Zhang Kaiji's contributions may help shape a contemporary regionalism today, since *qing*, *dan*, *wen*, and *ya* have begun to make a comeback in the work of a number of younger Chinese architects in recent years, along with the influence of other architects of his generation, such as Feng Jizhong, even though this legacy is not often enough recognized or acknowledged.

Towards a contemporary Chinese architecture

It should be pointed out that it is problematical that many younger Chinese architects, including myself, do not necessarily pay enough attention to our own tradition as we strive to be modernist in our architectural practices, often assimilating too much the contemporary architectural culture of the West. As someone trained right after the Cultural Revolution, such an oversight certainly has been detrimental to my own practice as a Chinese architect. In order to recover the missing links in the history of Chinese architecture, I have been reading the theories of the architect Dai Nianci as well as studying the work of Hua Lanhong and Feng Jizhong for a Chinese version of modern architecture. Perhaps a truly contemporary Chinese architecture may emerge only when we comprehend fully the accomplishment of our predecessors.

Short biographies of Zhang Bo and Zhang Kaiji

Zhang Kaiji was not only my father but the inspiration for me to become an architect. This essay is dedicated to him. The viewpoints in the article reflect those of a practicing architect rather than those of a historian. Information in the writing is based on my professional experience as well as personal observations.

Zhang Bo

Born in Canton in 1911, Zhang Bo (fig. 13.11) was admitted into Northeast University in Shenyang, where Liang Sicheng was teaching, in 1930 and graduated from National Central University in Nanjing in 1934. Afterwards he practiced in Beijing, Tianjin, Nanjing, Chongqing, Guangzhou, Hong Kong, and other cities.



Returning to Beijing from Hong Kong after the establishment of the People's Republic, he joined the Beijing Institute of Architectural Design and Research, assumed the position of chief architect in 1951, and retired in 1995. He was a consultant of professional expertise to the Beijing municipal government and a consultant to the Capital Architectural Art Committee. His major work includes the Great Hall of the People, the Minority Culture Palace, Beijing Hotel's east wing and VIP wing, the Friendship Hotel, Minzhu Hotel, Tianqiao Theater, Xinqiao Hotel, Friendship Hospital, and Xiannongtan Stadium, all in Beijing. In 1994, he published his autobiography, *My Road to Architectural Creation* (in Chinese). He passed away in Beijing in 1999.



Zhang Kaiji

Born in Shanghai in 1912, Zhang Kaiji (fig. 13.12) studied architecture at National Central University in Nanjing from 1930 to 1935, where he was a classmate of Zhang Bo. Upon graduation, he practiced in Shanghai, Nanjing, Chengdu, Chongqing, and Beijing. He joined the Beijing Institute of Architectural Design and Research as a chief architect in 1953 and retired in 1997. He served as an architectural consultant to the Beijing municipal government, was one of the vice presidents of the China Society of Architecture, and was awarded

Fig. 13.11. (Top)
Zhang Bo. Published
courtesy of author.

Fig. 13.12. (Bottom)
Zhang Kaiji. Published
courtesy of author.

the title of Design Master by the Ministry of Construction in 1990, as well as the Liang Sicheng Architecture Prize in 2000. His major work includes Xiaotangshan Sanatorium, Sanlihe Government Complex, Tiananmen Parade Stand, Xinjiang Guest House, Beijing Planetarium, the Museums of Chinese History and the Chinese Revolution, and Diaoyutai National Guest House, all in Beijing. He passed away in Beijing in 2006.

CHINESE CITIES

Beaux-Arts Plans and
Post-Beaux-Arts Urbanism

14 THE BEAUX-ARTS IN ANOTHER REGISTER

Governmental Administrative and Civic Centers in City Plans of the Republican Era

“Since the municipal government is the administrative organ for the entire city, it merits the respect of Chinese and foreigners alike. . . . Given that architecture reflects a nation’s cultural spirit . . . municipal government architecture should be in a Chinese style to earn the respect of urban citizens.”¹ This 1929 injunction from the Shanghai Municipal Center Architectural Design Committee reflects the overriding concern of Republican state officials and city planners/architects that urban public buildings command universal respect as embodiments of the Chinese nation. These ambitions moved Chinese architects, many of whom had been trained using Beaux-Arts-inspired design ideals, to embrace Beaux-Arts classicism. As they did so, they also deployed characteristic Beaux-Arts practices, such as geometric centrality and the use of axial approaches and park-like surroundings, to design new monumental centers for China’s cities. Whereas previous chapters have generally examined individual architects and particular structures, this chapter modulates our discussion by examining the Chinese appropriation of Beaux-Arts design principles in a different register, the new governmental and civic centers designed and built during the Nanjing decade (1927–1937) and their significance as key components of the ambitious urban-planning agenda of the Guomindang (GMD; Nationalist Party). During this period the GMD’s consolidation of power enabled state officials to initiate a series of comprehensive urban plans for major, nationally prominent metropolises such as Guangzhou, Shanghai, Nanjing, Tianjin, and Beijing,² and to promote modernizing schemes for smaller, provincial-level economic and political centers such as Suzhou and Hangzhou. In all of these efforts, state officials, architects, and an array of urban boosters aspired to exert an unprecedented level of ideological and corollary aesthetic control to remake China’s cities as exemplars of the Party’s vision of state-led economic and social modernization.³ This essay surveys the novel governmental centers created by the influential Guangzhou, Shanghai, and Nanjing urban plans, as well as less ambitious (and thus more representative) efforts in Suzhou to implement Beaux-Arts-influenced city planning. This cross-section of Republican urban reconstruction projects underscores the close identification between city and nation in Republican politics. The mixed success and failure of these efforts highlighted the limited strengths and numerous weaknesses of Beaux-Arts techniques to engender vital modern cities amidst the financial strictures, political ferment, and imperialist onslaught buffeting Republican China.

At one level the Republican enthusiasm for Beaux-Arts planning reflects the tradition's wholesale dominance of modern (if not modernist) early twentieth-century architectural practice and pedagogy around the globe. At the same time it reflects the strategic calculation by Chinese architects that the French statist origins and Eurocentricism of much Beaux-Arts design could be overcome in order to create a salutary modern Chinese architecture and city form. In China, as elsewhere, the Beaux-Arts privileging of order, monumentality, and classical traditionalism resonated with the aspirations of GMD officials and individual architects to reorder society through the imposition of an ideological and aesthetic discipline fostering ethnonationalist pride and development. The method's insistence on developing one's skills in rendering elevations to a high level, the privileging of drawing as a means of analysis, and the reliance on "classical" structures as sources for contemporary design appealed to Chinese designers for their rigor and utility. These attributes affirmed the Beaux-Arts' seemingly objective, scientific nature, as did the potential plasticity of its classicism, which raised the question, what or whose "classical" tradition should form the basis for national design? Like their brethren in Turkey, Iran, Indonesia, and elsewhere, Chinese architects cannily appreciated the capacity of Beaux-Arts formalism to accommodate and develop one's own "classicism" as the basis for an endogenous, nationally resonant modern architecture

Fig. 14.1. Bandoeng Technische Hoogeschool, 1920. From P. H. Moerkerken, Jr., and R. Noordhoff, *Atlas Gambar-gambar Akan dipakai untuk pengadjaran Ilmoe Boemi* (Atlas of pictures for the study of geography) (Amsterdam: S. K. van Looy, 1922); reprinted in Abidin, *Behind the Postcolonial*, 44.





Fig. 14.2. Turkish Hearth Building and Ethnography Museum. From *La Turquie Kemaliste* 12 (April 1936). Published courtesy of Sibel Bozdoğan.

(figs. 14.1 and 14.2). Indeed, particular Beaux-Arts attributes such as the privileging of centrality and the use of long vistas resonated with imperial architectural practice, further suggesting that the Beaux-Arts approach could be amenable to the development of Chinese national architecture.⁴

Chinese politicians and designers were also galvanized by contemporary foreign urbanist theory and practice, which, in the wake of the City Beautiful Movement, promoted the improvement of urban aesthetics as a means for effecting wholesale societal reform. Their enthusiasm provoked a broad push to complement economic planning schemes, embodied by the contemporary obsession with road improvement, the *sine qua non* of Republican-era city planning, with a more comprehensive sociocultural approach to urban development. This shift also resonated and drew strength from the Nanjing government's increasing reliance on cultural nationalism as a bulwark of its political program. Indeed, during the Nanjing decade, some cultural and urban critics argued that an exclusive pursuit of economic goals in planning was inadequate or harmful to nationalist goals. As one 1931 sociological tract proclaimed, "For the last several decades China has lagged behind the rest of the world in every aspect—architecture, particularly

aspects of design, is naturally no exception.”⁵ The result was not merely aesthetically displeasing. Material construction without artistic expression, particularly in the city, the locus of modern society, would necessarily be incomplete and thus hinder the advance of civilization. Furthermore, urban design must aim to develop and represent the particular spirit of contemporary national culture, “not that which imitates traditional Chinese art, but artistic construction suited to the requirements of life in a revolutionary age.”⁶

In the eyes of the GMD, the current “revolutionary age” was a period of Party-led tutelage during which it would foster popular nationalism and mass participation in political life. The GMD’s vanguard role would allow it to tap the latent energies of China’s population, while its democratic goals (if not the often authoritarian strain of its politics) bespoke the progressive nature of the party and its “Three Principles of the People” ideology, that is, Sun Yat-sen’s program of nationalism, democracy, and people’s livelihood in pursuit of national autonomy, political reform, and economic development. New governmental and civic centers were key performative sites where the state and the reformed citizenry could enact local self-government and effectuate urban modernization. These areas were therefore at the aesthetic and discursive heart of most Republican-era urban plans. As Liang Sicheng and Zhang Rui noted in their 1930 comprehensive plan for Tianjin, public buildings should be sited together in a central location near efficient transportation “for the purposes of utility and sublime effect.”⁷ Propinquity would allow citizens the ready access that was essential for the development of democratic practice and overall “intimacy” between the municipal government and local citizens. In addition, there was the matter of the architecture itself: “The grandeur and beauty [of the newly designed municipal center] should provoke an irrepressible sense of respect and love for the municipality among the urban populace.”⁸ The design and overall aesthetic of civic buildings should therefore qualify as an essential aspect of state ideology.

Reflecting contemporary ideals regarding the linkages between national essence and the material environment, Liang and Zhang averred that China’s emulation of Western thought, institutions, and architecture since the 1911 revolution had partly exacerbated the problems of China’s cities. The modern Western structures that had come to characterize China’s cities were, they claimed, often uninspired or badly constructed with inferior materials. Such sentiments were widely shared: for instance, in a 1930 assessment of contemporary Shanghai architecture in the monthly *China Journal of Science and Arts*, a Western critic railed against the predominance of uninspiring “copybook architecture” and bemoaned the fact that “when seeking originality, some designers have gone too far

and produced ugly and grotesque results.” In sum, he noted, much of Shanghai’s modern architecture should unfortunately be judged as “anything but successful.”⁹

According to some critics, such failure was not necessarily rooted in deficiencies of skill alone. Arguing for the primacy of national aesthetics, Liang and Zhang observed that in the past few decades the enthusiasm for Occidental architecture had led to the hiring of European and North American architects, whose structures naturally reflected the cultural mores and needs of their home nations. Far from being desirable, the resulting cosmopolitanism was, they disparaged, an inelegant bricolage of inharmonious aesthetics ill-suited to the practical and spiritual needs of urban China. Given the formative role of public buildings in civic life, it was essential that state structures draw upon the superior beauty and function of China’s classical palace architecture—an outcome that Liang and Zhang, among others, judged likelier if the architect were himself Chinese.¹⁰

Buildings and urban planning had the capacity to restore the cultural integrity of the cityscape and demonstrate that the GMD and society as a whole had transcended the still-recent imperial past while maintaining organic ties to national traditions. Such concerns were particularly prominent in discussions regarding the renovation of Nanjing as the national capital. The committee vetting plans for the central administrative district in 1929 praised the top-ranked submission for

following “the Chinese ancient style in that all the buildings project a feeling of magnificence and enchantment” (fig. 14.3).¹¹ Yet these imperial forms were not intended to provoke nostalgia for the Qing. Rather, the buildings were arranged systematically “to express [the] freedom and equality” of the new Republican order.¹² During the Nanjing decade, architecture and urban planning were not the only realms in which tradition was subject to an explicit and public transubstantiation to become the very substance of modern development: similar nationalist sensibilities dominated GMD political discourse and propelled the New Life Movement (initiated by Chiang Kai-shek; his wife, Song Meiling; and others in 1934), which sought to renovate the

Fig. 14.3. Alfred T. Palmer, photographer, Ministry of Communications, Nanjing, originally published in Julius Eigner, “The Rise and Fall of Nanjing,” *National Geographic Magazine* 73, no. 2 (February 1938), 214. Published courtesy of Julia Palmer Gennert.



Confucian values of decorum, righteousness, integrity, and sense of shame as the bases for modern Republican citizenship.

The Shanghai and Guangzhou Municipal Plans

The detailed attention given to the design of state complexes in Republican urban planning reflected the contemporary significance of municipal administration as a novel, progressive form of government that would help inculcate democratic ideals and civic responsibility among the urban citizenry. These aspirations influenced China's earliest comprehensive planning efforts, which were initiated in 1927 for Guangzhou and Shanghai, two of the nation's first national-level Special Municipalities.¹³ As the hub of the GMD-led revolution during the Beiyang period (1912–1928), Guangzhou had boasted the first modernizing Chinese-run municipal administration in 1918.¹⁴ Shanghai, on the other hand, had long been governed by separate municipal entities in its foreign concession areas; GMD authorities aimed to establish an innovative, paradigmatic city government to give credence to their demands for the abolition of extraterritoriality and unification of the city under a Chinese administration.

