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In truth, the quest for meaning has always been an integral part of this dissertation, pandemic or not. As I delved into the realm of contemporary Chinese architectural history, I encountered the challenges of navigating a subfield that often occupies the periphery of interdisciplinary discourse in humanities, regional studies, and architectural studies. However, any sense of diaspora, whether geographic or disciplinary, was counterbalanced by the countless individuals and their works to whom I owe an immense debt of gratitude. I could not have accomplished anything without the support of this intellectual community.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyzes the remarkable transformation of *jianzhu wenhua* (建筑文化), or "architectural culture," in post-Mao China from the late 1970s to the mid-2000s. It argues that the rise of "contemporary architecture" in China represents more than a mere chronological or stylistic label. Rather, it signifies a deliberate redefinition of architecture as an integral part of public culture, with architecture departing from its previous role as a highly specialized discipline with which only a small professional circle under Mao's leadership was preoccupied.

In contrast to previous scholarship, which has often focused on individual built projects from the techno-aesthetic perspective or the material transformation and historic urbanization resulting from China's economic reforms, this study traces the dynamic interactions between built forms and other forms of knowledge production within the global architectural culture. The study investigates how a new generation of professionals and intellectuals, including architects, historians, critics, curators, and artists, many of whom operated from the periphery of the existing professional system, experimented with new ways of defining the cultural identities for Chinese architecture while forging connections between locally sensitive architecture and cosmopolitan ideas and influences.

The dissertation's four main chapters examine a variety of mediums and cultural platforms, including a published survey of modern architectural heritage, two professional journals, an avant-garde movement that highlighted architecture's intersection with contemporary art and rapidly changing urban culture, and several architectural exhibitions. Through these case studies, the research provides concrete insights into how architecture in contemporary China responded to the swiftly changing physical and sociocultural landscape.

Moreover, it illuminates the diverse strategies employed within both local and global contexts to shape the key issues and narratives that configure contemporary architecture in China. Collectively, these endeavors represent a profound quest for architectural autonomy, serving as a form of resistance against the oscillation between the lingering socialist collectivist influences and the homogenizing forces of globalizing neoliberalism amid significant political, economic, and social transformations.

Introduction Architecture as a Site of Cultural Reflection in Contemporary China

"If architecture is to sustain ideas today, and if ideas in some way reflect knowledge in architecture, then these ideas must concern architecture's possibility to be media."[1]
Peter Eisenman, "Critical Architecture in a Geopolitical World." (1995)

This dissertation traces the extraordinary transformation of *jianzhu wenhua* (建筑文化)—or "architectural culture"—in post-Mao China, from the late 1970s to the early 2000s. The study looks at the extensive urbanization that took place during this period in terms of its contemporaneous architectural culture. It investigates how a number of people, including architects, scholars, critics, and artists, most of whom were working from the periphery in the professional system in a socialist society, reconsidered architecture as not only at the forefront of the country's historic economic reform and material modernization, but also as a critical locus through which the shifting cultural and social experiences could be observed and reflected. As a whole, the dissertation demonstrates that in China, "contemporary architecture" was more than a chronological or stylistic label. Rather, it was a cultural/theoretical construct, which has led to critiques of the existing practices and discourses as well as new experiments in finding new meanings of Chinese architecture and producing locally sensitive architecture that was simultaneously imbued with cosmopolitan characters and ideas.[2] As a result, architecture, which

[1] Eisenman, Peter. "Critical Architecture in a Geopolitical World." In *Architecture Beyond Architecture: Creativity and Social Transformations in Islamic Cultures* the 1995 Aga Khan Award for Architecture, Academy Editions Ltd, 1996, 81.
[2] Art historian Wu Hung has pointed out a similar development in the field of contemporary art in post-Mao China. According to him, the discussion of "contemporary art" should not include artistic production with traditional mediums or styles that were still being actively practiced. Rather, "contemporary art" as a historical concept represents a more nuanced historical specificity and cultural politics such that only certain art mediums, subject matters, and ways of

under Mao's leadership was a highly specialized discipline that preoccupied only those in a rather enclosed professional circle, increasingly became recognized as part of public culture. This was due not only to the far-reaching reshaping of the built environment, but also to the reconceptualization of architecture's ontological role by the inventive and experimental people considered here. In this way, the built environment both bore witness to epochal political, social, and economic change and actively mediated the cultural and social visions of the country's future.

As dramatic as the material transformations in the built environment within the first few decades of post-Mao China as part of the economic reform, this dissertation observes that an equally critical shift in architecture's ontological status—in terms of how architecture was viewed and talked about by the public in relation to other ongoing cultural and social discourses, especially, those of globalization—was unfolding in China from the late 1970s to the early 2000s. The discipline moved from being viewed primarily as a technical and pragmatic subject—a subfield of engineering with the guiding principles of "utility, economy, and if situation allows, beauty" since the 1950s[3]—to possessing more cultural cachet and seeking more disciplinary autonomy from state control, just as literature, cinema, philosophy, and contemporary art were doing. Architecture's immediacy and connectedness to the broader socioeconomic activities, through the associated processes of planning, financing, construction, and use as well as the

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circulation could qualify the discussion of its development. See Wu, Hung. "A Case of Being 'Contemporary': Conditions, Spheres, and Narratives of Contemporary Chinese Art." In *Antinomies of Art and Culture*, edited by Okwui Enwezor, Nancy Condee, and Terry Smith, Duke University Press, 2008. 290-291.

[3] See 梁思成 Liang, Sicheng. "从"适用,经济,在可能条件下注意美观"谈到传统与革新."(From "Utility, Economy, and if Situation Allows, Beauty" toward Traditions and Innovations) *建筑学报 Architectural Journal*, no. 06 (1959). 3–6. See also Yu, Shuishan. *Chang'an Avenue and the Modernization of Chinese Architecture*. First [edition]. A China Program Book/Art History Publishing Initiative. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012. 69.

specific temporal and spatial contexts with which buildings engage with, made architecture an unequaled source of knowledge and a matter of high stakes on which the country's future was seen to depend. Meanwhile, as a body of new concepts and experiences that identified, interpreted, and represented material and cultural realties, architecture was far from being a stationary medium, instead transcending geographical, linguistic, and cultural boundaries to participate vigorously in international exchanges.

Some key historical as well as historiographical contexts need to be established before I can explain from where this dissertation research departs and where the potential contributions may lie. The end of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) marked a new beginning for China after a decade of political turmoil, social unrest, and economic stagnation. Even though the leader of the Chinese Communist Party who succeeded Mao, Deng Xiaoping, was often called the "chief architect of modern China" for drawing up the blueprints of the Reform and Opening-up policies and Four Modernizations—a general societal goal that aimed to develop industry, agriculture, defense, and science and technology—his grand scheme did not include specific instructions about the design and (re)construction of the country's built environment. How architecture reflected these broader changes and how it could be employed to further inspire and anticipate the economic reorientations and social changes was left to the professionals to figure out. For example, the normalization of the Sino-U.S. relationship and the opening of full diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1979 provided room for more, unofficial exchanges of information and technology and in turn networks; it also lifted bans so that Western architects and firms could practice in China. The establishment of special economic zones (SEZ) in 1980 in Guangdong Province introduced foreign capital and accelerated urban development; the land-use reform in the late 1980s legalized the transaction of the use right of both urban and

rural land, which jumpstarted real estate development across the country.[4] In 1994, the government privatized the domestic design industry, so that for the first time since 1949, architects were able to start their own practices after passing the exams necessary for registration. As pointed out by the architectural historian Zhu Tao,[5] the trials and errors that the architectural community experienced tellingly embodied Deng's prediction of the reform itself: "Crossing the river by touching the stones; taking one step and then looking for the next one."[6]

New challenges arose with the command to refashion the exponentially growing postsocialist cities. Cities, once prioritized for industrial productivity during the socialist era between the 1950s and the late 1970s, were primarily organized to host factories, work units, and socialist monuments in order to achieve the goals of socialism rather than being understood as engines of growth, as in the West.[7] For decades, both the sizes and populations of cities were under strict control.[8] But this changed quickly after 1978, as cities had to be reinvented to

[4] In the PRC, urban land is state-owned and was not available for market transactions. However, land-use reform, first initiated in Guangdong province in 1987, experimented with deregulation and for the first time made urban land available for property development. Under the reforms, the PRC still retained ownership of land, but the right to use/develop land could be exchanged between private entities through long-term leases of 20 to 70 years. In 1989, the passing of the Law of Transfer of Land-Use Rights further clarified the split between ownership and land use. This model was later embraced by the rest of the country, which led to waves of real estate development and seismic urbanization in the following decades. See Yuyang Liu, "Chronology" in Chung, Chuihua Judy, Bernard Chang, and Harvard University, eds. *Great Leap Forward: Harvard Design School Project on the City*. Köln: Taschen, 2001, 41-42.

[5] Chinese names appear in standard order of surname followed by given name, unless otherwise noted.

[6] See Zhu, Tao. "Architecture in China in the Reform Era: 1978–2010." In *A Critical History of Contemporary Architecture, 1960-2010*, Routledge, 2014. 383.

[7] See Molotch, Harvey. "The City as a Growth Machine: Toward a Political Economy of Place." American Journal of Sociology 82, no. 2 (1976). 309–32.

[8] The proportion of the population residing in urban areas in Socialist China was never high, being 11 percent in 1950 and growing just slightly to 13 percent by 1980, due to a strict control of rural-urban migration. By contrast, as of December 1982 with the unfolding of reform the proportion had jumped to 20.6 percent. See Chan, Kam Wing, and Xueqiang Xu. "Urban

encourage commerce and accommodate growing exchanges of capital, services, and information. On the material level, these exchanges unleashed great expansion both outward and upward, resulting in the advent of skyscrapers, shopping malls, theme parks, convention centers, art museums and galleries, grand theaters and opera houses, international airports, highways, new and renovated train stations, and gated residential communities for the urban and suburban middle classes. At the same time, rapid urbanization led to mass destruction, disruption, and reorganization of the preexisting urban lifestyles and urban fabrics that had lasted for decades, if not centuries. On an institutional level, the marketization of housing and commercial real estate paved the way for new types of architectural practices in the country, such as the entry of foreign design firms and the first private atelier firms, and compelled the large state-run design institutes to restructure in order to adjust from the planned economy to market-oriented competition.[9]

However, not all transformations that occurred within the time frame considered in this dissertation fit neatly in the reform narrative outlined above. Competing and conflicting values and worldviews, pragmatic agendas, pedagogical doctrines, and even stylistic preferences persisted, coexisted, and negotiated with one another, as several recent academic studies have noted. As Cole Roskam elaborately puts it in *Designing Reform, Architecture in the People's Republic of China, 1970–1992*, the "new reform-era vocabulary intertwined with Mao-era architectural discourse to produce original yet familiar ways of thinking and writing about

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Population Growth and Urbanization in China since 1949: Reconstructing a Baseline." *The China Quarterly*, no. 104 (1985). 583–613.

[9] Xue, Charlie Q. L., and Guanghui Ding. *A History of Design Institutes in China: From Mao to Market*. Routledge Research in Architecture. New York: Routledge, 2018.

China's architectural production—a blending of disciplinary positions that engendered different ways of conceptualizing China's architectural past, its present, and its future."[10]

Indeed, any attempt to historicize this transitional era, during which architectural practices and discourses were neither completely cut off from the rest of the world nor completely engulfed in the ebb and flow of global contemporary architectural culture, immediately throws up a few methodological challenges for historians, including how to interpret "the synchronicities and gaps between design, construction, and ideology."[11] In this dissertation, I argue that for the purposes of analysis, these challenges can be roughly grouped into three categories, even though in practice they intertwine. The first is the decentralization of the individual agents in the process of reform after the state relaxed its control over the production and theorization of architecture. The second is the collective impulse to break free from the existing canon that had long defined Chineseness in architecture and the relative lack of consistency in the forming of a new canon. The last challenge is the complex task of "incorporating China into a more comprehensive and global historiography of twentieth-century architecture,"[12] while also accounting for the country's historical and cultural specificity, when the rigid nation-based narrative is called into question.

Responding to the first of the abovementioned challenges, with numerous buildings being designed and erected within a short period of time, it became increasingly difficult for individual projects to be recognized as representative examples of "Chinese architecture"—at least not in the same way that, say, the Ten Great Buildings were considered to represent the early

[10] See Roskam, Cole. *Designing Reform: Architecture in the People's Republic of China, 1970-1992*. New Haven [CT]: Yale University Press, 2021. 17.
[11] Ibid. 12.
[12] Ibid. 15.

accomplishments of Socialist China.[13] The emergence of private practices and commercial architecture in the mid-1990s created room for small-scale projects—including renovation, adaptive reuse, and ephemeral architecture—that captured critical attention. This phenomenon partly undermined the cultural significance of the state-commissioned monuments and civic landmarks. Moreover, the reception of Western architectural culture, after decades of avoidance, unfolded in an unsystematic and haphazard way, generating excitement, confusion, and controversies all at once.[14] The process occurred in innumerable yet individualistic ways, supported by the increasing exchange of information that took place through international travel and different media and outweighed the impact of previously dominant officially sanctioned channels such as the Architectural Society of China. Some scholars have attributed this historical condition to the loosening of state control in the design industry as well as the overwhelming need for new architectural production. From the standpoint of praxis, the diversifying commissions for buildings no longer had to meet a predetermined ideological agenda, and with regard to theory, the substantial void was soon filled by different schools of thought, most of which were from the West. This is perhaps best exemplified by the fact that many of the theories and practices from both the modernist movement and postmodern architecture were introduced concurrently in China in the 1980s. As Zhu Tao cautioned, the sudden influx of "Western architectural polemics" could cause "epistemological disorder" when they were introduced to the

[13] See Rowe, Peter G., and Seng Kuan. *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2002, 115-123.

[14] For example, Cole Roskam discusses the growing commitment to the engagement with foreign discourses in architecture and how it affected the design world against the background of the transformative economic and cultural changes. See Roskam, Cole. "Expanding Architectural Discourse in Early Reform-Era China, 1978-1989." In *Second World Postmodernisms Architecture and Society under Late Socialism*. Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019, 211-225.

Chinese audience without context.[15] The decentralization in both architectural practice and theory, which can mean inclusiveness and diversity on the one hand and unsystematic, unbalanced development on the other, has prevented historians from making neat encapsulations.

Second, the same decentralized and incoherent trends can be observed in the diverse attempts to adopt different architectural styles. This again could be a reflection of the influx of foreign ideas and the surging need for construction in synchrony with the varying social and economic demands. On the one hand, architectural styles during China's reform era were often perceived as unstable and volatile. According to Roskam, the architectural aesthetics of the early reform era "are often judged harshly—a pastiche of mirrored curtain walls, abstracted Chinese ornamentation, and disjointed translation of foreign architectural ideas that seemed to suggest a superficiality evocative of an awkward, adolescent phase in China's development."[16] The active search for new stylistic identities effectively destabilized the previously dominant paradigm of historicist designs that centered on the representation of Chineseness and Beaux-Arts-influenced spatial planning. The new design focus also posed questions about how to write the history of Chinese architecture. The earlier generation of architects and architectural historians, many of whom had trained in the United States and Japan in the first half of the twentieth century and had become the pioneering figures of the nascent discipline when they returned home, associated the writing of architectural history with a keen sense of patriotism and the making of new buildings with nation-building. The heavy investment of Chinese architects and architectural historians in identifying Chineseness in design work and the commitment to demonstrating a continuous, indigenous building tradition through much of the twentieth century up to the 1980s ran into both

[15] See Zhu, Tao. "Architecture in China in the Reform Era: 1978–2010." In *A Critical History of Contemporary Architecture, 1960-2010.* 383.
[16] See Roskam. *Designing Reform*. 10.

conceptual and realistic obstacles after the Cultural Revolution, as elaborated upon at the time by architectural historian Fu Xinian:

> The task of Chinese architecture as part of the building and construction industry is to create modern cities and buildings of distinctly Chinese character that will make the nation proud. When formulating such characteristics, architecture might borrow from indigenous Chinese historical traditions in addition to absorbing the advances of global architecture. Yet comparing the past situation in architecture with the current situation reveals the huge gap between traditional and contemporary architecture; moreover, our decades-long experience tells us how little success we have had in continuing building traditions, particularly those concerning architectural form.[17]

On the other hand, the lack of coherent architectural canons also had to do with the unprecedented pace and scale of the urban metamorphosis in China. Some of the key contemporary buildings that had received acclaim or triggered controversies in the early post-Mao era quickly became obsolete, if not falling victim to new waves of urban renewal. Any attempt to form a new canon of contemporary Chinese architecture inevitably experiences this double curse of being "contemporary." It could be both too near (so that historical distance is lacking) and too remote (because of its short-lived nature) to us at the same time. Yet as this dissertation will demonstrate, liberating historical analysis from the concerns of styles compels scholars who wish to understand China to think more critically about the meanings of projects beyond the physical existence and formal qualities of the building, making it easier to incorporate the banal, the vernacular, and the antimonumental into the narrative of this transitional era.

Lastly, the post-Mao era saw a complex dynamic of the reshaping of China's "contemporary architecture" on both the local and international levels, which defies a single-

[17] Xinian, Fu. "Understanding Chinese Research Work on Architectural History." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 73, no. 1 (March 1, 2014). 15–16.

minded, nation-based interpretation. As art historian Reiko Tomii points out, part of the historical consciousness informed by the global contemporary experience is that "things could occur at the same time, that is, contemporaneously" in different parts of the world.[18] With China's burgeoning urban development, foreign observers started to take notice and put forth critical views about the specific historical, cultural, and political contexts for China's rapidly evolving built environment. Furthermore, architects born in China increasingly benefited from short-term or long-term international stays. The new cultural and even personal identities crafted under these circumstances thus were driven by a series of self-conscious reflections that further invalidated the rigid nation-based narrative. Echoing Wu Hung's discussions of contemporary art in post-Mao China, in which *dangdai yishu* (lit. "contemporary art") "does not pertain to what is here and now, but refers to an intentional artistic/theoretical construct that asserts a particular temporality and spatiality for itself,"[19] the notion of "contemporary architecture in China" also defies a simple geographical and chronological definition. Rather, it suggests a more fluid state in which cross-cultural dynamics and cosmopolitan aspirations should be highlighted. The reflections started with translations and transmissions—of texts, images, and built forms—and came to involve the localization of foreign ideologies and theories as well as the self-definitions and promotion of native architecture for an international audience.

Responding to all the challenges mentioned above, I put forth the notion of "architectural culture" as the organizing framework for the current study. I investigate the strategies, newly adopted by the architectural community of the China of this period, of treating architecture not only as an expanded field that naturally intersected with other disciplines, but as a process of

[18] Tomii, Reiko. "Historicizing 'Contemporary Art': Some Discursive Practices in Gendai Bijutsu in Japan." Positions: Asia Critique 12, no. 3 (August 1, 2004). 611-12.
[19] See Wu, Hung. "A Case of Being 'Contemporary,'" 290-291.

knowledge production that could attain cultural values distinct from those embedded in state-sanctioned ideologies. It is not a coincidence that an internet search of the literature using the keywords *jianzhu* ("architecture"), *wenhua* ("culture"), and the compound word *jianzhu wenhua* ("architectural culture") reveals a dramatic rise in their use in the 1980s, with hundreds of articles discussing architecture's cultural potential in various contexts.[20] Indeed, a journal was founded in 1981 with the title of *Architectural Culture*, which will be discussed in detail in chapter 2.[21] In addition to the continuation of the previous use of *wenhua* in the context of discussing architecture, which focused on Chinese architecture's cultural roots in traditional aesthetics and ancient (primarily Confucian) philosophy or the regional cultures and lifeways of ethnic minorities, this seemingly generic and ambiguous term critically assumed new implications. Interdisciplinarity—for example, architecture's overlap with systems theory,

[20] During the period under study, there was no agreed-upon definition for *jianzhu wenhua* (建筑文化), despite its wide currency. First, it was used as a way of denoting the essential character of a regional building tradition, usually centering on a former treaty port or a minority ethnic group, such as "Shanghai Style Postmodernism and the Architectural Culture in Shanghai"(海派后现代上海建筑文化) or "The Vernacular Architectural Culture of the Miao People" (苗族民居建筑文化特质刍议). This was to distinguish the cultural and ethnographical specificities in relation to the more orthodox Chinese style. Second, some used the term to explore the relationship between the built reality and the *volksgeist* of a particular country, especially when philosophical and historical traditions were invoked, as in the following articles: "Japanese Architectural Culture Analyzed—Absorption and Innovation" (日本建筑文化浅析—吸收与创新), "Considering Modern Chinese Architectural Culture through the Life and Death of 'Big Roofs'" （从大屋顶的生与死看现代中国建筑文化）, and "Confucius and Chinese Architectural Culture" (孔子与中国建筑文化). Third, the use of "architectural culture" allowed some architects and intellectuals to depart from the immediate material and technological concerns of building making and consider architecture's ontological position in society in more abstract and conceptual terms, drawing on ideas such as shelter, machine, space, and environment to reflect on the different formal, spatial, and functional aspects of designs. This last use opened the floodgates when it came to introducing more international theories and histories, especially related to the modernist tradition in the West.

[21] This journal originated as a special issue of the *Bulletin of Architectural Studies at Tongji University* and later became *Time+Architecture* (1984–).

information technology, behavior science, environmental psychology, and sociology, and so forth, as one scholar suggested in the 1980s[22]—and multiculturalism resulted from reconnection with the international architectural community and familiarization with foreign theories and methodologies. Along with philosophy, literature, cinema, and contemporary art, architecture was believed by the young generation of students, architects, artists, and intellectuals to possess a potential for the redefinition of both modernity and the future in China. Taking advantage of the loosened ideological control and liberal intellectual climate of the 1980s, this generation centered "culture" as a buzzword against the backdrop of a nationwide outbreak of the so-called "cultural fever," the vigorous engagement with the topic of Chinese modernity in the reform era in search of disciplinary autonomy from the state ideology:

> Contrary to the "silent revolution" in Chinese economic life initiated by Deng in 1979, the heated discussions of the "cultural fever" have generated a space of ideas, perspectives, and voices. For the first time in the history of the People's Republic, a new discursive institution relatively "autonomous" to state-administered discourse was created, despite its prematureness and precariousness, between the crushing forces of existing symbolic order.[23]

More concretely, both the shifting design thinking and the alternative ways of expressing ideas about architecture and urbanism had to be located in the individual built projects and media and platforms that helped to circulate such projects. As pointed out by Adrian Forty in a compelling comparison of architecture and fashion, these social practices construct a network of

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[22] 顾孟潮 Gu Mengchao, "新时期中国建筑文化的特征" [Characteristics of Chinese Architectural Culture in the New Era]. *世界建筑 World Architecture*, no. 02 (1987). 67.

[23] According to cultural historian Zhang Xudong, cultural fever (*Wenhua re*, 文化热) denotes the nationwide discussion of culture, tradition, modernity, and particularly the meaning and implications of Western theories that emerged in China in early 1985 in the heyday of the reforms. It evolved into a full-blown social-cultural movement in the years to follow but was ended abruptly by the crackdown in Tiananmen Square on 4 June 1989. See Zhang, Xudong. "On Some Motifs in the Chinese 'Cultural Fever' of the Late 1980s: Social Change, Ideology, and Theory." Social Text, no. 39 (1994). 129-130.

meaning not just through built or fabricated realities alone; they depend as much on related images and words (such as fashion/architecture photography and commentary) as well as the accompanying critical discourses circulated in a variety of media.[24] A crosscut of an array of cultural practices related to the contemporary architecture and the architectural sphere of this period, including historical survey and history writing, architectural journals, avant-garde experiments with architecture and urban environment, and architectural exhibitions therefore can frame what was being debated and discussed at certain moments and illuminate the development of what *could* be said.

Many of the existing overviews of Chinese contemporary architecture, such as Charlie Xue's *Building a Revolution: Chinese Architecture since 1980* (2006), chapters from Zhu Jianfei's *Architecture of Modern China: A Historical Critique* (2009), and monographic or case studies such as Cole Roskam's article "Structures of Everyday Life: The Architecture of Wang Shu," Hing-Wah Chau's article "Conceptual Narratives of Yung Ho Chang's Cross-Cultural Practice" (2015), and Xu Liang's unpublished dissertation "Narrative Based Design Pedagogy in China's Architectural Education: Its Transplantation, Characteristics and Impact" (2019) provide crucial historical facts and insightful interpretations about the leading figures, iconic buildings, and key events of this period. I argue that most of them, however, fail to establish an effective method in accounting for how the historical transformation of architecture, both as a material practice and as a discursive field, fit into the broader social and cultural experiments the country underwent, and what kind of cultural reorientation was involved within the discipline itself in order to accommodate such changes. The stakes of overlooking this responsive aspect of

[24] See Forty, Adrian. *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*. 1. paperback ed. London: Thames & Hudson, 2004. 13.

architecture are high, as outside skeptics such as Peter Eisenmann, in writing about the rapid urban development in the Asian countries and other non-Western regions in 1995, have claimed that architecture might have lost its ability to sustain ideas at the turn of the twenty-first century altogether and thus became a "weak media" in the eye of the public, losing its critical edge compared to other media forms such as the printed media (and perhaps even more decisively, the internet).[25] With globalization, innovative technologies and formal designs could easily be reproduced and distributed to different corners of the globe, stripping bare the local contexts while rendering different places in a depressingly homogenous way. Though the resultant buildings featured sleek façades, audacious forms, and complex spatial arrangements, they still contributed little to the challenging of the status quo of the neoliberal society and thus could be considered merely "Teflon architecture."[26] Both responding to this situation and pushing back against Eisenman's assessment of non-Western, fast-developing urbanism as a late-arriving, monolithic whole, this dissertation argues that a closer look at the new architectural culture in post-Mao China can not only inform us about the ontological battle of architecture versus other media, but also enable a more delicate reading of an architecture-media crossover that reconsiders architecture's interaction with and internalization of multimedia experiences at the turn of the twenty-first century.

The chapters presented here are not a detailed chronicle of building types, persons, or schools of thought typical of the monographic approach. Rather, I select several contentious platforms, media, and key events through which the symbiotic experiments between architecture

[25] Eisenman. "Critical Architecture in a Geopolitical World." In *Architecture Beyond Architecture: Creativity and Social Transformations in Islamic Cultures.* 80-81.
[26] Eisenman. "Critical Architecture in a Geopolitical World." In *Architecture Beyond Architecture: Creativity and Social Transformations in Islamic Cultures.* 81.

as a professional practice and as a cultural/historical discourse can be observed. These endeavors include (a) a nationwide architectural survey of modern heritage carried out by Japanese and Chinese architectural historians; (b) the establishment and early development of two professional architectural journals, *Shijie Jianzhu* (*世界建筑, World Architecture*) and *Shidai Jianzhu* (*时代建筑, Time+Architecture*) that had no official affiliations; (c) an avant-garde movement known as the "Experimental Architecture" that produced small building projects, architectural installations, and urban happenings; and (d) the rise of exhibitions featuring contemporary Chinese architecture and urbanism. These case studies all underscore that international exchange, or rather, the desire to imbue local contexts with cosmopolitan values, became the defining factor in the remaking of "Chinese architecture" in the contemporary era. To the rest of the world, China could no longer be relegated to exotica—or in Steinhardt's words, a fruit "dangling precariously" from the Tree of Architecture in Fletcher's famous and influential chart (Fig.1).[27] Nor were the country's architects only copying the modernist processes experienced in other first-world countries just to "catch up." Rather, as will be discussed in the following chapters, new (and perhaps long overdue) voices were formed through these channels from China that joined the ever-more pluralistic global architectural culture.

The first chapter examines a Sino-Japanese collaborative initiative of the late 1980s that surveyed extant *jindai jianzhu* (近代建筑, "modern architecture" or "architecture of the recent period")—a category that came to denote buildings constructed between the 1840s and 1940s by the Chinese definition—in eighteen major Chinese cities. The survey's emphasis on the foreign-style buildings, modern typology, and Western influences in architecture had a far-reaching

[27] See Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, "Chinese Architectural History in the Twenty-First Century." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 73, no. 1 (March 1, 2014), 47.

impact on the reevaluation of the hitherto Sino-centric historical canon as well as the understanding of modern cities themselves, because many of them had been founded as a direct result of foreign control or out of the need to facilitate transcultural/transnational contact. I demonstrate how the Japanese perspective played a direct role in propelling the Chinese participants to reclaim the neglected recent past and challenge the existing value system within the study of Chinese architectural history. The international collaboration thus transcended its intended goal of inventorying understudied buildings by introducing new methodologies and challenging the existing historical narrative, which also led to further reconsideration regarding the preservation of architectural heritage and the acceptance of foreign influences in architectural discourses in the contemporary context.