The identification of Guangzhou and Shanghai with hopes for national rehabilitation and progress was most clearly manifest in the Beaux-Arts-infused designs for the massive comprehensive municipal buildings planned for each governmental center. As Daniel Burnham had done in his 1909 *Plan of Chicago*, and as other city planners had done as a result of Burnham's significant influence, Chinese architects combined all state functions in one grand structure that both reflected the majesty of the state and made government services readily accessible to the populace. The siting and design of these two buildings announced a significant break with previous modes and ideals of governance. The comprehensiveness of a unitary state administrative building, as opposed to the different county *yamens* that had divided and governed cities during the imperial period, underscored the novelty of municipal government as a Republican innovation. Chinese cities, for the first time in their history, were unified political units governed by special urban-focused state administrations dedicated to the propagation of popular democracy and the promotion of comprehensive modern reconstruction projects. This task was facilitated by the fact that due to state support, municipalities, unlike county governments, could afford to hire professional architect/planners and other personnel to oversee urban development. Both plans aimed to give the cities a new orientation by moving the governmental/civic center to a new location that would serve as the center point for the city's future development. The novelty of this vision was underscored by the state complexes' grand layout,

which differed from those of surrounding areas. Employing several characteristic Beaux-Arts devices, the municipal structures' aesthetic and ideological prominence was augmented by vistas created by placing the building amidst a park-like mall at the intersection of long broad avenues and axial approaches (see figs. 8.3 and 8.5).¹⁵ Both the Shanghai municipal government building designed by Dong Dayou (1933), and its Guangzhou counterpart by Lin Keming (1932), reflected the desire to promote the nationalist integrity of the urban environment by using Beiping palace architecture.¹⁶ Both feature upturned tile roofs atop foreign-style structures. Characteristically Chinese features such as vermilion columns and multicolored braces (*dougong*) were not structural elements, as they would be in wooden palace architecture. Rather, they had been transmuted into ornamental features of reinforced concrete structures, a fusion of foreign building technology and domestic form that created one dominant mode of Nanjing-decade modern national architecture. The huge scale and national referents of the structures created functioning monuments to city and nation. The two buildings were constructed, yet the suspension of both master plans left them significantly incomplete: both city reconstruction projects were forestalled by financial shortfalls and popular opposition, and the governmental centers proved to be the plans' greatest (and most lasting) achievements.

The Nanjing Capital Plan, 1929

The Guangzhou and Shanghai city planning projects initiated the GMD's commitment to urban reconstruction as a focus of its economic, political, and cultural program. Nonetheless, the most ambitious and influential city-planning project began in 1928, when the Party declared that the new national capital, Nanjing, would be rebuilt in light of its role as the functional and symbolic center of the nation. Officials, urbanists, and others argued in the press that Nanjing, as the national capital, should constitute the pinnacle of Chinese city planning, that is, it should be a redoubt of advanced infrastructure, sublime architecture, attractive parks, and scenic historic monuments that might someday eclipse Paris, Washington, DC, and other celebrated capital cities. Indeed, GMD officials hoped that Nanjing's magnificent, ordered beauty would help recommend the Three Principles of the People as a basis for revolution throughout the world.¹⁷ These ambitions were reflected in the plans for the new lavish governmental center to be built in an area within the city walls near the former site of the Ming imperial palace. One recalls from Delin Lai's essay that the state administration had originally been slated for the south face of Zijinshan (Mt. Zijin), the site of the Ming tombs and the recently completed Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, and that advocates contended

that the historical resonance and height of the site would imbue the state buildings with imposing majesty. Critics successfully countered that the area's relative inaccessibility was antidemocratic and that the inhospitable topography would prove overly costly to build on.

The 1929 *Capital Plan* aimed to create a verdant mall divided by a grid and two intersecting axes of avenues, which provided three distinct areas for the GMD Party administration: the National Government (Guomin zhengfu), the Five Yuan (branches of government, that is, the Executive, Legislative, Judicial, Control, and Examination branches), and individual ministries (fig. 14.4). The general layout borrowed freely from foreign models, such as the Beaux-Arts-infused 1901 Senate Park Commission plan for Washington, DC.¹⁸ At the same time, the authors of the plan aimed to foster a distinctive “National Essence” cultural atmosphere through buildings that displayed “Chinese indigenous forms by placing Chinese ornamental methods upon a piece of foreign architecture.”¹⁹ The range inspired by this mandate can be seen by comparing two of the project's more celebrated buildings, Yang Tingbao's GMD Party History Exhibition Hall (designed 1934, built 1935–1936, now the No. 2 National Archives of China) and the Huagai Architectural Partnership's (Zhao Shen, Tong Jun, and Chen Zhi) Foreign Ministry (designed 1931, built 1933–1934) (figs. 14.5 and 14.6). The Exhibition Hall is an imposing imperial-style pavilion on a raised dais. The traditional appearance is belied, however, by the staircase. Instead of a centrally located dragon staircase, it extends to the right and left, allowing for a central door on the ground floor. This was explicitly a building for a republic; there was no place for an emperor here. The Foreign Ministry, by contrast, was designed in a Western classical manner, an acknowledgement of its function as a center of contact with other nations. Strikingly, it lacked a sloping tile roof. Nonetheless, it featured details from traditional buildings, such as exposed brackets (*dougong*) below the roof, to demonstrate a modern revision of past architecture.²⁰

The authors of the Nanjing *Capital Plan*, like their Guangzhou and Shanghai counterparts, were not unconscious of commercial, residential, and other needs. The scope of their ambitions extended to all sectors of the built environment. In practice, however, the new governmental and civic urban centers were often the only aspects to be fully realized in design. Residential, commercial, industrial, and entertainment districts were dealt with in a cursory way, if at all. The Nanjing *Capital Plan* went farther than the other two in its provisions for commercial and residential uses. Despite its august status, the Nanjing capital city planning project was not immune to the state's financial limitations or to popular resistance to the land seizures and other dislocations required for urban reconstruction.²¹ As a result,

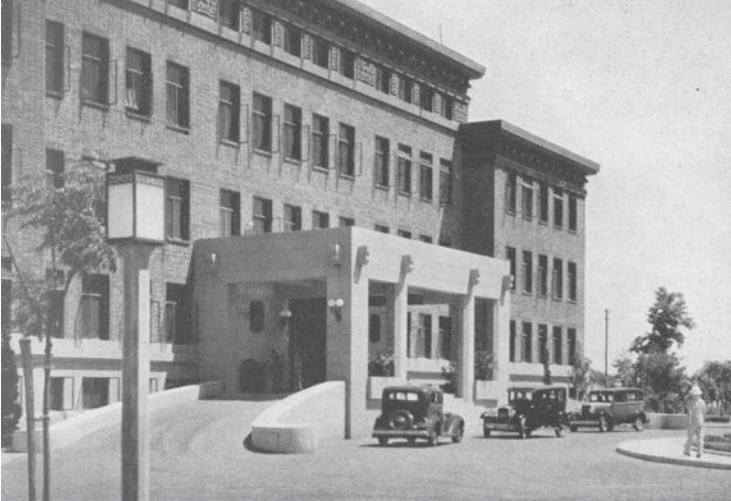
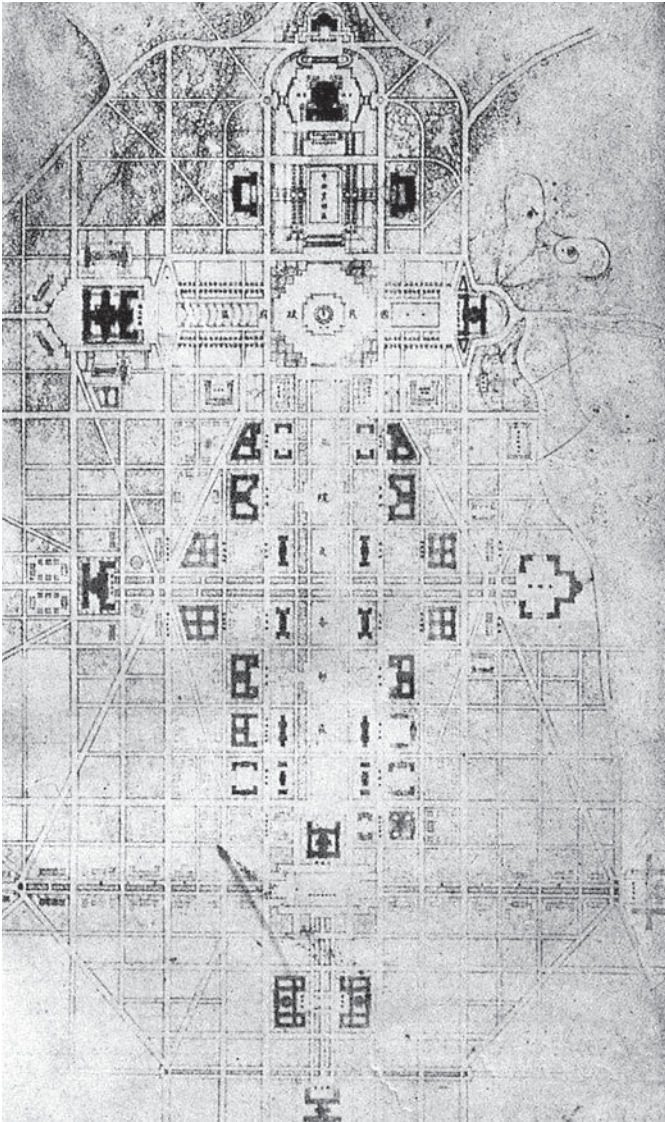


Fig. 14.4. ◀ Nanjing Governmental Center, *Capital Plan*. From Fu, *Zhongguo gudian shiyang jianzhu*, 126. Published courtesy of Fu Chao-Ching.

Fig. 14.5. (Top) Party Exhibition Hall, Nanjing. From Su Gin-Djih, *Chinese Architecture, Past and Contemporary*, pl. 140.

Fig. 14.6. (Bottom) Alfred T. Palmer, photographer, Foreign Ministry, Nanjing, originally published in Julius Eigner, "The Rise and Fall of Nanjing," *National Geographic Magazine* 73, no. 2 (February 1938), 217. Published courtesy of Julia Palmer Gennert.

the state administrative area (itself incomplete, as not all the planned edifices were built) became the main bequest of the Nanjing *Capital Plan*.

Suzhou, Creating a New Civic Center

During the Republican period, Suzhou was neither a capital city like Nanjing or Guangzhou, nor a major commercial city like Shanghai. State officials and urban elites nonetheless envisioned implementing a comprehensive urban plan that, though never repudiated, was eventually abandoned for piecemeal redevelopment projects that were more typical of Chinese cities as a whole. As elsewhere, the pursuit of modern planning in Suzhou was facilitated by an interlude of municipal administration (1927–1930) when provincial financial support allowed the local government to engage professional planners for the first time. According to Mayor Lu Quan and other officials, the impetus to “vigorously and thoroughly plan [the city] anew” was strengthened by its substantial bequest of late imperial structures: Suzhou’s “urban civilization, including commerce, roads, architecture . . . is all the legacy of feudal times . . . [and therefore] not suitable for producing [contemporary] urban culture and life.”²² To overcome the undue influence of traditional buildings and values, in 1929 the city’s first municipal engineer, Liu Shiying, crafted a plan to recreate the city’s Xuanmiaoguan, a Daoist temple, as a center for Republican political and economic life. With origins dating to the late third century CE, the temple complex had long been a center of urban worship, commerce, and entertainment, as well as a staging site for state and civil society initiatives. Liu envisioned surrounding the temple buildings with a swath of grass and trees, into which he would set fountains, greenery, and ponds, along with a greenhouse, music hall, and shops. The facilities would thus create a secular civic site for edifying recreation, popular education, and political participation by which the GMD hoped to beget a rationalist modern society and nation (fig. 14.7).

In the event, Liu’s civic center project was stillborn due to a lack of financial resources and ongoing conflicts over the widening of a main commercial street along the proposed park’s southern flank.²³ Nonetheless, his plan was revived in amended form the next year when city officials authorized the construction of a Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall in the center of the complex. In addition to furthering the GMD cult of personality honoring Sun, “Father of the Nation,” the 2,000-person-capacity hall was intended to accommodate the mass political meetings and educational rallies that had become a hallmark of Party life. Like the new governmental architecture in Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Shanghai, the Memorial Hall endeavored to synthesize a heroic modern national edifice by grafting traditional palace forms onto a foreign structure.²⁴ The hybrid two-story building transformed the pillars



Fig. 14.7. ▲ Xuanmiao Daoist Monastery, Suzhou. From Haku Kosei, *Soshu meisho no annaiki*, photo 8. Library of Congress. Published with permission of the Library of Congress.

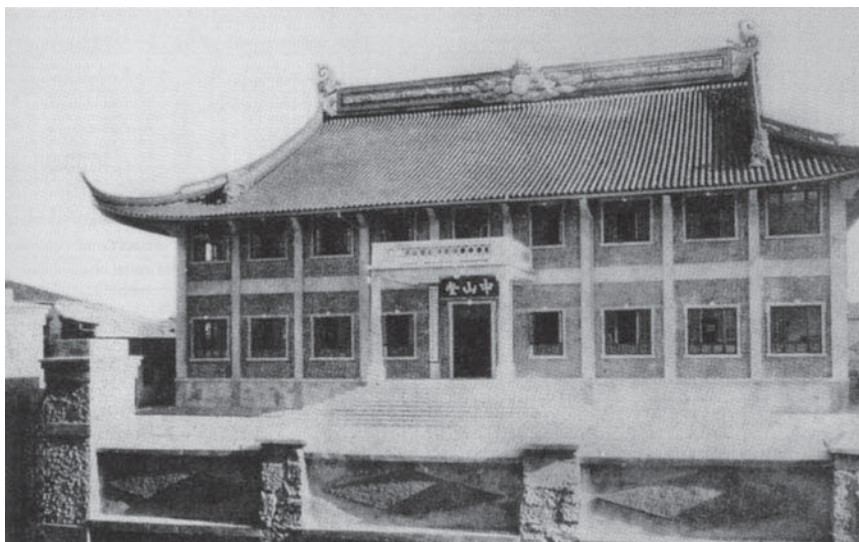


Fig. 14.8. ► Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall, Suzhou. From Suzhoushi difangshi bianuan weiyuanhui bangongshi, ed., *Lao Suzhou: Bainian jiuqing*, 121. Published courtesy of Suzhou Municipal Local History Office.

and braces of a traditional wooden pavilion into ornamental features and was topped by a grand upturned tile roof (fig. 14.8). Politicians and the local press applauded the Memorial Hall's design, scope, and siting at the center of the temple compound as inevitably producing a sense of awe and national pride. One can draw a comparison with I. M. Pei's Suzhou Museum (2006), which strikingly combines Jiangnan courtyard garden architecture with the sensibility and structural possibilities of modern steel building design; it is a contemporary analogue to the Memorial Hall in terms of its hybrid aesthetic, overt ideological aims, and media acclaim (fig. 14.9). Other commentators, such as the architect Liu Dunzhen, however, complained that the Suzhou hall's clumsy shape and proportions were a jarring travesty that neither lifted one's spirit nor expressed an understanding of China's traditional architecture. Liu, like his colleague Liang Sicheng, dismissed the Memorial Hall and other existing attempts to forge a distinctively modern Chinese nationalist architecture and mode of planning as general failures. The expansive nature of their criticism did not, however, reflect a renunciation of the Beaux-Arts or a loss of faith in the didactic function of national-style buildings. Rather, Liu, Liang, and others railed against the ignorance of architects and planners with regard to national architecture, which undermined the integrity of Beaux-Arts classicism and left Chinese cities bereft of national culture.²⁵

Fig. 14.9. I. M. Pei, Suzhou Museum. Photo by and published courtesy of Wu Wanyi.



Beaux-Arts Planning in Retrospect and in the Present

In China, as elsewhere, the capacity of Beaux-Arts principles to magnify the architectural and ideological impact of state structures highlighted their inadequacy in accommodating urban residential, industrial, or commercial needs. Indeed, in many plans, arrangements for such nonstate concerns were barely elaborated, or, as in the case of Nanjing, soon abandoned as impractical in the face of limited monies and popular opposition. As a result, the monumental elements of these urban plans were not well integrated into the surrounding environment. Indeed, the piecemeal state of city planning and building meant that in every case the Beaux-Arts design for a governmental center was overlaid onto an existing urban plan. The incompatibility between these different grids, as well as the ideological and design conflicts between different interests, detracted from any improvements in urban circulation, aesthetic integration, or other benefits that may have resulted from Beaux-Arts city schemes.²⁶ The roots of these failures lay with the tendency of some officials and planners to emphasize state buildings to the exclusion of other needs, economic and political travails, and, given the quickening of Japanese colonialism and the outbreak of total war in 1937, a lack of time.

Whether admired or criticized on their architectural merits—for recent critics have been kinder than many contemporaries—the Republican era's new state complexes did prove their worth by functioning as governmental buildings, often for several decades after 1949, if not up to the present.²⁷ Nonetheless, one could argue that the eventual defeat of the GMD in the civil war and the strength of popular enthusiasm for the vision of state and nation of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) revealed the failure of these structures to achieve their lofty intended purposes, such as producing civilizational uplift and propagating the GMD's political program. Yet this defeat does not just underscore the travails and shortcomings of Republican planning; it also highlights the now oft-remarked insufficiency of urban master plans and monumental architecture, no matter how abstractly perfect or powerful, to themselves engender vital modern cities. Most Republican planners, however, were never despoiled of their faith in the mythic rationality and efficacy of rational urban planning. Through their abiding belief in science and rationality, they remained admirably steadfast in their commitment to use city planning to achieve social reform and national regeneration.²⁸

Even a cursory look at early twenty-first-century Chinese cities demonstrates that despite the limited success of Republican-era planning, many of the preoccupations of Beaux-Arts-influenced planning continue to attract today's planners. Designers involved in recent projects in Beijing, Shanghai, and other cities retain a penchant for monumentality, centralized design, and axial approaches in

the planning of grand state and civic-use buildings, such as in the new National Concert Hall (2007) or the Olympic Green complex surrounding the National Aquatic Center (2007) and the “Bird’s Nest” Stadium (2007), all three of which are in Beijing. These characteristics are also found in commercial office buildings and other contemporary public spaces that speak to more recent shifts in the definition of the state, power, and the public interest. This continuity partially reflects the global imprint of the Beaux-Arts tradition on design practice and basic conceptions of urban grandeur. It also reflects a renewed interest among state officials, architects, and others in creating novel public spaces that reflect the affluence of China’s cities, as well as the nation’s burgeoning prominence in global affairs. These achievements stem directly from the last two decades of economic reform, yet they could also be viewed as a belated realization of the Nanjing decade’s long-denied aspirations. Contemporary urban planning, despite major differences in design methods and aesthetic, is thus in dialogue with Republican urban planning (see fig. 15.16).

Today, classical models may no longer command unchallenged respect as a lodestone of superior design or cultural values, yet significant high-profile urban projects such as Shanghai’s Xintiandi (2001) and the Shanghai Museum (1996), or Pei’s Suzhou Museum demonstrate renewed interest in incorporating the national

Fig. 14.10. Shanghai Museum. Photo by Mountain, GNU Free Documentation License.



cultural patrimony within contemporary architecture (fig. 14.10). Indeed, the national referents of individual buildings, if not the nationality of the designer, emerged as a major point of controversy in Beijing in particular, given its status as national capital and host to the world during the 2008 Summer Olympiad. A raft of monumental architectural projects by foreign and Chinese designers has remade the city into a showcase of contemporary global design and attracted plaudits from critics and media.²⁹

Unlike the Republican examples that we have examined, most of these latter-day projects do not clearly cite the nation's and the city's imperial past by explicitly using Chinese palace architecture as a basis for design. While some argue that these new structures reflect China's modernity and legibly represent some key traditional elements in abstract form, others decry the buildings as culturally deracinated interlopers that dilute Beijing's historic and contemporary national resonance—especially given the continuing demolition—almost wholesale erasure—of the city's traditional *hutong* neighborhoods.³⁰ The radical scope and magnitude of the city's transformation during the past two decades can engender a sense of dislocation in those who knew it previously. Critics' invocation of historicist, if not essentialist, ideals of local and national authenticity and a sense of place thus do have some visceral appeal.

Whether the new monumental architecture of Beijing and other cities will be judged so harshly in the future is another matter. It may be salutary to reflect on how closely such current criticisms echo Liang Sicheng's and Zhang Rui's Republican-era dismissal of modern Shanghai architecture as incommensurate with national culture—as they defined it. In the early twenty-first century, the self-same structures have achieved the status of icons in modern Chinese architecture and Republican culture as a whole. This transubstantiation does not deny the integrity and insight of Liang's and Zhang's nationalist and architectural ideals, but it does attest to the plasticity of such precepts over time. As such, Republican Beaux-Arts design and planning offer no clear guide to assessing contemporary currents other than the truism that the resolution of these debates will define today's vision of urban majesty and reveal the congeries of current aesthetic and political notions regarding nation and citizenship. No matter what gulf exists between early twentieth-century and contemporary planning, Nanjing-decade ambitions—that urban planning both celebrate and affect the resurgence of the Chinese nation and people—remain current. Through its legacy of formal method and discourse, plans, buildings, and the urban lives that they have engendered, Republican Beaux-Arts planning itself has now been transmuted into an indelible component of modern Chinese tradition and a fundamental aspect of its continuing transformation.

Notes

1. Fu Chao-Ching, *Zhongguo gudian shiyang xin jianzhu: Ershi shiji Zhongguo xin jianzhu guanzhijhua de lishi yanjiu* (China's classical style new architecture: Historical research on the governmentalist influence on twentieth-century new Chinese architecture) (Taipei: Nantian shuju, 1993), 149.
2. During the Nanjing decade, the first five cities became national "special municipalities," while the last two were designated provincial municipalities. See note 13 for more on the urban administrative hierarchy. Beijing (Northern capital) was renamed Beiping (Northern peace) in 1928 to reflect the fact that the GMD had moved the capital to Nanjing (Southern capital). Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the Beiping 1934 urban plan was its attempt to exploit the city's store of imperial architecture and historic monuments, often derided as the symbol and cause of its incongruity with the Republican zeitgeist, for tourist-fueled economic growth. Plans in this regard had been promoted since the late 1920s. As with many other contemporary schemes, few elements of the plan were realized. Madeline Dong, "Defining Beiping: Urban Reconstruction and National Identity, 1928–1936," in Joseph W. Esherick, ed., *Remaking the Chinese City: Modernity and National Identity, 1900–1950* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 132–138; Yue Jiaozao, "Beiping jiu jianzhu baocun yijianshu" (Memorandum on the protection of old Beiping architecture), Dec. 24, 1928, No. 2 Archives, Nanjing, PRC, *quanzong* 12(6), juan 19824.
3. Changchun offers another exemplary case-study of Beaux-Arts-influenced planning during the Republican period, albeit for contrary purposes. The city was designed to serve as the capital of Manchukuo, the Japanese puppet-state established in Manchuria in 1932. See Guo Qinghua, "Changchun: Unfinished capital planning of Manzhouguo, 1932–42," *Urban History* 31, no.1 (2004): 100–117; David D. Buck, "Railway City and National Capital: Two Faces of the Modern in Changchun," in Esherick, *Remaking the Chinese City*, 65–89.
4. See Lai Delin, "Zhongguo xiandai jianzhu jiaoyu de xianxingzhe: Jiangsu shengli Suzhou gongye zhuanmen xuexiao jianzhuke" (Origins of Chinese modern architectural education: Jiangsu Provincial Suzhou Technical School Architecture Department), in Yang Hongxun and Liu Tuo, eds., *Jianzhu lishi yu lilun* (Architectural history and theory) (Beijing: CABP, 1997), 71–77; Ruan Xing, "Accidental Affinities: American Beaux-Arts in Twentieth-Century Chinese Architectural Education and Practice," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* [hereafter *JSAH*] 61, no. 1 (2002): 30–47; Sibel Bozdogan, *Modernism and Nation-building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001); Abidin Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space and Political Cultures in Indonesia* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Mina Marefat, "Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran, 1921–1941," Ph.D. diss., MIT, 1988; Guo, "Changchun," 110; Jeffrey W. Cody, *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy's "Adaptive Architecture," 1914–1935* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2001), 180–181; re: the influence of Parisian Beaux-Arts planning on French colonial cities in Africa and Asia, as well as Buenos Aires, Rio, New Delhi, Chicago, and Cairo, see André Lortie, *Paris s'exporte: Modèle d'architecture ou architectures modèles* (Paris: Editions du Pavillon de l'Arsenal: Picard, 1995), 111–173.
5. Gu Yaqui, "Jianzhu sheji yu dushi mei zhi guanxi" (The relationship between architectural design and capital city beauty), *Dongfang zazhi* (Eastern Miscellany) 28, no. 5 (1931): 49–51.
6. Shang Qixu, "Yishu jianshe fafan" (Modes of artistic development), *Dongfang zazhi* 28, no. 5 (1931): 43–44.
7. Liang Sicheng and Zhang Rui, "Tianjin tebieshi wuzhi jianshe fang'an" (Proposal regarding the material development of Tianjin Special Municipality), in *Liang Sicheng quanji* (Liang Sicheng collected works) (Beijing: CABP, 2001), vol. 1, 32–34.

8. Ibid.

9. George L. Wilson, "Architecture, Interior Decoration, and Building in Shanghai Twenty Years Ago and To-Day," *China Journal of Science and Arts* 12 (May 1930): 248–255.

10. Liang and Zhang, "Tianjin tebieshi," vol. 1, 32–34.

11. "Shoudu zhongyang zhengzhi qu dangxuantuan shuomingshu" (Guide to capital central governmental area plans), *Shoudu jianshe* (Capital reconstruction) 2 (Nov. 1929): *jihua*, 1, in Charles Musgrove, "Building a Dream: Constructing a National Capital in Nanjing, 1927–1937," in Esherick, *Remaking the Chinese City*, 146.

12. The Republic was declared on January 1, 1912, and the Qing court abdicated in mid-February, ending two millennia of imperial rule. The plan in question was by Huang Yuyu and Zhu Shengkang, yet it and another design shared third place, the highest award given; Musgrove wryly conjectures that the committee's high standards may have been a ploy to save money by avoiding the need to pay the more costly first and second place prizes. Musgrove, "Building a Dream," 144–146, 239 n. 49.

13. During the Republican era, the label "municipality" was a novel designation. Late imperial cities had generally not been integrated corporate political entities; rather, they served as seats for different county (and sometimes overlapping prefectural and provincial) jurisdictions that governed a portion of a city and the surrounding suburbs. Late Qing reformers admired the systems of municipal government practiced abroad and in some treaty ports for their capacity to foster urban development and popular political participation, both of which were seen as bolstering national strengthening. Steps toward municipal government were initiated during the last years of the Qing, but the first such administration was not implemented until the Republic, during which it remained rare. Its development was retarded when President Yuan Shikai suspended all forms of representative self-government in 1914. Several cities followed the example of Guangzhou and began preparations to institute municipal government in the early 1920s. On the whole, these efforts did not bear fruit until 1927, when the GMD established a system of national-level "Special Municipalities" (*tebieshi shizhengfu*), which were directly under the control of the national government as a result of their large population and national, political, economic, and cultural significance and received central state financial support for urban planning and development. Similar provincial-level "Municipalities" (*shizhengfu*) were also created in 1927. Few nationally or provincially prominent cities were granted municipal government status due to its heavy cost. Nanjing was the *primus inter pares* of Special Municipalities. On the impetus to establish municipal government, see Zhang Rui, *Shizhi xinlun* (New theory of municipal administration), Liang Qichao, ed. (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1927), 1–2; Dong Xiujia, *Shizhengxue gangyao* (Principles of municipal government) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1928), *xu* (preface):1–2.

14. Guangzhou's exciting urban evolution remains less familiar to Anglophone readers. See Hans Wing Yeu Yeung, "Guangzhou, 1800–1925: The Urban Evolution of a Chinese Provincial Capital," Ph.D. diss., University of Hong Kong, 1999; Michael Tsin, *Nation, Governance, and Modernity in China: Canton, 1900–1927* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

15. The American architect Henry Murphy offered such a vision in his "approved" but unbuilt 1927 plan for the Guangzhou civic center. Lin's later building fulfilled the same ideals. Cody, *Building in China*, 180–181; Fu, *Zhongguo gudian shiyang*, 152–154; Seng Kuan's essay in this book.