The second chapter studies the inception and early development of two leading architectural journals in the post-Mao era, the Beijing-based *Shijie Jianzhu* (*World Architecture*) and Shanghai-based *Shidai Jianzhu* (*Time+Architecture*). Foreign information and ideas were introduced, debated, juxtaposed to local responses, and then internalized—even in some cases deliberately misunderstood and distorted—before they could be put to the test in built realities. Tracing the changing operation and strategies of the print medium itself and highlighting issues around translation, criticism, and self-censorship, this chapter explores the early reception of the renowned Chinese American architect I.M. Pei (both as a successful Chinese person on the global stage and as a cultural liaison between the Chinese and the American professional worlds), the debate between modernism and postmodernism in relation to architecture, and the reconsideration of the relationship between architecture and art. I maintain that the interlocutors pursued and reflected upon a new autonomy from state control for their discipline through the careful curation of content and unstinting investment in the translations, interpretations, and

criticisms of contemporary projects and theories. It was through these practices that a cosmopolitan view of global architecture became imaginable for domestic readers.

Springing from a discussion of individual authorship within the architectural world in chapter 2, chapter 3 analyzes the rise of a group of young architects under the banner of "Experimental Architecture" (*Shiyan Jianzhu* 实验建筑). Their ascent took place against the historical backdrop of the nationwide marketization and professionalization of the design industry, which propelled young architects to search for new career paths and models different from the previous generation. Singling out two pioneering figures—Yung Ho Chang (张永和, also known as Zhang Yonghe in standard Chinese) and Li Juchuan (李巨川)—and zeroing in on their practices up through the early 2000s in particular, I argue that the experimentalism and criticality of their practices derived from their interest in small-scale projects and existing urban contexts, the use of non-constructive methods such as contemporary art and writing projects as mediums of communication, and the self-reflexive conceptualization and historicization of their undertakings as an alternative, resistant avant-garde movement operating beyond the dominating influences of the state and the market.

The last chapter revolves around the history of exhibiting contemporary Chinese architecture and urbanism both in and beyond the country. Here I examine a new sensitivity based on international and interdisciplinary interactions that developed among architects, curators, artists, and institutions. Situating four case studies within the perennial tension between the exhibition as a temporally and spatially confined medium and architecture as a more substantial and permanent enterprise within the urban environment, I argue that these exhibitions centered architecture as a form of knowledge production, an on-site experience, and an agent of concrete social and cultural changes beyond the confines of the exhibition space. The alternative

ways of organizing and displaying architecture and the close relationship architects and curators maintained with contemporary art institutions again testify to architecture's interdisciplinary potential and shifting cultural values in this era.

Most of the architects, critics, curators, architectural historians, and journal editors discussed in this dissertation were not affiliated with either the state-sponsored institutions or the major architectural academies in the country. Indisputably, the established institutions continued to assert influence on China's architectural production and policy making in the market economy, as architectural historians Charlie Q. L. Xue and Guanghui Ding argue in *A History of Design Institutes in China*. A more recent study by Cole Roskam, *Designing Reform: Architecture in the People's Republic of China, 1970–1992*, provides firm ground for discussing how the architecture community had to walk the thin line of developing the country to meet the demands of the economic reform without transgressing the established political order or challenging the raison d'etre of the communist rule. Both studies have their focus on the center of the architectural world, whereas the current study gives more thought to marginal efforts. This is a deliberate choice, because I believe some of the most progressive experiments could only arise from the periphery, with lessons derived from the banal, the informal, the ephemeral, the forgotten, and the anti-iconic projects as well as innumerable practices that did not end with a built form. As the following chapters will prove, these efforts of alterity formed the backbone of the resistance and autonomy of contemporary architecture in a society where socialist collectivism and neoliberal globalizing homogeneity seemed to dominate.

Chapter 1 When the Recent Past Became New History: Surveying Modern Architecture in China, 1988–1996

"...I must not leave the truth unstated, that is again no question of expediency or feeling whether we shall preserve the buildings of the past or not. *We have no right whatever to touch them*. They are not ours. They belong partly to those who built them, and partly to all the generations of mankind who are to follow us. The dead have still their right in them: that which they labored for, the praise of achievement or the expression of religious feeling, or whatsoever else it might be which in those buildings they intended to be permanent, we have no right to obliterate."[1]

John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849)

Buildings constructed between 1840 and 1949 in China have occupied a strange ontological space in the history of Chinese architecture. Up to the early 1980s, these structures were conventionally considered neither as being of great historic value, especially compared to the extant premodern temples, palaces, tombs, and other monuments, nor as representative embodiments of "Chinese-ness." This is because many buildings erected during this period were associated with the increasing economic and social activities of Westerners in China, often as part of the colonization effort. Known collectively as the modern architecture, or *jindai jianzhu* (近代建筑) in Chinese, this category had been neglected for a variety of reasons—ideological, practical, and historiographical. Mostly a term for periodization, *jindai jianzhu* made little reference to specific stylistic features (unlike, say, modernism). Nor did it suggest a direct connection with modernization. However, the stagnant discourse underwent drastic reinvigoration in the late 1980s and 1990s, particularly thanks to a renewed effort spearheaded by architectural historians from China and Japan working in collaboration. The systematic survey of modern architecture across eighteen Chinese cities between 1988 and 1991 and the ensuing publications up to 1996, all of which form the central topic of this chapter, led to a reconsideration and rewriting of the history, laying the intellectual foundations for the

[1] Ruskin, John. *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. London: George Allen; New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1903. 245.

understanding of both the early history of China's urban modernization on the one hand and its afterlife and ongoing relationship with the nascent contemporary architecture on the other (Fig.2). This chapter argues that both the international dialogue with Japan and the timing and scope of this project carried out at the dawn of the nationwide urbanization played an instrumental role in the reshaping of the perception of recent architectural history, while accelerating the process of depoliticization and cultivation of autonomy for the discipline.

The survey, consisting of archival research and on-site fieldwork in eighteen major Chinese cities, took place in three separate stages. Commonly referred to as the "comprehensive survey of modern architecture" (sometimes simply as "comprehensive survey") or *pucha* (普查) in Chinese, it was the first of its kind in terms of scope, method, and scale since 1949, amassing more than 1800 entries and forming a robust database that remains impactful to this day.[2] The international collaboration between scholars was groundbreaking, yet it also proved to be a thorny process of differences and negotiations, which can be observed most prominently in the two separate sets of publications, one in Chinese and the other in Japanese, that resulted. Whereas the Japanese architectural historians saw the discoveries made through this empirical fieldwork as a cornerstone in building a larger network of knowledge featuring the dissemination of architectural materials, knowledges, and people across East Asia and Southeast Asia, the Chinese interlocutors for the most part seized the opportunity to challenge the previously prevalent, ideologically charged historical narrative within the domestic context, and started to reassess the value and the condition of the modern architecture for practical purposes such as architectural preservation and place making (Fig.3).

[2] A diachronic map for the study of modern architecture in East Asia and Southeast Asia can be found on the website of Muramatsu Shin Laboratory at the University of Tokyo. It features different stages of the empirical survey carried out by Japanese architectural historians, often in collaboration with architectural historians from various Asian countries. See also Muramatsu, Shin 村松伸, "空间文化资源的评价及其继承 ——写在中国近代建筑史研究国际合作 20 年之际." (The Evaluation and Inheritance of Resources in Spatial Culture: a 20-year Review of the International Collaboration in *jindai jianzhu*) in *2008 年中国近代建筑史国际研讨* [2008 International Symposium of Chinese Modern Architectural History] (2009).

In this light, this chapter begins with a brief analysis of the geneses of the discourses concerning modern architecture in China and Japan, respectively, prior to the 1988 joint survey. This is followed by a historicization of the microhistory of the survey and its publication. The chapter then discusses how this particular historical event affected the ways in which *jindai jianzhu* could be interpreted. Most importantly, the participants involved were able to take full advantage of the progressive intellectual atmosphere and the quest for outside knowledge and perspectives, while the creation of the database itself benefited from the timing of the transitional era: scholars were able to make discoveries in situ, in the form of what the scholars called "urban fossilization," before the rise of the real estate market and large-scale urban renewal unfolded.[3] For these reasons, the project was one of the most fruitful international collaborations for the Chinese architectural world since the Cultural Revolution. Furthermore, the connections made between material remains and concepts liberated the field of architectural studies, creating new standards for knowledge production and giving birth to a more diverse set of values and ways in which architecture could be viewed in a China that was quickly transforming during the reform era.

Related yet not the Same: The Geneses of *jindai jianzhu* and *kindai kenchiku,* 1950s–1980s[4]

In standard Mandarin, *jindai jianzhu* is a compound term comprised of *jindai* (近代), which denotes the "modern era" (literally translated, it is the "recent era"), and *jianzhu* (建筑), which means "architecture." Separately, both words are so-called *wasei-kango* (和製漢語), or words composed of Chinese characters that originated in modern Japanese. In the early twentieth century as part of the New Cultural Movement, many such words were introduced back into China as loanwords and were absorbed into the everyday lexicon as an effort at language

[3] The term was originally coined by Muramatsu Shin. See Muramatsu, Shin 村松伸, and Masuda, Hirashisa 増田彰久. *図説上海: モダン都市の 150 年* [Shanghai Illustrated: 150 Years of A Modern Metropolis]. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha 東京: 河出書房新社 (1998).
[4] See Appendix 2.

vernacularization.[5] Although Chinese architects adopted the term *jianzhu* relatively early, the complete phrase of *jindai jianzhu* did not appear in an academic context until a half century later.[6] It bore a strong ideological and political undertone from the outset, as the notion's historiographical development tellingly reveals how its meaning and parameters were largely determined by factors beyond architectural studies. The historical genesis suggests that *jindai jianzhu* and its Japanese counterpart *kindai kenchiku* (近代建築) were independently conceived of and elaborated upon before their conflation in the 1980s.

The first official adoption of *jindai jianzhu* in China dates to 1958 and was the result of an attempt to write a comprehensive architectural history of China for the newly established socialist regime in preparation for the upcoming ten-year anniversary of the People's Republic of China. The assignment of writing an architectural history was part of the overall endeavor of creating a new historical narrative, based on a broader framework of sociopolitical history with a tripartite structure: the feudal society (or the dynastic, premodern society, *gudai* 古代) from the era of ancient Chinese civilization to 1840, the semicolonial society between the First Opium War in 1840 and the establishment of the PRC in 1949 (*jindai*), and the socialist society after 1949 (*xiandai* 现代). Known as the "Three Histories," the project was inaugurated by the National Institute of Building Science under the Ministry of Construction and involved the participation of major academic and design institutions in order to critically reassess China's

[5] See Zhou, Gang. *Placing the Modern Chinese Vernacular in Transnational Literature.* 1st ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

[6] In 1902, the Imperial University of Beijing (京师大学堂) inaugurated its curriculum, based on the existing Japanese model, with "architectural studies" (建築学; Japanese: *kenchikugaku*), alongside other topics within engineering such as "applied chemistry," "mechanical engineering," and "metallurgy." See Keishu Saneto 実藤恵秀 , 「中国語のなかの日本語」 [The Japanese Language within the Chinese Language], in *言語生活* [Every-day Life and Language], no.11, 1966. This observation has been confirmed by many Chinese scholars; see, for example, Lu, Bingjie 路秉杰. "'建筑'考辩." [A Study of the Nomenclature of *Jianzhu*] in Time+Architecture 时代建筑, vol.4, 1991, 29.

architectural legacy up to that point.[7] The new round of history writing, informed by socialist ideology, meant to do away with the previously prevalent "false influence of seeing architecture only from the perspectives of layout, function, and artistic expression, or the so-called formalism approach without taking into consideration of the people's will and hard labor."[8] The result was a historical report titled *History of Chinese Modern Architecture (First Draft)*, published in 1959, and a textbook, *The Brief History of Chinese Architecture: Volume 2, A Brief History of Chinese Modern Architecture,* published in 1962 (Figs. 4-5).[9] Eight scholars from six different institutions made contributions, which touched upon topics such as the emergence of new cities and the transformations of existing ones during the one hundred years of modernization and foreign contact, the emergence of new typologies, and the introduction of new building materials and construction technologies that led to various styles and new building demands. One chapter

[7] The "Three Histories" are commonly referred to in Chinese as *San Shi* ("三史"). The plan of writing the "Three Histories" was made at the 1958 National Architectural History Colloquium (全国建筑历史学书讨论会) in 1958. During the conference, it was decided to initiate a new round of history writing, consisting of *Architectural Accomplishments since the Establishment of the PRC: 1949–1959, Modern Chinese Architectural History*: *Brief History of Chinese Architecture*. See "建筑历史学术讨论会议决议." [The Final Decision from the Conference of Architectural History] in *Architectural Journal 建筑学报*, vol.11, (1958). See also Zhou, Mi 周觅 and Zhuge Jing 诸葛净, "作为管理手段的学术会议:1958 年全国建筑历史学术讨论会的性质与作用," [Academic Conference as a means of Management: The Significance of the 1958 National Architectural History Conference] *Architecture and Culture 建筑与文化*, no. 6 (2015): 173–75.

[8] During this symposium the renowned, the Western-trained architectural historian Liang Sicheng (梁思成) was made to conduct a harsh self-criticism by confessing that his understanding of architecture—that architecture was a plastic art—was incorrect. See "全国建筑历史学术讨论会关于建筑历史科学研究和教学工作的检查发言." [A Self-criticizing Statement about Research and Pedagogy for the Symposium of the National Architectural History] in *Architectural Journal 建筑学报*, no. 11 (1958): 7–8.

[9] The first draft came out in 1959 and official publication took place in 1962. See Liu, Yishi. "A Chronology of the Field of Modern Chinese Architectural History, 1986–2012," *Frontiers of Architectural Research* 2, no. 2 (June 2013): 192

specifically dealt with the architecture of revolutionary bases under the control of the Communist Party between the 1920s and 1949 as examples of "the architecture of the people."[10]

In many ways, the books' conclusions were predetermined before any research was carried out, due to the political climate and cultural agenda of the time.[11] As a periodization device, *jindai jianzhu* created a narrative according to the impact-resistance model of history writing, in which the Western influence was largely seen as a monolithic and overwhelming force, to which Chinese individuals, be they designers, patrons, or common people, were all forced to respond and react, regardless of the cultural, social, and historical contexts. This belief caused a good portion of the buildings to be regarded negatively due to their location in former concessions or treaty ports and their association with imperialist aggression, if not complete colonization. Consequently, history writing became another way of validating the legitimacy of the Communist regime and celebrating the earth-shattering accomplishments that had taken place since the establishment of the PRC. Among the "Three Histories," the history of *jindai jianzhu* was understood as a historical and dialectical setback, antithetical to the teleologically triumphant grand finale of the post-1949 architecture. From the 1840s to 1940s, "due to the three great enemies [imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism], various architectural goals were impossible to realize," and furthermore "most architects had an ambiguous or poor

[10] "Architecture in revolutionary bases" is one of the five chapters in the collegiate textbook on *jindai jianzhu*. See 建筑工程部建筑科学研究院建筑理论及历史研究室中国建筑史编辑委员会 Committee of History of Chinese Architecture from the Research Group of the Architectural Theory and History in Institute of Architectural Science and Research, Ministry of Architectural Construction. *中国建筑简史. 第二册, 中国近代建筑简史* [Brief History of Chinese Architecture, Vol.2, Modern Chinese Architecture]. 北京: 中国工业出版社, Beijing China Industry Press 1962.

[11] The book was based on a collection of archival materials gathered and architectural surveys made between 1958 and 1960. However, the survey results were not published and the general narrative about many of the buildings created during this time was critical of them for their foreign ties. Architectural historians, notably Liang Sicheng, were not invited to participate in the project, despite (in Liang's case) his early interest in and efforts on behalf of modern architectural history in China. See Tao Zhu 朱涛, *Liang Sicheng Yu Ta de Shi Da 梁思成与他的时代*, Di 1 ban, Li Xiang Guo = Imaginist (2014): 219-228.

understanding of the architectural forms due to the semicolonial society . . . and capitalist economy."[12] In contrast, buildings completed after 1949 invoked a sense of collectivism, and were cast as having been made by and for the people. In this light, even though some buildings were still analyzed in terms of their formal style, structure, decoration, and program, any attempt at impartial evaluation was inevitably handcuffed by political considerations.

After the 1962 textbook, research on this topic was disrupted by political movements and came to a halt. Wang Shiren's 1978 essay "Modern Chinese Architecture and Architectural Styles," published in *Architecture Journal*, marked the resumption of interest in the subfield. Having both participated in the 1958 writing of the "Three Histories" and experienced more than a decade of disruption in his academic life, Wang brought the *jindai jianzhu* to the attention of a new generation of readers by putting an optimistic spin on the modern era as a whole, recasting its significance as an indication of diversity and Sino-foreign exchange rather than mere subordination and national stigma.[13] Changes seemed imminent and inevitable (see Table 1).

Although the study of *jindai jianzhu* as a subfield was established prior to the 1980s, for about two decades its development was slow, if not stagnant. This was due partly to the influence of politics and the constant need to reiterate ideological authority in historical writing, even though historians like Wang were conspicuously dubious of the overtly politicized rhetoric in writing and questioned the efficacy of searching for "national form" and Chineseness in modern buildings. However, the stylistic analysis did not go beyond an oversimplified dichotomous reading between Chinese and Western, traditional and modern.

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[12] Committee of History of Chinese Architecture. *中国建筑简史. 第二册, 中国近代建筑简史* [*Brief History of Chinese Architecture, Vol.2, Modern Chinese Architecture*], 180.

[13] In his assessment, Wang did not dismiss the Western influence altogether. Rather, he praised some of the vernacular buildings, including Shanghai Lilong 里弄 and Cantonese Qilou 骑楼 (multistoried buildings with the first floor opened up as continuous verandas for shoppers), for internalizing Western elements and materials in order to adapt to the new urban lifestyles. See Wang, Shiren 王世仁, "中国近代建筑与建筑风格." [jindai jianzhu in China and Architectural Styles], in *Architectural Journal 建筑学报*, no. 4 (1978), 30–34.

Meanwhile, the contemporaneous development surrounding the notion of *kindai kenchiku* (近代建築, the modern architecture) in Japan quickly gained prominence and ultimately helped catalyze a new attitude toward modern Chinese architecture within the architectural community in China. Similar to the genesis of the study of *jindai jianzhu* in China, the study of *kindai kenchiku* from the Meiji era up to the end of the Second World War (1868–1945), did not attract much scholarly attention until a generation of young architectural historians took central stage in postwar Japan. Two studies published in 1959—Inagaki Eizō's *Kindai Kenchiku in Japan and its Forming Process* and Muramatsu Teijiro's *Technological History of Japanese Architecture*—greatly popularized the term and changed the course of research.[14] They served as milestones for the subfield by weaving together analyses of individual architects and case studies into novel readings framed by the broader social and historical contexts that also covered issues such as material transformation, technological advancement, changing business operations, institutional history, and intellectual and discursive debates. Unlike the interwar era, when Western influence on architectural development (both as a practical matter and as an intellectual discipline) was largely eschewed, Westernization in architecture became a central topic during this time in Japan.[15] Notably, the buildings constructed during this time with a traditional Japanese appearance or its modern iterations were by and large excluded from the category of *kindai kenchiku*. Instead, the name *wafū kenchiku* (和風建築, Japanese-style architecture) or *kindai wafū kenchiku* (近代和風建築, modern Japanese-style architecture) was adopted and became its own separate category.

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[14] In addition to the two books mentioned here, other notable contemporary titles include *近代建築とは何か* [*What is Kindai Kenchiku*] (1952), *近代建築史図集* [*Imagery Compendium of Kindai Kenchiku*] (1954), *近代建築* [*Kindai Kenchiku*] (1957), *建築学大系. 第 6, 近代建築史* [*The Grand System of Architectural Studies, No.6: History of Kindai Kenchiku*] (1958), and *近代建築史* [*History of Kindai Kenchiku*] (1958).

[15] See Muramatsu, Teijirō 村松貞次郎, *日本近代建築の歴史* [History of Kindai Kenchiku in Japan], NHK ブックス 東京: 日本放送出版協会 [NHK Books, Tokyo: NHK Press] (1977): 2-6

The emerging interest in modern architecture resulted in two other crucial historical events. First, starting in 1962, Japanese scholars began surveying the existing architectural heritage of the Meiji Period (1868–1912) for a new database project. Over the next seven years, a committee on Meiji Architecture within the Architectural Institute of Japan compiled and published the list.[16] The project's success led to an expansion of scope to Taisho (1912–1926) and early Showa (1926–1945) architecture. This expansion was mostly implemented in the 1970s under the supervision of the architectural historian Muramatsu Teijiro (村松貞次郎) and was a collective effort of scholars of history, architecture, and ethnography; journalists; graduate students; local middle-school teachers, and other nonprofessionals who volunteered to help with the collection of data.

By 1980, the database had grown into a list of more than 13,000 items and an index book titled *Existing Kindai Kenchiku of Meiji, Taisho and Showa in Japan* was published as a direct result (Fig. 6).[17] Despite the title, items and reports from Korea and Taiwan from their respective colonial periods were also included "as references for comparison," mostly focusing on the activities of and works by Japanese architects and engineers, indicating that the notion of *kindai kenchiku* had some fluidity across national borders. Major contributions to this portion of the book were made by international students who were studying in the Muramatsu Laboratory at Tokyo University, specifically Guo Zhongduan from Taiwan and Yoon Il-joo from South Korea.[18] However, Japanese influence on urbanism and architecture in the region was not limited to Japan's former colonies, as it was felt in Manchuria and the rest of China, as well as Southeast

[16] See Muramatsu, Teijiro 村松貞次郎, "『始めに』" [Preface]", from *新版日本近代建築総覧* [*Existing Kindai Kenchiku of Meiji, Taisho and Showa in Japan: New Edition*] (1983).
[17] In this index book, each building has an entry, which presents information such as the original and current name of the building, address, year of completion, and information about the designer, construction company, and contractors. Aside from factual information, structural (wood, masonry, reinforced concrete, brick, etc.) and stylistic remarks are the main concerns of the researchers. Chapters are divided and organized according to region and illustrated with a limited number of images at the beginning of each chapter. See Muramatsu, *Exhibiting Kindai Kenchiku*.
[18] Ibid.

Asia. By the mid-1980s, the logical next step for Japanese scholars was to launch a more comprehensive collaboration with the architectural communities in these regions.

The second key event that changed the public perception of *kindai kenchiku* was the establishment of Meiji-mura (明治村, literally "Meiji Village") in 1965. An open-air museum located outside Inuyama, Aichi prefecture, Meiji-Mura provided a second chance for different types of early Western-style buildings to live on in at least some form, including famous structures such as the Imperial Hotel by Frank Lloyd Wright, after their demolition at their original locations.[19] The creation of a museum for relocated architectural specimens is a direct testament to the fact that the postwar economic boom and the resultant building boom in anticipation of some major international events, such as the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games and the 1970 Osaka World's Expo, posed an unprecedented threat to *kindai kenchiku* in urban areas. While most open-air museums elsewhere up to that point had been established to preserve the memory of agrarian practices and preindustrial, indigenous societies and lifestyles, Meiji-mura unequivocally highlighted Western-style buildings and the modern, industrial heritage and raised awareness of their value as material evidence of modernization in Japan. The museum served as a critical site for both the public to experience these buildings firsthand and researchers to retrieve data from the finest examples, reconstruct endangered histories, and promote further preservation.[20]

The Western perception of the Eastern Asian tradition, most prominently exemplified in Banister Fletcher's "Tree of Architecture," (mentioned earlier in the introduction) played a

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[19] The Imperial Hotel, designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, was completed in 1923. Though it survived the Great Kantō Earthquake, it was demolished in 1968 because of damage from the earthquake, aerial bombing during World War II, and finally foundation instability. Part of the structure, including the façade from the main entrance and lobby, was relocated to Meiji-mura in 1976. See Herrington, Susan. "Meiji-Mura, Japan: Negotiating Time, Politics, and Location." *Landscape Research* 33, no. 4 (August 2008): 407–23.

[20] Except for the founding museum director Taniguchi Yoshiro, who was primarily trained as an architect, all five subsequent museum directors have been architectural historians, including Muramatsu Teijiro (the third director, 1991–1997). See the museum's official website, http://www.meijimura.com/about/mansion/.

pivotal role in the early conceptualization of the history of architecture as a modern discipline in China and Japan, and prompted historians like Itō Chūta and Liang Sicheng to go on a journey in search of roots and debunk the Eurocentric view that saw Asian architecture as timeless, unchanging traditions. The active dialogue between architectural historians from China and Japan up through the early 1930s, however, was disrupted due to both the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war and the changed political climate in the postwar era, when the history of modern architecture gained prominence. Consequently, *jindai jianzhu* and *kindai kenchiku* developed more as two separate discourses rather than as one common cause, despite the terminological affinity. The decisive distinction up to the mid-1980s was the different stances toward Western influences in architecture. While Japanese historians adopted a largely welcoming attitude toward foreign influences in Japanese architecture and saw these influences as signs of modernization and nation building, Chinese scholars had to be more nuanced and strategic in acknowledging outside—both Western and Japanese—influences. Despite the plentitude of such influences, especially within the urban areas, the dominant rhetoric tended to be critical, emphasizing how the new architecture was "the product of invasion and hedonism for the foreigners, displaying an invasive functionality and … often decadent in spirit. The various formal languages prevented the formation of a unified urban identity and caused stylistic chaos in the semi-feudal-and-semi-colonial society."[21] This narrative was often counterposed to modern buildings with traditional Chinese architectural features or that had been designed by Chinese architects, which were characterized as signs of positivity in the "dark times."

[21] One example is the following statement from *Brief History of Chinese Architecture*: "这批建筑作为侵略者的侵略工具和享乐工具，功能处理上反映着侵略者的某些侵略意图和腐朽的精神面貌；造型上以形形色色的建筑形式影响中国城市面貌的统一，造成中国半殖民地半封建城市风格的紊乱。" 8.

In Preparation for an International Collaboration, 1985–1988

The first decade after the Cultural Revolution saw an increase in international exchange and a relaxing of the ideological control that previously had been imposed on cultural productions. The newfound openness not only incentivized Chinese scholars to reach outward to their international peers; it at the same time generated opportunities for curious foreigners to come to China and witness the country's nascent reforms firsthand as well. Within the architectural world, major universities soon become the primary platforms of exchange, attracting scholars, students, and architects from different countries. In 1981, Muramatsu Shin (村松伸), a student of Inagaki Eizō, became the first-ever Japanese exchange student to study at the Architectural School of Tsinghua University.[22] Upon arriving in China, he was greatly impressed by the unique urbanscape in China and saw how socioeconomic changes in urban areas posed a threat to the preservation of urban fabrics. The observations led him to switch his research topic from Tang Dynasty urban planning to *jindai jianzhu*. Having experienced the golden age of the study of *kindai kenchiku* in Japan, he aspired to become the bridge between the two academic worlds.[23] Muramatsu's main advisor during his two-and-a-half-year residency in Tsinghua was Wang Tan (汪坦), who had originally trained as an architect, apprenticed at Taliesin with Frank Lloyd Wright from 1947 to 1949, and had become a professor of architectural theory with a specialty in modernist theories upon his return to Beijing.[24] Both Muramatsu and Wang realized that the socioeconomic reforms could generate momentum for

[22] See Xu, Subin 徐苏斌, *Riben dui zhongguo chengshi yu jianzhu de yanjiu 日本对中国城市与建筑的研究* (1999): 207-210. See also Muramatsu, Shin 村松伸. *Chūgoku Kenchiku Ryūgakuki 中国建築留学記* . Tōkyō: Kajima Shuppankai, (1985).
[23] See, Xu, Subin 徐苏斌, *Riben dui zhongguo chengshi yu jianzhu de yanjiu 日本对中国城市与建筑的研究* (1999).
[24] See Lai, Delin 赖德霖, Wang, Tan 汪坦. "Koushu de lishi: Wang Tan xiasnheng de huiyi 口述的历史：汪坦先生的回忆." See Lai, Delin 赖德霖 ed., *Jindai zhejiang lu: zhongguo jindai zhongyao jianzhushi, jianzhu shiwusuo minglu 近代哲匠录：中国近代重要建筑师，建筑事务所名录*. Beijing: China Water&Power Press 北京市：中国水利水电出版社, (2006).

nationwide urbanization and that the ensuing urban renewal might soon put an end to the "period of fossilization" of the existing urban fabric and diverse *jindai jianzhu* in many Chinese cities.