16. Dong, who earned architecture degrees at the University of Minnesota and Columbia University, is discussed in Kuan Seng's chapter in this volume. Lin studied in Lyon from 1920 to

1926 and worked in the office of Alfred Agache. Jeffrey Cody, *Exporting American Architecture, 1870–2000* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 161. Also see Lin Keming and Luo Jin, *Shiji huigu: Lin Keming huiyi lu* (Reflections on a century: Memoirs of Lin Keming) (Guangzhou: Guangzhou junqu silingbu, 1995).

17. Chen Zhi, “Nanjing dushi mei zengjin zhi biyao” (Necessity of augmenting the beauty of the capital city Nanjing), *Dongfang zazhi* 25, no. 13 (1928): 38–41.

18. Fu, *Zhongguo gudian shiyang*, 125–127.

19. *Shoudu jihua* (Nanjing: Guodu sheji jishu zhuan yuan banshichu, 1929) 33, in Luo Ling, *Jindai Nanjing chengshi jianshe yanjiu* (Research on Modern Nanjing Urban Planning) (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 1999), 41–42.

20. Luo, *Jindai Nanjing*, 98–104; Fu, *Zhongguo gudian shiyang*, 125–133. For an insightful English-language analysis of Nanjing’s new capital architecture and its social and political import, see Charles Musgrove, “The Nation’s Concrete Heart: Architecture, Planning, and Ritual in Nanjing, 1927–1937,” Ph.D. diss., University of California, San Diego, 2002), passim, esp. 23–149; idem, “Building a Dream,” 139–157; Lai Delin, “Searching for a Modern Chinese Monument: The Design of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum in Nanjing,” *JSAH* 64, no. 1 (2005), 22–55.

21. On criticism and protest, see Musgrove, “The Nation’s Concrete Heart,” 134–146.

22. Lu Quan, “Suzhou shizheng de huigu yu qianzhan” (Past and present development of Suzhou municipal government), *Suzhou shizheng yuekan* (Suzhou municipal government monthly) 1, no. 10–12 (1929); *lunzhu* (articles): 2. On contemporary assessments of Suzhou’s builtscapes, which was, perhaps, second only to Beijing in its historical scope and significance, see Peter J. Carroll, *Between Heaven and Modernity: Reconstructing Suzhou, 1895–1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 132–170.

23. Carroll, *Between Heaven and Modernity*, 225–251.

24. Erected throughout the country during the late 1920s and 1930s, the Sun Yat-sen memorial halls often constituted a city’s most celebrated example of new-style national architecture. Suzhou’s enjoyed this reputation when it opened in 1934.

25. Carroll, *Between Heaven and Modernity*, 157–170.

26. Guo, “Changchun,” 108–114; Fu, *Zhongguo gudian shiyang*, 127–133; Musgrove, “The Nation’s Concrete Heart,” 81–149.

27. See, for example, Liang and Zhang, “Tianjin tebieshi,” 132–134; Musgrove, “Building a Dream,” 155; Carroll, *Between Heaven and Modernity*, 157–170; Guo, “Changchun,” 108; Fu, *Zhongguo gudian shiyang*, 91–161.

28. M. Christine Boyer, *Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983), passim.

29. For example, the July 2008 *Architectural Record* includes a feature section on “Beijing Transformed.”

30. Christopher Hawthorne, “Architecture: China Pulls Up the Drawbridge,” *The New York Times*, September 19, 2004, sec. 2, p. 1; Jim Yardley, “Olympics Imperial Historic Beijing Neighborhood,” *The New York Times*, July 12, 2006, online edition; Ruan Xing, *New China Architecture* (North Clarendon, VT: Tuttle Publishing, 2006); Layla Dawson, *China’s New Dawn: An Architectural Transformation* (Munich: Prestel Publishing, 2005).

15 CHINESE URBANISM BEYOND THE BEAUX-ARTS

Beaux-Arts traditions in Chinese urbanism after 1949 were closely linked to authoritarianism, in which social values were promoted in architecture and urban design. However, after urban reforms were inaugurated in 1978, the nature of state power changed, resulting in the private and other sectors having greater importance in the country's social and economic lives. In this chapter I shall provide a comprehensive overview of the forces and consequences associated with the processes that helped reshape China's contemporary urban landscape, and I will suggest how the role of Beaux-Arts traditions in China's urban landscape should be redefined. I will first examine the nature of urban developments in the country over the past twenty-five years. Localism, I believe, has been the central force throughout China's contemporary urbanism, and it has created a hybrid, socialist market economy and has generated unique urban scenes at the city level. Then I shall focus on a few key themes related to this urbanization, including deindustrialization, consumerism, and property development as the main driving forces behind the privatization of spaces and the building of a consumerist culture dominated by individualism. It is in this context that I shall explain the dynamics of China's contemporary architecture and urban spaces where the Beaux-Arts tradition, as is true of many other foreign architectural movements, has been reinterpreted in the new political economy. Finally, I come to a critical conclusion about this often-distorted urbanism.

Rapid Unbalanced Urban Development

Over the last twenty-five years, China has experienced rapid urban development. By the year 2006, with its total number of cities and towns reaching 661 and an average annual growth of the urban population at 10 million, the level of urbanization was over 42 percent, much higher than it was in 1981.¹ As a consequence, cities have sprawled. By the end of the 1990s China's total planned urban areas accounted for 810,000 sq km, and built-up areas for 213,000 sq km, with an average annual growth of 11,400 sq km in the built-up areas, a size equal to the Île-de-France. Not surprisingly, approximately 60 percent of those new urban areas were comprised of farm land, which meant more of the rural population was forced into cities.² This trend continued until October 2004, when the State Council published a "Resolution on Deepening Rigid Land Management Reform."

Despite the fact that the national government has been in favor of small-town development, large cities, especially those along China's eastern coast, still play the most important role. By 1994 the three city regions of Shanghai, Beijing, and

Guangzhou were accommodating approximately 50 percent of the country's urban population, in an area representing only 2 percent of the country's total land, but contributing 27 percent of the country's total GDP.³

This rapid urban development is unbalanced. Given geographical and historical conditions since the mid-nineteenth century, when the Qing dynasty was forced to open its key port cities to European powers, many of the most significant Chinese cities have been concentrated along the eastern coastline. Since 1949 the Chinese government has made great efforts to industrialize the country's inland regions. However, when Deng Xiaoping initiated reforms beginning in 1978, two years after the official end of the Cultural Revolution, this policy was abandoned. In the early 1980s, in order to attract foreign investments within the context of radical structural changes in the world economy, the Chinese government quickly pushed its eastern coastal regions to the frontiers of the world market by creating Special Economic Zones (SEZ) and Open Cities. In 1979 the SEZs (including Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou, Xiamen, and later Hainan, which was given new provincial status in which SEZ policies were adopted) were set up by the reformist government as a testing ground for new economic models and alternatives to the socialist planning model that had prevailed since the mid-1950s. In 1984, after a few years of these experiments, the government expanded the SEZ policy to include fourteen coastal Open Cities as flagships of urban reform. Because of this, many kinds of development zones were introduced in those cities.⁴ Since then, development zones have become a major tool for urban development in China. By the 1990s there were more than 100 with state status, and approximately 400 with provincial status.⁵ Through harsh competition for cheap land, these development zones provided a solid base for China's growing role in developing world-class manufacturing industries.

Benefiting from a series of preferential policies concerning investment, taxation, and price controls over raw materials and processed products, the coastal regions quickly left their inland counterparts behind. Taking state-owned investment as an example, the inland regions experienced a sharp decrease in state-owned investment in fixed assets. From 1981 to 1995 the proportions of state-owned investment in the eastern, middle, and western regions changed, respectively, from 47.6 percent, 28.5 percent, and 17.9 percent in 1981 to 55.4 percent, 24.3 percent, and 14.4 percent in 1995. In addition to this, the rapid increase of nongovernment investment in the eastern regions contributed to an even more unbalanced regional investment situation. In 1991, for example, the share of total output of China's township industries in the eastern, middle, and western regions was 65.7 percent, 30.1 percent, and 4.2 percent, respectively. In 1994 only 11

percent of the country's total foreign investment was located in the middle and western regions.⁶ As a result, both the middle and western regions saw a decreased share of the country's GDP. The three regions' share of GDP changed from 52 percent, 31 percent, and 17 percent in 1978 to 61.4 percent, 23.74 percent, and 14.8 percent in 1995, respectively.⁷ The average income per person was considerably increased, especially in the rural sectors.

The Rise of Localism and the Emerging Collage City

Since the reform the Chinese government has deliberately given more power and paid more interest to local authorities. In so doing, the government has gradually transformed China's wealth distribution pattern, which has had a direct impact on urban development in terms of the growing autonomy of local authorities over investment in infrastructure, real estate, and architectural expression. As a result of this reform, while both enterprises and individuals were gaining, the state's interest in the country's national income was reduced. By 2000 the distribution pattern of national wealth among the state, enterprises, and individuals was reshaped into 18.6 percent, 12.25 percent, and 69.2 percent, respectively, from 33.9 percent, 11.1 percent, and 55 percent in the late 1970s.⁸ The changes in wealth distribution have directly affected the landscape of ownership in the country. As a result of this, the conventional state-dominated investment pattern has gradually given way to a more diversified investment structure, with an increasing role played by enterprises and the private sector. This has naturally weakened the government's planning power at all levels and encouraged strong localism in urban development. Furthermore, in many senses the larger role played by the private sector has challenged existing planning orders in cities. The conventional centralized city planning system, which was initiated by 156 key state projects in the 1950s, now has to cooperate with the private market. For example, in the case of Beijing's Oriental Plaza project, which started in 1993 close to Tiananmen Square and the Forbidden City, the planning authority of Beijing had to change their building height-control plan in order to satisfy the developers' demands for more profitable floor-area ratios. This kind of bargaining between developers and local authorities has too often led to disturbing, corrupt practices in Chinese cities, where neither a legal system nor transparent planning practices are yet fully established.

Given the unfamiliar market situation they had to face, the rise of localism put Chinese cities in severe competition with each other. The widespread proliferation of development zones is the most powerful reflection of this localism.

For instance, in 1992 seventy-five cities in China set up unrealistic goals to build world-class cities (*guoji da dushi*). In 2000 numerous local authorities proposed “Silicon Valley development plans” after the central government issued a new policy to encourage an IT-based economy.

Regionally, some entrepreneurial local authorities compromised extensively to attract investments in major regional infrastructures such as airports, harbors, and highways. Redundant projects often caused great waste in resources. The Pearl Delta Region, for instance, China’s powerhouse for reform in the 1980s, still had limited air traffic and could only support one large airport, but five major airports were built in the vicinity without proper coordination. Some suffered from low usage, and Zhuhai Airport was turned into a venue for annual air shows. In the lower Yangzi Valley below Nanjing, nine major harbors have been constructed in addition to smaller ones; the average distance between them is only twenty-five km. Again, the designed annual handling capacities far exceeds the actual freight volume.⁹

Regardless of the fact that, economically, cities depend more and more upon one another, the existing administrative structure and the urban household registration system have created a great barrier to healthy interurban cooperation. Beijing is a typical case in point. As the national capital, under the centralized political system, Beijing has taken on too many functions, and its natural and historic environment can hardly handle the strain that its status places on it. Serious problems—including a lack of water, a marked increase in traffic congestion, an intensification of housing problems, and severe pressures regarding historic conservation—are among the great challenges the city has to face. Perhaps the strong actions that both the central government and the Beijing authorities took to improve air quality and traffic conditions for the 2008 Olympic Games may provide an opportunity for serious reflection about how to face these challenges more effectively.

Since the late 1990s, in reaction to confining juridical boundaries and administrative limitations, one notable regional development tendency has been for many urban authorities, especially at the provincial level, to pay increasingly careful attention to city and regional planning. However, a common problem that has resulted from this attention is that sometimes local planning agencies exaggerate the development potential and regional roles their cities enjoy. In 1998 the then-new Premier Zhu Rongji initiated a reform of China’s tax system by increasing the central government’s share of tax income to 75 percent of the total, leaving only 25 percent to local authorities.¹⁰ Under these new circumstances, to increase their tax revenue, many local authorities expanded the size of urban

population by adjusting their strategic or master plans to gain more land for urban development, because under the new tax policy, the tax revenue from leasing land went into the coffers of the local authorities.¹¹ This caused serious uncontrolled land development until 2003, at which point the State Council issued several strong policies to remedy the situation.

Within urban areas, localism is equally troubling. Given the existing political system, as authorities in big cities act according to their own political and economic concerns, they have turned their cities into virtual battlefields, where contentious disputes have occurred when local interests challenge those of the conventional, centralized city-planning authorities. This has resulted in an awkward situation. Taking Beijing again as an example, the location of the central business district (CBD) has long been dictated in Chaoyang District to the east of the city between the second and third ring roads by the city's Master Plan. Accordingly, the CBD started to take shape after more than a decade of development in which many high-rise office buildings had been concentrated in the area. However, after the land market was opened up in 1992, the two economic powers of the city—the East and West City Districts—competed with each other to attract investments in office building by each proposing a CBD in their own jurisdictions, regardless of planning consequences, especially traffic congestion. The Oriental Plaza and Financial District are the worst outcomes of this competition. In late 1999, a new economic power, Haidian district of Beijing, manipulated the government's policy to accelerate the development of high-tech and information technology and planned yet another CBD area to encourage IT business. By the year 2002, the total volume of built and planned office buildings was at more than 12 million sq m.¹² In order to equalize the development opportunities for IT business, in 2000 the Beijing City government had to split Haidian Science and Technology Park into six areas, named "one district with five parks" (figs. 15.1 and 15.2).

The existing land-use-rights' ownership patterns and the absence of any unified land market have rendered Chinese planning control powerless. This phenomenon was clearly mirrored by the detailed control plan of Beijing, which was started in 1993 and completed in 1997. From this plan we can see the deliberate redistribution of commercial land uses in each neighborhood, which in turn has reconfigured the general city land-use structure. As this idea/policy has been put into practice, we can see the results, for example, in the anarchistic urban landscape of Beijing's city center, where the authorities permitted the creation of 3,000 high-rise buildings by the late 1990s (fig. 15.3).



Fig. 15.1. ◀ Oriental Plaza, Beijing, early 1990s. Photo by author.

Deindustrialization and the Emergence of Consumerist Cities

In the 1950s cities in China, which has been "nonproductive" service cities, as defined by Marxist economic theories, were deliberately transformed into industrial bases by the Communist government. For instance, before the 1950s there existed almost no heavy industry in Beijing, but after intensive industrial developments in the 1950s, Beijing began to see a great number of heavy and light industries developed with lavish central government subsidies in the surrounding suburbs. Moreover, during the Great Leap Forward (1958–1962), inner city areas also witnessed the creation of many neighborhood industries. After approximately three decades of the government's "accumulation" policies, service sectors were often considered unimportant. By the late 1970s, factories, especially small-sized neighborhood ones, became a dominant feature of Chinese cities, while the shops serving people's daily needs were very few in number.

Since the Reform, in order to improve the convenience of citizens' daily lives and to create more jobs, especially for the newly returned young people who had been sent to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution, city governments have issued many policies to promote the development of service sectors, such as developing the neighborhood economy (*fazhan jiedao jingji*). In the 1980s, due to the lack of government investment, Chinese cities experienced a great expansion

Fig. 15.2. ◀ Central Business District, Haidian, Beijing, with high concentration of IT buildings. Photo by author.



Fig. 15.3. ▶ Chaotic high-rise commercial developments, Beijing, 1980s. Photo by author.

Fig. 15.4. Uncontrolled commercial developments, Beijing, 1980s. Photo by author.



of small-sized shops, mostly linked to work units (*danwei*) and neighborhood committees. Along with this trend, the private and informal sectors grew most rapidly. Small shops along urban streets were the characteristic scene of Chinese cities in this period. In addition, the uncontrolled small-scale service sectors in cities occupied most public spaces. For instance, school classrooms could be rented out to businesses, and sidewalks were often used for free markets. This development produced a strong rationale for urban enhancement in the late 1990s, as will be discussed below (fig. 15.4).

In 1992, after the government became involved in the service sector of society, a huge amount of surplus international capital began to flow into major Chinese cities. Consequently, commercial redevelopment became the focal point of urban construction in China. Within this context, the Beijing Municipal Government announced an ambitious plan to build 100 large-scale department stores by the year 2000, each with an area of over 10,000 sq m, with a total floor space of 3 million sq m. (By the mid-1990s the actual number of large-scale department stores either operating or under construction was just over 40.)¹³ At the same time urban industries gradually lost their strength, for they faced strong competition from the newly flourishing township industries that began to thrive in that more relaxed business environment. By the early 1990s, many cities started to relocate their city-based industries to outlying areas in order to provide more space for residential and commercial development.

Housing development is one of the most significant aspects of this consumerist city-making. As Joseph Rykwert writes, “The Chinese are now the biggest patrons of pure-housing cities.”¹⁴ At the national level, in 1995 completed housing absorbed 64 percent of the total annual urban construction budget.¹⁵ By 1999 the average usable floor area per dwelling in cities and towns had reached 14.2 sq m, or four times the amount in 1980.¹⁶ By the late 1990s spending for housing became the key component of household consumption.¹⁷

From the 1950s to the 1970s, the Chinese government had pursued a “working first, living second” policy, deliberately decreasing housing investment in order to allocate more funds for the development of the country’s heavy industries. By the late 1970s, a housing shortage had already become a serious social problem, especially in large cities (fig. 15.5). In order to encourage urban housing development, the government launched housing reform in the mid-1980s.¹⁸

Soon many prosperous work units and government branches invested a significant amount of resources in new housing development for their employees. Because there was little real estate available for development at that

Fig. 15.5. Overcrowding, old neighborhood, Beijing. Photo by author.



Fig. 15.6. Fangzhuang, one of the earliest large housing developments in Beijing, late 1980s. Photo by author.



time, until the late 1980s, apart from the very few special economic zones, a considerable proportion of welfare housing for new groups of workers had to take place within existing units. This served to reinforce the characteristic urban “living close to work” pattern, first established during the early years of the planned economy.¹⁹

Beginning in the late 1980s many city governments started to organize more large-scale housing developments in new areas. Fangzhuang and Wangjing are two avenues in Beijing that epitomize developments during this period (fig. 15.6). It is worth noting that these developments were often constrained by the existing urban infrastructure, which had been neglected over the previous thirty years. Therefore, housing developed in this period had to be located very close to the existing city, which resulted in widespread urban sprawl. In spite of the booming urban property market of the recent past, this phenomenon has persisted. For example, most new housing developments are concentrated within the fifth ring road of the city of Beijing, while the recently planned, important new towns—Tongzhou, Shunyi, and Yizhuang—are still struggling to attract residential development.

The opening up of the land market in 1992 broke state control over housing standards; accordingly, many expensive housing developments have appeared (fig. 15.7). In architectural terms, most of this upper-scale standardized housing is in high-rise form, either within the city or on the edges; some are terrace houses in the suburbs. Geographically, real estate development has been subject to little planning control, for the arbitrary land-leasing procedures operate at the local level.

Recently, the central government has required cities to establish standard land-leasing mechanisms, but as a common practice local land authorities exert hardly any control over the location of leased land. In other words, city planners still face difficulties when they try to intervene to develop infrastructure.

Property-led City Development

Today one cannot ignore the role played by the real estate industry in China's urban development. The great profit potential in China's real property market has made it a rapidly expanding sector in the country's economy. Since 1987, in spite of a few years of moderate performance, the growth rate of real estate investment has been more than twice that of the investments in China's general fixed assets.²⁰ Its total income in 1995 reached 173 billion *renminbi* (RMB), but by 2006 it was almost ten

times that amount.²¹ By the end of the 1980s, the number of real estate companies in China was only about 3,000; by 1992 that number had increased to 12,400. The total investment that same year reached 73.1 billion RMB, which represented 10 percent of the country's total investment in fixed assets. The associated tax revenue gained by local authorities accounted for 4.14 billion RMB.²²

The rise of real estate in China has promoted the role of nongovernmental investment in city development. The increasing dependency of city governments on the market in construction has created new power establishments and influences in the urban arena, in which major developers, with strong support from financial institutions, have gained powerful positions in decision-making about how to reshape Chinese cities. It is too often the case that developers become the initiators of planning development areas within cities. In planning terms, this dependency had resulted from two influential planning policies in urban redevelopment. One is the "on site balance" development strategy, while the second encompasses many kinds of service-linkage policies, including "road linkage."

Fig. 15.7. Typical early twenty-first-century expensive apartment housing, Beijing. Photo by author.



The speculative nature of real estate can easily create oversupply in the market. By the mid-1990s the property boom in China suffered seriously high vacancy rates. The government first used a soft-landing strategy to cool down the overheated economy, but it soon switched to a “positive fiscal policy” as a way to stimulate the economy, which had been slowed by the Asian financial storm. Taking Beijing as an example, since 1998, and especially after its success in bidding for the 2008 Olympics, the city has completed more than 10 million sq m of new housing annually, with a continuous increase in property prices.²³

One of the social consequences of real estate development is the capitalization of urban space in Chinese cities. The conventional urban land-use rights were in the hands of public or collective work units. This land-use rights ownership structure was quickly transformed through rapid large-scale property developments promoted by a small number of monopoly developers.

The transformation of land-use rights ownership is clearly demonstrated in Beijing’s most expensive commercial area, Wangfujing. In the early 1980s Wangfujing Street was dominated by the giant Wangfujing Department Store, Dong’an Shichang, and other sizable, state-owned or collectively owned, commercial facilities. From the late 1980s to the early 1990s, the growing power of state- and collectively owned work units had laid strong footprints in the area by contributing to the erection of large commercial facilities. However, this trend was soon transformed by an invasion of larger international developers, mostly from Hong Kong. The Oriental Plaza and the Sundongan Shopping Center are the two striking examples of this.

Housing privatization is another important aspect of the capitalization of space. It developed through two channels. The first was the privatization of existing publicly owned housing stock. After the mid-1980s the government launched a series of policies to deepen its housing reform. In 1998 the Beijing Municipal Government was the last local authority in the country to officially announce its suspension of the welfare housing program, thus effectively ending the supply of welfare housing in China.

Yet another important aspect of the capitalization of space is the increasing weight of market housing in the total new housing stock in cities. In 1995, the annual housing developed by real estate made up about one-third of the country’s total urban housing construction, and that was triple the amount for the mid-1980s.²⁴ By 2000 the proportion of private housing stock was close to 50 percent of the urban total;²⁵ it is now over 80 percent. The privatization of urban housing is also causing urban segregation, where highly desirable addresses have become socioeconomic symbols of the richer income groups of urban dwellers.

Fig. 15.8. People's Common Housing Project, Beijing, Great Leap Forward period, late 1950s. Photo by author.



Individualism and the Building of Consumerist Urban Culture

In the 1960s and 1970s urban life in China turned into an ideological battlefield during times of harsh international and domestic political situations. Collective idealism and asceticism became the main theme of the times, and the private realm was denied. The artistic expression of architecture and cities was controlled by ideological and political struggles. For example, after the late 1950s almost every city built a central open square with a review stand for political parades, following the pattern of Tiananmen Square. Often, work-unit compounds were designed with strong axes, demonstrating both Beaux-Arts and Soviet planning influences. Subsequently, and lasting until the end of the Cultural Revolution, focal points related to these axes were strengthened by the placement of statues of Chairman Mao in key locations. In residential buildings, too, ideological expression could be overwhelming. In Beijing and Tianjin, housing projects called People's Commons were built in urban areas (fig. 15.8).²⁶

After Reform began in earnest in the late 1970s, with the redistribution of social wealth and the decentralization of power, the establishment of the contractual system and the weakening social welfare, the Chinese people found themselves moving within an increasingly stratified society. Collectivism gave way to individualism; harsh struggle and plain living were replaced by consumerism. In market-dominated cities, arts had to transform their previous



Fig. 15.9. Consumer-oriented urban landscape, Nanjing Street, Shanghai. Photo by author.

“enlightening by education” ideology into a more realistic, entertainment-oriented approach, where the experiences of the “sensation of pleasure” were the ultimate goal (fig. 15.9).

The new urban middle class is the key group that characterizes these consumers. With high incomes, housing, and cars, they lead fashionable lives in Chinese cities. Life is more a matter of style and taste than of survival. Status, individuality, novelty, the avant-garde, history, ecology—all can be important concepts in their consumption. Over the last twenty years, especially the last decade, the development of a consumerist culture in the city has been strongly influenced by the changing lifestyle of the middle class.²⁷

The city environment and architecture as one main channel for expression of this newly emerged culture falls into three, endlessly changing fashions.

From Big Roof (*da wuding*) National Style to Vernacular Forms

The emancipation of the mind stimulated by the discussion of “practice is the only criterion of truth”

immediately after the Reform encouraged Chinese architects and planners to rethink previously practiced principles and ideas. Not surprisingly, the Beaux-Arts-rooted discourse of “national style” inspired by the socialist realism of the 1950s was raised again as an entry point to question the “faceless” city environment formed by “matchbox” modern architecture, mostly built in the 1970s and 1980s. However, before long architects and planners realized that there was no single architectural expression of “national style.” Instead, they concluded that the solution might exist in a more diversified vernacular architecture. The Fragrant Hills (Xiangshan) Hotel by I. M. Pei and the Queli Hotel by Dai Nianci, both built in the mid-1980s, helped to promote this debate (fig. 15.10). The flourishing reinterpretation of vernacular architecture in the 1980s reflected the social denial of the authoritarianism of the 1950s and the utilitarianism of the 1960s (fig. 15.11). It expressed the eagerness for individuality and consumption of the 1980s, where architectural characteristics and cityscapes were the popular new terms discussed in city development. Architects worked hard to make each building look different in form, and planners worked to create streetscapes with local characteristics.



Fig. 15.10. ▲ I. M. Pei, Fragrant Hills (Xiangshan) Hotel, 1980s. Photo by author.



Fig. 15.11. ► Liulichang, traditional cultural street, Beijing, 1980s. Photo by author.

The So-called European Styles, a Cheap Way to Compromise Rapid Development

Vernacular approaches simply could not cope with the masses of rapidly built constructions in Chinese cities, which became more problematical in the 1990s. The controversy over the “little pavilion on the top of buildings,” a form practiced in Beijing, illustrated this situation. Throughout much of the 1990s, many key city projects in Beijing, including the West Railway Station, were designed with traditional roofs as a compromise between modernization and local culture.

In order to find a new way out, Chinese entrepreneurs, newly established middle-class consumers, and a new generation of architects and planners with patrons among the new political elites all once again looked to the West. Architecturally, the West of the 1990s had by then embraced postmodernism. The popular stylistic postmodern classical architecture and urban spaces, built mostly after the late 1970s, soon attracted Chinese attention. The so-called European styles quickly spread throughout the major cities in China. The trend fell into two categories. The first imitated what some might term a “KPF style of postmodern architecture,” and this was more favored by professionals;²⁸ the other was reflected in the cheap copies of so-called Western classic architecture.

On the surface, the popularity of the so-called European styles in China architecturally denied the vernacular approaches and modernistic efforts of the 1980s. Sociologically speaking, however, it met the demands of both the new economic and the new political elites for fresh expressions of their new establishments. We should not forget that in the 1990s in China, architecture was viewed completely as a commodity, so that architects could not do much except serve their clients.

Moreover, there was a technical logic related to the practices of the decorative, so-called European styles in China. Since the 1980s, in-situ concrete had become the dominant construction material and technology, especially as applied in commercial and public buildings, because of its economic advantages. Most of the in-situ concrete buildings were built with either tiled or painted exterior walls, and they often had poor finishing details. The majority of the construction workers came from the countryside and usually lacked proper training in construction. Under these circumstances, and in order to make the buildings look better so as to meet the clients' and consumers' aesthetic requirements, designers and developers were comfortable choosing the structurally independent ornamental, so-called European style of architecture to disguise the relatively poor quality of the building materials and finishing (fig. 15.12). During the 1998 flood, then Premier Zhu Rongji criticized the poor quality of construction and pronounced many of these projects



Fig. 15.12. Building project in European classical style, Beijing. Photo by author.