In 1985, Wang Tan led a group of Chinese scholars at the invitation of the University of Tokyo to participate in the International Symposium of East Asian Modern Architecture, which turned into a collaborative dialogue between that university and Chinese institutions (mainly Tsinghua University) that would last for more than ten years.[25] Muramatsu Teijiro and his student Fujimori Terunobu (藤森照信) were then invited to Tsinghua to present on the historical and historiographical development of *kindai kenchiku*. Both scholars claimed that the main obstacles to studying *kindai kenchiku* in Japan had gradually disappeared and called for a similar trajectory in China. Though some Chinese scholars still maintained that buildings completed during this period were extremely derivative of Western sources and materially reinforced a stigmatic impression of the country's past sufferings, these buildings—especially those that conspicuously presented Western styles—began to gain popularity among younger generations and even became local landmarks and tourist attractions after being repurposed.[26] As time progressed, it became clear that a once-unwanted body of work could be turned into new assets for local economies and different communities, and therefore the timing seemed ripe for comprehensive, on-site research to understand what was left in China. In February 1988, an agreement to cooperatively conduct extensive investigations of *jindai jianzhu* was reached between Fujimori Terunobu and Wang Tan, representing the Fujimori Research Lab/Seminar

[25] The participants also included Lu Bingjie from Fudan University and Wang Shiren from Beijing Municipal Bureau of Cultural Heritage. See Muramatsu, Shin 村松伸, Nishizawa, Yasuhiko 西澤泰彦, and Yoon, Il-joo 尹一柱. *東アジアの近代建築* [*Modern Architecture in East Asia*]. 東京, 1985.

[26] Fujimori, Terunobu 藤森照信 and Wang Binglin 王炳麟, "Riben jindai jianzhushi yanjiu de licheng 日本近代建筑史研究的历程," *世界建筑 World Architecture*, no. 6 (1986): 76–81.

(formerly the Muramatsu Teijiro Research Lab) at the Institute of Industrial Science, the University of Tokyo, and the Architectural Department at Tsinghua University, respectively.[27]

Survey as Method, 1988–1991

The Sino-Japanese joint survey was initiated in Tianjin with a workshop hosted cooperatively by Tianjin University and Tsinghua University, at which Japanese scholars shared their previous experiences of surveying modern Japanese architecture, including the theoretical framework, the basic methods of doing in situ surveys, and the editorial strategies and standards that informed the resulting publication. A page from the Chinese survey handbook reveals some key steps: first, the participating surveyors were asked to prepare large-scale maps before the fieldwork. On the day of the survey, they began by following the map to tour the neighborhood, marking the most important buildings in order to form an overview. The team would then focus on the key sites and conduct more-detailed surveys of individual buildings, which included photographing, sketching, documenting the information, and whenever possible, interviewing people who used to live or work in the buildings. The information gathered during the day was then organized at night. The investigation covered not only civic, residential, and commercial buildings, but also major infrastructure such as sewage and gas systems, bridges, and piers. Many universities and provincial Institutes of Cultural Heritage from all over China sent representatives, who joined forces in the inaugural survey in Tianjin (Fig.7). An internally published prototype, *The Architectural Heritage of Modern China: Tianjin*, was produced in 1989 and became the model for the later surveys (Fig.8).

It is not surprising that Tianjin was chosen as the first city to be surveyed, because its urban growth had owed a great deal to the foreign presence, especially European imperialism. Ever since it had become a treaty port in 1840, Tianjin had been the testing ground for a variety

[27] In order to further facilitate the collaboration, student exchange programs were also launched: Nishizawa Yasuhiko and Inoue Naomi were sent to Tsinghua as exchange students while Zhang Fuhe went to study under Fujimori Terunobu at the University of Tokyo from 1988 to 1989.

of new building types constructed with Western capital and Chinese labor, as nine different countries at various points established eight bordered concessions.[28] Foreign banks, public parks, shops and godowns, government buildings and foreign consulates, offices, restaurants, clubs and theaters, and even paved modern roads and other infrastructure all emerged in a kaleidoscope of styles. Chinese landowners, capitalists, compradors, and emerging professional architects, as well as construction workers, were also involved in all stages of the development of the city. Known as the "World's Fair of Architecture," the built environment of Tianjin was widely reproduced via photographic images and other pictorial representations. In the survey, three examples received particular attention, being meticulously surveyed, analyzed, and featured in *The Architectural Heritage of Modern China: Tianjin*: The French Consulate, a second-story building being used as a wholesale center for plastic products by Tianjin Department Store in the 1980s, and Dongjuzi, a rundown warehouse (Fig. 9).

None of these buildings were considered by Chinese scholars as either prominent material monuments of historical events or the most elaborate, well-preserved landmarks in terms of architectural quality. Nevertheless, the selection revealed two compelling motivations and themes in studying *jindai jianzhu*: the localization or stylistic adaptation of an imported modern architectural typology, with a particular focus on what had been regarded as eclecticism on the one hand, and a growing interest in architectonics and building technologies on the other. These scholarly tendencies were apparent in the previous domestic survey in Japan but were yet to be taken up by Chinese researchers.

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[28] The nine countries were Britain, France, the United States, Italy, Japan, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, and Germany. See Zhou, Zushi 周祖奭, "Tianjin jindai jianzhu shilve 天津近代建筑史略" in Wang, Tan 汪坦, Fujimori, Terunobu 藤森照信, and Zhou Zushi 周祖奭. *中国近代建築総覧：天津編* [The Architectural Heritage of Modern China: Tianjin], Tokyo: Internally Published. (1989): 9. For secondary sources, see Zhang, Chang, and Yue Liu. "International Concessions and the Modernization of Tianjin." In *Harbin to Hanoi: The Colonial Built Environment in Asia, 1840 to 1940*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013.

The first aspect merits extended discussion. Both the French consulate and the anonymous second-story building shared a key stylistic feature that Fujimori Terunobu termed the "Veranda Colonial" (ヴェランダ・コロニアル).[29] The word "verandah" originally meant an open-air gallery or porch with roof, often partly enclosed with a railing. This architectural element is believed to have its origins in South and Southeast Asia, where it was most often seen as a part of bungalow houses; the word entered English in the eighteenth century. According to Fujimori, the introduction of the veranda to Japan marked an early stage of architectural Westernization, not so much because it had a European origin but because it was imported by European travelers. It was speculated that a similar development had also taken place on the mainland of East Asia. The semi-open space surrounding the fully enclosed living and dining section of a building was more than a place for circulation: residents could "drink tea, smoke, have light meals, read, play chess or even take a nap because it was both sheltered away from direct sunlight and the best ventilated part of the house before the existence of air-conditioning" (Fig. 10).[30] Unlike with the traditional Japanese *engawas* (縁側), handrails were often installed in the cases of Western-style verandas, partly for aesthetic and partly for safety reasons. The earliest examples were often found on hilltops in treaty ports, giving inhabitants the ability to survey the bustling scenes of the bund, a waterfront area specifically established to facilitate international trade, which was another architectural/urban invention that grew out of East-West contact.

Since the nineteenth century, the veranda had been the focal point for social and leisure activities and thus epitomized the colonial lifestyle and identity.[31] This element was predicated on regional specificities and manifested itself in a variety of building types and uses across different regions in East Asia—as the rationale for its use could be physical (sunlight, fresh air), social, or psychological (security, surveillance)—rather than as expressing an inherent stylistic

[29] See Fujimori Terunobu 藤森照信, *全調査東アジア近代の都市と建築* (*Comprehensive Overview of Modern Architecture in Japan*), Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō (1996), 80–82 .
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.

language. It came to be understood as a pivotal indicator of the transmission of building knowledge. While the two buildings found in Tianjin were later than the earliest extant example in Japan, the Glover Residence in Nagasaki, they still offer an explanation as to how knowledge and technology were dispersed from place to place. The French consulate in particular shows a unique feature that was adopted later. The supposedly open veranda in front of the façade was instead sealed off permanently with bricks and large glass windows and thus became repurposed as a sunroom. Later, the crew found a building that had a long and continuous veranda around the north, west, and south sides during a survey in Xiamen, and the resulting clover-shaped floor plan was almost identical to that of the Glover Residence (Figs. 11–12).[32] As the team traced stylistic variations across cities in China, they were able to not only map out how the reprogramming from balcony to sunroom foregrounded regional differences from the humid, hot southeast Asia to the much colder northern part of China, but also more critically understand that such a wide spectrum of possibilities became detrimental to the longevity of the style itself, as the veranda soon faded from fashion and was replaced by more-stable design languages such as Edwardian styles among other historicist styles from Europe.

Over the next four years, a total of sixteen Chinese cities were surveyed in three phases together by the squad of Chinese and Japanese architectural historians.[33] The common process usually entailed preliminary archival research in Chinese-, Japanese-, and English-language sources, followed by on-site fieldwork, usually lasting for several weeks. Typically, a team of Japanese architectural historians and graduate students were escorted by Ph.D. students from

[32] The plan was once believed a singular innovative experiment in the Japanese archipelago but was later discovered in a residential house for the branch president at HSBC Xiamen, which was dated by architectural historians to 1871. Ibid.

[33] The investigations that took place in Harbin, Yantai, Qingdao, Nanjing, Wuhan, Guangzhou, and Xiamen between 1988 and 1989 were generally considered the second phase; Beijing, Shenyang, Yingkou, Dalian, Shanghai, Lushan, Chongqing, Kunming, and Jinan were surveyed between 1990 and 1991 as the third phase. See Fujimori Terunobu 藤森照信, *全調査東アジア近代の都市と建築 Comprehensive Overview of Modern Architecture in Japan*, (1996), 515-522.

Tsinghua University as well as professors, students, and researchers from local universities and Institutes of Cultural Heritage.[34] The selection covered a wide range of types of cities both in terms of history and topography, ranging from ones with a long imperial history (Beijing and Nanjing) to ones that were founded in the twentieth century as a result of external intervention (Harbin, Dalian), to ones where a walled Chinese city and foreign settlements coexisted (Xiamen, Shanghai, and Guangzhou) (Fig. 13).[35] With the empirical findings from this project, scholars began to question the umbrella characterization of eclecticism and became more aware of the importance of detailed elements for stylistic evaluation. Additionally, new empirical data enabled scholars to go further by studying the activities in the real estate market of each city, policy and legal changes, and methods of urban planning and social administration, among other socioeconomic factors impacting the architectural history.[36]

Negotiating Cultural Differences, 1992–1996 and Beyond

The publication of the archive research and results from on-site surveys gradually unfolded from 1992 to 1996, marking another major milestone of the long and complicated process of knowledge production. Yet the fact that Chinese and Japanese scholars published the

[34] It is notable that the final list of cities where there was a collaborative effort did not include Shanghai, as the initial communication with Prof. Luo Xiaowei from Tongji University turned sour. Consequently, the Japanese scholars went on their own expedition in Shanghai without local assistance, with the results being included in the Japanese publication, but not the Chinese one. See Fujimori Terunobu 藤森照信. "総論: 私とアジア – ヴェランダの問題を中心に" [Introduction: The Problem of the Asian Veranda and I]. In Masuda, Hirashisa 増田彰久 and Fujimori Terunobu 藤森照信, *近代建築のアジア* (*Modern Architectural Heritage in Asia*) *歴史遺産. 1 (中国 1)* (東京: 柏書房, 2014): 12.

[35] After the First Opium War, the British established the first five treaty ports in China according to the terms of the Treaty of Nanking in 1842. The other two were Ningbo and Fuzhou.

[36] The methodologies and perspectives of this empirical study inspired subsequent scholarship, for example Delin Lai's Ph.D. dissertation at Tsinghua University, "从上海公共租界看中国近代建筑制度的形成" ["Understanding the Formation of China's Modern Architectural Institution through Shanghai's International Concessions"], which was written as a historical analysis based on the survey results. See 赖德霖 Delin Lai. "从上海公共租界看中国近代建筑制度的形成." In *中国近代建筑史研究 Research on* Jindai Jianzhu *in China*, 25–84. 清华大学出版社 Tsinghua University Press, 2007, 25-84.

findings separately poses a sharp question about the nature of the collaboration. Tellingly, disparities can be observed in the adoption of theoretical frameworks and scopes, reflections on different historiographical traditions, strategies of using texts and images, and even the design of the books as physical objects. They speak to the different intellectual and institutional goals and respond to the specific expectations of the different readerships. Whereas the Japanese publication looked to understand modern architecture as a multicultural, historical phenomenon and tried to reconstruct the network of the cross-cultural exchanges, the Chinese interlocutors were more concerned with exculpating the extant modern architecture and carving out new discursive space to reevaluate the heritage (see Table 2).

It is safe to say that the Chinese and Japanese publications both looked to the same precedents, the *Comprehensive Overview of Modern Architecture in Japan* (1980) and *Comprehensive Overview of Modern Architecture in China: Tianjin Volume* (1989), both of which were published in Japan. As mentioned earlier, the former was published to present a comprehensive list of data from the two-decade-long domestic survey in Japan: more than 13,000 items are all crammed into a single volume, with each data entry was allotted only one line of space and the number of images being quite limited. In comparison, *Tianjin Volume* combines survey information collected about individual buildings with research papers by scholars from both countries, as well as a large-scale map highlighting areas with many important historical sites and the detailed surveys of the three exemplary projects as paradigms. Trilingual in Chinese, Japanese, and occasionally English, *Tianjin Volume* also includes one photograph for each listed building or architectural/urban site, making the book a de facto catalogue with abundant visual evidence. From this point on, the pairing of building data and photographic documentation became the standard format for subsequent publications.

The next few years saw a fifteen-volume compendium in Chinese published in several installments from 1992 to 1995, with each issue featuring the survey outcomes of one specific city. Collectively known as *The Architectural Heritage of Modern China* (中国近代建筑总览) series, the compendium largely followed the format and style of graphic of *Tianjin Volume*,

similar in appearance to a typical white paper or an official report issued by the government, despite the fact that governmental involvement was merely financial (Fig. 14).[37] Meanwhile, the international nature of the *Comprehensive Overview* was largely absent from the series, as the book only appeared in Chinese and was intended for domestic readers with expertise. The main goal was to legitimize the historical and architectural values of *jindai jianzhu* in order to make a case for future study and preservation.

On the other hand, the Japanese publication was released in 1996 under the title of *Comprehensive Study of East Asian Architecture and Urban Planning: 1840–1945* (全調査東アジア近代の都市と建築) with all the information condensed into a large single volume (Fig. 15). Even though the original Japanese title suggests no apparent inheritance from *Comprehensive Overview of Modern Architecture in Japan* (1980) in terms of both the methodology and scope, *Comprehensive Study* should be considered a sequel to *Comprehensive Overview,* as the former extended the survey and research to continental East Asia by including not only China, but also Taiwan, Korea, Hong Kong, and Macau, all of which saw fieldwork. In this book, the interregional connectivity and comparative perspective played a far more important role than comprehensiveness, as is probably best exemplified by the study of the style dissemination of the Veranda Colonial Architecture. The abundance of maps, photographs, the frugality of textual reports on each city, and the bilingual presence of both English and Japanese further testified to the ambition to provide a sourcebook for a broader reader base. While the 1980 survey excluded Japanese-style buildings from its definition of *kindai kenchiku,* the *Comprehensive Study* embraced both Western Styles and buildings with indigenous, traditional features, or mixed influences. This result reflected that the cross-cultural exchanges and diversities had come to the fore, as the Japanese scholars adopted a more inclusive attitude toward the notion of *kindai kenchiku* than ever before.

[37] The project was initially funded by the Toyota Group and later received funding from the National Natural Science Foundation of China. See Delin Lai, interview with the author, March 31, 2018, transcript and recording.

As it turns out, neither the Chinese nor the Japanese publication achieves the intended comprehensiveness. The Japanese publication is more selective, limiting the presentation of the survey findings to a single volume, whereas the Chinese compendium, despite being more detailed in each volume, does not include survey results from Tianjin, Shanghai, and Changchun for political and institutional reasons. The different targeted readerships and conceptual emphases further testifies to the historiographic preferences and cultural politics of the time. The negotiations and compromises notwithstanding, the influence of the collaborative project did prove to be far-reaching.

One common feature of both publications is the heavy reliance on survey photographs. A mandatory task, the photographing of buildings served an instrumental role rather than being an afterthought. Normally shot at street level in black and white, with a frontal view of a building's façade, these photographs were particularly suitable for portraying the exteriors of buildings and highlighting iconic stylistic elements such as domes, pediments, verandas, balconies, and campanile towers. The incorporation of photography as a visual aid for fieldwork and documentation was not unfamiliar to the study of architectural history in China. Some prominent examples include Ito Chūta's trip across China and Liang Sicheng's investigations for the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture, as noted by scholars such as Lin Wei-Cheng.[38] But unlike those earlier efforts, which some scholars have argued were imbued with a tint of nostalgic sentimentalism about the loss of tradition to modernization, the photographic program in the late 1980s was carried out in a more rigorous, matter-of-fact fashion. Photographs were all formatted similarly and placed in a grid within the data sheet, with each building having a single image that was deemed most representative. Paradoxically, the seemingly rational, objective nature was simultaneously countered by photography's mechanical transparency, which also caused some unintended outcomes to be recorded and revealed the limitations of this project. For example, photographs with an awkward composition or evidently taken in a hasty fashion often

[38] Lin, Wei-Cheng. "Preserving China: Liang Sicheng's Survey Photos from the 1930s and 1940s." Visual Resources 27, no. 2 (June 2011): 129–45.

indicated sites with limited access, such as governmental or military facilities, which frequently engaged in adaptive reuse of *jindai jianzhu* (Fig. 16). While government or other major institutions often chose existing *jindai jianzhu* as their architectural base right after the establishment of the PRC for economic and functional reasons —with the most dramatic example being the Jilin Provincial Government's takeover of the buildings occupied by the Japanese imperialists and originally constructed as the Kantōgun Headquarters and the office of Japan's ambassador to Manchukuo—they understandably avoided celebrating the architecture itself.[39] In a way, the photographic corpus not only inserts itself as a systematic secondary source for understanding the buildings' pasts, especially the visions of their original designers, but also serves for readers as a primary source on their current condition as well as on the historical survey itself as an academic activity.

Partly owing to the increasing integration of the photographic medium, the survey and its ensuing publications displayed a value shift in history writing from the nationalistic, ethnocentric, grand narrative that had favored monumental, government-sponsored architecture to a more diverse attitude, shedding more light on the everyday and the vernacular. For instance, a series of maintenance hole covers from different concessions was duly recorded in survey photos so as to reflect on the different designs of underground sewage systems as part of the modern infrastructure and urban governance (Fig. 17). In addition to the survey photographs, a group of color photographs appeared in the *Comprehensive Study* in a more expressive fashion, featuring people and their various ways of interacting with the built environment (Fig. 18). After generations of use, reuse, and even misuse, these modern structures had become part of the urban fabric and blended into the bustling local life.

[39] The capital city of today's Jilin Province, Changchun, was controlled by the Japanese government after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 and later made into the capital city, Xinjing (新京, literally "new capital"), for the Manchukuo in 1932. Many of the governmental buildings were constructed during this time, some of which adopted an "imperial crown" to emphasize Japan's Asian roots. For more detailed discussion, see Sewell, Bill. *Constructing Empire: The Japanese in Changchun*, 1905-45. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2019, 97-98.

In an article published in *Architectural Journal* in 1993, Muramatsu Teijiro, who had retired from the University of Tokyo by that time and taken the position of museum director of the Meiji-mura, further discussed modern architecture's function of place making in contemporary society. As he maintains, "the preservation of *jindai jianzhu/kindai kenchiku* means a creation of something new."[40] His explanation demonstrates how the preservation and repurposing of existing modern buildings in Japan coincided with the agenda of rebranding cities and reinvigorating local neighborhoods and communities. While the new wave of globalization may have rendered every city more or less the same, the modern architecture—be it in the traditional, Western, or mixed styles—that had stood for several generations should be treated as the unique material evidence of a city's past with layered history and sources on which its very identity can be based. Thus, more people began to see modern architecture's value as resisting the universalism caused by contemporary architecture and urbanism. Not merely mummified monuments of the past and an economic burden from a developmental perspective, *kindai kenchiku/jindai jianzhu* could take on a more active role in the present.

Indeed, the rediscovery of *jindai jianzhu* through both quantitative and qualitative assessment catalyzed an updated public perception and official recognition in China. Prior to the mid-1980s, only a few buildings were registered as Major Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the National Level (commonly abbreviated as *guobao* 国宝) under the name of "Revolutionary Sites or Revolutionary Monuments," but by 1996 the category of "Important Modern Historical Sites and Architecture" had been established with fifty buildings registered as such, mostly based on their architectural rather than historical merit. One of the earliest buildings to benefit was the Zhengyang Gate East Station (or Front Gate Train Station). Its preservation and reconstruction marked the emergence of new public investment in *jindai jianzhu* as not only static knowledge but desirable material heritage as well. Originally designed by a British

[40] See Muramatsu, Teijirō 村松貞次郎 , " jindai jianzhu de baocun yiweizhe xinde chuangzao 近代建筑的保存意味着新的创造" [The Preservation of jindai jianzhu Means New Creation], *Architectural Journal 建筑学报*, no. 5 (1993), 39–43.

architect and built in 1906, it had ceased to function as a train station in 1959 and suffered major damage in the 1976 Tangshan earthquake. When the entire site was faced with redevelopment in the early 1990s, a proposal of restoring the building based on its original 1903 plan came to the rescue. Repurposed and reopened in 1998 as the new China Railway Museum, the project commemorated and celebrated a recent industrial past that would hardly be recognizable had it not been for the shift in the understanding of *jindai jianzhu* (Figs. 19-20).

Conclusion

In sum, it is indubitable that the collective survey of *jindai jianzhu* in China by the Chinese and Japanese architectural historians changed the course of the study of modern architecture in China and had a far-reaching impact on the country's architectural culture as a whole. It fundamentally challenged the reigning perspective that dismissed modern architecture and its historical place within the country's long and continuous building tradition. In excavating the technological, stylistic, social, and cultural values of the recent past, the survey and its publications were also making new history. The survey managed to document and archive valuable data before the buildings themselves were replaced in new rounds of urbanization. It also provided key historical contexts that explained how the piecemeal changes of individual buildings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries forever transformed the traditional urban fabric and paved the way for contemporary lifestyles. The presence of diverse linguistic, cultural, ideological, and historiographical negotiations throughout the survey further highlighted how transcultural dialogues were in critical demand and how their influences were more than academic. With the publication of the research on *jindai jianzhu*, modern architecture as a discourse in China largely neutralized the lingering conservatism based on a nationalist reading and writing of architectural history. By discarding the politically charged rhetoric in history writing, the contextualized understanding of modern architecture became a connecting point, rather than an undesirable hiatus, between the traditional and contemporary.

Chapter 2 "The Work Didn't Exist Before Its Publication": Architectural Journals during the Transitional Era, 1979–2000

"The history of the architectural media is much more than a footnote to the history of architecture. The journals and now the galleries help to determine that history. They invent "movements," create "tendencies" and launch international figures, promoting architects from the limbo of the unknown, of building, to the rank of historical events, to the canon of history. And later they may kill off these same figures."[1]

Beatriz Colomina, *Architectureproduction* (1988)

In its February 1988 issue, the Beijing-based bimonthly architectural journal *World Architecture* (*世界建筑*) published a one-page introduction to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial designed by the Chinese American architect Maya Lin as one of the "famous American building projects in the 1980s" series (Fig.21).[2] The textual comment on the memorial itself is preliminary, if not sketchy, mostly focusing on the work's location vis-à-vis the surrounding landmarks in the National Mall and the political controversies from all sides faced by Lin, who was then a young student from Yale University. The anonymous editor ended the introduction on a rather ambiguous note by asking its readers to make their own judgment: "Was the memorial an endorsement or a denial of the War effort? Was the upside down V-shaped form [sic] a dedication or a mockery of the so-called victory? Maybe it can also be seen as a Chinese character for 'human' (人 ren), and a reminder of humanity? Is the wall full of names of the deceased a condolence to their relatives? Or is it also an indictment of the cruelty of the war?" Flanking the text were four images that took up most of the journal page—two bird's-eye views, one close-up from the ground, and one conceptual drawing reproduced from a watercolor by Lin. These images became the very first visual encounters with the memorial for the tens of thousands of the journal's readers all over the country.

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[1] Colomina, Beatriz, and Joan Ockman, eds. *Architectureproduction. Revisions–Papers on Architectural Theory and Criticism*, 2nd v. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988. 23.
[2] See 林樱 Maya Lin. "华盛顿越战纪念碑,美国."[Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington D.C., U.S.A]. *世界建筑 World Architecture*, no. 1, 1988.

The way in which the Vietnam Veterans Memorial was presented to the Chinese readers is remarkable, because it dutifully captured the historical context of knowledge transmission and the political sensitivity at the moment. According to Zeng Zhaofen (曾昭奋), the editor-in-chief of the journal, despite the fact that the design had been completed as early as in 1982 and was widely hailed by overseas Chinese as a cultural victory, *World Architecture* had to wait a few years for the right moment to cover it. Even when the article was about to be run, the overall tone had to be more indifferent than enthusiastic, a deliberate strategy adopted as a form of self-censorship. The heavy reliance on photography's neutrality and open-endedness was not just a convenient choice, but a carefully calculated move to avoid unnecessary political harassment by the government when the U.S. war in Vietnam was still considered a sensitive subject matter.[3] According to Zeng, a six-year lag was almost unforgivable by the journal's standards, as timeliness and international outreach were the two main selling points for the print medium at the time. Compared to the 1970s, when the semiofficial *Architectural Journal* (建筑学报) was the only representative periodical nationwide, the 1980s saw explosive growth in the number of architectural journals in China, testifying to the effort to revitalize an overdue interest in going beyond the national boundaries and finding new "discursive room outside the state apparatus of ideology."[4] The establishment of at least a dozen architectural journals within a decade created a collective venue for disseminating foreign ideas about architecture, cultivating public opinions, and proposing new visions and possible directions for the future that made architecture another medium—along with literature, cinema, the visual arts, and philosophy—through which Chinese modernity could be perceived as a historical and cultural experience (Fig. 22).[5] As the post-Mao

[3] See 曾昭奋 Zeng Zhaofen, "《世界建筑》情结" [The Complex of *World Architecture*]. *World Architecture,* no. 6(2005), 105.

[4] Zhang, Xudong. *Chinese Modernism in the Era of Reforms: Cultural Fever, Avant-Garde Fiction, and the New Chinese Cinema. Post-Contemporary Interventions.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997, 4.

[5] For example, *Architect* (建筑师) and *World Architecture* (世界建筑) were established in 1980 by the Department of Architecture at Tsinghua University in 1980. *Research of Architectural History* (建筑历史研究). *Research of Architectural Economy* (建筑经济研究) was established

society redefined itself on the foundation of "praxis as the sole standard of truth" (实践是检验真理的唯一标准) and shifted gears to embrace a rational, progressive, and affluent foreign world, architecture was just one among the many fields that benefited from intellectual and cultural liberation during the new era of Deng Xiaoping's reign.[6] Architecture is unique in being inseparable from its physical site and material form, yet for the same reason its transforming effect on the urbanscape and everyday life can be less immediate comparing to other media. As this chapter will discuss, it was the journals that most effectively collapsed the spatial and temporal distances between China and the rest of the world and created a middle ground for both architectural experts and the lay public to explore a new view of the country's architectural future.

This chapter charts the rise of architectural journals in China from 1979 to the turn of the century as a collective cultural, intellectual, and historical phenomenon, focusing on the Beijing-based *World Architecture* and Shanghai-based *Time+Architecture* (时代建筑, along with its single-issue forerunner *Architectural Culture* 建筑文化) (Figs. 23–25). I argue that the newly founded journals not only documented what was being said about the changes in the architectural world, but also anticipated a new system for what *could* be said, especially in terms of radically redefining the architectural canons and charting the topics that were being taken up elsewhere. In other words, the printed medium was more than a time capsule through which we can trace the development of discourses and map the shifting terrain of knowledge. It should be studied in its own right due to its rich history as a material product and a critical cultural and institutional

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in 1980. *Architectural Worker* (建筑工人) was established in 1981 by Beijing Construction Engineering Group. *Architectural Knowledge* (建筑知识) was established in 1981 by the Architectural Society of China. South Architecture (南方建筑) in 1981 was started by South China Institute of Technology. *New Architecture* (新建筑) in 1983 by Huazhong University of Science and Technology in 1983. Huazhong Architecture (华中建筑) was founded in 1983 by Central-South Architectural Design Institute, *Time+Architecture (*时代建筑*)* in 1984 by the architectural school of Tongji University. *World Architecture Review* (世界建筑导报) and *Architecture Creation* (建筑创作) in 1985 and 1989, respectively, were founded by Beijing Institute of Architectural Design.

[6] Zhang, *Chinese Modernism in the Era of Reforms,* 18.

practice that played a seminal role in cultivating transnational and interdisciplinary dialogues. The journals' significance exceeded that of exhibits, books, and to some extent even built projects in the rediscovery and consolidation of architecture's cultural value during this time. This chapter homes in on the criticisms, translations, key case studies, and new visual paradigms of architectural representation—all made available by or through the journals—and sheds light on how they helped the field of architecture achieve a new distance from political orthodoxy and previous limitations. In addition, the history of these journals reveals the changing socioeconomic conditions and ideological expectations faced by the architectural community when it was neither isolationist nor fully immersed in globalization.

The proliferingof journals, with the circulation of various new values, discourses, images, and information, provided a critical venue for filling in the epistemological and ideological gap left by the Cultural Revolution before the new design thinking could be concretized and turned into built reality. Yet the exact role of journals in the process of recontextualizing architecture as a key component of modernization and contemporary culture deserves closer scrutiny: What kind of architecture was being featured in the journals and considered by editors as exemplary models for the reform era and the postsocialist society? In what way and to what scale can a map of "world architecture" be drawn through the lens of *World Architecture* and to a lesser degree, *Time+Architecture*? How did certain critical terms—for example, modernism, postmodernism, regionalism, national form or even criticality and contemporaneity—take hold or lose currency in China? What do the journals reveal about the mood of the architectural profession and its commentators at this period? Why did the 1980s and 1990s see a renewed interest in using journals as a primary site for channeling knowledge and imparting experiences? What would architectural production have been like in China of this era without the critical network and worldview created by the journals? The remaining chapter will navigate these inquiries.

Historiography: How Journal Became a Method

The study of modern architectural journals first gained its theoretical and historiographical gravity in the 1980s in the United States. The edited volume titled *Architectureproduction*, published in 1988, is one of the early milestones that called attention to the role journals have played in architectural history and explored the relationship between architecture and the representations of architecture in photographs and drawings reproduced in print media.[7] Scholars such as Joan Ockman, Beatriz Colomina, and Pierre-Alain Croset dove into the issue of reproduction in the Walter Benjaminian sense, as it pertains not only to "the material production of architectural work," but also to "the work's circulation and diffusion through printed media."[8] They created preliminary historical accounts of periodicals covering landmark publications throughout the twentieth century such as *L'Esprit Nouveau, Oppositions,* and *Casabella*, while emphasizing their "productive rather than reflective" roles in architectural history.[9] In the introductory commentary, Colomina, the chief editor of the volume, urged a "reconsideration of critical methods" on the grounds that the distribution and consumption of architecture through the channels of the cultural industry had been essential to the dynamics of modernism. Historically, journals had at certain times overshadowed some other means of mass communication such as museums and galleries by capturing overarching trends while inventing movements.[10] The well-known stories of Le Corbusier and *L'Esprit Nouveau,* the Futurists and *Le Figaro*, and Mies van der Rohe and *G* have caused many to believe that the modernist movement was as much a printed revolution as it was a built one. Architects like Le Corbusier used their editorial power to maneuver, using various media (photography, advertising, writing)

[7] The interlocutors of this book belonged to a study group that grew out of a symposium held in New York with the theme of "Architecture Criticism Ideology." Their main concern was to combat the pervasive conservatism within the architectural world and restore architecture's ability to heighten social awareness and challenge the existing power structure. See Mary McLeod, "Introduction," from Ockman, Joan, ed. *Architecture, Criticism, Ideology.* Princeton, N.J: Princeton Architectural Press, 1982, 7-11.
[8] "Editorial Statement" from *Architectureproduction,* 5.
[9] Ibid., 16.
[10] Ibid., 7-23.

to deconstruct ready-made messages, doctor images, and (re)codify new ideas. As "producers" as well as "interpreters" of industrial reality, the modernist masters succeeded in evoking desires in a broader audience and establishing a discursive space for architecture among a more general bourgeois public beyond the immediate users of buildings.[11]

Colomina's deepening interest in the transmedial experiences centered on architecture led her to found the "media and modernity" program at Princeton University and to organize exhibits such as *Clip/Stamp/Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines* at the Storefront for Art and Architecture in 2007 and *Playboy Architecture 1953–1979* at the Elmhurst Art Museum in 2016.[12] The former exhibit featured some of the avant-garde "little" magazines such as *Archigram* as well as tracing the major reforms of professional publications such as *Architectural Design* and *Casabella* in order to demonstrate the collective effort to break away from the stagnant late modernism in the 1960s and 1970s. The latter exhibit was predicated on the thesis that modern architecture and design sat well with the postwar domestic image of seduction, and that *Playboy* arguably played a more crucial role in the public understanding of architecture than any professional journals of the time. Targeting their research at a variety of publication types from popular lifestyle magazines to self-made, defiant little magazines, from the less-volatile professional journals to ephemeral pamphlets and posters, Colomina and her colleagues showcased that the meanings of buildings could only be asserted and communicated through those buildings' reproduction and dissemination in the public realm.[13]

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[11] Colomina, Beatriz. "Le Corbusier and Photography." *Assemblage*, no. 4 (1987), 21.
[12] For the exhibition website of "Clip/Stamp/Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines," see http://storefrontnews.org/programming/clip-stamp-fold-the-radical-architecture-of-little-magazines-196x-197x/
For the exhibition website of "Playboy Architecture 1953-1979," see https://www.elmhurstartmuseum.org/exhibitions/playboy-architecture-1953-1979/
[13] Colomina further argues that the making of "little magazines" contributed to the very avant-gardism and more sustainable manifestation of architecture's search for subversiveness and autonomy. The desire to communicate often was as important as, if not more than, the desire to build, as illustrated by the name of "Archigram," which is a portmanteau of "architecture" and

In the context of the architectural history of East Asia, Ken Tadashi Oshima's *International Architecture in Interwar Japan: Constructing Kokusai Kenchiku* (2009) recognized that the encounters with the notion of the "International Style" was first felt in the pages of the journals rather than through direct exposures to the buildings in situ. For example, he showed that the newly founded architectural journals in the 1920s changed the orientation of texts from vertical to horizontal and ran text from left instead of right, thus further familiarizing Japanese readers with the format of the Western press.[14] Scholars Jonathan M. Reynolds and Nakamori Yasufumi subsequently expanded on the relationship among architecture, photographic reproduction, and publications, arguing that with the efficacy of publications, example of pre-modern architecture such as the Ise Shrine and Katsura Detached Villa could be stripped bare of their ideological burdens and celebrated for their architectural ingenuity and reinvented as cultural manifestations of a democratic Japan. Another great example for studying the interaction between architecture and publication is the case of Futagawa Yukio (二川幸夫), who made his name initially as a photographer of traditional Japanese folk houses (*民家 minka*) in the 1950s. He later founded a publishing house A.D.A. EDITA and a series of professional magazines under the main title of *GA* (*Global Architecture*) in 1970. The journal reached its pinnacle in the 1980s before the burst of the bubble and the rise of the computer- and internet-based image economy, as photography played a pivotal role in surveying high and low architecture

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"telegram." See Beatriz Colomina, "宣言建筑，从<轰隆隆>到推特" ["Manifesto Architecture, from Zung Tumb Tumb to Twitter"]. *时代建筑 Time+Architecture*, no.6(2014), 11.

[14] "Beginning in January 1932, the journal shifted from vertical to horizontal Japanese text, which underscored a visual unity with other international journals outside Japan….Whereas Western readers read horizontally from left to right, Japanese traditionally read from vertically from right to left [sic]. When Japanese readers had only rudimentary knowledge of a foreign language, they could read articles and captions more easily than full-length books. Despite the relatively high prices of magazines, a single copy might be read by a great number of people—at the bookstore, the architectural studio, the office." See Ōshima, Ken Tadashi. *International Architecture in Interwar Japan: Constructing Kokusai Kenchiku*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009, 22.

worldwide.[15] The fact that Futagawa was associated with both a global publishing franchise and a commitment to regionalist architecture foregrounds the role played by modern publications and imaging mechanisms due to their ability to transcend physical boundaries and for better or for worse, produce categories where dispersed and random phenomena could be presented as systematic knowledge.

Exploring the relationship between periodicals and architecture has gained much currency in the recent development of Chinese architectural history as well. For example, Cole Roskam's book *Designing Reform: Architecture in the People's Republic of China, 1970–1992* looks at the both intellectual and pedagogical history of Chinese architecture through the lens of journals.[16] In his recent book*, Constructing a Place of Critical Architecture in China: Intermediate Criticality in the Journal Time + Architecture* (2015)*,* Ding Guanghui coins the term "intermediate criticality" to trace the history of the journal. According to him, it exercised what he calls a "duo critique" in the sense that architects were able to use journals as platforms to resist the dominant mode of commercial building practice and to create small-scaled critical projects on the one hand, and the journal itself oscillated between professional and academic interests on the other. For Ding, architectural journals, especially the *Time+Architecture* since its major reorientation in 2000, are salient examples of the search for criticality in relation to the architecture of China, sparking both formal experimentation and social critiques.[17]

There was no better place for the discussions of architectural journals to unfold than in the journals themselves. Self-reflexivity has become a very noticeable feature of the major journals in China, especially in anniversary/commemorative issues. For instance, 2014 saw the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of *Architectural Journal* and a special issue solicited a

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[15] See Zimmerman, Claire, and Eve Zimmerman. "Ethnographic Architectural Photography: Futagawa Yukio and Nihon No Minka." *The Journal of Architecture* 20, no. 4 (July 4, 2015).
[16] Roskam Cole, *Designing Reform: Architecture in the People's Republic of China, 1970-1992.* Yale University Press. 2021.
[17] Ding, Guanghui. *Constructing a Place of Critical Architecture in China: Intermediate Criticality in the Journal Time + Architecture.* Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2015, 15.

number of research papers, the topics of which ranged from the preliminary historicization of the launch of the journal during the 1950s to the visual analysis of journal covers vis-à-vis a socialist anticipation of future architectural images during the Great Leap Forward.[18] The same year also marked the thirtieth anniversary of *Time+Architecture*, which dedicated an issue to the reconsideration of architectural media, including another translated reflection by Beatriz Colomina titled "Manifesto Architecture: From *Zang Tumb Tumb* to Twitter."[19] Similarly, in January 2016, *World Architecture* published "Architectural Journals and Printed Media in China," which presented a historical overview of architectural journals starting in the early 1930s during the Republican era all the way to the present, as well as a series of interviews with those who had founded, edited, ran, and influenced and were influenced by the journals. In an era when information seems to travel in all directions instantly throughout the internet, there was little room for journals to be complacent, which led them to think of various ways of making history (such as hosting events, awards) rather than simply relying on the written words.

Architectural historian Katherine Fischer Taylor once pointed out that while architecture has long been considered a quintessential art form, "art historians find it hard to draw architecture into work on pictorial media partly because architectural and pictorial history have periodically swapped emphases, creating a dis-alignment of agendas at any given moment that makes it difficult for outsiders to dip into the literature of architecture history."[20] Yet architectural journals seemed to offer opportunities for different media to coexist, encouraging readers to contemplate the interrelationships between practice, discourses, and visual

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[18] See 刘亦师 Liu, Yishi. "《建筑学报》创刊始末."[The Inauguration of Architectural Journal in 1954] 建筑学报 *Architectural Journal*, no. Z1 (2014): 68–73. See also 赵越 Zhao, Yue. "大跃进时期的《建筑学报》封面与社会主义想像 [The Covers of Architectural Journal and the Socialist Fantasy during the Great Leap Forward, 1958–1960]." 建筑学报 *Architectural Journal*, no. z1 (2014): 58–63.

[19] The article was originally published in *After the Manifesto: Writing, Architecture, and Media in a New Century*. Buckley, Craig, ed. Columbia University Press, 2015.

[20] Taylor, Katherine Fischer. "Architecture's Place in Art History: Art or Adjunct?" T*he Art Bulletin* 83, no. 2 (June 2001), 345.

representations. In response to this dynamic, the existing scholarship can be grouped into four different categories according to their methodological distinctions.

The first approach, which engages with the journals most directly, is to think of journals as collectively forming an archive. The regular accumulation of data over the progression of time and the fact that journals sought to engage first hand with their present readers (as opposed to consciously projecting certain messages for future readers) makes journals ideal sites for the archaeology of knowledge. For example, after examining the table of contents from the inaugural issue of *The Japan Architect* founded in 1956, Japanese architectural historian Fujimori Terunobu uses the journal to explore the question of "what the world architectural community was curious about when it came to Japan," which leads him to the recent works of Kenzo Tange, Japan's traditional gardens, and the country's housing projects.[21] Similarly, Liu Dongyang's "Filling Colors for the Five Black-and-White Photos on the Sixth Issue of 1958 of *Architectural Journal*" studies five photographs of the Tongji University Faculty Club published sixty years ago and probes the potential for and limitations on restoring the building to its original state based on the surviving documents as a historical exercise.[22] Although it is common for architectural historians to rely on journals as primary sources for historical information, it has been much less common for them to question the nature of the "period eye" and what is at stake when journals are used as archive. This is because there are also striking distinctions between journals and more-conventional archives, as the data from the latter are often unpublished and hidden away, waiting for later interlocutors to enact certain meanings, whereas those from the former still contain the voices of the original interlocutors. To use a journal as an archive, one has to negotiate with the interiority of the journals and strip bare the meanings on the surface and arguments of the day.

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[21] *JA 100, Winter 2016: Looking Back the 60 Years JA60th Anniversary JA60 年鑑*. 100. Shinkenchikusha, 2016, 10-11.

[22] See 刘东洋 Liu, Dongyang. "为 1958 年 6 月《建筑学报》上的 5 张黑白照片补色." [Filling Colors for the Five Black-and-White Photos on the Sixth Issue of 1958 of Architectural Journal"] *建筑学报 Architectural Journal*, no. 9 (2014): 7.

The second approach is what I call "journal as memory," a commonly adopted strategy that analyzes the etymological transformations of concepts and discourses over a period of time. Due to a journal's intrinsic public nature, this memory is often a collective and even accumulative one that is shared by contributors of the journals. A prominent example is "What They Talked about When They Talked about Modern Architecture? *Architectural Journal* and Xiangshan Hotel, 1980–1992 ," in which the author Hu Heng takes the construction of the Fragrant Hill Hotel as a significant event and studies media responses in *Architectural Journal* from 1980 to 1992 in order to understand how this particular journal interacted with the building and its reception. The author notes with some surprise how little attention was paid to the notion of "modernist architecture" the entire time, whether by the architect (I.M. Pei) himself, his fellow Chinese colleagues, or late-coming interpreters. Such a finding leads the author to conclude that the silence concerning "modernist architecture" was a deliberate calculation by both Pei and the native architects for different reasons. This is a point to which I will later return, as I want to extend the observation by going beyond the semiofficial *Architectural Journal* and explaining how Pei and his project generated controversies among different journals, illustrating the shifting grounds in architectural discourse and what the stakes behind the debate might have been.

The third method mainly samples the visual representations of architectural journals or considers them in the context of the text-image relationship, often based on the conviction that visual materials can both clarify or mythologize three-dimensional spatial experiences depending on the strategies employed. The immediacy of diagrams, photographs, collages, and graphic and layout design often runs deeper than editorial intentions and individual agency and more trenchantly captures specimens and historicity of the visual culture. The medium of the journal is really a multimedia experience and can be studied both synchronically and diachronically. Two articles coauthored by Zhou Rong and Zhou Nan are representative in this regard, as both combed through hundreds of journal covers and used statistical methods to analyze overarching patterns and possible paradigms of the different moments of architectural history. "How does a Paradigm Come into Existence: A Glimpse of the 'Media-Architecture' Ecology in

Contemporary China through the Cover Projects of *Architectural Journal* and *Time+Architecture*" presents an especially interesting comparison: these authors observe that *Architectural Journal* favored building projects done by major design institutes whereas *Time+Architecture* had a long-term propensity for "experimental architects" and later individual atelier firms.[23] The awareness of "design" became increasingly significant to the journals, which may have influenced the editors to pay more attention to other design and artistic forms such as graphic art, urban sculptures, and land art, etc. Moreover, a more fundamental rubric should deserve some scrutiny, as journals uproot images of architecture from their original contexts and engage in a complex play of intervisuality, especially when such dynamic is also a translingual and transcultural practice at the same time.

Last, a number of scholars have paid close attention to the institutional aspects of the journals, especially centering on the founding or episodes of the major reorientations of journals. "Journal as a practice and an institution" requires researchers to be rigorous in their fieldwork and to sometimes read between the lines when it comes to interviews with the figures associated with the journals. The research for this chapter certainly benefited from interviews with editors and contributors, as well as direct observation of the daily operation of the journals.

"The traditional channel for the cultural diffusion of architecture has been, and will still be for a while, the professional journals," claimed Beatriz Colomina in *Architectureproduction* in 1988, and "as architecture enters the world of the art market of shows and sales and published criticism, those involved in its production, publicization, and diffusion must critically address its changed cultural meaning."[24] The above-mentioned methods foreground the possibility of what I call "journal as method"—a way to understand the cultural program that configures architecture

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[23] See 周榕 Zhou Rong, and 周南 Zhou Nan. "'典范'是如何炼成的 从《建筑学报》与《时代建筑》封面图像看中国当代'媒体—建筑'生态." [How does a Paradigm Come into Existence, A Glimpse of "Media Architecture" Ecology in Contemporary China through the Cover Projects of *Architectural Journal* and *Time+Architecture*.] *Time+Architecture*, no. 6 (2014): 22–27.
[24] Beatriz Colomina, *Architectureproduction*, 17.

not only as a collection of material entities, but also as a conceptual infrastructure that supports the process of meaning making. Granted, as Bernard Tschumi points out, the collectivity of texts, architectural drawings, and photographs are merely paper spaces, as there is no way to recreate real architecture, especially its temporal and spatial experiences, on the printed page.[25] Yet it is through the lenses of journals that we can learn more productively about historicity—what mattered, how narratives were put together, and why they were done one particular way as opposed to many other possibilities.

What did Architectural Journals Want? A Prehistory Leading up to the 1980s Journal Boom

The Chinese term for journals such as *World Architecture* and *Time+Architecture* is *zazhi* (杂志), which can also mean "popular magazine." Derived from the Japanese term *zasshi* (雜誌), the term can cover a great variety of publications that are published periodically on topics ranging from news to academic papers, from comics to fictions.[26] Unlike in Japan, where leading architectural journals were put out by publishing houses that primarily and independently participated in the business of architectural publications, from the earliest days journals in China were often affiliated with trade guilds, officially organized, national or provincial societies, and major universities. For example, *Bulletin of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture* (中國營造學社彙刊), widely accepted as the first domestic journal with an architectural specialty in China, was founded in 1930 by the Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture. Shortly thereafter practicing architects formed their own guilds and established trade journals such as *The Chinese Architect* (中國建築) (1932) and *The Builder* (建築月刊) (1933) in major cities like Shanghai (Fig. 26). The proliferation of journals in the 1930s was generally taken as a positive sign of the professionalization of the industry and modernization of the discipline, with many contributors being from the first generation of architects to be trained in the West. They were

[25] Tschumi, Bernard. *Architecture and Disjunction*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994.
[26] 高名凱 Gao Mingkai, and 刘正谈 Liu Zhengtan. *現代汉語外來詞研究[A Study of LoanwordS in the Modern Chinese Language*]. 文字改革出版社, 1958, 334.

drawn to topics such as building materials, new and old technology and techniques, native and foreign architects, news of exhibits and the completions of new buildings, the real estate market, and advertisements for building materials. In addition to expounding on the practical aspects of architecture, many immersed themselves in various genres of writing, including translations, criticisms, book reviews, historical treatises, biographies, and technical studies, all of which contributed to the success of these early journals.

The notion of "Chinese architecture" was being cultivated in tandem with the introduction of foreign building styles and technologies in the early architectural journals. Yet the national crises and political turbulence in the 1930s and 1940s caused virtually all of the successful journals from the Republican era to cease publication. The architectural journals in the early years of the PRC era prioritized the socialist planned economy, with the quest for external information being more or less marginalized, if not outright forbidden, unless it was directly related to the improvement of engineering and technology. According to scholar Liu Yishi, even though a number of new journals with different scopes, areas of coverage, and targeted readerships were founded in the 1950—among them *Architecture* (建筑, 1954-1970), published by the Ministry of Building Construction, and *Architectural Journal* (建筑学报, 1954-present) and *Architectural Translations* (建筑译丛, 1954-1960), published by the Architectural and Construction Society of China with official backing—they gradually lost their distinctive features and became one homogenized voice once myriad political movements emerged.[27] Contemporary scholar Kerry Fan confirms this shifting dynamic between politics and architecture in journals:

> Socialist ideology has represented China's official cultural attitude since 1949. It has denied a large part of domestic cultural inheritance and rejected most contemporary developments in the arts and humanities of the West. This ideology, while undoubtedly leaving its imprint on buildings, has also strongly influenced the literature of architecture.…During the first three decades, the

[27] See 刘亦师. "新中国建筑期刊业之肇基时期(1954-1966 年)." [The Emergence of Chinese Architectural Periodicals in the People's Republic, 1954-1966] *Architect 建筑师*, no. 6 (2014), 99–107.

> journal experienced intensive interactions between scholarship and politics, which [were] in many ways more comprehensive than the actual buildings for understanding Chinese socialist architecture.[28]

In this context, Chinese readers were exposed to the international architecture scene in a sporadic, limited fashion, which can be observed in the generic article titles such as "Introduction to the Design of Workers' Lounges outside China" (1956, no. 6), "New Trends in Soviet Architecture" (1956, no. 8), and "On the Architectural Theories of the West"(1959, no.1).[29] Moreover, a selective and uneven representation of the world prevailed from the 1950s toward the end of the Cultural Revolution, mostly favoring countries that were socialist or in the third world.[30] While some professors from universities were still able to comment on architectural developments in capitalist countries, they often did so through the lens of unspecified Soviet Union sources and adopted a critical, if not straightforwardly negative, rhetoric. This was due to a self-conscious double coding that tried to highlight the technological achievements in the West and condemn the banalization and commodification in postwar modern architecture in capitalist societies at the same time. It was commonly argued that the endless competition between firms and market-driven forces neutralized any social awareness on the part of individual progressive architects and rendered the modernist movement nothing but lip service.[31]

If attitudes toward the West can be described as patronizing at best in the 1950s and 60s, they easily escalated into hostile during the height of the Cultural Revolution. This is evidenced in the reception of Michelangelo Antonioni's documentary film *Chung Kuo, Cina* (China). The director's ethnographic documentary, based on his first encounter with the socialist China, was a seemingly calm and poetic portraiture of the country, yet it soon ran into severe pushback from

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[28] Fan, Kerry S. "Socialist Ideology and Architecture: A Study of the Chinese Architectural Journal." *Thresholds*, no. 17 (1998), 36–42.

[29] See 蒋维泓 Jiang Weihong. "国外生活间简介." [Introduction to the Design of Workers Lounge outside China] *建筑学报 Architectural Journal*, 1956, and 沙洛诺夫, and 王炳仪. "苏联建筑的新趋向."[New Trends in Soviet Architecture] *建筑学报 Architectural Journal*, 1956.

[30] After the Sino-Soviet relationship deteriorated in 1960, the coverage shifted towards other Eastern Bloc members and developing countries in Africa and Latin America.

[31] See 顾启源. "资本主义国家现代建筑的若干问题."[Issues of Modernist Architecture in Capitalist Countries.] *建筑学报 Architectural Journal*, no. 11 (1962).

the official and professional media alike. Not long after resuming publication following a seven-year hiatus between 1966 and 1973, *Architectural Journal* joined the chorus of criticism. Contributors accused Antonioni and his crew of being "anti-China, anti-Communist, and anti-revolutionary," because the movie deviated from course predetermined by the local cultural officials and included footage of actual living conditions and less-developed parts of Beijing and Shanghai (Figs. 27-28). What these journal articles demonstrate is not so much Antonioni's refusal to represent Chinese cities and society as the socialist utopia per the wishes of the Chinese officials, but an isolationist attitude toward cultural exchange on the part of the Chinese, or what Umberto Eco called a "profoundly different experience of modernity and politically conscious visual aesthetic."[32] Furthermore, given the fact that the public screening of the film was banned until 2004 and many critics probably did not have firsthand access to it, it is safe to assume that neither endorsement nor criticism of the film were based on the work itself, but were dependent on a simple judgment of how it related to the existing, politicized party line.

Anticipating a New Mediascape: Journals in the Age of Transition

The end of the Cultural Revolution marked a watershed for intellectual life in China, as many began to actively seek depoliticization in specialized knowledge and Western information in various cultural forms such as films, novels, poetry, the visual arts, and last but not least, architecture.[33] It is a common misconception that the new interests in remapping the global architectural scene emerged with the establishment of new journals. In fact, *Architectural Journal* initiated the transformation. A long article titled "The Architectural Design of Museums and Exhibition Halls Outside China" that appeared in the first issue of 1979 of the journal was a

[32] Umberto Eco, "De Interpretatione, or the Difficulty of Being Marco Polo," *Film Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 4, Summer 1977.
[33] See 甘阳 Gan Yang, Preface in *八十年代文化意识* [The Cultural Consciousness in the 1980s]. 2006, 5-10.

study led by a research group at Tsinghua University on exhibition architecture.[34] It highlighted a number of examples constructed in the postwar era, ranging from the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York to the Centre Pompidou in Paris, from the less-conventional Hakone Open-Air Museum in Japan to the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City. The criteria for selecting examples seemed to be purely "architectural," focusing on the new typologies and recent subdivision of the umbrella term "museum," and the various strategies of siting, overall plan, and spatial arrangement according to different functions.

Indeed, some faculty in the major architectural programs within universities—many of which had yet to become architectural schools at the moment—were able to gradually resume teaching and research following the end of the Cultural Revolution. More importantly, for those who had been labeled as "politically problematic" during the Cultural Revolution and had not yet had their names rehabilitated, editorial work and publishing were a plausible alternatives to teaching, especially because the demand for new information was skyrocketing.[35] It also became clear to them that relying solely on domestic sources during the pre-1978 years would not be enough and that the systematic introduction of foreign information was inevitable. In 1979, after purchasing a phototypesetting machine and an offset printing press, Tsinghua University internally published two trial issues of *World Architecture* and the architectural program at Tongji University in Shanghai quickly followed by publishing *Architecture Culture* the next

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[34] See 清华大学建工系博览建筑研究小组 Research Group of Exhibitionary Architecture in the Department of Architectural Engineering at Tsinghua University. "国外展览馆、博物馆的建筑设计." [The Architectural Design of Museums and Exhibition Halls Outside China] 建筑学报 Architectural Journal, no. 2, 1979. See also 梁鸿文 Liang Hongwen and 朱纯华 Zhu Chunhua. "国外展览馆、博物馆的内部设计." [Interior Design for Exhibition Halls and Museums in Foreign Countries]. *建筑学报 Architectural Journal*, no.4, 1979.