“built with *doufuzha*,” that is, they employed the leftovers from the bean-curd-making process, the stuff that could not be used. Ever since, “project of *doufuzha*” has become a common description for such projects on the Chinese Internet.

Both the revival of vernacular forms and the trendy so-called European architectural styles in China represent a continuity of the Beaux-Arts tradition that started roughly a century ago. This may add another footnote to the history of modern Chinese architecture, for architectural modernism has never been the main trend in China. Despite the fact that modernism was introduced into China (especially in Shanghai, Tianjin, and other key industrial cities) early in the twentieth century, it was never accepted as an architectural norm during most of the Republican period, when the Nationalist Government (GMD) preferred urban projects and key buildings designed predominantly using Beaux-Arts traditions. This stemmed from a strong social consciousness related to nationalism, which was rooted in the humiliating defeats of China beginning in the First Opium War (1839–1842), which marked the beginning of what is commonly called the modern (*xiandai*) era in China. Significantly, when the Communists gained control

in 1949, the situation did not change. For ideological reasons the Communist government assumed that architectural modernism was an artifact of bourgeois culture. Therefore, the Big Roof national style, with its strong Beaux-Arts influence, continued to flourish during the 1950s (see fig. 13.8). Historians may argue that there was a rise of functionalist modernism during the 1960s and 1970s, when the country's economy was in extremely bad shape. However, in fact the functional architecture built during those two decades was erected more out of a concern for technical and economic considerations than for architectural consciousness. Thus when the reforms of the late 1970s and early 1980s triggered massive urban development, the Beaux-Arts tradition returned, mainly because most of the decision-makers and influential senior architects in practice at that time were already familiar with that tradition, which had been utilized in different ways from the 1930s to the 1950s.

The Transplantation of Western “Modern” Architecture

The transplanting of Western ideas has been one important channel for cultural and technological exchange since the so-called Westernization Movement (*yangwu yundong*) began in the latter half of the nineteenth century. China's opening to the world market has made the country a popular place for Western architects. With the new political and cultural circumstances that began in the late 1990s and continued throughout the 2008 Olympics, international design competitions, design consultancies, and direct foreign involvement in the design process have become popular among local authorities and developers, partly as public (or commercial) propaganda and partly in admiration of the new architecture in the West.

More important, the expanding importation of foreign construction materials, products, and technologies has enabled the transplantation of Western modern architecture. Jianguo Hotel, built in the early 1980s in what were then Beijing's eastern suburbs, was one of the earliest projects after the onset of Reform. It was funded by foreign investment, designed by overseas architects (based upon the precedent of a hotel in California), and constructed mostly with imported materials. With an increase in consumption power, more iconic buildings, especially in the primary locations of Beijing and Shanghai, were constructed in this way, albeit with increasingly Chinese, as opposed to Western, investment.

As a result, many key locations of Chinese cities have been marked by the works of Western architects, including the symbolic world trade center of Pudong in Shanghai by Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill (SOM) (fig. 15.13), the National Grand Opera House in Beijing by Paul Andreu (fig. 15.14), and many of the more recently constructed sites for the Olympics (Koolhaas, Herzog/DeMeuron, and others).

Fig. 15.13. ► Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill, Jingmao Tower, Shanghai. Photo by author.



Fig. 15.14. ▼ Paul Andreu, National Grand Opera House, Beijing, 2005. Photo by author.



Fig. 15.15. Demolition of old neighborhood, Beijing. Photo by author.



Along with the process of imposing the modern consumerist culture in cities in the above three directions, there is also the danger of a disappearing local history and culture, and this has more and more become both a national and an international concern (fig. 15.15). Driven by great profits and ambitions, large-scale redevelopment in old cities has caused the demolition of many neighborhoods in China's historic cities. The cities and their citizens are losing their collective memories. Of course this does not mean there is no role for history and culture to play in a consumerist city, where their positions can be redefined as long as the market permits. The popular pastiche of newly built traditional streets—Liulichang in Beijing and Cultural Street in Tianjin—first appeared in the early 1980s, and the more recent conservation of fragmented historic sites, such as Xintiandi in Shanghai and the bar areas around Shichahai Lake in Beijing, all have been heavily influenced by the market (figs. 15.11 and 15.16). In the latter cases historic elements have been preserved, but they are juxtaposed with trendy architectural styles for consumers of the emerging middle class.

Here we find that local history and culture are first broken down, and then reconstructed according to a new and ever-changing consumerist urban environment. They become more packaging and decoration than substance. It seems that in these modern times dominated by the “use once and throw it away” culture, history and local culture play more and more important roles in this consumption. The new vernacular, the so-called European styles influenced by the Chinese Beaux-

Fig. 15.16. Xintiandi, Shanghai. Photo by author.



Arts tradition, and the so-called conservation areas are all strongly driven by either the private market or public political ambitions. For example, over the last five years, despite strong opposition from historians and other members of the cultural elite, many important *hutongs* and historic streets have been demolished. The case of Qianmen Street in Beijing is typical. Several years ago, in order to create a fashionable urban area, both the city and district authorities in Beijing agreed to upgrade the area as a key project for the Olympic Games. In order to make the street a pedestrian precinct, the city planning authority decided not to widen the street further, as the former Master Plan suggested, but instead to introduce two diverging roads behind the main street. As a result, one of the most important streets—Meishidajie in the Dashilan'er area to the west of Qianmen Street—has been demolished for widening. At the same time, Qianmen Street has been mostly rebuilt into a pastiche streetscape with recreated architectural elements from the 1930s and 1940s mixed with out of scale traditional and Western architecture. What replaced Qianmen Street were buildings mostly developed since the Reform at moderate scales for ordinary commercial activities. According to city authorities, many international chain stores will open in the street adjacent to the well-known traditional shops. Ironically, the Qianmen Street Project has replaced a real piece of Beijing's urban history with a fake, stage-like urban scene that never existed (fig. 15.17). All of this is being driven by the market and consumption.



Fig. 15.17. Redevelopment of Qianmen Street, Beijing, rebuilt on street of ca. 1930s. Photo by author.

Reclaiming the Public Realm in a Period of Overaccumulation

After approximately fifteen years of development—since the early period of reform in which the Chinese economy experienced a critical transition from an exclusively socialistic, planned economy to a more hybrid one based increasingly upon market forces—serious problems have arisen, including, but not limited to, competitive investment, low efficiency, and environmental degradation. By the mid-1990s China started to see a slower growth of industries, a drop in its consumption index, a rise in unemployment, and a high vacancy rate in its property markets.²⁹

All these worsened with the Asian financial storms that began in July 1997 with the devaluation of the Thai baht. In order to stimulate economic growth, a new central government office led by Zhu Rongji initiated a series of “active fiscal policies” that provided a significant amount of investment through bonds and incentives, which then were funneled into both urban infrastructure and housing developments.

As a result, city authorities became much stronger financially and much more directly involved in the operation of public works than they had been previously. These included projects for new open spaces, lawn and tree plantations, pedestrianization of the main shopping streets, major city road construction, land

saving by clearance of old city quarters, demolition of informal construction along main streets or in public spaces, and the creation of diverse kinds of “city image” projects (figs. 15.18 and 15.19). Beijing is, again, a key example. Since 1997 the municipal government and the district authorities have spent billions of dollars to carry out many large-scale city projects.³⁰

An important social factor behind this reclaiming of public spaces was the emergence of a new generation of political elite in China. While these elite were of many different ages, they mostly took office in the mid-1990s. Regardless of their age, however, they shared a strong eagerness for rapid urban development and modernization. The cities they faced were a legacy of the 1980s, when public spaces were largely in a state of degradation. However, their renewed financial power enabled city governments to engage in more public works, especially in the period of “economic overaccumulation,” as David Harvey’s second circuit theory has suggested.³¹ Naturally, the new urban spaces of this period reflect the willingness of the new political elites to build authority by reordering the city from chaos.

A Social Critique

From the beginning, China’s Reform followed a policy of “efficient first, equity considered,”³² which broke down the equalitarianism established during the planned-economy period. As a consequence income gaps appeared among regions, between urban and rural sectors, and within individual cities. Several trends associated with these shifts are now clear.

First, regional differentiation has increased. In 1998 the GDP per capita of the Shanghai region (among the richest in China) was 28,000 RMB, or 4.4 times that of the national average, and ten times that of the poorest region in Guizhou Province.³³

Second, income gaps between the urban and rural sectors have widened. Over the last two decades, China’s rapid economic growth has stemmed mainly from its secondary and tertiary sectors. As a result, urban sectors have benefited the most. For example, urban populations have enjoyed much higher income increases than those in rural areas.³⁴ In fact, the slow development of the rural sector has made “rural population, agriculture, and rural areas” a key social issue in early twenty-first century China.³⁵

The large gaps among regions—especially between urban and rural sectors—have caused millions of China’s rural residents to flow into large cities, especially along the coasts, where they take the lowest-paying jobs.³⁶ The changing social and economic structures have created remarkable economic gaps between rich and poor. In the mid-1990s the average household income of the top 20 percent



Fig. 15.18. ◀ Quancheng Square, Jinan, mid-1990s. Photo by author.

already accounted for around 45 percent of the total income of the country, while that of the lowest 20 percent accounted for only 6 percent of the total.³⁷ By 1999 the average household income of the highest 10 percent of households was 4.6 times that of the lowest 10 percent,³⁸ and this trend has continued to the present. Urban poverty has also become a much more serious social problem, exacerbated by an increasing unemployment rate. As a result, in 2006 the annual income of the poorest 5 percent of the urban population was less than one tenth that of the richest 10 percent.³⁹

Income gaps directly affect peoples' social benefits, among which housing is one of the most critical. The development of a market economy has dramatically changed the housing distribution system in cities. The incomes of employers and individuals are playing increasing roles in the consumption of urban housing. In the case of Beijing, in 2000 the average price of market-based housing was 3.3 times that of price-controlled housing. In cities, especially large ones, the increase in average living spaces contrasts sharply with the slow progress in the improvement of living conditions in overcrowded inner-city neighborhoods and the ignored housing problems of the rural migrants. By 2008 the total number of rural migrant workers in China was over 200 million, most of whom lived in temporary shelters on construction sites, illegal buildings in urban villages, and run-down urban areas. Migrant housing was not considered in official urban planning processes until the beginning of 2008, when the newly reorganized Ministry of Housing, Urban, and Rural Development decided jointly with four other central government branches to publish a "Guide for Improving Rural Migrants' Housing Conditions."⁴⁰

Fig. 15.19. ◀ Century Avenue, Pudong, Shanghai. Photo by author.

Conclusion

Contemporary urbanism, as we have seen, has been mainly characterized in a top-down fashion. Because political reforms in China have lagged far behind economic ones, the changing economic policies from the planned economy to a more market-based one have provided little room for planners and architects to learn how to work with ordinary people. Elites of various kinds have appropriated both Beaux-Arts and other formalistic approaches in architecture and urban design. Thus instead of urban governance being a mediating force in market-oriented urban development, as we have seen previously, social stratification and conflicts have distorted many of the planning policies and design strategies in urban governance to strengthen social segregation and inequality.

In recent years, under increasing environmental and social pressure, the Chinese government has gradually realized the importance of a "harmony"

development model if it wishes to guarantee the country's sustainability and long-term interests. In urban terms, this suggests a slower rate of development as well as increasing efforts to invest in more socially responsible projects, such as low-income housing, community services, and public transportation. This may hopefully provide an opportunity for a more balanced, higher-quality, and socially beneficial urbanization.

The next twenty or thirty years will be a critical period for China's urbanization and social transition, for urban social issues are inevitably going to be of growing concern to politicians and professionals. Whether planners, politicians, and designers associated with China's future urbanism can successfully face these and probably other challenges will very much be determined by today's awareness of the roots of present problems.

Notes

In this essay all works published in China are in the Chinese language.

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2. Cao Jianhai, *Urban Land-use Efficiency in China* (Beijing: Economic Management Publishing House, 2002), 91.
3. Gao Ruxi, Luo Mingyi, *The Economic Development of City Regions in China* (Kunming: Yunnan University Press, 1998), 309–310.
4. Wu Jinglian, *China's Contemporary Economic Reform* (Shanghai: Far East Publishing House, 2003), 283–286; and Chen Aimin, Gordon G. Liu, and Kevin H. Zhang, eds., *Urban Transformation in China* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004).
5. Wang Xiaoming, *Hot Topics about the Chinese Economy* (Beijing: Enterprise Management Publishing House, 1997), 20.
6. *Ibid.*, 105, 201.

7. State Statistical Bureau, *China's Fixed Assets Investment Yearbook 1995* (Beijing: Statistic Publishing House, 1995), 59–60.
8. “China Reform and Development Report” Working Group (2002), 141–144.
9. Cao, *Urban Land-use Efficiency*, 91–92.
10. Wu, *China's Contemporary Economic Reform*, 262–272.
11. According to Chinese planning regulations, the size of a city's land area is controlled by a state standard. For most large cities, the land-use standard is set at approximately 100 sq m per person. Thus, only when urban population is increased can land area be correspondingly increased.
12. The author's estimation, according to the accessible data regarding the major CBD areas in Beijing, including the Caifuzhongxin Central Business District, the Financial District (the first and second phase), the West District of Zhongguangcun central area, the CBD area outside Deshengmen, and major office development projects in the Wangfujing and Xidan areas.
13. Kan Jun, “An Analysis of the Development of Large-scale Department Stores in Beijing,” *Real Estate Beijing*, no. 10 (1996): 10–12.
14. Joseph Rykwert, *The Seduction of Space* (New York: Vintage Books, 2002), 131.
15. See State Statistics Bureau, *China Statistics Yearbook* (Beijing: China Statistic Publishing House, 1995), 351.
16. *Ibid.*, 2000, 83.
17. Dong Furong, *Patterns of Household Consumption in China* (Beijing: Economic Management Publishing House, 1999), 77–78. Also see Deborah S. Davis, *The Consumer Revolution in Urban China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).
18. Lu Junhua, Peter G. Rowe, and Zhang Jie, eds., *Modern Urban Housing in China: 1840–2000* (Munich: Prestel, 2001).
19. *Ibid.*
20. State Statistics Bureau, *China Statistics Yearbook*, 1995, 349.
21. *Ibid.*, 2007.
22. Wu Liangyong, ed., *China's Development: Today and Tomorrow*, (Beijing: China City Publishing House, 1994), 27–31.
23. Beijing Capital Planning Commission Research Group's Serial Reports, “Survey of Residential Land Use and Planning in Beijing,” 2002.
24. State Statistics Bureau, *China Statistics Yearbook*, 1995.
25. “China Reform and Development Report” Working Group (2002), 141.
26. Lu, Rowe, and Zhang, eds., *Modern Urban Housing*.
27. Zhu Xiaohong, ed., *Survey of the Chinese Middle Classes* (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 2005).
28. In the mid-1990s two monographs focusing on the works of the U.S. architectural firm Kohn/Pedersen/Fox (KPF) were extremely popular among Chinese architects. The firm's work also had significant influences upon urban design in China. See Sonia Cháo and Trevor Abramson, *Kohn Pedersen Fox: Building and Projects 1976–1986* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), and Warren James and Christian Norberg-Schulz, *KPF Architecture and Urbanism, 1986–1992* (New York: Rizzoli, 1993).
29. Liu Shucheng, ed., *Report of Research on Chinese Economic Cycles* (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 2006).