[35] For example, the faculty members at Tsinghua University, including Lyu Zengbiao 吕增标, Zeng Zhaofen 曾昭奋, Tao Dejian 陶德坚, Zhou Buyi 周卜颐, and Chen Zhihua 陈志华, all became the founding members of and core contributors to *World Architecture*. See 叶扬 Ye Yang, and 天妮 Tian Ni. "曾昭奋访谈."[Interview with Zeng Zhaofen] 世界建筑 World Architecture, no. 1 (2016), 70–73.

year; the latter is considered to be the precursor of *Time+Architecture,* which was established in 1984.[36]

According to Zeng Zhaofen, one of the founding members and the editor-in-chief of *World Architecture* from 1985 to1995, the editors had a very modest vision for the periodical at the start, which was to extract information from foreign books, catalogues, and magazines in the library collection at Tsinghua University and share it with students and professionals. They saw themselves as "porters of information" and the journal's primary mission as being "an archival service that channel[ed] new updates, discourses, and projects [of international architecture] in a timely and objective manner."[37] This mission was duly reflected in the two trial issues of *World Architecture* in 1979, each of which featured examples of recent works that for the most part had been completed and covered thoroughly in Europe and America. The first issue included buildings such as the Centre Pompidou in Paris, the National Theatre in London, and the Citicorp Center in New York and architects such as John Portman, and Philip Johnson. The second, was a special issue focusing on more than twenty works by I.M. Pei and his partners (Fig.29). In addition to introducing projects, both issues included translated critiques of buildings and architects, reflective pieces on recent history and education; the second issue even discussed the administrative structure and general workflow inside Pei's firm.

The official launch of *World Architecture* in October 1980 largely followed on this early endeavor by presenting content across different categories, including the straightforward introduction of projects (in a portfolio style with architectural drawings, photographs, and terse, descriptive texts); updates on technologies (building materials and structural knowledge for various typologies) and techniques (including tips for design and representation); criticism, history, and theory; and a back-matter section that included news, reviews, correspondence, and

[36] See 梅尘 Mei Chen, "为我的诺言而写 [For the Sake of My Promise]," *World Architecture*, no. 5 (1990). Also see 叶扬, 天妮, "曾昭奋访谈 [Interview with Zeng Zhaofen]," *World Architecture*. no.1 (2016).
[37] Ibid., 70.

sometimes skillful sketches, landscape and urbanscape photos, and other such content that could appeal to both general and professional readers.[38] For each issue, the majority of the material was organized around a central topic. The topics ranged from specific building typologies to overviews of a city or a region to individual architects and their body of work, reflecting the shifting focuses and interests of the in-house—and in some cases guest—editors, who were mostly professors of architecture. In the 1980s the journal navigated themes such as hospitality, sports, and high-rise architecture from a technological point of view and housing from social and functional points of view and in the 1990s themes such as urban renewal, vernacular architecture, and heritage preservation were taken up. Architects such as I.M. Pei, Kurokawa Kisho, Arata Isozaki, Frank Lloyd Wright, James Stirling, and Paul Andreu each received a special issue between 1980 and 2000. Other contemporary architects who were frequently mentioned include, in chronological order, Philip Johnson, John Portman, Louis Kahn, Robert Venturi, Charles Moore, Kenzo Tange, Oscar Niemeyer, Le Corbusier, Frank Gehry, Michael Graves, Aldo Rossi, Ando Tadao, Peter Eisenman, Charles Correa, and a mixture of modern masters and contemporary rising stars. For many of them, this coverage served as their debuts in Chinese media.

By contrast, the Tongji-based journal *Architectural Culture* demonstrated a rather different scope from the outset. It was arguably the first "little magazine" in post-socialist China because the publication was not only short-lived and self-published, but also itself a form of experimentation.[39] The editorial features and the selection of materials showcased a careful

[38] Some of the recurring columns included (1) "Architectural Technologies," (2) "Architectural Economics," (3) "Architectural Education," (4) "Renowned Architects," (5) "All Around the Globe," (which tended to feature an architectural tour around a city, such as Paris, Singapore City, and Stockholm), (6) "Readers, Writers, Editors" (correspondence and feedback), (7) "Architectural Drawings and Illustrations," and (8) "Architectural News." After 1982, the sections of "Urban Planning Design," "Book Reviews," and "History and Theory" were also added as regular features.

[39] The term "little magazine" originated in literary history as a term to describe progressive journals and was recontextualized to refer to printed media on architecture during the 1960s, as a cultural product in response to the changes of the time and the proliferation of avant-garde

consideration of the newly defined paradigm of "*jianzhu wenhua*" (建筑文化, "architectural culture"), a compound word that was not used before the 1980s, let alone as a title for a journal. The trial issue—which turned out to be the only issue—was especially sensitive to two broad topics: regional building traditions and foreign, modernist practices. The former encompassed articles about vernacular traditional houses in Suzhou, a survey of modern monuments and its relationship with traditional steles, the art of bonsai (as a miniature landscape), and even an architectural reconstruction of the fictional building site Rongguo Residence from the classical novel *Dreams of the Red Chamber*, whereas examples of the latter were a reflection essay by Feng Jizhong, the dean of the architectural program at Tongji University, after his visit to the Federal Republic of Germany; a translated essay on the development of modern architecture in Japan by professor Muramatsu Teijirō from the University of Tokyo; an essay on the building culture in Yemen; and the notes from a public speech delivered by I.M. Pei at Tongji. The inclusion of artistically composed photography and ink brush and watercolor paintings of landscapes and still lifes further expressed a growing ambition to link architecture with the visual arts, a tendency generally absent in the previous decades due to the association of the arts with the bourgeoisie and perceived deviation from the state dictum of "utility, economy, and [if condition permits,] beauty." This new outlook was to some extent a reflection of the research and personal interests of professors and students at Tongji University, who made up the majority of the journal's contributors, but more importantly it indicated a growing desire to search for possible meanings of "architectural culture," a domain neglected in daily design work.

The vision of an expanding geography and chronology for architecture, together with the exploration of sources from traditional to popular culture and from other artistic media to other cultures, was retained in *Time+Architecture* when it was founded in 1984, despite the changing

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architectural practice. The phenomenon has been documented and discussed in Colomina, Beatriz, Craig Buckley, and Princeton University, eds. *Clip Stamp Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines 196X to 197X*. M + M Books 1. Barcelona: Actar, 2010. See also Brown, Denise Scott. "Little Magazines in Architecture and Urbanisms." Journal of the American Institute of Planners 34, no. 4 (July 1968), 223–33.

personnel and the emergence of an editorial committee comprised of academics, architects, and local government officials. The new title emphasized both the timeliness of the journal and an increasing sensitivity to history and contemporaneity as an oppositional position toward the unchanging, one-cure-for-all rhetoric of the "national style" (*minzu fengge* 民族风格) that was prevalent in official journals.[40] The commitment to regionalist architecture instead—not only the traditional gardens found in the Jiangnan region where Shanghai is located and the more recent, so-called "Shanghai School," but also contemporary vernacularism elsewhere (e.g. Mario Botta's works in the Ticino region of Switzerland and modern, autochthonous Singaporean architecture)—generated a considerable amount of critical attention and became a trademark for the journal.

Both *World Architecture* and *Time+Architecture* took advantage of their association with their respective home institutions, benefiting from editors' personal networks as well as from events such as symposia, competitions, and public speeches given by visiting scholars and foreign architects at the universities. *World Architecture* even brought in guest editors to take the lead from time to time to organize the contents around their specialized subjects. Other shared commonalities between these two journals—and a major difference from the journals with official support—were the financial uncertainty and growing market competition they faced beginning in the early 1980s, despite their popularity and growing number of circulation.[41] *World Architecture* ran out of money with the publication of the second overall issue and had to rely on funding and labor provided by the Beijing Institute of Architectural Design; the

[40] In the inaugural issue, the editorial board opened with the statement that they were "trying to change the formulaic understanding of architecture and challenge the absolutism by invigorating the discipline with new references and anticipating the future directions." See "To Readers" *Time+Architecture*, 1984, vol.1, no. 1.

[41] According to Zeng Zhaofen, the circulation of *World Architecture* skyrocketed from 400 with the trial issue to 40,000 with the official first issue, reaching 75,000 per issue in the 1990s. According to Ding Guanghui, the *Time+Architecture* had a circulation of 20,000 to 30, 000 copies per issue on average. In comparison, the *Oppositions* had a circulation number of 2,000 to 3,000 on average during its heyday. See 叶扬 and 天妮. "曾昭奋访谈." [Interview with Zeng Zhaofen]: 70–73.

periodical's retail price rose over the years, from 0.65 yuan in 1980 to 2.95 yuan in 1989 to 5.3 yuan in 1993 (when overseas distribution began) to 20 yuan in 1996, though it was in part due to the improvement of the printing quality and increased number of color images.[42] Similarly, although originally conceived of as a quarterly, *Time+Architecture* struggled financially throughout the 1980s and could only publish once or twice a year early on. It was not until 1988 when the East China Architectural Design and Research Institute and the Shanghai Institute of Civil Architectural Design and Research became cosponsors, that the planned frequency of publication was realized.

In sum, the flourishing of architectural journals from 1980 to 2000 was a result of the growing demand for new information and the liberating dynamic of the market, which called for a diversification of architectural media with different foci and specialties. Both *World Architecture* and *Time+Architecture* can be seen as exemplary cases that found their niche and survived the challenges of economic competition and shifting political and cultural circumstances: both were conceived as purely academic products to fill the vacuum of knowledge created by the Cultural Revolution, but were compelled to retool and partner with local design institutes in order to keep going. Therefore, it is difficult to determine whether these journals were academic, professional, popular, or a mixture of all three. Meanwhile, it is also important not to take their historical trajectories for granted, as trial and error took place constantly that affected the missions, content, scopes, and even worldviews of the publications. The next three sections will present more concrete examples of how different journals influenced the ongoing architectural discourses and design thinking regarding the following topics:

1. The new design and visual strategies that resonated with the new messages, both helping to bridge the information gap and establish a mediascape that changed the way architecture was looked at and experienced.

[42] According to Lyu Zengbiao, Beijing Institute of Architectural Design became the co-sponsor for *World Architecture* and took charge of the advertising business of the journal. See "《世界建筑》20 年寄语" *World Architecture*, no. 10 (2000): 21-24.

2. The emergence of architectural criticism through the case study of the reception of I.M. Pei throughout the 1980s.
3. The rise of history and theory by way of translations in the architectural journals, with the example of the representation of modernism/postmodernism in the 1980s and the early 1990s.

Curating a Worldview

The emergence of the new architectural journals did not mean just the introduction of new content. The new reading experiences generated by a more organic organization of different visual, aesthetic, and medial repositories had an impact on the journals' audiences that was no less profound, especially because the transmission from foreign sources to Chinese productions was frequently done in an immediate, unprocessed fashion. The transformations of graphic design, the creative use of photography, and the expanding interests in modern and contemporary art within urban contexts were some of the key changes. While the new journals were undoubtedly platforms that channeled new information and ideas, they also managed to exercise their own agency in interpreting the shock of the new by exploring the medium specificity of the journal in an innovative and efficacious way.

During the formative years of these new journals, the visual similarities with their international peers can sometimes be quite striking. The most telling example can be observed by comparing the internally published trial issue of *World Architecture* in 1979 and its prototype, the January issue of the Japanese journal *A+U(建築と都市)* in 1976. Both feature the works of I.M. Pei and Partners; furthermore, the bulk of the layout design and the majority of the project photographs of the former were directly reprinted from the latter by using the newly acquired phototypesetting and offset printing machine. For example, if one looks at the spread pages of 96–97 in *World Architecture* and those of 120–21 in *A+U*, the layout and the photographic representations of architectural models and renderings of the Collins Place (a mixed-use development complex) in Melbourne, Australia, are identical, except that in the far left column,

the brief introduction in Japanese and English in *A+U* appears only in Chinese in *World Architecture*. Similarly, the following page of *World Architecture* features four interior shots and two axonometric drawings in the exact same way as they appear in *A+U* (Figs. 30- 31). While it was problematic for a new journal to plagiarize both the content and design of foreign journals, doing so meant the Chinese editors had direct exposure to a more established paradigm and could approach their standard and workflow in a more deliberate way. To be specific, the editors could have conceived of the entire layout more integrally, as opposed to the traditional two-step process of laying out textual materials first and then inserting images as illustration. Crossover, full bleed, and color inserts were among the visual techniques were commonly adopted in demonstrating the architectural achievement and diverse urbanscape beyond China. This unaltered, photojournalist style resonated well with the journal's mission as "an archival service" and a cultural mediator and was rewarded with unforeseeable popularity.

The heavy dependence on photographs in foreign journals such as *A+U* became an aesthetic benchmark for *World Architecture,* as the immediacy conveyed through photographs lent the journal great appeal among readers to the extent that some would simply purchase it for the visual sensation. Drawings and sketches were commonly understood as an indication of technical prowess and artistic taste on the part of both the author/designer and the editors, whereas photographs were seen as more mechanical and less indicative of the authorial touch of the hand. This dichotomy was most revealing in the cover design of the architectural journals. Taking the state-sponsored *Architectural Journal* as an example, prior to the 1970s, black-and-white and color photographs, architectural drawings, and hand-drawn images were all employed for cover designs, sometimes in combined forms to create rather sophisticated collages (Fig.32). The sophistication and bourgeoisie tendencies disappeared completely once the Cultural Revolution began. Instead, full-color photographs that stressed the monumentality of monolithic buildings became the dominant mode of representation after the journal resumed publication in 1973, which stripped away any design features and graphic richness (Fig.33). In 1980, when things began to return to normal, perspectival section drawing, aerial sketches, and literati-style

landscape drawings also made their way back to the covers (Fig. 34). According to scholars Zhou Rong and Zhou Nan, technical drawings, architectural renderings, and monochromatic backgrounds often overshadowed the use of photographic reproductions of completed projects in the early decades of *Architectural Journal*. The choice of media coincided well with the shifting political tides, as the cover design swung back and forth between an elitist taste of line drawings on monochromatic backgrounds capturing the often-nuanced design features in a way that reflected elite tastes on the one hand, and photo-centric representations that accentuated proletariat candidness and buildings' heroic and monumental aspects on the other.[43]

Editors from *World Architecture* rejected this stereotypical use of photography and by extension the dichotomous understanding of photography and architectural drawings altogether. The fact that photography became the primary communicative tool for *World Architecture* and dominated cover design from the outset was not merely a testament to technological improvement or foreign influence. Photography no longer implied lowbrow comprehensibility or sentimentalism, but rather a sense of instantaneity and of the ability to collapse the physical and psychological distance between China and the rest of the world. For example, all the buildings featured on the covers from the first two years had been completed within the previous twelve years, including the Sydney Opera House (1973), Marina City (1968) and the Sears Tower (1973) in Chicago, Sogetsu Kaikan (1977) in Tokyo, and the East Building, National Gallery of Art (1978), and the Crystal Cathedral (1980) in Orange County, California (Fig. 35). It was valuable to showcase the international outreach and representational authenticity as much as possible, especially when international travel was still considered a luxury, if not an impossibility, for most Chinese people. A sleek geometric or organic form, transparency and reflectiveness created by the latest materials and finishes, buildings' reaction to natural lighting, and the surrounding urbanscape could all be captured in a single frame and accessed by

[43] See 周榕 Zhou Rong and 周南 Zhou Nan "《建筑学报》封面图像学研究."[An Iconological Study of the Covers of Architectural Journal]. 建筑学报 *Architectural Journal*, no. z1 (2014): 32–39.

enthusiastic readers. While it was not uncommon for architects to have a critical view of photography and favor hand-drawn sketches on the grounds that the former seemed much more passive in the registering and construction of meaning, *World Architecture* was not simply subjugated to "letting the camera do all the seeing." Rather, the journal consistently curated photographs to engage with architecture as an experience rather than as a design product conceived in a vacuum. The coverage on the Vietnam Veterans Memorial is a good example: Lin's conceptual drawing was supplemented with three photographs, including both aerial shots from above and a close-up taken from ground level, which indicated how the structure could be interacted with in person and its contextual relationship with other surrounding monuments nearby (Fig.21). As Beatriz Colomina points out, "[I]n the terms conditioned by the logic of mass media, a photograph does not have a specific meaning in itself but rather in its relationship to other photographs, the caption, the writing, and the layout of the page."[44] With an unfamiliar world beyond both the producers and recipients of the message, the polysemy and continuity of photographic images helped reduce the otherwise complicated and inscrutable contextual information so that the formal spectacle was foregrounded, which turned architecture into a medium of attention. This visual paradigm became overwhelmingly successful and became the go-to mode of representation for other journals established in the 1980s, including *Time+Architecture* and *New Architecture*. Even *Architectural Journal* abandoned its preference for drawings and became more invested in photography toward the end of the 1980s.

On some occasions, the unspecific nature of photography served as a buffer zone between editorial progressiveness and lack of information. It could even be a coping mechanism with regard to the ever-changing official censorship system: the use of photos in a nondescriptive manner bypassed sensitive issues that could not be addressed in written form. The coverage of Maya Lin's Vietnam Veterans Memorial as described at the beginning of this chapter serves as

[44] Colomina. "Le Corbusier and Photography." 6-23.

the best case. By soft-pedaling the subject through a reliance on photographs, the editors were able to defer any covert political readings while still curating a particular view of the world.[45]

Receiving I.M. Pei: Self, Other, or the Third Path

In the first trial issue of *World Architecture,* Wu Liangyong (吴良镛), the chair of the Department of Architecture and Civil Engineering at Tsinghua University, mentioned that two major events had occupied the headlines of the architectural media in the summer of 1978 during his official visit to the United States. The first was Philip Johnson's speech upon acceting the Gold Medal of the American Institute of Architects, in which he shared his opinions on several of the latest tendencies of the discipline, especially postmodernism, and the second was the unveiling of I.M. Pei's East Building of the National Gallery of Art. As a result, the first two issues of the journal duly presented works by Johnson and Pei, respectively, with the second issue exclusively dedicated to a survey of the projects of Pei and his company up to the present time. It was of little surprise that the United States became a heavily favored "other" in the new era, despite having been neglected previously by the architectural media, and it was hardly accidental that Pei was the first individual to receive comprehensive scrutiny by architects in China, given his huge business success in the United States and his biographical background in China. During the next fifteen years of the journal boom, no one received more critical attention than Pei, with the topics covered ranging from his life story and personal anecdotes to his design philosophy and his business model. An indisputable focal point was his homecoming debut, the architectural experiment with the Fragrant Hill Hotel (香山饭店), which sparked diverse, even polarizing, opinions across the board. More importantly, the critiques of and debates about Pei's work developed into a prolonged dialogue, valorizing new perspectives and criteria of evaluating architecture beyond the simple paradigm of "utility, economy, and beauty," while freeing the

[45] See 曾昭奋, "《世界建筑》情结" [Complex of *World Architecture*]." 105.

genre of architectural criticism from dogmatic, highly politicized readings or the grand narrative commonly found in contemporary textbooks of architectural history.

The connection between Pei and China was more than nominal even before he completed any projects in China, because he served as the de facto cultural liaison between China and the United States. After leading a group from the American Institute of Architects (AIA) on an official visit to China in 1974 as part of the rebuilding of the Sino-U.S. relationship, Pei hosted a reception dinner for Deng Xiaoping during the latter's first tour of the United States in 1979, which saw Deng visit the newly opened East Building.[46] At this point, Pei was being sought after by the Chinese government to design a high-rise building in central Beijing as a statement piece testifying to Deng's commitment to modernize the country. Rejecting the initial invitation, Pei decided to instead accept the commission of creating a resort hotel in the scenic Fragrant Hill in the outskirts of Beijing. The resultant 325-room, low-rise hotel opened its doors to the public toward the end of 1982, with the completion marking the beginning of its further conflation of symbolic meanings and controversies (Fig. 36). It was the journals that played a pivotal role by providing outlets for public opinion, publicizing feedback from various sources, and forming different camps in accordance with the journals' predetermined or newly adopted values. Unlike its contemporaries such as the Queli Hotel (阙里宾舍，completed in 1985), which featured a typical premodern style with multiple gabled roofs with tiles, and the Great Wall Hotel (长城饭店，completed in 1983) in Beijing with its unambiguous, high-rise, curtain-walled, international style, Fragrant Hill Hotel created a more cognitively challenging case for Pei's Chinese colleagues, because of its multivalent meanings and its rejection of the existing dichotomy of traditional and Chinese on the one hand and modern and Western on the other (Figs. 37-38).

The now-seemingly insignificant typology of hospitality architecture played a pivotal role during the country's early years of economic reform. The construction of international hotels not only anticipated a rise in international tourism, but also demonstrated the strong desire for

[46] See "美国建筑师代表团访问我国." [The Delegation of American Architects Visited China] *建筑学报 Architectural Journal*, no.3. 1974.

synchronization with international standards of investing in, building, and operating businesses. The emergence of this particular typology embodied the state's attempt to shift gear from an autocratic, planned economy to a market-driven system. The joint-venture law passed by the Chinese government in July 1979 cleared the potential obstacles for foreign corporations to partner with the government and hotel development projects such as the Jianguo Hotel (建国饭店) and the Great Wall Hotel—both in central Beijing—became the first sites for experimentation, financially, socially, and architecturally, because their appearances differed radically from the surrounding urban environment and the hotels served as a contact zone where encounters between foreign visitors and Chinese people were possible. As Cole Roskam rightfully points out, "[I]magined as a kind of economic threshold and political quarantine—a space through which early economic modifications could be made visible without any visible signs of political duress—the typology quickly began to dominate Chinese architectural discourse over the course of the 1980s."[47]

From the outset, the Fragrant Hill Hotel defied a straightforward interpretation and embodied an alternative vision that was imbued with a different, perhaps more ambitious élan. However, Pei's vision did not win unanimous acclaim as one might anticipate, but instead generated heated debates and mixed reviews, with a spectrum of reactions and even challenges in different journals. Interestingly, *Architectural Journal*, *World Architecture* (along with the Wuhan-based journal *New Architecture 新建筑*), and *Time+Architecture* approached the Fragrant Hill Hotel and Pei's other projects from three different angles: the overarching Chineseness, the deep-seated commitment to modernism, and the attempt to concretize regional traditions, respectively. The competing views not only demonstrated the profound nature of the building design, but also reflected the divergent values that existed within the architecture world in China at the time.

[47] See Roskam, Cole. "Envisioning Reform: The International Hotel in Postrevolutionary China, 1974–1990." *Grey Room* 58 (January 2015). 85-111.

The discussions about the project were well-documented in several journals even before the project's completion and included transcriptions from the public speeches Pei delivered during his visit to China, as well as articles penned by his friends and colleagues.[48] In one article published in 1980, Pei expressed his aversion to parachuting a generic modernist design into the historical part of Beijing as the other joint-venture enterprises had done in the recent years. Nor did he feel that directly invoking popular features from traditional Chinese architecture such as a "big roof" was a viable option.[49] Claiming that "the belatedness in the development of China's modern architecture could be seen as a blessing in disguise, because blindly learning from the West could be just as dangerous, as proved by many cities in East and Southeast Asia," Pei envisioned the Fragrant Hill Hotel to be more than a project of its own, but rather a litmus test for the future of modern architecture in China.[50]

Responding to Pei's statement, an article titled "Fragrant Hill Hotel: A Case of Searching Vernacularized Chinese Architecture" appeared in *Architectural Journal* that offered a detailed analysis of how a modern hospitality architecture could make a connection with a regionalist building tradition in subtler ways.[51] The author, Wang Tianxi (王天锡), who was working in Pei's New York office as an intern at the time, explained that the entire building complex together with the gardens spread alongside the hillside finds its trace in the spatial arrangement of a classical Suzhou Garden, which Pei knew well from having lived in one till the age of

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[48] See 彭培根 Peng, Peigen. "从贝聿铭的北京'香山饭店'设计谈现代中国建筑之路."[From I.M. Pei's Fragrant Hill Hotel in Beijing to the Direction of Modern Architecture in China] 建筑学报 *Architectural Journal*, 1980. See also 王天锡 Wang Tianxi. "香山饭店设计对中国建筑创作民族化的探讨[On the Design of Fragrant Hill Hotel and its Influence on Nationalization of Chinese Architecture]" 建筑学报 *Architectural Journal*, 1981.

[49] See I. M. Pei 贝聿铭谈他的建筑设计思想 [I.M. Pei on His Design Philosophy], *建筑文化 Architectural Culture*, no. 1 (1981), 102.

[50] See 市明 Shiming. "贝聿铭谈建筑创作侧记." [I.M. Pei on Architecture Design], *建筑学报 Architectural Journal*, 1980, 19.

[51] 王天锡 Wang Tianxi. "香山饭店设计对中国建筑创作民族化的探讨 [On the Design of Fragrant Hills Hotel and its Influence on Nationalization of Chinese Architecture]" 建筑学报 *Architectural Journal*, 1981.

sixteen. From the exterior, the key palette of Jiangnan vernacular residential houses, including the white façade and gray tiled roof, was reflected in the white stucco embedded with trelliswork and gray tiles as decoration. Some even made the argument that the building elevation recalled the façade of Jianzhen Memorial Hall (1973), which in turn had borrowed its exterior from a Tang Dynasty Buddhist temple, whereas the diamond- and plum-shaped windows were once again a clear reference to the Jiangnan Garden (Fig. 39).[52]

The most outstanding design move for the interior was to open up the main lobby as a four-story atrium, a feature not fundamentally different from what Pei had done for the East Building of the National Gallery or what John Portman termed as a "shared space," both of which were trending topics in Chinese journals.[53] Not finding a spatial equivalent to the large atrium space within the lexicon of traditional Chinese architecture, Pei came up with the solution of deliberately treating this inside space as if it were an outside courtyard, incorporating the exterior gray-brick decoration motif in the atrium design and blurring the inside-outside boundary by employing a skylit roof. The glass roof and triangular trusses appear to sit on top of an open space enclosed by four surrounding walls, reminiscent of the traditional Chinese Siheyuan (or courtyard house) with garden features such as bamboo trees, rocks, ponds, and even a screen wall (影壁 *yingbi*) with a moon gate carefully arranged. The shape of the triangular trusses, several authors argued, reminded them of the traditional hipped-gable roof (Fig.40). On a different occasion, Wang even maintained that the Astor Chinese Garden Court in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City was another recent example of the marriage of a traditional Chinese spatial experience with a glass skylight illuminating a central atrium (Fig. 41).[54] These well-calculated moves all seemed to testify Pei's determination to explore the "third

[52] Ibid.
[53] See 李耀培 Li Yaopei. "波特曼的'共享空间'" [John Portman and Shared Space] in *建筑学报 Architectural Journal*, no. 6 (1980), 65–70.
[54] 王天锡 Wang Tianxi. "香山饭店设计对中国建筑创作民族化的探讨 [On the Design of Fragrant Hill Hotel and its Influence on Nationalization of Chinese Architecture]," 62. For a discussion of the Astor Court, see chapter 4 of this dissertation.

path"—something that could intrinsically manifest regional cultural specificities and fulfill its modern needs at the same time.

Granted, the rhetoric of finding the "third path" was neither new nor particularly radical. One may recall a similar claim made by Liang Sicheng in 1958, who valued "new and Chinese" as the ideal formula for socialist architecture.[55] What both excited and befuddled commentators of the time were the ways in which Pei abstracted myriads of architectural elements familiar to Chinese observers and orchestrated them to the ends of modern hospitality. Naturally, the Beijing-based *Architectural Journal* served as the leading forum and the central venue for criticism, publishing opinions from various constituencies, including architects, college professors, landscape architects, and even one hotel manager. Some criticized the siting choice of the project, stating that it was far away from both central Beijing and the nearest airport. Furthermore, despite the deliberate choice of a low-rise building, a large building complex like this would still disrupt and distract from the natural scenery while polluting the historically (relatively) undisturbed landscape. Others approached it from social and economic perspectives: a pervasive concern was that the selection of regional materials and the particular construction methods and craftsmanship (good examples were the innovative use of white stucco and the gray tiles in the facade) required for the task came at an unprecedented cost, and thus the building should by no means be seen as by and for the people, let alone as a pioneering exemplar for later projects. The fact that Pei paid only the minimum attention to the five hundred hotel staff people—to the extent that the main lobby was soon occupied by them as a space for chatting, resting, or even napping during the day—was seen as reflecting his lack of social consciousness, years of immersion in the commercial sector of an highly industrialized capitalist society, and

[55] See 梁思成 Liang Sicheng. "从'适用、经济、在可能条件下注意美观'谈到传统与革新."[From "Utility, Economy, and (When Situation Permits) Beauty" to Tradition and Innovation] *建筑学报 Architecture Journal*, no. 1 (1959), 4.

finally as a rookie mistake that would never have happened had a Chinese design team been commissioned.[56]

The strongest criticism targeted his allegedly "unsuccessful reflection of Chineseness." Some people found the association of the triangular truss with a hip-and-gable roof far-fetched. Others took issue with his decision to incorporate stylistic features from the architecture of the Jiangnan area—hundreds of miles away from Beijing—in northern China. In stark contrast, the Queli Hotel, another low-rise hospitality building located next door to the temple of Confucius in the historic city of Qufu, Shandong (also the birthplace of Confucius), was very favorably received in 1986 in *Architectural Journal*. This was not surprising, given that the architect of Queli Hotel was none other than Dai Nianci, then president of the Architectural Society of China, the organization with which *Architectural Journal* was affliated. The discussion of the "national form"(民族形式), the most popular topic in the *Architectural Journal* from 1978 on, was generating increasingly repetitive and conservative feedback, so that "what constitute[d] 'Chineseness' in architecture of the new era" was devolving into a pursuit that was less and less open-ended and stimulating. Recent scholarship has even confirmed that almost all articles published in *Architectural Journal* from the early 1980s to the early 1990s avoid mentioning "modernism" or "modern architecture" as much as possible regarding the Fragrant Hill Hotel.[57]

By contrast, as a newly founded journal with the main purpose of channeling global architectural currents to its readership, *World Architecture* had no difficulty recognizing Pei as torchbearer of postwar modernism and as being committed toward the associated social values. Despite the fact that *World Architecture* was almost exclusively dedicated to architectural developments outside China and could not (and did not) really delve into any in-depth analysis

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[56] See 村松伸 Muramatsu, Shin. *中国建築留学記* [Studying Architecture Abroad in China]. Tōkyō: Kajima Shuppankai, 1985, 83-91.

[57] See 胡恒 Hu Heng. "当他们谈论'现代建筑'时,他们在谈论什么？——1980-1992 年的《建筑学报》与香山饭店." [What They Talked about When They Talked about Modern Architecture Architectural Journal and Xiangshan Hotel, 1980-1992]. *建筑学报 Architectural Journal*, no. Z1, 2014, 40-45.

of either the Fragrant Hill Hotel or the Queli Hotel, the editors still managed to publish a translated interview of Pei in which he talked about the Fragrant Hill Hotel as showcasing Pei's commitment in modernism and his ambition to go beyond the universalizing International Style in his foray into China at the same time.[58] Aside from *World Architecture*, *Architectural Culture* (the precursor of *Time+Architecture*), *New Architecture*, and *Time+Architecture* all chose to feature I.M. Pei and/or the Fragrant Hill Hotel in their inaugural issues (in 1980, 1983, and 1984, respectively) to show off their contemporary focus and international reach. Together, these journals endeavored to break free from the state-sanctioned conservatism represented by *Architectural Journal*. For example, Zeng Zhaofen, the editor-in-chief of *World Architecture*, was among the earliest and harshest critics who warned against the revival of the historicist style, fearing that an overwhelmingly favorable review of the Queli Hotel was a sign of political maneuvering and promoting it would be backing the wrong horse.[59] Another frequent contributor to *World Architecture*, Zhou Buyi (周卜颐) from Tsinghua University, also wrote a long article, "Learning from Fragrant Hill Hotel: On the Nationalization and Modernization of Architectural Design in China," for the first issue of the journal *New Architecture* in 1983.[60] He not only offered a positive review of the Fragrant Hill Hotel, he more importantly attempted to situate the building against the backdrop of late modernism and with the works of Pei's international peers. Zhou referred to Walter Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, Louis Kahn, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Kurokawa Kisho in order to demonstrate Pei's modernist roots and his rational design method, Pei's strong romanticism notwithstanding in this case. To support his main claim, Zhou chose one axonometric drawing and an oblique perspective rendering as illustrations, types of

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[58] See 贝聿铭 I.M. Pei. "论建筑的过去与未来." [On Architecture's Past and Future] *世界建筑 World Architecture*, 1985. 71-72.

[59] See 曾昭奋 Zeng Zhaofen,《南方建筑》1987，no.3. See also 王明贤 Wang Mingxian. "1985 年以来中国建筑文化思潮纪实." In *八十年代文化意识*. 上海人民出版社, 2006. Originally published in 1988.

[60] See 周卜颐 Zhou Buyi. "从香山饭店谈我国建筑创作的现代化与民族化." [From Fragrant Hill Hotel to the Modernization and Nationalization of Architectural Design in Our Country]. *新建筑 New Architecture*, 1983.

representations that had seldom been seen before in the Chinese media, giving the building a completely modern look (Fig. 42). If one compares the latter illustration with a similar drawing published in *Architectural Journal* in 1992, which represented the design from a similar oblique perspective drawing but also included a background of a stylized landscape painting (allegedly inspired by the work of the late Ming Dynasty painter Zheng Zhong, active circa 1612–1648), the article in *New Architecture* can be seen as more invested in the modernist pedigree shared among international architects from various parts of the world whereas the article in *Architectural Journal* certainly intended to generate a more nostalgic, tradition-evoking atmosphere (Fig. 43).[61] Institutionally, it is reasonable to see *New Architecture* and *World Architecture* as having common ground, because both Zhou Buyi and Tao Dejian, *New Architecture*'s founder and first editor-in-chief, had been founding members of *World Architecture* and had been sent by Tsinghua University to Huazhong University of Science and Technology to start that institution's own journal.[62]

Differing from both the national perspective of *Architectural Journal* and the international perspective of *World Architecture*, the outlook of *Time+Architecture* yielded yet another layer of understanding of the work, with a much sharper focus on the regionalist history of architecture and local cultural identity.[63] Operating in Shanghai and inspired by the unique history and rich urban fabric the city possessed, the editors paid closer attention to the development of Shanghai's urban history and promoted the notion of "Shanghai School" over the years.[64] In this light, Pei was seen not as "complacently tolerating traditional elements and

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[61] See 杨士萱 Yang Shixuan. "贝聿铭的事业与艺术."[The Career and Art of I.M. Pei]. *建筑学报 Architectural Journal*, vol.10, 1992.

[62] See 叶扬 Ye Yang, 天妮 Tian Ni. "李晓峰访谈." [Interview with Li Xiaofeng] *世界建筑 World Architecture*, no. 1 (2016) : 84–86.

[63] See "致读者（发刊词）." [To Readers]. *时代建筑 Time+Architecture*, no. 1 (1984).

[64] See 罗小未 Luo Xiaowei. "上海建筑风格与上海文化." [Shanghai Style and Shanghai Culture]. *时代建筑 Time+Architecture*, no. 1 (1990) : 7–13. See also 沈福煦 Shen Fuxu. "海派后现代上海建筑文化." [Shanghai School Postmodern Architectural Culture] *时代建筑 Time+Architecture* , no. 1 (1990) : 7–9. In the meantime, the influence of Kenneth Frampton was

fortuitously imitating bygone aesthetic forms" but as being more conscious of the context. This became especially obvious when the journal published another article by Zhou Buyi, this time revisiting Pei's unbuilt Shanghai Museum from 1948 (Fig. 44). As Pei's graduate project at the Harvard Graduate School of Design, which was supervised by Walter Gropius, the design of the Shanghai Museum managed to pack the Chinese garden's elements such as "the bare Chinese wall" and "a small individual garden patio" into an otherwise sleek, boxy, Corbusian compound with long ramps and pilotis. Pei's treatment of the context and locality echoed Sakakura Junzo's Kamakura Museum of Modern Art, which was completed in 1951. Pei explicitly aspired to depart from the precedent set by Dong Dayou's palatial-styled Shanghai Municipal Museum (1934), who in his mind, "[had] Chinese motifs of former periods added to public buildings in a rather superficial way" (Fig. 45).[65] In their recalling of the tension between Dong's "adaptive architecture" and Pei's vernacularized modernism, the author Zhou Buyi and the editor Luo Xiaowei clearly favored the latter.[66] More importantly, the reason to revisit this 1940s design was to point out that preserving and perpetuating historical styles and treating Chineseness as a timeless mandate did more harm to Chinese architecture than good, then as now.

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unmentioned yet undeniable, as one of the editors Zhi Wenjun published separate studies of the architecture of Mario Botta, and of local innovations in Singaporean architecture of the 1980s.

[65] see 周卜颐 Zhou Buyi "正确对待现代建筑 正确对待我国传统建筑." [Correctly Treat Modern Architecture, Correctly Treat Our Country's Traditional Architecture]. *时代建筑 Time+Architecture*, vol. 2, 1986.

[66] "Adaptive Architecture" is a term coined by Jeffrey W. Cody in his study of the American architect Henry Murphy (1877-1954), who spent most of his career in China and worked on many civic, institutional, and urban projects. His most prominent contribution, the attempt to marry the Chinese palace traditions with the Ming dynasty's Forbidden City, was the most notable example with Western technology and building materials, hence "adaptive." On the career and work of Henry Murphy, see Cody, Jeffrey W. *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy's "Adaptive Architecture," 1914-1935.* Sha Tin, N.T., Hong Kong and Seattle: Chinese University Press and University of Washington Press, 2001. For Murphy's impact on Dong Dayou's Shanghai Museum, see Kuan, Seng. "Between Beaux-Arts and Modernism. Dong Dayou and the Architecture of 1930s Shanghai." In *Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts*, edited by Jeffrey W. Cody, Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, and Tony Atkin, 169–92. University of Hawaii Press. 2017.

Pei himself never publicly responded to the support and criticism voiced in the Chinese media. The closest thing to a defense of his own stance was a *New York Times* article from 1983 by Paul Goldberger titled "I.M. Pei Rediscovered China," which reported Pei's confession of his experiences of working in China, including his adaption to the local construction methods, industrial standards, and institutional/bureaucratic systems. The last-minute adjustments, occasional friction between construction workers and security guards on-site, and the inevitable compromises due to the low construction standards all contributed to the unexpected cultural shock experienced by the architect. "The Chinese have never been challenged as this project has challenged them," the architect told the critic.[67] The same was true of Pei. A Chinese translation did finally emerge, but was only published in a provincial journal, *Huazhong Architecture,* almost a year after the original newspaper article.[68]

In the end, the factionalism around the case of Pei was more a matter of intramural contention among Chinese interlocutors than an international debate that involved Pei himself. People used different journals to criticize or defend Pei according to the polarization of "orthodoxy historicism" and "modernism," when in fact his building granted neither side a guaranteed victory. Initially, Pei himself played a significant role in constructing the myth of "Chineseness" as diplomatic rhetoric to win over various Chinese clienteles. However, he encountered skepticism from his Chinese colleagues who questioned Pei's knowledge of traditional Chinese architecture and showed reluctance to see him as a legitimate heir to its prestigious legacy. The potential theoretical connection between the Fragrant Hill Hotel and Critical Regionalism was hinted at but not fully pursued, as understanding of the latter was not full-fledged among Chinese interlocutors until around 2000.[69] More interestingly, the Fragrant

[67] Goldberger, Paul. "I.M. Pei Rediscovers China." New York Times, January 23, 1983.
[68] See 保尔·戈尔特培格 Goldberger, Paul, and 毛心一 Mao Xinyi. "贝聿铭重新认识中国."[I.M.Pei Rediscovered China] *华中建筑 Architecture of Central China*, 1984.
[69] The defiance of universalizing modernist architecture as the "ground zero" for design was a manifested motivation for Pei in the case of the Fragrant Hill Hotel. Simultaneously, Kenneth Frampton offered a well-read theoretical outcry in his article "Towards a Critical Regionalism:

Hill Hotel might have suggested Pei's unannounced embrace of postmodernism. The building's undeniable decorative tendencies, its zigzagging floor plan (in order to save as many trees and squeeze in as many gardens as he could), its emphasis on historical and vernacular roots, and its lack of monumentality (monumentality being a trademark of Pei throughout his career) all showed a delicate consciousness of the history and locality of the site. However, as the next section will illustrate, the uncertain destiny of postmodernism at the time and its uncomfortable association with historicism prevented another possible reading of Pei.

In short, Pei's building did serve as a rare specimen and played a liberating role in reintroducing modernist architecture, its design methods, and relevant discourses to China in the early 1980s as evidenced by the responses of well-established and new journals. At the same time, the ideological preoccupations of those same journals affected the way in which the project was received by domestic readers—to the extent that one can even argue that they fenced off the discussion from other contemporary perspectives such as postmodernism and critical regionalism. Nevertheless, the close reading of one architectural work from different viewpoints (local, national, and global; architectonic; historical; institutional) enabled the journals to effectively exercise a new role that went beyond simply presenting works in a journalistic fashion, which prolonged the scrutiny, challenging the readymade categories such as "national form" and "modernism." Moreover, the fact that a world-renowned master of late modernism such as I.M. Pei could be squarely assessed diminished the psychological distance between China and the rest of the world and further catalyzed the interest in the plurality of architectural

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Six Points towards an Architecture of Resistance." According to Frampton, the rejection of sentimental regionalism (or populism) and the universalizing modernism had led many to search for new answers to the questions raised by Paul Ricoeur, namely "how to become modern and to return to sources." However, discussion of Frampton's theory via translation and that of another book, *Critical Regionalism: Architecture and Identity in a Globalized World,* coauthored by Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, did not appear in Chinese journals before the late 1990s. For Frampton's article, see Frampton, Kenneth. "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance." In *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture.* The New Press, 1983. For the historiographical development of understanding the term of regionalism in China, see 赖德霖. "地域性:中国现代建筑中一个作为抵抗策略的议题和关键词." 新建筑, no. 3 (2019): 6.

history and theory in the 1980s. Another source of new momentum consisted of the translated critiques from foreign critics and theorists. It is to the issue of translations that I now turn.

Modernism and Postmodernism as Translated Reality

Translation doubtlessly played a pivotal role in the transmission of information and ideas between China and the outside world throughout the entire twentieth century. The stakes, however, became exponentially higher in the 1980s, when the ideological ban on Western information and discourses related to the social science, arts, and humanities was lifted across the board after the end of the Cultural Revolution. While this change brought about an exciting sense of liberty and diversity, the feeling of belatedness, the anxiety of influence, and the desire to reclaim authority and accumulate cultural capital also arose among intellectuals. According to Keith Moxey, the asymmetry of modernity and its aesthetic cousin, modernism, seems to have been an unavoidable curse for most of those who resided in the periphery rather than a problem unique to China, and could become part of the worldview throughout the process of modernization.[70] The center-periphery struggle, which could affect either side, became foregrounded by translations. Literary scholars Steven Owens and Andrew Jones both touched upon translation and the reception of contemporary Chinese literature in the United States in order to reveal the impossibility of seeing "world literature" as a neutral, all-inclusive category. Jones even claims that "[w]orld literature, more often than not, has served as a site for the (almost invariably unequal) exchange, appropriation, and accumulation of (financial *and* cultural) capital between the West and its others. These complex transactions, in turn, hinge on the practice of translation."[71] What these scholars describe is merely one scenario with China as the periphery and the West as the center, where the unbalanced representation and partial

[70] Moxey, Keith P. F. *Visual Time: The Image in History*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013, 11.
[71] Jones, Andrew F. "Chinese Literature in the 'World' Literary Economy." *Modern Chinese Literature*, vol. 8, no. 1/2, 1994. 173.

translation is considered a result of lack of motivation and literature's various degrees of "fungibility." A reversed situation is observed by Paola Iovene, who dedicates herself to an inquiry into the gaze returned from the periphery by examining how a map of "world literature" was conceived and drawn by the Chinese literary world in the early days of the PRC era.[72] Acknowledging the pervasive existence of the sense of "belatedness," Iovene reflects on the complex processes of the spatiotemporal imagination and terms it an "anticipatory practice" that requires the constant reconfiguration of canons, centers, and the underlying criteria of promoting or censoring works. The three basic attitudes for translators (who were oftentimes the primary commentators), according to Iovene, were "endorsement, critique, and paternalistic support" beginning in the 1950s and continued to be so after the Cultural Revolution.[73] The two implications of the use of "world literature" are enlightening in relation to the notion of "world architecture," insofar as the dynamics of geopolitics and their asymmetrical application in the modern intellectual history are concerned. Rather than simply bringing the asymmetry to one's attention by asking what is being translated and what constitutes the "world" for the curious, domestic audience, this section will reflect on the agency and efficacy of translation in attempting an understanding not only of the relationship between translation and criticism written by domestic intellectuals, but also how translated concepts and discourses were integrated into the existing knowledge system in China.

From the outset, translations of "world architecture" suggested an implicit dichotomy of the self and the other, as the Chinese term "*shijie*" (世界, "world") was used interchangeably with the term "*waiguo*"(外国), literally meaning "foreign countries," as stated by Wu Liangyong in the de facto foreword in *World Architecture*'s inaugural issue. He maintained that the main task was to "learn from the historical lessons of the West and the currents of the global

[72] Iovene, Paola. ch.2 "Translation Zones: Anticipating World Literature in Socialist China" in *Tales of Futures Past: Anticipation and the Ends of Literature in Contemporary China*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014.
[73] Ibid., 46.

architecture so that one could become more self-aware and avoid repeating the same mistakes (committed by the foreign precursors)."[74] The scope of the journal was thus established as including topics beyond mainland China in order to inform domestic readers' practices and offer those readers references for comparison and professional assistance.

The necessity of engaging with the rest of the world via translation was not foreign to Chinese readers during the early years of the PRC era. The journal *Architectural Translations* (*Jianzhu Yicong, 建筑译丛*, 1954–1960) was founded in 1954 right after *Architectural Journal* was founded*,* also by the Architectural Society of China (中国建筑学会), as a response to Mao Zedong's advocacy of learning about the Soviet Union's advanced technology and experiences of industrialization via periodicals from that country. The focus was predominantly technological and topics spanned architecture design to civil engineering and construction. This effort ended abruptly in 1960, however, when the countries had a falling-out.[75] During this period, the introduction of Western architectural currents in the well-rounded *Architectural Journal* was both selective and indirect, oftentimes mediated through the lens of a Soviet perspective.[76] Also, rather than undertaking a word-for-word translation, it was far more common for authors to paraphrase and summarize foreign sources without bibliographical information from the 1950s to the end of the 1970s, a process that was often subject to authors' (often paternalistic) reinterpretation and (self)-censorship.[77] As a result, during this time readers were often presented with portrayals of Western architects who contradicted themselves by making undeliverable promises or were obsessed with seeking outlandish, extravagant forms for self-serving purposes.

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[74] 吴良镛. "研究国情,了解世界,探讨规律."[Research China's Circumstances, Understand the World, Exploring the Pattern]. *世界建筑 World Architecture*, no.1 (1980).
[75] 刘亦师, "新中国建筑期刊业之肇基时期(1954–1966 年)." [The Emergence of Chinese Architectural Periodicals in the People's Republic, 1954–1966]. 建筑师, no. 6 (2014).
[76] 大勤. "关于西方的建筑理论问题."[On Western Architectural Theories] *建筑学报 Architectural Journal*, no.1 (1959).
[77] In other words, articles in architectural journals were mostly penned by a single author, and it was hard to determine whether these authors based their works on domestic or translated materials. Separate credits to photographs, diagrams, or drawings were rarely assigned.

The only time when a Western architect or theorist appeared in a positive light was when they debunked a faulty system embedded in capitalist society such as the market economy or private ownership of the land, as did Frank Lloyd Wright, for example.[78]

According to architectural historian Chen Zhihua (陈志华), scholarly works in the 1970s were only permitted to cite domestic sources, which makes the establishment of *World Architecture* not only a timely but also a courageous and liberating endeavor.[79] The normalization of Sino-American relations, the end of the Cultural Revolution, and increasing opportunities for international travel in the 1970s all encouraged a more open attitude toward unfiltered foreign—especially Western—information. The founding of *World Architecture* was certainly one of the most notable embodiments of this trend and its inception catalyzed the improvement of translation both quantitatively and qualitatively. Translated articles regularly appeared in the journal and authors and editors were asked to include information on the original authors and sources. Foreign journals and newspapers, notably American and Japanese periodicals such as *JA, A+U, SD, New York Times, Progressive Architecture,* and *Architectural Design* became the most common sources for translation. In tandem with the end of the taboo on citing directly from European and American sources, interest in the development of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe declined decisively. For example, the fourth issue of 1984 presented a theme of Latin American architecture, with most articles translated from the French journal *Techniques et architecture* (no.334, 1981). This was a sign that Western sources had become the preferred lens for editors to present developments in other parts of the world, even the "third world."

A characteristic of *World Architecture* from the beginning was organizing each issue around a central topic. Like its Japanese predecessors *JA* and *A+U*, *World Architecture* commonly dedicated half of an issue to the introduction of building projects centered around a

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[78] 大勤. "关于西方的建筑理论问题."[On Western Architectural Theories]. *建筑学报 Architectural Journal*, 1959.

[79] See 梅尘, "为我的诺言而写[For the Sake of My Promise]," *World Architecture*, no.5(1990).

given topic, with the other half being reserved for regular columns such as criticism, discussions of technology, book reviews, and news. Translated articles often served as a first round of commentary on or theorization of the central topic. With Tsinghua University actively making its connections with foreign contributors and encouraging its homegrown scholars to go abroad, speech notes, interviews, correspondence, and solicited articles all appeared in *World Architecture*. In addition, both Chinese students who were studying abroad, and foreign students studying at Tsinghua were often asked to act as overseas liaisons by reporting on or translating texts from different countries.[80]

Three types of translated articles were most common in *World Architecture*: the technological/technical, the descriptive/informational, and the historical/theoretical. The first group aimed at presenting the latest architectural technologies, especially concerning the unfamiliar building types (e.g., the high-rise), important building materials (e.g., concrete), and special needs (e.g., hospitals, disability access) in China; the second mainly surveyed architects' careers or introduced the architecture of a specific country or region (e.g., the architecture of Hong Kong). The last group, which received the most critical attention, centered on new ideas and unpacked theoretical debates and architectural criticism that reflected the zeitgeist of global architecture. It is this group on which the rest of this section will focus.

Amidst the rejuvenated interest in history and theory, the discussion of the tension between modernism and postmodernism was the most poignantly felt and seemed to present the highest stakes for Chinese interlocutors, especially when the question was framed as an either-or choice for the future direction of Chinese architecture. It is hard to pin down the exact moment when postmodernism in the West appeared on the radar of the Chinese architectural media, as both *Architectural Journal* and *World Architecture* all tuned in around 1980 and another Tsinghua-based journal *Architect* (*建筑师*, also established in 1980), started to publish translated

[80] Foreign liaisons included 若纳当， Yung Ho Chang 张永和， Muramatsu Shin 村松伸， and Nishizawa Yasuhiko 西泽泰彦，魏克托, see 曾昭奋. "《世界建筑》志杂." [Miscellaneous about *World Architecture*], *世界建筑 World Architecture*, no. 5 (1990), 23–25.

excerpts from Robert Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (1966) and Charles Jencks's *Language of Post Modern Architecture* (1977) in installments over two years. There was some overlap in terms of the early contributors as well. However, a standardized Chinese translation for the term was first put forth in the fourth issue of 1981 of *World Architecture*, as the journal published in its correspondence column a piece that explored the connotations of each of the several existing translations. Dissatisfied with *houqi xiandai zhuyi* (后期现代主义, literally meaning "late-modernism") and *xin jianzhu houqi* (新建筑后期, "late new architecture"), the author Zhang Qinnan (张钦楠) proposed *hou xiandai zhuyi* (后现代主义) based on a similar rule of nomenclature adopted for "post-Keynesism [*sic*]" (*hou kaiensi zhuyi*, 后凯恩斯主义) in economics.[81] He further argued that this translation bore the closest meaning to "the epoch after modernism" and was thus a fitting characterization of the new paradigm that had tried to break away from modernist doctrines rather than simply rectify the existing model (Fig. 46). This translation soon prevailed and remains the standard one in Chinese to this day.[82]

Despite its early investment and interest, *World Architecture*'s overall attitudes toward postmodernism can best be described as skeptical, evidenced by the choices of translated texts from 1980 to 1985 on the topic. To name a few, Louise Ada Huxtable, Alfred Roth, and Moshe Safdie all displayed manifested a sympathy for modernist architecture and considerable concern about postmodernists' being cynical, form-seeking, or susceptible to the commodification of

[81] 张钦楠. "关于 Post-Modernism 的译法." [Translations of Post-modernism] *世界建筑 World Architecture*, no. 4, 1981.

[82] One exception should be noted here: *xiandai zhuyi zhihou* (现代主义之后, lit. "the aftermath of modernism") was used instead of *hou xiandai zhuyi* in the 1982 collegiate textbook *The Modern and Contemporary Architectural History of Foreign Countries.* But this has to do with the fact that the textbook was mostly drafted in 1979, before Zhang's proposed translation. See Liu Xianjue et al. *外国近现代建筑史* [*The Modern and Contemporary Architectural History of Foreign Countries*], China Architecture Publishing & Media Co., Ltd, 1982.

architecture.[83] While the authors conceded that various irreparable flaws of modernism were the cause of the prevalent disenchantment and thus spent a lot of time surveying the works by the so-called postmodernists, such as Michael Graves and Philip Johnson, they lamented that there was no core or coherence in terms of a shared social agenda or design language among the supporters of postmodern architecture.[84] Some of the critics even believed that it was precisely because postmodernism was defined by a shared dissatisfaction with modernism more than anything else that this ethos should be considered collectively as a critical readaption rather than a complete departure from the modernist movement. These authors also noticed that many architects of the new generation had lost confidence in using architecture as a productive means for social remedies and had become more preoccupied with creating complex forms and symbolic spectacles, both of which were of little value outside the circles of professional architecture. In short, the coexistence of political conservatism and stylistic pluralism was the tenor of the time.

In China, it was some of the senior professors from the leading architectural programs who took on the task of interpreting the various tendencies of postmodernism and trying to predict its destiny in China. Many of these scholars had studied abroad or taught and researched the history and theory of Western modernism in the 1950s and early 1960s and had been forced to end these activities during the Cultural Revolution. Wu Huanjia (吴焕加), a professor at Tsinghua University, and Luo Xiaowei (罗小未), the chief editor for *Time+Architecture* and a professor at Tongji University, were the most representative figures. Both participated in the

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[83] The translated titles are, in the above-mentioned order 赫克斯台布尔, and 黄元高. “时代的镜子——二十年来的现代建筑.” [The Mirror of Our Time], *世界建筑 World Architecture*, no. 1, 1980. 阿尔弗雷德·罗斯, and 刘小石. “建筑现状之批判.” [Critique of the Current State of Architecture] *世界建筑 World Architecture*, 1980; and 摩什·赛弗迪, and 肖伟. “玩世不恭.”[Cynicism] *世界建筑 World Architecture*, no. 4 (1982), 81–86.