30. Zhang Jie, "Urban Enhancement in the Period of Economic Overaccumulation in Contemporary China," a paper delivered at the First Academic Workshop on Chinese Society, 7–8 December 2002, Tung-hai (Donghai) University, Taiwan.
31. According to Harvey, in a capitalist economy, when there is an overaccumulation in the primary circuit (capital)—including, mainly, from the constant productivity of labor to the production of values and surplus value through means of production, then to consumption and reproduction of labor—capital will move to the long-term built environment, or the second circuit, as the "last-ditch hope for finding productive uses." David Harvey, *The Urban Experience* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 64–83.
32. Hu Angang and Wang Zhaoguang, *Report on China's Regional Differentiations* (Liaoning People's Publishing House, 1995), 31. Also see J. Vernon Henderson, *Growth of China's Medium-Size Cities* (Washington, DC: Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs, 2005), 263–303.
33. Hu and Wang, *Report*, 8.
34. Zhao Manhua, *Income Gaps between the Urban and Rural Sectors* (Beijing: Economic Management Publishing House, 1997), 61–107.
35. Wen Tiejun, *Fundamental Economic Systems of China's Rural Areas* (Beijing: China Economic Publishing House, 2000).
36. Huang Ping, ed., *Away from Home for Survival: A Sociological Examination of Rural Labor in Nonrural Sectors* (Kunming: Yunnan People's Publishing House, 1997).
37. Li Peilin, ed., *Report on Social Stratification in Contemporary China* (Shenyang: Liaoning People's Publishing House, 1995), 337.
38. *Beijing Institute of International Urban Development Studies* 2002, 64–67.
39. *Ibid.*
40. See Fudan University Industry Research Centre and others, *2007 Report on Migrant Workers in China*; and www.mohurd.gov.cn (accessed 10 January 2008).

AFTERWORD

The Four and the Five

Paul Philippe Cret was an almost notoriously loyal disciple of the Parisian *École des Beaux-Arts*, where he enrolled as a student in 1895 and where he took his diploma with much distinction in 1905. The brilliant graduate was hired by the University of Pennsylvania to make the Philadelphia school a true colonial outpost of the metropolis. One of his teachers—the most distinguished perhaps—Julien Guadet, has, in his four-volume treatise,¹ left the best summation of the school's teaching when Cret was a student, and even though it was adulterated with other ideas, notably, the structural rationalism of Eugene Viollet-le-Duc, it had in any case been somewhat softened and mitigated by the passage of time. Its underlying assumptions had been formulated in a series of lectures that Jacques-Nicolas Louis Durand gave for the first time just before 1800—not at the newly established *École des Beaux-Arts*, oddly enough—but at the militarily regimented *École Polytechnique*, where students attended lectures in uniform and where contradiction, even questioning, was not welcome.²

Durand's underlying method was emulated almost immediately at the *École des Beaux-Arts*. Two of his friends, Charles Percier and Pierre-Léonard Fontaine, who were the Emperor Napoleon's favorite architects (and indeed dominated French building for the first half of the nineteenth century), took it over and made it the basis of teaching at the *École*—and such it remained. However much it was criticized later—and it certainly was—its primary assumptions were not rejected until some thirty or forty years ago.

These assumptions of Durand's were clear and simple: regular geometrical bodies are superior to irregular ones; the sphere and cube, which are the easiest to appreciate, are the best. The sphere, which combines the maximum of uniformity (since all points on the surface are equidistant from the center) with maximum variety (since light strikes no point on the surface at the same angle), is the best of all. But while these are the highest, there is a different and inferior world of forms that depends on the nature of materials and on methods of manufacture. Being contingent on physical circumstance, their configuration is geometrically arbitrary. Since there is no direct link between the ideals of geometry and the contingency of materiality, history and habit have to provide a fund of bridging formal devices to modulate between the two extremes.

The procedure that Durand advocated to transform the system into a projective method was quite straightforward, like his assumptions. When faced with any program, the designer first separated out its constituent components. These he articulated with the help of two major crossed axes that he set out on

the paper before him. By drawing a grid over that skeleton, he located subaxes and then selected elements from a repertory of historical precedent while making sure that these elements were made up of circles, semicircles, squares, and simple rectangles. These he composed into a plan. This plan he then projected into the third dimension by a similar procedure.

Durand presented this method as developed by deduction from apodictic first principles. Its quick and ready acceptance in much of Europe and later in the New World suggests to me that it was rooted in older and familiar ways of thinking. The much-discussed grid plan, according to which many towns all over the world were laid out, relied, in its original Mediterranean formulation, on surveying methods that claimed the force not only of great antiquity, but also of divine revelation. For the setting of their instruments and their terminology, Roman surveyors used the same vocabulary as that which bird and thunder diviners used to find the will of the gods: they faced the landscape from a nominal north, and having set—by naming it—a point due south of their position, they then fixed other points to the left and the right. At their crossing, the two axes divided the landscape into four quarters—north, south, east, and west. Those on the left belonged to the gods of the earth, and those on the right to those of the sky. Left and right, forward and backward—each quarter was subdivided into sixteen sections, each governed by one of the guardians of the horizon—all of which implied the divisions between a more or less fortunate direction. Taking their cue from diviners, surveyors made the cosmic justification explicit, since they called the north-south line *kardo*—which means hinge or axle—while the east-west one was called *decumanus*, which is considered a contraction of *duodecimanus*, a thing of twelve parts, specifically, the passage of the sun through the day.³

Though the crossing of the axes was important, it was not the site of any monument. It was a void. The surveyor or diviner stood to the north of the crossed axes and looked down at the surveyed field. So the gods of the Etruscans, and of the Romans who took over this method from them, resided in the north, and their temples looked over the settlement, southward. Diagrammatically, the Roman town or camp had three gates (there was no north gate). When the Roman legions set up a camp near the enemy, they tried to make sure that they were southward of any enemy base.

The system that the Romans claimed to have inherited from the Etruscans was certainly very ancient. The Greeks also had their own variants of it, but the Etruscans connected theirs to the Phoenicians—and therefore to the ancient Near East more generally. While documentary evidence about all this is thin, there is no doubt from archeological studies that forms of surveying used to determine

the orientation of settlements with some accuracy were certainly in use all over the Western Mediterranean in the later neolithic period. There are remains of buildings, both orthogonal with the main compass directions, or set at forty-five degrees to them, as later sacred buildings in Mesopotamia would be.

We can only surmise what the surveying methods were that allowed those ancient peoples to achieve such accurate results, what part they played in their system of beliefs, and we can only speculate about why they seemed to be of such great importance. Quadripartition, however, had roots in many other archaic ways of thinking: in many cultures the body of a sacrificial animal was quartered, as was the year into four seasons. Nor is this an arbitrary association: the psychophysiological human body, like that of a sacrificed animal, was quartered in that it was governed by four seasons of three zodiacal signs each. Four elements were mixed in the makeup of the person and determined his or her “temperament.” All physical and psychological malfunctions were therefore due to some imbalance of the elemental relationships, and any therapy, whether herbal or surgical, had to be of the right elements and applied to the part of the body governed by the sign of the time when the malfunction appeared.

But then many Greeks believed that everything in the world was made up of the four elements: air, fire, earth, and water in varying proportions. They were mutually attracted by the force of love, but kept apart by the violence of strife, and the constant opposition of these two forces accounted for the world’s variety. That system had been explicitly formulated in the fifth century by the Sicilian poet-naturalist, Empedocles of Akragas (now called Agrigento). His ideas formed the basis of medical teaching as well as of much scientific speculation. The Empedoclean doctrine incorporated much older ideas; and it survived, in spite of skeptics, for some two thousand years and still has echoes today.⁴

The Durandian axial plan can be read as an abstracted version of that fourfold division that had long dominated Western thinking—though it took no account of the dynamism engendered by love and strife. Not that Durand was interested in such a parallel or even aware of it. He was, as I already suggested, operating by a method that he presented as having been deduced from first principles, which therefore required neither cosmological nor physiological justification. The unwaveringly rigid symmetrical plans it produced seemed to him to provide the appropriate housing for a society that was wholly rational.

The symmetrical plans of Chinese palaces and temple enclosures have led some observers to think that there is little difference between the Chinese and the Western planning methods, yet that insistent fourfold division is alien to the Chinese approach. The same is true of the Chinese fivefold division of matter into

wood, fire, metal, earth, and water. Some have wanted to assimilate the Chinese elements to the Empedoclean four, but in fact they are different and remain, in Chinese thinking, very material—so that they are closer perhaps to an operational rather than to a cognitive classification. That may also be why the imitation of wood construction in stone, so common in Western and even in Indian architecture, never became equally important in China except as a feature of rock sculpture and tomb interiors.⁵ What Chinese materials do have in common with Western elements, however, is their alignment with colors, seasons, and the compass directions: in the east is a blue-green dragon; wood is his material, and spring his season. The red phoenix is in the south; his material is fire, and his season is the summer. The white tiger is in the west, his stuff metal, and he therefore rules over weapons and violence of all kinds. The black winter is in the north; water is the wintery stuff, and its animals are the hibernators, the snake and the tortoise. In the middle is man, who rules over the earth. There were many other fivefolds in the Chinese understanding of the world and of society. There was also a binary opposition of the forces *yin* and *yang*, whose constant division and unity—as of male and female, active and passive, shadow and sunlight, wind and rain, dark and light—regulated the flow of *qi*, that which pervades everything.

There is no knowing the height or depth of the up-and-down fifth direction. Yet it is sure that man is at the center of order, as the Middle Kingdom is in the center of the world. The elemental Chinese order is therefore not a plane like the Western one, but a solid. The Qin dynasty merchant-minister Lü Buwei, writing in the third century BCE, at about the time of the Punic wars, describes the constitution of an empire as parallel to that of the ordered world:

The Way of heaven is round; the Way of earth is square. The sage kings took this as their model to distinguish what is above from what is below. How do we explain the roundness of the Way of heaven? The essential *ch'i* [*qi*] rises and falls, completing a cycle and then starts again, never delayed. How do we explain the squareness of the Way of the earth? The Myriad of things is distinct in category and shape. Each has a different role to play and cannot stand in for another; that is why one speaks of the Way of the earth as square. The ruler must grasp the round and his ministers keep to the square so that round and square are distinct and the state prosper.⁶

The combining of round and square—as against the cross-in-circle of Western imagery—seems primary to Chinese thinking. That is why the tortoise has a crucial role in the system: its lower shell is flat and square, while the upper

one is a dome, and this makes the tortoise shell a world model, and in consequence one of the surfaces favored by Chinese diviners for the reading of oracles. Some Shang dynasty oracular consultations on lower, square tortoise shells have survived probably because they were kept together as part of an archive.⁷ A legend has a wise tortoise bring the Yellow Emperor the Great Diagram: a square of nine squares, three to a side—a magical square in which the numbers one to nine are inscribed in such a way that they always add to fifteen. This was a much more refined device than the quadripartite division operated by Roman surveyors and diviners, but it could also be projected on an extended landscape, as it could be contracted into the plan of a building.

As in the cosmos and in the landscape, so in the human body health, peace, and prosperity also depended on the way *qi* circulated.⁸ There is no equivalent for that energy in Western thinking, whether about the whole universe, society, the landscape, or the individual human body. Like the body of any human being, that of the world could be “treated” by a correction of energy flows. Its management is the form of geomancy called *feng shui*. In the individual body this can be achieved through acupuncture, which may first have been codified a thousand years ago, during the Song dynasty, but was practiced long before and may go back to immemorial folk wisdom when obsidian seems to have been the material of the needles, before any metal was available.

And this may be where Western and Chinese ideas show astonishing parallels of a kind quite alien to an extreme rationalist like Durand. Even though there is practically no evidence of dissection or even surgery in early Chinese medicine, legend, according to the *Huangdi neijing* (Inner canon), has the minister Qi Bo advise the Yellow Emperor that the emperor’s work is like that of the heart in the body, while in his book on the circulation of the blood, William Harvey opens his dedication to Charles I with a eulogy of the king as the heart of the body and sun of the world.⁹ Imperial ceremonials had to reflect the working of the cosmos and maintain its regularities. The emperor’s palace, which was the whole of his realm in miniature, allowed him to promote its well-being as he moved round it, while the colors he wore and the regalia he carried all reflected his centrality and his beneficent influence.¹⁰

This notion of the center was reinforced in the first Buddhist buildings, about the time of the early Roman Empire, when certain aspects of the Indian worldview were assimilated in China. That Hindu temples were replicas of the sacred Mount Meru is attested since antiquity, and the Buddhist relic shrine, the stupa, was a mountain through whose center a column ran that sprouted at the summit with a tree or series of umbrellas to become, in its Chinese abbreviated version, the

prototype of the pagoda. The idea was taken over by the Khmer people of Southeast Asia: the central Bayon of Angkor Thom, standing at the confluence of the Indian and the Chinese worldviews, may be its most impressive incarnation. Another is the giant stupa at Borobodur on Java. It may be worth remembering that when the Buddhist Emperor Asoka, whose grandfather recaptured the Indus Valley from the Seleucid successors of Alexander the Great, had one of the inscribed columns that are his greatest monuments sunk into the earth, a great cry was heard, and when the column was withdrawn, it was found stained with blood. It had hit the head of the serpent that was coiled at the world-center.¹¹

The central column and the world-mountain could be accommodated in the Great Diagram, and they confirm the importance of their central position in both the Indian and the Chinese world picture. Earlier Mesopotamian builders seemed almost obsessed with the construction of artificial mountains on their extensive and fertile alluvial plains, and in this they have something in common with both the Indians and the Chinese. But there was only tenuous continuity between the eastern Mediterranean and the Indo-Chinese world. Whatever it may have taken from the Levant, the Greco-Roman world had a different take on such matters—of which the axial academic plan is a late descendant.