[84] The discontent included the bankruptcy of the social agenda envisioned by early modernist architects who had tried to remedy urban inequality through the design of domestic and public spaces, increasingly fierce competition in the design market, and some individualistic attempts to break free from the stagnant and universalizing design language exemplified by many of the glass towers in the postwar era.

editing of the 1982 textbook, in which they devoted themselves to studying and contextualizing the development of modernism; postmodernist architecture was only allocated two pages. Unlike the textbook, where the history of foreign architecture was organized in an unequivocal, linear chronological order, *World Architecture* offered a different, more open-ended platform where prolonged engagement became possible. Luo acknowledged the existence of the problems raised by the dissidents of modernism such as Robert Venturi and Peter Blake, but also questioned the pigeonholed rhetoric of associating modernism with unchanging, monolithic matchbox designs.[85] In a different article, she further problematized the notion of "this will kill that" by relying on examples of suburban residential development in Reston, Virginia, and public housing in Melbourne, Australia (both of which she had observed on recent trips abroad), and observed the mixed influences insofar as a project "could be postmodern in form but modernist in social awareness and planning intention."[86] It was the multivalent nature of a project and the historical ground of design thinking, rather than the simple label, that mattered most to Luo, which led her to conclude that one should not write modernism off just yet. In comparison, Wu Huanjia was quite critical of postmodernism, maintaining that it was formalism par excellence and had produced projects that were nothing but "chaotic, insincere, kitschy, and derivative."[87] He then concluded that postmodernism was no more than a hodgepodge of historicism, anti-rationalism, and kitsch, despite its liberating impact on the otherwise-stagnant postwar architecture scene.[88]

The initial critical attitudes toward postmodernism did not kill off the domestic enthusiasm for the topic. Meanwhile, the ongoing debate outside China kept the keen observers in the loop and compelled them to find different perspectives, with the flourishing journals and

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[85] See 罗小未, "当代建筑中的所谓后现代主义."[So-Called Post Modernism in Contemporary Architecture] *世界建筑 World Architecture*, no.5(1983).
[86] See 罗小未, "现代派、后现代派与当前的一种倾向——兼论建筑创作思潮内容的多方面与多层次."[Modernism, Post-Modern and a New Trend Now: Multifaceted Movement] *世界建筑 World Architecture,* no.1(1985).
[87] "杂，假，俗，旧" in Chinese. See 吴焕加. "论建筑中的现代主义与后现代主义." [On Modernism and Post-Modernism in Architecture]. *世界建筑 World Architecture*, no. 2. 1983.
[88] Ibid.

their subsequent networks making the exploration more convenient and productive than ever. Starting in late 1984, *World Architecture* shifted its discursive focus from presenting building projects of alleged champions of postmodernism to contextualizing postmodernism as a larger cultural and philosophical movement with a much careful reading of its nonbuilding aspects. This change could be most tellingly observed in the changing perception of the architectural critic and historian Charles Jencks, who was widely deemed one of the most prominent and provocative spokespeople for postmodernism and most successful theorists for having extended its influences into architecture in the Anglophone world. Even though Jencks, together with his wife Maggie Keswick Jencks, a scholar of Chinese gardens, visited Beijing several times and gave a speech to the faculty at Tsinghua University in 1981, his influence only began to be felt in the second half of the 1980s with the publication of translations.[89] Throughout the 1980s, the increasing opportunities for face-to-face exchanges greatly facilitated the validation of unfamiliar theories, as they did not simply arrive in China—they had to be introduced and picked up by mindful observers. The visit to China made by Japanese architect Kurokawa Kisho in 1983 played an unexpected yet definitive role in bridging the two worlds. In an interview in *World Architecture*, Kurokawa stressed the connection between semiology and postmodernism in architecture in seeing architecture as a way of language-like communication, comprised of *parole* and *langue*, which resonated with Jencks's early advocacy of architecture's communicability.[90] Before long *World Architecture* started to publish more articles on linguistics, literary theory, and aesthetics; the editor-in-chief Zeng Zhaofen collaborated on the translation of essays from Paul Goldberger's *On the Rise: Architecture and Design in a Post Modern Age* (1983) and commissioned Li Daxia to translate Jencks's latest work, *What is Post-Modernism* (1986), all of which evidenced a shifting attitude toward postmodernism.

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[89] See "世界建筑简讯."[Newsletter of *World Architecture*] *世界建筑 World Architecture*, no. 6 (1981).

[90] See 张复合. "建筑传统与现代建筑语言——访日本建筑师黑川纪章."[Architectural Tradition and the Modern Architectural Language–Interview with Kurokawa Kisho] *世界建筑 World Architecture*, 1983.

In 1987, Zeng confidently proclaimed the take-up of postmodernism in his article "Postmodernism Has Arrived in China." On the one hand, he reaffirmed that postmodernism was not a single school with a coherent theoretical foundation and shared goal and that this very pluralism could help emancipate the minds of Chinese architects and enrich their design languages. The quick acceptance of postmodernism also testified positively to architecture's increasing autonomy in China, as well as its independence from political or ideological positions. On the other hand, he was deeply concerned about some postmodernists' strategy of incorporating classical building ornaments such as pediments and Greek and Roman columns, worrying that this would be deliberately misinterpreted by some Chinese architects who wanted to revive the "national form" by restoring the premodern appearance for modern cities. To him, the attempts to restore modern cities to a premodern outlook based on unwarranted, nostalgic, or self-Orientalizing grounds constituted a gross violation of both the existing urban fabric of Chinese cities and the progressive spirit originally championed by postmodernists:

> Since the establishment of the PRC, we have built far more new buildings than the traditional ones we preserved. Nonetheless, the new 'tradition' and new 'context' delivered by these architectural practices were invisible to those who advocate the (classical) tradition. All they can see is a rupture that could only be repaired by traditional forms and styles. That was how some of us made a hasty and anachronistic connection between Postmodernism from the West and *fugu zhuyi* (复古主义 Revivalism or Traditionalism) in China. This move completely disregards modernism and pretends it was never there. How is this not a rupture in context?[91]

In practice, not many buildings developed at the time branded themselves as postmodern projects, nor did the movement have any substantial or long-term impact on architectural and urban development other than in a few, sporadic instances.[92] It remained largely a battle of

[91] See 曾昭奋 "后现代主义来到中国."[Postmodernism Arrived in China] *世界建筑 World Architecture*, no.1. 1987. 63.
[92] Roskam, Cole. "Expanding Architectural Discourse in Early Reform-Era China, 1978–1989 ." In *Second World Postmodernisms: Architecture and Society under Late Socialism*. Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 211-225.

concepts with the journals as the primary arena.[93] Just like the epistemological challenges and political ambiguity postmodernism had represented in the West, postmodernism itself in China shifted from an unfamiliar global architectural theory with varying branches and considerable uncertainties to an influential, high-sounding yet fluid force exploitable by both the modernists and traditionalists, each of whom tried to claim interpretive authority over the other. While the debates in the architectural periodicals were predominantly academic, mainly focusing on styles rather than anything else (e.g., politics, philosophy), many came to realize how architecture was able to construct and convey meaning even without built projects. More importantly, both the "national form" and the paternalistic rhetoric of a singular prescriptive style for society were increasingly perceived as unwanted noise and irrelevant to the understanding of the architectural diversity and currents of the world in the midst of these heated debates, which would have been unthinkable in the previous decade. This was partly due to the proliferation and diversification of the journal presence.

Journals were not the only platforms for translations during the 1980s when the craving for external knowledge was peaking. Starting with the translation of *Vers une architecture* in 1981 by Wu Jingxiang (a professor at Tongji University), China Architecture & Building Press among other national and local publishing houses published in quick succession more than two dozen historical and theoretical works on modern and contemporary architecture.[94] Journals

[93] When asked by others why had Chinese architects had not designed a postmodern building, one of the most active translators, Li Daxia (李大夏), replied that the new discourses had brought with them a burden of knowledge for native architects, both old and young: "The postmodern has stirred up a huge fuss among all of us," recalled Li, "as the young looked down upon the old when the old could not fathom and handle postmodern architecture….While I tried to draw up a design or two, I didn't really know how well they would pan out, and whether the notion could take root in China." See 李大夏. "译序[Translator's Words]" from "什么是后现代主义?[What is Postmodernism?]" *世界建筑 World Architecture*, no. 4 (1987), 71.

[94] According to Ye Yang, *Vers une architecture* was published first in order to test the boundaries of censorship and ideological correctness, which explains why a number of translations did not come to fruition until 1985 and 1986 even though they had been completed already. See 叶扬 Ye Yang, interview by the author, Beijing, summer, 2018.

were, however, integral to the reception of these books in at least two ways. First, the translations frequently appeared in the journals prior to appearing in book format, sometimes as excerpts and other times in installments. Therefore, journals served as a site of rehearsal, where both the market response and quality of translations could be tested. Second, the most systematic project of translating Western architectural books was initiated and organized by Wang Tan 汪坦, an architectural historian at Tsinghua University who was also the president of *World Architecture* at the time. He selected twenty-one titles for "A Translated Compendium of Architectural Theory," and eleven of which were approved and put in print from 1986 to 1992.[95] All titles, all originally published in the twentieth century, ranged from classical general architectural histories (e.g., Nicholas Pevsner's *Pioneers of Modern Design, from William Morris to Gropius*) to landmark theoretical texts in architecture and urbanism (e.g., Robert Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture,* Jane Jacobs's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*) and covered less-discussed works or topics in architecture such as phenomenology (e.g., Steen Eiler Rasmussen's *Experiencing Architecture*) and critiques of ideology (e.g., Manfredo Tafuri's *Theory and History of Architecture*). Many of the works offered an updated view of prewar modernist architecture and departed decisively from the previously favored genres in architectural literature such as architects' own reflective or biographical writings and survey history with numerous case studies mentioned in passing.

The "translation fever" prevailed throughout the 1980s until around 1992, when the flow of production dropped off quite abruptly, with the recovery only occurring in the early 2000s, as evidenced by the quantity of translated books. One could attribute this historical phenomenon to a number of political, economic, and cultural factors, including the tightened grip over foreign

[95] The process of publishing translated works was relatively easy in the 1980s when the regulations on and awareness of copyright were loose. However, in the 1990s the translation for Jane Jacobs's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* and Christian Norberg-Schulz's *Intentions of Architecture* fell through due to the new copyright restrictions. See 包志禹. "建筑学翻译刍议."[On Translations in Architectural Studies] *建筑师 Architect*, no. 2 (2005), 75–85.

information and cultural regression after 1989 in general. But a more concrete reason was the changing legal requirements concerning copyright and more-restrictive rules imposed on unauthorized translations, as China joined both the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works and the Universal Copyright Convention in October 1992.[96] These two factors, together with the passage of the first Copyright Law of the People's Republic of China in 1990 and the implementation of the associated regulations in 1991, marked a watershed for knowledge transmission within the architectural community in China.[97] *World Architecture* was deeply affected by the new situation, as the journal had to make a series of changes that included switching from a bimonthly to a quarterly periodical and having to cover domestic subject matter, as opposed to its original scope that encompassed the world beyond China. Inevitably, these changes caused a drop in circulation.

In sum, just as observed by Cole Roskam, when "architectural ideas from around the world were imported into China in an effort to encourage its architectural community to rapidly improve both the quality and quantity of its physical and theoretical production,"[98] translations in the journals played a double role of both interpreting and re-codifying the various terminologies and discourses that were in vogue all over the world. The early reception of postmodernism among the intellectuals demonstrated a strong willingness to expand the stagnant conversation that was otherwise "socialist in content and national in form" in many non-Western countries, according to Vladimir Kulić.[99] For different reasons, there existed a skepticism of and even resistance to postmodernism from the camp of more-progressive and well-informed intellectuals as well, who saw the possible threat of the deliberate misunderstanding and misappropriation by

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[96] See 邓绍根. "《伯尔尼公约》在中国的早期传播." [*Berne Convention* and its Early Circulation in China] *出版史料 Publication Archives,* no. 2 (2006), 90–92.
[97] See 郑成思. "翻译出版外国作品的法律问题." [Legal Issues Concerning the Publication of Translated Works] 神州学人, no. 1 (1994), 44.
[98] Roskam, "Expanding Architectural Discourse in Early Reform-era China, 1978-1989." 212.
[99] Kulić, Vladimir, ed. "Introduction" in *Second World Postmodernisms: Architecture and Society under Late Socialism*. New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2018, 8.

the traditionalists or revivalists throughout the 1980s. Moreover, as observed by Vladimir Kulić, it was difficult, if not impossible, to translate and sustain the kind of cynicism and dissident culture that had given birth to postmodernism in the West directly in a postsocialist society, because "architecture is not only inherently limited in its ability to pass social criticism, but also fundamentally entangled with political and economic powers."[100] In China, the fact that private practice had yet to be a viable option for aspiring architects seems to attest to Kulić's point. With "translation fever" subsiding decisively after 1992 and the privatization of architectural design in 1994, many architects redirected their time and energy to practice. The new generation of architects, some of whom had had direct experience of studying abroad, started to question the efficacy of mediated discourses such as the periodicals and decided to experiment with alternative ways of communication. These will be the main focus of the next chapter, which centers on "Experimental Architecture."

Conclusion

The two decades from roughly 1979 to 2000 saw the coming of age and growing pains of architectural journals as a primary medium through which different voices on various aspects of architecture emerged. Because of the open competition and market demand for this booming industry and the blurred lines between trade journals, academic journals, and even popular magazines, journals constantly had to redefine their niches and refine their strategies to survive and thrive. The pressure of approaching architecture from unique perspectives and providing timely representation, rather than simply following the party line and perpetuating the state ideology, became the primary concern for most of the unofficial journals, which was partly reflected in *World Architecture*'s pursuit of internationalism and *Time+Architecture*'s championing of regionalism and contemporaneity. As a result, the journals were able to help Chinese architecture re-identify its cultural connections with the rest of the world and create a progressive momentum for the future. Architects, editors, critics, intellectuals, and translators all

[100] Ibid., 5.

contributed to this conversational exchange and collectively they were anticipating more-important social and cultural roles for architecture during the transitional era.

When Kurokawa Kisho made his architectural debut in China (in collaboration with Chinese architect Li Zongze 李宗泽) with the Sino-Japanese Youth Centre (completed in 1991), his works and writings had been known to Chinese readers for a decade (for example, his article, "The Gray Culture of Japan" had appeared in the first issue of *World Architecture* in 1981).[101] During the following decade, interviews with him, examples of his design practice, and his own writings were made available to Chinese readers, including through a bilingual special issue of *World Architecture* in 1984 that covered his entire career. Similarly, about ten years elapsed between the first media coverage of John Portman and his first built project in China (Shanghai Centre), a much-celebrated and long-awaited skyscraper that became the tallest building in the city. For better or for worse, other than for I.M. Pei, this was the general pattern for world-renowned architects' beginning their adventures in China. Thanks to the flourishing journals, it seemed a given that "world architecture" was an abstract, mediated representation before it could be turned into actual physical presences in the urbanizing China during the early days of the reform era.

What these journals were able to offer, with their multivalent and timely presentation of translations, criticisms, design samples, and visualization both prior to and after the completion of building projects, was a much needed taste of contemporaneity, in the sense that the architectural world in China for the first time could learn about what rest of the world was doing as it was happening. The Chinese term for "contemporary architecture," *dangdai jianzhu* (当代建筑) in Chinese —as opposed to "modern architecture," *xiandai jianzhu* (现代建筑)—emerged in the journals in the late 1980s, which predated a similar "contemporary turn" in the post-

[101] The article touches upon the coexistence between premodern building traditions and their far-reaching impact on modern conceptualization of space and design practice, a strategy he terms "Symbiosis." See 黑川纪章 Kurokawa Kisho and 梁鸿文 Liang Hongwen. "日本的灰调子文化." [The Gray Culture of Japan] *世界建筑*, no. 01 (1981): 57–61.

Cultural Revolution Chinese art world in the 1990s.[102] I argue that this "contemporary turn" would not have been recognized if it were not for the centrality of the journal boom starting in the 1980s. On the one hand, the emergence of "contemporary architecture" testified to a deep-seated desire to reconcile with the architectures from different socioeconomic systems in order to join forces with the global architectural culture and become part of the international dialogue. This was again reflected in the case of the Sino-Japanese Youth Centre collaboration of Kurokawa Kisho and Li Zongze. In 1992 Zeng Zhaofen, wearing the critic's hat in this case, lamented that it was deeply frustrating that other architectural media had given all the credit to Kurokawa, when in fact Li had provided the original concept and made tremendous contributions throughout the project. Zeng found it curious that it was not customary for Chinese architects to imprint their authorship on their design work; most projects were seen as a collective effort by the "work unit"—typically a state-owned design institute with hundreds of staff. Zeng called for better acknowledgement not only of the work by native architects, but also of architects as individuals and of architecture as a form of intellectual property.[103]

On the other hand, the introduction of "contemporary architecture," with its journal-curated subsets such as contemporary Japanese architecture, contemporary French architecture, and contemporary architecture in Hong Kong provided an opportunity to reconsider the linear, evolutionary model of the historical narrative. The more frameworks such as modernism and postmodern architecture were contextualized from various perspectives, the less likely a native reader would treat the simultaneous discursive development of different schools of thinking as an ontological anachronism or an unavoidable belatedness. The embrace of contemporaneity did not necessarily help Chinese architecture fast-forward to a projected illusion of technological or theoretical universality, but it did alleviate the otherwise-taxing burden that came with the rising

[102] Wu, Hung. "From 'Modern' to 'Contemporary': A Case in Post-Cultural Revolutionary Art." *Contemporaneity: Historical Presence in Visual Culture* no.1 (June 1, 2011), 35–40.
[103] See 曾昭奋 "争气与泄气——中日青年交流中心评论琐记."[Pride and Frustration, Review of the Center for Sino-Japanese Communication] *世界建筑 World Architecture*, no. 1(1992), 22-49.

interest in history and theory. With the preparation and rehearsal in the mediascape, a new generation of architects was to mount the stage and further expand on the notion of "contemporary architecture" by reinventing and redefining their ways of practicing architecture, the topic of the following chapter.

Chapter 3 Making Experimental Architecture: Genesis, Case Studies, Historicization

"As many histories are written as there are techniques. But for architecture in particular, it often turns out to be more productive to start with fragments and unrealized intention, with the purpose of tracing back to their contexts, in which are inscribed works that otherwise remain mute."[1]

Manfredo Tafuri, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth* (1987)

Autonomous. Avant-Garde. Anti-Anonymous. Anti-monumental. Anti-Academy. Artistic. When a group of architects, artists, writers, and intellectuals gathered on May 18, 1996, to talk about the future direction of Chinese architecture in a roundtable discussion in Guangzhou, they coined the term "Experimentalism" (*shiyanxing* 实验性) in response to the appeals mentioned above.[2] This event has often been pointed to as the ground zero for a new trend in contemporary architecture in China known as Experimental Architecture (*shiyan jianzhu* 实验建筑), in which a number of young architects sought innovative perspectives on and approaches to the practice of architectural design and the understanding of urban contexts over the next decade. Given its generic name, what exactly was Experimental Architecture? What significance does it hold in relation to urbanizing Chinese society at the turn of the twenty-first century and to what degree is its legacy still felt today? For many architectural historians and practitioners alike, it was arguably the first and most impactful, home-grown, avant-garde movement to date in the history of modern architecture in China, a critical undertaking just as the country took flight in the midst of a historic economic and urban development. Its trajectory bears resemblance to how Metabolism took hold during the postwar economic boom in Japan during the 1960s leading up to the 1964 Tokyo Olympics and 1970 Osaka World Expo (the Chinese equivalents were the 2008 Beijing Olympics and 2010 Shanghai World Expo). For

[1] Tafuri, Manfredo. *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987, 13.

[2] See 饶小军 Rao Xiaojun, 姚小玲 Yao Xiaoling, "实验与对话——记 5·18 中国青年建筑师，艺术家学术讨论会." [Experiment and Dialogue: Overview of the May 18th Symposium for Young Chinese Architects and Artists] in *Architect*, 72(Oct. 1996), 80-83.

others, seeing Experimental Architecture as one coherent movement poses challenges, for there was neither a manifested ideology, a predominant or close-knit organization, nor a unified technological and stylistic goal behind it. In fact, even those who were often associated with the "group" sometimes deny the underlying collective agenda and remain skeptical about the definition of experimentalism. Furthermore, due to the ephemeral nature and insignificant scale, the works that were deemed representative of the movement either were dropped out of the canon (some were even demolished) or were never built in the first place, which has led people to question the quick turnaround of historiography and its relevance to today's practice.

However, this chapter argues that Experimental Architecture as a historical phenomenon represented a larger cultural reorientation and an active embrace of pluralism in architecture, which emerged as a direct response to a critical moment in China's urban history. In many ways, the movement was not dissimilar to Henry-Russell Hitchcock's well-known metaphor of "a flowing stream goes through a gorge" when describing the International Style of the 1920s and 30s retrospectively: "[It was] at first slow-moving…but then [was] confined in the twenties to a narrower channel, so that for a while it rushed forward…[before] beginning to widen and meander again."[3] Likewise, the 1990s saw a group of architects, critics, and artists in China with different backgrounds and professional goals, all of whom were born after 1949 and had received their formal training after the Cultural Revolution, come to the center stage and engage in a series of architectural activities that were immediately recognized as progressive. Their endeavors were at first sporadic and unsystematic, but later came together as a more or less collective force, partly due to the historicizing effort taking place concurrently. Historically, the rise of Experimental Architecture coincided with the nationwide deregulation and privatization of the architectural profession and a growing exchange with the global architectural community, especially influenced by the discourses of autonomy, criticality, and avant-gardism. Yet the ways in which the practical and discursive explorations resonated with the fast-changing urban

[3] Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "Forward to the 1966 Edition," in *The International Style*. The Norton Library N311. New York: Norton, 1966, xii.

realities in China proved that the movement was more than a passive reaction or an uncritical appropriation of Western theories. While the rest of the industry was finding a balance between the lingering socialist, institutional impacts and the new, profit-driven model controlled by market competition, the nonconformist architects used the architectural medium and nascent private practices to process the radical transformations and explore the ontological identity and different cultural meaning architecture had in the society.

Studying the history of Experimental Architecture involves some fundamental obstacles, if not paradoxes. First, the direct impact Experimental Architecture has had on China's contemporary urbanscape can be difficult to trace`f4e. Some of the most celebrated projects associated with the movement are either no longer extant or were never meant to be constructed to begin with. How to contextualize paper architecture, art installations, urban happenings, and ephemeral works, as well as architects' own writings has remained challenging for historians. Second, even though the movement started off on a marginal ground with most of its participants having little to no social and political capital, things were soon to take a dramatic turn, as it was not uncommon for architects to take on larger commissions from the government less than a decade after their debut. Some landed some of the most prestigious projects in the nation (e.g., the National Stadium for the 2008 Olympic Games, fondly known as the "Bird's Nest," was a collaboration between Ai Weiwei and Herzog de Meuron), won international accolades (e.g., Wang Shu became the first Pritzker Laureate from the PRC), and were able to establish or lead major pedagogical programs (e.g., Yung Ho Chang founded the Graduate Center of Architecture at Peking University around 1999; Wang Shu has headed the Architecture Department at the China Academy of Art since 2003). Furthermore, scholars like Cole Roskam have noted the seemingly contradictory portrayal of the Experimental Architect as exemplified by Wang Shu, whose image oscillated quite dramatically from "architectural dissident" for his experimental works and to "celebration of the [Chinese] Government" during his later, star-chitect phase.[4]

[4] See Cole Roskam. "Structures of Everyday Life: The Architecture of Wang Shu." *Artforum*, November 2013, 254–312.

This blured the boundary between the establishment and marginality not only points to the question of how long the Experimental Architecture lasted for the individual participants or as a collective movement, but more importantly suggests that the political indeterminacy reflects the historical and cultural specificities of the nation when growth seemed to overshadow everything, making possible a wide spectrum of critical architecture in the lacunae left behind by socialist nostalgia and commercial interests.

In order to understand the intellectual origins and historical development of Experimental Architecture, the rest of the chapter is divided into four sections. The first part briefly traces the cultural history surrounding the notion of experimentalism since the 1980s and explains why people within the architectural community at the time were troubled by the lack of avant-garde initiatives and the powerlessness in the face of the country's nascent urbanizing campaigns, which finally propelled young architects to take action. The case studies of the architects Yung Ho Chang and Li Juchuan that follow illustrate their varying practical strategies and discursive concerns in their respective battles against institutional stagnancy. The last part offers a brief historiographical account of Experimental Architecture since the mid-1990s and explains why writing an account of its own history was integral to the overall movement and played an key role in its reception. In a nutshell, the contribution of Experimental Architecture to contemporary architectural culture in China has three main aspects:

(1). Experimental Architects and sympathetic critics questioned the hitherto-dominant formalist, style-oriented approach both in design and discourses. They chose to embrace China's urban realities as they were, paying close attention to social, political, and historical conditions as the foundation of their concept. This contextualist approach catalyzed architects to think beyond the criteria previously considered as important, such as monumentality, axiality, and visual symbolism (of tradition, Chinese, modernity, etc.).

(2). As experimental architects pioneered ways of practicing architecture outside the official system, they had to adopt more-flexible and inclusive attitudes, both conceptually and practically, toward the medium itself. Analogous to what art historian Rosalind Krauss terms

"sculpture in the expanded field," the Experimental Architects and other early theorists were determined to explore the possibility of "architecture in the expanded field" by incorporating a multimedia experience, especially drawing inspiration from contemporary art. With institutional reforms and new platforms, they were able to turn the disadvantage of being on the periphery into a new identity and a desired strategy: different forms of engagement with a variety of other media were considered part of the core concern for their practices, no matter how ephemeral or insignificant these may seem. In turn, these attempts granted the young architects their much-needed individual identities and recognitions. The conviction that cultural meanings of architecture were not always attached to a building's physical grandeur became more widespread and effectively melted down the preconceived boundary between the High and Low Architectures.

3). The Experimental Architecture activated new means of political engagement for all the participants and interlocutors. It provided the young architects with an opportunity not only to rethink the institutional configuration in a transitional era, but also to raise relevant questions concerning globalization, state developmentalism, and individual agency in the face of the overwhelming process of urbanization.

Architecture at the Crossroads of the 1990s: Contextualizing Experimentalism

"Experimental Architecture" originated from a literal translation of the Chinese term *shiyan jianzhu* (实验建筑 sometimes also formulated as *shiyanxing jianzhu*, 实验性建筑), which first appeared in print no later than 1996.[5] The conceptual genesis of the notion of

[5] Even though the Guangzhou Dialogue was considered a moment critical to the later development, the interlocutors at the time were using terms such as "experimentalism (*shiyanxing* 实验性)" and "experimental exploration (*shiyanxing tansuo* 实验性探索)" instead of "Experimental Architecture" (实验建筑). Early the same year, the Deputy Editor of *Architect* Wang Mingxian (王明贤) helped publish another design proposal by Dong Yugan under the name of "Experimental Architecture." It was only in later writings that the term "Experimental Architecture" caught on. See 董豫赣 Dong Yugan. "太阳与碑 - 实验性建筑设计方案" [=the

"experimentalism" prior to that is not entirely clear, but by the mid-to-late 1990s a pervasive obsession with it across different cultural fields, ranging from film to theater to poetry to the arts, was evident. Examples in some of these fields, experimental film and experimental theater for instance, could be linked directly to Western originals that had become popular beginning in the 1980s as part of the influx of foreign ideas and the ensuing "cultural fever."[6] Other developments, such as "experimental ink painting" (实验水墨, *shiyan shuimo*), rose as local reinventions of a traditional mediums and represented a self-conscious attempt at modernization for a more diverse, international audience base.[7] A still-more complicated scenario, from which a closer parallel can be drawn for understanding the genealogy of Experimental Architecture, lies in contemporary art. In his seminal work *Transience: Chinese Experimental Art at the End of the 20th century* published in 1999, art historian Wu Hung proposes the category of "experimental art" (实验艺术/美术, *shiyan yishu/meishu*) to describe the art practices of the post-Cultural Revolution era, partly because artists and art critics themselves were using it as a popular way of self-definition. In later texts, Wu offers some additional explanation for why this term should be preferred to others that have been put forth: the term "unofficial art" oversimplified the political orientation of this art, whereas "avant-garde art" overstated its artistic radicalism.[8] By contrast, despite its generality, "experimental art" more accurately captures the historicity, given the wide

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Sun and the Monument, an Experimental Design Proposal] *Architect*, no. 68 (February 1996),101–102. See also 饶小军, 姚小玲, "实验与对话," 80–83.

[6] For the discussions of "cultural fever" in the post-Mao era, see Wang, Jing. *High Culture Fever: Politics, Aesthetics, and Ideology in Deng's China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

[7] 黄专 Huang Zhuan, "当代水墨实验对西方文化权力中心的抵御" [Experimental Contemporary Ink Art as a Resistance of the Western-centric Cultural Hegemony]. *艺术界 Leap*, Z2, 1996. For the historical development of the term "experimental ink painting," see Wu Hung, "Transcending the East/West Dichotomy: A Short History of Contemporary Chinese Ink Painting" in Maxwell Hearn, ed. *Ink Art: Past as Present in Contemporary China*. 2013, 20–23.