I have assembled these assorted musings to put forth an important, perhaps an essential, difference between the bilateral symmetry that was generally practiced in the West, and which depended (and still does) on the crossing of two notional axes leaving the center unmarked, while monuments are disposed in the quarters made by the axial division, and the Chinese plan, in which the crossing is of center lines rather than axes, which makes for a symmetrical disposition of “houses” about a dominant center. Here a central building may form the focus of a rectangular or square—or even a circular—enclosure.

When the Beaux-Arts-Polytechnique planning method, which claimed universal and rational validity as having been deduced from unquestionable first principles, was grafted onto that very different conception of symmetry that had governed Chinese building for nearly four thousand years, there was an inevitable and uncomfortable mismatch. It had been introduced to China in a kind of pincer movement westward from the *École des Beaux-Arts* and through the University of Pennsylvania during the 1920s and 1930s, then, more brutally, as a social-realist procedure, which was followed in a number of show-buildings. Even Stalin’s macabre devotion to the spire of the Petersburg Admiralty had the occasional Chinese echo—notably in the Shanghai and Beijing Exhibition Centers of the 1950s, as K. Sizheng Fan has explained in his chapter of this book. The ministries round Tiananmen Square and the Great Hall of the People vaguely echoed the

neoclassicism of Petersburg/Leningrad. Perhaps the granite obelisk at its center, inscribed by the chairman himself as well as Zhou Enlai, gives some intimation of the kind of centrality I have mentioned, but it seems too small a token to remind a visitor of the Great Diagram.

But now China has entered a quite different stage of its development. The powerful Western commercial practices that are building for the major developers in many Chinese cities—in Shanghai, Beijing, Shenzhen, Nanjing—and even some commercial Chinese practices seem to consider sinification to be a matter of style—one of adding, in concrete, details taken from handbooks on timber construction to their otherwise inert and often brutally symmetrical buildings. Even the great pioneering work of Liang Sicheng has been mined for such ornaments. To consider such regional issues is to speak out of one's time perhaps in the world of globalized building—especially when speaking of China, where development, held back for decades, has necessarily been rapid and usually uncoordinated. In any case, summary exhortations by Western scholars, speaking from a privileged position, may be worthless and irritating. I, for one, wonder if we should not now reconsider the way in which the Franco-American design method has made its impact on Chinese building and what, in the twenty-first century, can still be absorbed into the structure of the Chinese city.

Notes

1. Julien Guadet, *Éléments et Théorie de l'Architecture*, Paris 1890. On the whole period at the École, see R. Middleton, ed., *The École des Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982).
2. J(acques) N(icolos) L(ouis) Durand, *Précis des Leçons d'Architecture . . .* (Chez l'Auteur, Paris: 1802). I quote the edition of 1819, pp. 21ff., pt. I, pls. 1–2; pt. 2, pl. 21.
3. Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988), 41ff. O. A. W. Dilke, *The Roman Surveyors: An Introduction to the Agrimensores* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1971), 38ff.
4. W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), vol. 2, 122ff. The principal texts in G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1957), 320ff. The view that there should be five elements to harmonize with the five regular bodies seems to have been advanced by the pseudohistorical Pythagorean Philolaos. See John Burnett, *Early Greek Philosophy* (London: Meridian Books 1958), 295–296. See also Kirk and Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, 308ff.
5. On the origin of the five-element system, see Joseph Needham (with Wang Ling), *Science and Technology in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), vol. II, 232ff.; and comparison with the Greek system, *ibid.*, 245ff. Needham and Wang attribute its formulation to Zou Yan in the fourth century BCE, following chap. 74 of the *Shiji*. On Yu the Great, the tortoise, and the magic square, see Marcel Granet, *La Pensée Chinoise* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1968) (Italian

edition: translation by Giorgio R. Candona [Adelphi, Milan 1971]), 129ff. See also Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Documents* (Stockholm: Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950), 30ff [Hung Fan verses 3–4]. On the stone imitations of wood construction, see Nancy S. Steinhardt, ed., *Chinese Architecture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 74ff., 154ff.

6. Quoted by Geoffrey Lloyd and Nathan Sivin, *The Way and the Word* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 217. See also Marcel Granet, *La Religion des Chinois* (Paris: Gauthier-Villars & Cie, 1958), 45ff.

7. Over a hundred thousand oracle bones have survived, some of ox or sheep shoulder blades, but also many tortoise shells. A Shang dynasty plastron about a boar hunt was found in Anyang; see Jessica Rawson, ed., *Mysteries of Ancient China* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), no. 37a; many others were found at Xiaotun near Anyang. An entire one, with enquiries about a harvest, is discussed in John Hay, *Ancient China* (London: H. Z. Walck, 1973), 46ff. The other favorite method of divination, with yarrow stalks and trigrams, does not concern me here.

8. Stephan D. R. Feuchtwang, *An Anthropological Analysis of Chinese Geomancy* (Vientiane, Laos: Vithagna Press, 1974), 32ff.

9. Guilielmi Harvei, *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et sanguinis in animalibus . . .* (Frankfort, 1628), 3–4. Paul Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters* (Edinburgh: Aldine Publishing Co., 1971), 52ff. Bernard Vuilleumier, *Symbolism of Chinese Imperial Ritual Robes* (London: China Institute, 1939).

10. Marcel Granet, *La Pensée Chinoise*, 45ff.; and Paul Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters*, 55.

11. John Irwin, “Asokan Pillars, A Reassessment of the Evidence,” *Burlington Magazine* 115, no. 848 (November 1973): 706–720; 116, no. 861 (December 1974): 712–727; and 117, no. 871 (October 1975): 631–643.

CONTRIBUTORS

Tony Atkin is an Adjunct Associate Professor of Architecture at the University of Pennsylvania's School of Design, and a principal of Atkin Olshin Schade Architects in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Santa Fe, New Mexico. He is a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects (FAIA), and he has taught at Penn since 1985. His studios have concentrated on cultural form and processes in building and in collaborative design. He is the coeditor, along with Joseph Rykwert, of *Structure and Meaning in Human Settlements* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

Peter J. Carroll is a social and cultural historian of modern China and teaches at Northwestern University. He is the author of the award-winning book *Between Heaven and Modernity: Reconstructing Suzhou, 1895–1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006) and is currently writing a book on suicide and conceptions of modern society in China, 1900–1957.

Yung Ho CHANG is Chair of the Architecture Department at MIT. After obtaining his M.Arch. at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1984, he established the China-based firm of Atelier Feichang Jianzhu with Lijia Lu in 1993. In 2002–2003 he taught at Harvard University's Graduate School of Design as the Kenzo Tange Visiting Professor. His main works include Xishu Bookstore in Beijing (1996), Villa Shanyujian, Huairou, Beijing (1998), and the Split House, Yanqing, Beijing (2002).

Jeffrey W. Cody is a Senior Project Specialist at the Getty Conservation Institute, where he works in the Education Department. He received his M.A. in Historic Preservation Planning (1985) and his Ph.D. in the History of Architecture and Urban Development from Cornell University (1989), where he also taught as a Visiting Assistant Professor until 1995. From 1995 to 2004 he taught architectural history in the Department of Architecture at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He is the author of *Building in China* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, and Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001) and *Exporting American Architecture, 1870–2000* (London: Routledge, 2003), as well as many journal articles and conference papers related to the history of architecture and urbanism in Republican China.

K. Sizheng FAN planned the Hubei Museum in Wuhan, has had works exhibited in China National Art Gallery, and has published in *Jianxu xuebao* (Architect journal). A lecturer at Bowling Green State University, he has written on Chinese socialist architecture in *Thresholds* and is completing a manuscript on New York architectural exhibitions.

FU Chao-Ching is Professor of Architecture at National Cheng Kung University in Taiwan. He received his B.S. in Architecture from that university in 1979, his M.Arch. from the University of Washington in 1983, and his Ph.D. from the University of Edinburgh in 1990. For the past twenty-five years, he has focused his research on the history of modern architecture and architectural transformation in Taiwan and China. Among his most important books are *New Chinese Architecture in Classical Styles: Historical Studies in the Institutionalization of New Chinese Architecture in the Twentieth Century* (1993), *Architecture in Taiwan's Japanese Period* (1999), and *Monuments and Historical Buildings in Tainan* (2001), all in Chinese.

GU Daqing teaches architectural design, visual studies, and design theory in the Department of Architecture, Chinese University of Hong Kong. Previously, he studied and taught at Southeast University in Nanjing and ETH-Zurich. His publications mainly focus on: (1) architectural education, including different models of architectural education and the history of Chinese architectural education; (2) design pedagogy as demonstrated in studio program development; (3) design theory related to Beaux-Arts composition, the relationship between modern art and architecture, and tectonics design methods; and (4) design achievements related to Hong Kong's modern architecture.

Seng KUAN, Ph.D. in Architecture at Harvard University, is an editorial associate of a+u. His dissertation is on Kenzo Tange and the genesis of urban design in transwar Japan. His publications include *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China* (2002) and *Shanghai: Architecture and Urbanism for Modern China* (2004). He is an Assistant Professor of Architecture at Washington University.

Delin LAI is an Assistant Professor at the University of Louisville, Kentucky. He received his Ph.D. in Art History from the University of Chicago, and his Ph.D. in Chinese Architectural History from Tsinghua University. He has published several scholarly articles about modern Chinese architectural history, in China, Taiwan, and the United States.

Xing RUAN is Professor and Chair of Architecture at the University of New South Wales in Sydney. His recent books include: *New China Architecture* (Singapore: Periplus/Tuttle, 2006); *Allegorical Architecture: Living Myths and Architectonics in Southern China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006); coeditor, *Topophilia and Topophobia: Reflections on Twentieth-Century Human Habitat* (London:

Routledge, 2007), and coeditor *Skyplane* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, forthcoming). His books and articles in English and Chinese deal with a wide range of topics, including architecture and anthropology, architectural education, Louis Kahn, China's modern and contemporary architecture, and Australian contemporary architecture; they are concerned with legible relations between humans and the built world. He is coeditor, with Ronald Knapp, of the University of Hawai'i Press series *Spatial Habitus: Making and Meaning in Asia's Architecture*. Born in China, he received his architectural education at Southeast University in Nanjing.

Joseph Rykwert is the Paul Philippe Cret Professor of Architecture Emeritus at the University of Pennsylvania. He received his architectural education at the Bartlett School and the Architectural Association in London, and his doctorate at the Royal College of Art in London (1970). In addition to Penn, he has taught at the University of Essex, Cambridge University, and has held visiting professorships at numerous European and American universities. He is the author of *The Idea of the Town* (1963), *On Adam's House in Paradise* (1972), *The First Moderns* (1980), *The Necessity of Artifice* (1982), and *The Dancing Column: On Order in Architecture* (1996).

Nancy S. Steinhardt is Professor of East Asian Art and Curator of Chinese Art at the University of Pennsylvania. She is author or editor of *Chinese Traditional Architecture* (1984), *Chinese Imperial City Planning* (1990), *Liao Architecture* (1997), and *Chinese Architecture* (2003), and more than sixty scholarly articles. She is currently writing *The Borders of Chinese Architecture*, which is focused on the third to the sixth centuries.

David Van Zanten has contributed to the exhibition catalogues *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* (1975) and *The Second Empire* (1979–1980). His *Designing Paris: The Architecture of Duban, Labrousse, Duc, and Vaudoyer* won the 1988 Alice Davis Hitchcock Book Award from the Society of Architectural Historians. He extended this work in *Building Paris: Architectural Institutions and the Transformation of the French Capital, 1830–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). His book *Sullivan's City: The Meaning of Ornament for Louis Sullivan* was published by W. W. Norton in 2000. He received a Guggenheim Fellowship (2001–2002) to study the development of Paris, London, Vienna, and Hamburg. Recently he held appointments at the Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art (2006) at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (2008), both in Paris.

Rudolf Wagner is Professor of Sinology at the University of Heidelberg, Germany, and a director of the Cluster of Excellence “Asia and Europe in a Global Context: Shifting Asymmetries in Cultural Flows.” He has published on religion in the Taiping period, Chinese newspapers and political culture, and literature of modern China.

ZHANG Jie is Professor and Director of the Institute of Housing and Community Development at Tsinghua University’s School of Architecture, where he has been on the faculty since 1992. He received his B.Arch. from Tianjin University and his Ph.D. from the University of York, UK, in 1991. He currently serves on the Urban Renewal and Urban Conservation Academic Committees for the China Urban Planning Society and the expert committee for the Center for Historic City Conservation Studies at Tongji University. He has led the conservation planning for the Nanluoguxiang and Guozijian Conservation Areas in Beijing, and he has cowritten, with Peter Rowe, *Modern Urban Housing in China: 1940–2000* (2001).

ZHAO Chen is Professor of Architecture at Nanjing University. He received his B.Arch. and M.Arch. from Nanjing University before earning his Ph.D. in Architecture at ETH-Zurich. His research interests are in Chinese architectural history and theory, the comparative study of Chinese and Western architecture, and Chinese wooden architecture using CAD technology. He is the author of numerous scholarly articles and has designed many buildings, including the Ancient Coach Museum in Lingzi, Shandong (1994), and he has restored buildings, including the Auditorium Hall of Nanjing University (2002).

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