[8] See 巫鸿 Wu Hung. "关键在于'实验'：谈 90 年代的中国实验艺术" [The Key Is Experiment: On the Experimental Art in the 1990s China], in *作品与展场*. 岭南美术出版社, 2005, 70-72. See also Wu Hung, *Exhibiting Experimental Art in China*. Chicago: David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, the University of Chicago, 2000, 11.

spectrum of attitudes adopted by the contemporary artists who were exposed to an increasing array of new styles, media, techniques, and political orientations. As Wu notes, "Some artists exhibited more antagonism and nihilism towards society" and became more critical of the institutional and political status quo and were thus closer to avant-gardism as it is commonly understood in the Western context; others were less interested in overt ideological criticism and more curious about exploring new media experiences and techniques.[9] Even the academy and official art system was conducting its own experiments, "including 'experimenting' (i.e. imitating) [*sic*] with newly introduced Western art forms."[10] For Wu, "it was neither stylistic nor political, but the artist's own self-positioning and re-positioning [usually placing themselves at the periphery] in the changing society" that helped define and drive the experimentalism.[11] In other words, "experimental art" is more of a descriptive device than a prescriptive category, because the art world could not be characterized as a monolithic movement with people all aiming at the same goal—after all, it was the wide-ranging diversity and the case-by-case nature that invigorated the contemporary art world in the 1980s and 90s.

Where can Experimental Architecture be placed among the variations of experimentalism? According to the architectural critics Rao Xiaojun (饶小军) and Wang Mingxian (王明贤), the Guangzhou Dialogue, in which a group of architects, experimental artists, writers, and intellectuals under the age of forty came together in 1996, was a long-awaited and well-plotted event with the aim of finding inspiration in the breakthroughs made in other cultural fields to invigorate what was seen as stagnancy in architecture. Rao and Yao wrote in 1996,

> The discipline of architecture has become silent. People seemed to have lost faith in theories, fatigued by any discussions about ideas. Formal variations all have pointed to similar roots and become quite exhausted, and all possibilities have been rendered impossible under current paradigms. Those passionate and active

[9] Wu, Hung. *Transience: Chinese Experimental Art at the End of the Twentieth Century*. Rev. ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press: David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, 2005, 15.
[10] Ibid., 15.
[11] Ibid., 15–16.

> thinkers in the 1980s seem to have suffered from a condition of aphasia by giving up on thinking philosophically about architecture.[12]

As one of the first ideologues of and advocates for Experimental Architecture, Rao maintained that a self-conscious marginalization was needed both to challenge the academic and professional authorities at home and to resist the temptation of uncritically adopting ready-made Western theories in the Chinese context. To him, the previous efforts starting from the last decade to reconnect with the international architectural community had largely led the field astray:

> The efforts of navigating and appropriating the theoretical topics originated from the West mostly ended up in vain because there was little chance for them to come into fruition in reality. People were only reconsolidating the Western hegemony in discourse the more they tried to understand foreign theories. [In so doing] the bud of creativity and imagination was nipped prematurely.[13]

The impasse regarding Western theories may appear in stark contrast with the discipline's general enthusiasm described in the last chapter, when modernism, postmodernism, and deconstructionism all competed for the interpretive atention of scholars and practitioners throughout the 1980s. There are two reasons for this dramatic shift and the general "aphasia" of architects. On the one hand, progressive-minded intellectuals were deeply disturbed to see the recently introduced architectural discourses reduced to an expanded pattern book. To some domestic architects, the inner logic of the chronological development from modernist to postmodern architecture mattered less than the superficial yet eye-catching formal characteristics. Worse still, others deliberately misinterpreted foreign theories in order to promote their own long-standing agendas, especially with the stronghold of architectural conservatism now cloaked in the form of postmodern historicism. As observed by architectural historian Cole Roskam, these strategies of "selective borrowing" reflected the state's need to use architecture as a means to show off the reform accomplishments while also using the

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[12] 饶小军 Rao Xiaojun, 姚小玲 Yao Xiaoling, "实验与对话" [=Experiments and Dialogues], 82.

[13] 饶小军 Rao Xiaojin. "边缘实验与建筑学的变革." [=Marginal Experiments and the Reform in Architectural Studies], *新建筑 New Architecture* 15, no. 3 (1997), 19–22.

revitalization of a visible "National style" to cement the cultural identity and the Communist Party's ideological raison d'être during the time of economic transition.[14] For this reason, the engagement with foreign discourses was destined to be superficial (mainly in the form of the discussion of aesthetics) in order to keep the real transformations at bay.

On the other hand, a more fundamental reason for stagnancy lay in the fact that architectural production remained controlled by the state up until the early 1990s despite the gradual market liberalization in other private sectors. The organizations responsible for designing and managing the construction of buildings under the socialist regime since the 1950s were comprised of a series of state-owned design institutes at both the national and regional levels, known in Chinese as *shejiyuan* (设计院).[15] Before the legislation that enabled the establishment of a registration system for licensed architects was enacted in 1995, design institutes with hundreds, if not thousands, of employees remained the most resourced and authoritative platform in the architectural industry, which, according to critics prevented young and aspiring architects from pursuing more-radical, individualized designs.[16] While young students were eager to learn about the international architectural currents through the newly available media platforms with almost no time lag in the 1980s, they did not find the foreign presence in China particularly stimulating at the time.[17] Nor could they find the opportunities to apply what they had learned to

[14] Roskam, Cole. "Expanding Architectural Discourse in Early Reform-Era China, 1978-1989." In *Second World Postmodernisms, Architecture and Society under Late Socialism.* Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019, 213.

[15] For a historical overview of the *shejiyuan* (设计院) in China, see Xue, Charlie Q. L., and Guanghui Ding. *A History of Design Institutes in China: From Mao to Market.* Routledge Research in Architecture. New York: Routledge, 2018.

[16] Zhu, Jianfei. *Architecture of Modern China: A Historical Critique*. London: Routledge, 2009, 113–114.

[17] To people's disappointment, the new presence of foreign architectural firms beginning in the 1980s did not always bring the inspirational designs people had anticipated. Often derived from governments' direct commissions, the early projects delivered by foreign firms were largely hotels for international tourism, office towers, and new shopping centers, most of which were in the High International Style. As material evidence of the initial economic experiment led by the state, they served as what Cole Roskam calls the "enclave of the (capitalist) outside world." These new structures appeared in the Chinese urban environment suddenly and without subtlety,

real projects—production of young architects, at least up to the mid-1990s, was limited to architectural competitions, writings, and paper architecture.

The two factors at play here, one stylistic and one socioeconomic, pointed to a deeper struggle that prevented architects from gaining disciplinary and professional autonomy, namely the discipline's inseparability from political authority. No example better proves this point than the Beijing West Railway Station (Fig. 47). The largest railway station in Asia upon its completion, it served as the terminal station for the Beijing–Kowloon railway and was a major milestone in China's modernization process with a strong political implication at the dawn of the handover of Hong Kong in 1997. Architecturally speaking, the most controversial feature of this gigantic public building was a 50-meter-tall triple-pitch-roofed pavilion in the traditional timber-framed style on top of an otherwise symmetrical, Beaux-Arts-influenced massing with a hollowed middle section. Both the magnitude of the Chinese pavilion and its juxtaposition with the modern pedestal underneath were unprecedented; the addition of the pavilion was reportedly a later deviation from the original design. It was said that the then mayor of Beijing, Chen Xitong, who had been a major supporter of reviving historical styles in the capital city ever since he assumed office in 1986, was responsible for the design revision. The original slogan he proposed, "protecting the urbanscape of the ancient capital" (维护古都风貌 *weihu gudu fengmao*), in 1986 was replaced with a more aggressive version, "taking back control of the

striking stark contrasts with the surrounding city. What the glass curtain wall, modern amenities such as rotating rooftop bars and restaurants, and the sheer height and magnitude brought to the Chinese audience was more of a popular appeal of the modern (or even futuristic) fantasy than architectural sophistication. Even the more-thoughtful examples such as I.M. Pei's Fragrant Hills Hotel was met with a lukewarm reception: The self-proclaimed experiment to search for a new architectural language—a "third path" that was predicated neither on the traditional, historical forms nor on the universal, International style, but a hybrid of both instead—failed to impress because it was considered not radical enough and anachronistic. See Roskam, Cole. "Envisioning Reform: The International Hotel in Postrevolutionary China, 1974–1990." *Grey Room*, no. 58 (Winter 2015): 84–111. See also Cannell, Michael T. *I.M. Pei: Mandarin of Modernism*. 1st ed. New York: Carol Southern Books, 1995, 289–325. See also Xue, Charlie Q. L. *World Architecture in China*. San Francisco: Long River Press, 2009.

urbanscape of the ancient capital" (夺回古都风貌 *duohui gudu fengmao*) in 1993, which became the justification for the design alteration even though the changes posed serious challenges (despite the additional pavilion's being essentially decorative) in terms of cost and the structural integrity of the project. Prominent architects and critics such as Zhang Kaiji (张开济) and Zeng Zhaofen (曾昭奋) openly criticized the project for its lack of functional contribution to the train station, its inappropriateness in relation to the surrounding urban context, its anachronism in relation to the Chinese building tradition, and its extravagant expense.[18] Despite widespread opposition among architectural professionals, the building was unveiled to the public in early 1996, highlighting its visible yet unflattering symbolism of Chineseness. Whether it was the international hotel with a sleek, curtain-walled façade, or the train station dressed in pseudo-historical styles, the architects argued—in vain—that their intellectual agency was compromised significantly in the face of political authority and its omnipresent influences, especially with regard to these monumental, public projects.

The anticipated autonomy should not be taken for granted even after the state loosened its grip on the design industry. Both internal reform within the official system of design institutes and the process of the privatization of individual practices were underway in the mid-1990s, yet the objective was not to cultivate progressive design but rather to quickly address the shortage of architectural design professionals when the deregulation of the housing market created a boom in real estate.[19] A series of sporadic economic "experiments" in special economic zones had given way to a nationwide plan to commodify urban land, resulting in urban transformation at a scale and pace that was unimaginable by any previous standards. This dramatic reorientation from the socialist society to the market economy tremendously impacted the architectural practice in

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[18] 曾昭奋 Zeng Zhaofan. "西站的故事" [=The Story of "West Station"]. *读书 Reading*, no. 09 (1996), 45–46.

[19] By the year 2000, there were around 40,000 architectural practitioners working in 2,000 registered design institutes and offices. Chung, Chuihua Judy, Bernard Chang, and Harvard University, eds. *Great Leap Forward: Harvard Design School Project on the City*. Köln: Taschen, 2001, 258.

China, leading outside observers—such as Rem Koolhaas and a team of graduate students from the Harvard Graduate School of Design (GSD) studying the new urbanism worldwide— to reconsider the role played by Chinese architects:[20]

> CHINESE ARCHITECT© [sic] The most important, influential, and powerful architect on earth … The CHINESE ARCHITECT© designs the largest volume, in the shortest time, for the lowest fee…. Architecture©[sic] has become a channel for investment. Building construction has become such a profit-making tool that a building's primary function is no longer to serve human needs. The traditional concepts associated with architecture such as aesthetics, comfortable environment, advanced building technology, and human occupancy have been suppressed to emphasize quantitative measures like construction volume, capital investment, construction time, cost, and profit return.[21]

Polemical by intent, the research and exhibitions initiated by Koolhaas and company around 1995 sent an immediate shockwave through the architectural community in China. As noted by the research team, the Chinese architects in general were faced with a loss of identity caused by the marketization wave and the broader socioeconomic experiment—their earlier attempts to channel new cultural paradigms had largely been overlooked by both their Western contemporaries (due to a lack of two-way communication) and their older, traditionalist compatriots (due to political or economic pragmatism). In addition, by moving away from the conventional architectural methodologies by emphasizing forms, programs, and site conditions, this study inspired Chinese architects to reconsider the urban fabric of the country as a potentially fruitful subject matter and to seek nonarchitectural methodologies (e.g. ethnographic, exhibitionary, etc.) as effective tools for challenging the disciplinary status quo.

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[20] Fieldwork on the urbanism of the Pearl Delta River Region in Southern China was carried out in between 1995 and 1997, led by the Dutch architect and urban theorist Rem Koolhaas as part of a course he was teaching at the Harvard University Graduate School of Design. Known as the inaugural research of the larger "Harvard Projects on the City," the research team considered the urban and architectural transformations against the broader socioeconomic backgrounds, taking other factors such as money, ideology, policy, and history into account. A 72-term glossary, with a copyright symbol "©" affixed to each term, was assembled in order to highlight the discrepancy between the words' conventional meanings and their "mutant" denotations in the fast-evolving megacities in China; one such term was "Chinese Architect©." Chapter 4 discusses the research, exhibitions, and subsequent publication related to *Great Leap Forward* in detail. See Chung, Chuihua Judy et al. eds. *Great Leap Forward*.

[21] Nancy Lin, "Architecture" in *Great Leap Forward*, 165.

In this vein, it is not coincidental that Guangzhou, one of the largest cities in the Pearl River Delta Region, was chosen as the host city for this interdisciplinary conversation. The Guangzhou Dialogue was joined by architects such as Yung Ho Chang (the pioneering figure who registered the first private architectural firm, FCJZ, in China with his wife Lu Lijia), Wang Shu, and Ma Qingyun (a key Chinese liaison for the Harvard GSD fieldwork and a contributor to the book *Great Leap Forward*), artists such as Wang Jianwei and Sui Jianguo, literary luminaries such as Yu Hua and Li Tuo, and intellectuals such as Zhang Xudong and Wang Mingxian, most of whom were under the age of forty at the time.[22] Writers reconfirmed the significance of the empirical discoveries about the changing urban environment and urban life, calling attention to new social groups and social relationships such as the migrant workers in close-knit neighborhoods and fad-chasing wanderers in the fancy hotel lobbies, whereas artists shared their experiences of paying attention to the common objects found in the urban environment such as scaffolding, and neon signs.[23] Although day-to-day life and the urban vernacular had long been topics within the Chinese architectural studies, never had they been so closely associated with the critical gaze of the avant-garde and considered an effective way to break with the mainstream, dogmatic, and style-centric approach.

To sum up, the narrative of "experimentalism" was not uncommon in post-Cultural Revolution Chinese society and its cultural life, given the great socioeconomic transformation that was underway and the liberal cultural environment. Within architecture, from I.M. Pei's eclectic "third way" (a marriage of classical sensitivities and high modernism) to the "unprecedented experiment in urbanization" that mesmerized Koolhaas and company, there

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[22] For the full list of all participants, see 饶小军 Rao Xiaojun, 姚小玲 Yao Xiaoling, "实验与对话." [Experiments and Dialogues], 80.

[23] For example, critical theorist Zhang Xudong 张旭东 suggested that architects ought to "distill concepts from everyday experience of urban life" ("必须从城市生活的体验中提炼出一些概念"), whereas literary critic Zhang Yiwu 张颐武 examined the "the shifting processes of secular life in contemporary Chinese urban society." ("看到当代中国城市社会中中中世俗生活的演变过程"). Ibid., 81.

seemed to exist a general "inflation" of the notion, which could be defined and redefined however people saw fit. Behind the pervasive rhetoric, however, lay a deep-seated anxiety and frustration among young architects as the original optimism from the increasing cultural exchange that had begun in the 1980s started to wane. The pressure to create a different type of architecture—or rethink what architecture was—mounted, even after the reforms and marketization of the design industry was well underway. It was under such circumstances that a small group of architects, artists, and intellectuals gathered and announced the arrival of Experimental Architecture, striving to start their ontological exploration of architecture for the new era and construct a timely reaction to the rapidly shifting external conditions.

Unlike experimental art, where the term could essentially be applied to a larger group of artists, only a small fraternity of people were associated with Experimental Architecture. While it was easier for artists to pursue their avant-garde goals or at least maintain the status of *l'art pour l'art*, architects needed to make a great commitment to navigating the overwhelming waves of the urbanization and creating new cultural identities and strategies independent from those of neoliberalism. The following sections will focus on two architects, Yung Ho Chang (张永和, also known as Zhang Yonghe in standard *pinyin*) and Li Juchuan (李巨川), as exemplars of this roughly decade-long initiative. Chang, who was born in Beijing, had studied abroad in the United States in the early 1980s, and had started his own atelier firm FCJZ in 1993, was regarded as the pioneering figure in the new mode of private practice.[24] Li, on the other hand, was a home-grown architect who had a more modest background and experimented with a practice at the grassroots level without making concrete designs for construction. These two shared more differences than commonalities in terms of educational and professional background, operative strategies, and overall ideology/vision of architecture's role in relation to society, which

[24] FCJZ were the Pinyin initials of the Chinese phrase *feichang jianzhu*, which could be translated as "extraordinary/unusual architecture." Chang established his atelier with his wife Lu Lijia (鲁力佳) in 1993 while still teaching and practicing in the United States and registered the company with the same name when private practice became possible in China. See 张永和 Yung Ho Chang. *非常建筑* [Extraordinary Architecture]. 哈尔滨: 黑龙江科学技术出版社, 1997.

foregrounds the wide diversity of the movement. When seen together, they represent an overriding common interest in challenging the professional premises underlying the discipline and rethinking the power dynamic, destabilizing the established paradigm, and broadening the cultural and social influences of contemporary architecture.

Yung Ho Chang: Extra/Ordinary Architecture in Palimpsestic Space

Among all the young architects who began their formal training after the Cultural Revolution and were ready to lead their own projects, if not their own business, by the mid-1990s, it is safe to say that Yung Ho Chang was the single most celebrated figure, partly because he had achieved many "firsts" going back to his formative years. His father Zhang Kaiji (1912–2006) was one of the three principals at the Beijing Institute of Architectural Design and arguably the most established architect in the country; for example, he participated in the design and planning of Tiananmen Square and was given prestigious governmental commissions such as the Museum of the Chinese Revolution and National Museum of Chinese History (the present-day National Museum of China). Born in 1956 in Beijing, Chang was admitted to the first college class after the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1978 and was able to study abroad and become one of the first to study in the United States since 1949.[25]

Chang's story as an international student and then as a teacher, researcher, and individual architect in the United States was widely known to the audience at home, because of his prolific publications in Chinese journals, which included correspondence, interviews, competition entries, and critical essays starting in the 1980s.[26] Chang was also appointed as an overseas

[25] Chang Yung Ho received his architectural degrees from Ball State University (BSU) and UC Berkeley. See 张永和 Yung Ho Chang. *非常建筑* [=Extraordinary Architecture]. For his education background and intellectual lineage, see Xu Liang. *Narrative Based Design Pedagogy in China's Architectural Education/ Its Transplantation, Characteristics and Impact.* The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2019.

[26] After graduation, Chang briefly interned at Clement Chan Jr. In 1985, Chang started his teaching career at his alma mater BSU. Over the next decade or so, he taught at University of Michigan, UC Berkeley, and Rice University before returning to Beijing in 1996. See Yung Ho

correspondent by *World Architecture*. His published works touched on a variety of topics, ranging from his studio project while at school to his winning submissions to high-profile international architectural competitions to his pedagogical reflections on both his teachers and himself, once he began to teach, to an interview with Peter Eisenman (Fig.48).[27] These writings provided much needed firsthand, comparative perspectives on the latest theoretical and professional developments about which the Chinese architectural community was eager to learn. In 1987, he was invited to address the "Salon of Contemporary Architecture Culture in China," a new coterie group for young students and professionals founded for the exchange of ideas of architecture, art, and other cultural forms, and became a regular contributor and participant from that point on. When China passed laws permitting privately owned studios of architecture as part of the deregulation process, Chang saw the prospect of an emerging design market and returned home permanently, with FCJZ becoming the first officially registered private firm in the country (Fig. 49).

Chang's early success in the United States, however, did not guarantee the same result in China. For example, architectural historian Muramatsu Shin claimed that what Chang had achieved in the United States was not much different from the work of "a contemporary artist, a creator of installations, and an architectural critic," whereas the young talents who aspired to transpose their experiences from the West to third-world countries often encountered unexpected setbacks, including obstacles persisting from the previous era:

Chang, interview by the author, August 22, 2019, transcript, and recording, FCJZ Office, Beijing.

[27] Chang was one of the most active contributors to the journals from outside China. The following are some of the articles he published before relocating his business to China in 1996: 张永和 Yung Ho Chang "自行车的故事——一个中国留学生的家信摘录."[The Story of Bicycles – Excerpt of A Personal Letter from A Chinese Student Abroad] *新建筑 New Architecture*, no. 1 (1983): 85–86; 张永和 Yung Ho Chang,"匡溪行."[=A Trip to Cranbrook], *建筑师 Architect*, no. 25 (1986); 张永和 Yung Ho Chang,"四间房(300×300×300 英尺)" [Four Rooms, 300 by 300 by 300 Feet], *世界建筑 World Architecture*, no. 2 (1987): 56–57; 张永和"采访彼德·埃森曼" [Interview with Peter Eisenman] *世界建筑 World Architecture*, no. 02 (1991): 70–73.

> Since 1978 and the inception of the economic reform, several attempts have been made to establish private architectural firms in China, each of which has failed. A number of factors could prevent real changes from happening, including bureaucracy within the official and administrative systems, the stubbornness of the patrons (often overlapped with the authorities), the underdevelopment in construction technology and the lack of professionalism, the naive conviction that money could make up for the immaturity (or simply money worship), and the authoritarianism within the field of architecture.[28]

One solution to this, as anticipated by Muramatsu, lay in the small, temporary, and even informal projects unburdened by official sanctions, as building needs and tastes became increasingly diversified at the turn of the century:

> People who commission Yung Ho Chang to design are about to appear in China. Until now, the majority of what came to be considered as worthy works in Chinese architecture are large, public projects. However, now that the economy is shifting from a planned economy to a market economy, there are small [bourgeois] capitalists of the same generation as Yung Ho Chang, who would emerge from here and there. They will want people like Yung Ho Chang to design for them. The development of a resort residential area in Guangdong, the housing in Dalian, the things he is currently working on would not have been possible ten years ago.[29]

In retrospect, the most celebrated project of Chang's early career in China, if not of the entire movement, is a small private bookstore hidden in a residential area of Beijing as predicted by Muramatsu. Xishu Bookshop (*Xishu Shuwu*, 席殊书屋), the first public commission FCJZ received, managed to have a complex and far-reaching impact even though it only existed from 1996 to 2000 (Fig. 50).

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[28] The original text reads, "一九七八年の経済開放以来、中国では個人建築設計事務所の設立が何回か試みられ、そしてその度に失敗した。建設行政の官僚主義の体質、施主たち（つまりは権利を持つ物たち）の頑迷さ、施工の未熟さとそれを素直に認めず金だけをふっかける拝金主義、建築の権威主義、全てが足を引っ張って、成功を阻止した。" (Translation by the author). See Asakawa, Satoshi, and Shin Muramatsu. *Ajian Sutairu: 17-Nin No Ajia Kenchikukatachi* [Asian Style, 17 Asian Architects]. Edition Galerie Taisei. Tōkyō-to Shinjuku-ku: Gyarurī Taisei, 1997, 45.

[29] The original reads: "...張永和に仕事を依頼する人々が中国で生まれようとしているのだ。かつて、そして、現在でも中国建築界の大方の仕事は巨大な公共事業である。だが、統制型の経済から市場経済に移行しつつある今、あらゆる隙間を縫って誕生してきた張永和と同世代の小さな資本家たちがいる。彼らが張永和に仕事を依頼する。広東省のリゾート住宅地開発、大連の住宅と、現在の彼が手掛けている物は十年前だったらあり得なかった。" [Translation by the author]. Ibid., 46.

Seen as a renovation project rather than as new construction, the bookshop occupied a lot that was once one of the two main corridor entrances for a *danwei* (单位), or a work unit, on the campus of the Architectural Design Institute of the Ministry of Construction (Fig. 51). The architect took advantage of the height of the original site by inserting a two-story structure to maximize the shelving space on both the main floor and the mezzanine. Understanding that the original rectangular site was too dark for readers and the lamps available from the market were aesthetically subpar, Chang came up with the solution of hiding rows of fluorescent lamps in the frost glass case between the two stories, so that both the ceiling of the first floor and the floor of the mezzanine would receive artificial lighting (Fig. 52).

Moreover, concerned with spatial flexibility, Chang decided to place eight freestanding bookshelves of the main floor on wheels so that they could pivot around two rows of poles to rotate. The eight rotating shelves thus could be arranged to face the same direction or in two lines with shelves facing each other, or randomly at the users' wish. It introduced some very necessary flexibility in what was a very narrow space (Figs.53–54). The installation of wheels on both ends of the shelves, according to Chang, was a direct homage to Duchamp's readymade kinetic installation, the *Bicycle Wheel*. One may also point to the notable connection between the rotary architectural elements and modern technology throughout the modernist movement with examples ranging from early modernist works such as Angelo Invernizzi's rotating Villa Girasole ("Sunflower House," 1935) to the site-specific art project *WithDrawing Room* (1987) developed by the American architectural duo Elizabeth Diller and Richardo Scofidio (Figs. 55–56). One could also argue the revolving rooftop restaurants made popular as a sign of cosmopolitanism and modernization in Chinese cities since the 1980s had something to do with this design decision (Fig. 57). However, Chang's fascination with bicycles derived more from a combination of his own experience growing up in the urban environs of Beijing and what the site had to offer.

If the bookshelves with wheels served as an explicit synecdoche for the bicycles once ubiquitous to the urban fabric of Beijing, the entire bookshop captured, on a more fundamental

level, a sense of transience, as the spatial experience of *danwei* transitioned from its socialist era to the postsocialist integration with the city beyond the enclosed site of the *danwei* proper. It is through this transition that one finds an explanation for why a physically and economically modest, privately commissioned project could come to be seen as a key allegory for the broader urban transformation in China. Prior to the bookshop commission, the entire street block, including the site of the bookshop along the street front, belonged to a single *danwei*, namely the Architectural Design Institute. *Danwei*s in general were initially set up in urban areas under the planned economy after the establishment of the PRC in the 1950s.[30] The aim was to enhance (industrial, administrative, or familial) productivity through the centralization of resources and labor by organizing communities based on employment with the facilities of work, residence, and basic social welfare all clustered near one another (Fig.58). As a pervasive practice of social governance and spatial management during the Mao era, the self-contained, oft-enclosed gated communities had a dominating impact on both the physical configurations of cities and the social life of those who lived within.[31]

Located in the southernmost part of the *danwei* compound, the massive rectangular building in which the bookstore was nestled bordered the main street and its design followed a typical Beaux-Arts plan with two openings to the east and west off the central axis. For decades,

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[30] A number of studies have taken up this topic. Some have taken notice of the social-economy organization and historical origins of the *danwei*, while others have treated the *danwei* as a product of spatial politics and tactics. The consensus is that the impact has reached well beyond the socialist era and has played a key role in the urban dynamic in contemporary cities. See Lu, Duanfang. *Remaking Chinese Urban Form: Modernity, Scarcity and Space, 1949–2005*. Planning, History, and Environment Series. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006. See also 乔永学 Qiao Yongxue. “北京"单位大院"的历史变迁及其对北京城市空间的影响.” [The Historical Genesis and Development of “Danwei Compound” and Its Impact on the Urban Space in Beijing], *华中建筑 Huazhong Architecture*, no. 05 (2004), 120–24.

[31] For an example of a typical spatial arrangement within a *danwei* compound, see Xiao, Zuopeng, Tianbao Liu, Yanwei Chai, and Mengke Zhang. “Corporate-Run Society: The Practice of the Danwei System in Beijing during the Planned Economy Period.” *Sustainability* 12, no. 4 (February 12, 2020), 1338. See also Zhang Jie, “Chinese Urbanism beyond the Beaux Arts,” in *Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2011, 333–360.

these served as the main entrances. Even before the property owner rented its site to the privately owned Xishu Bookshop chain, the east entrance was no longer in use and had been sealed off for use first as bike storage space and then as a reading room, with through traffic entering and exiting through the remaining west entrance (Figs. 59–60). During the heyday of the *danwei*, because various functions were arranged in a centralized, inward fashion, the areas near the four surrounding streets were often seen as the peripheral parts of the site plan and thus used as service spaces. After the 1980s, this centralized configuration, which often took up an entire city block, began to decline, often leading to the total redevelopment of *danwei*s or the piecemeal renting-out of space in them. The design of Xishu Bookshop was an example of the latter, taking place in the midst of the urban transformation in the 1990s: a myriads of *danwei*-centric inward systems were forced to embrace the private sector and open up to the rest of the city, as the value of the street front was recalibrated and became desirable for economic activities.

Unlike many of the nondescript shop designs that emerged almost overnight as a result of the stimulus policy for the development of local business and service sectors (*fazhan difang jingji* 发展地方经济) in the wake of the urban transformation, Chang did not use the new building as an excuse to do away with the memory of the site.[32] Instead, his design incorporated the site's historic traces as a passageway for bikes and reading room for books: a visitor would not only be reminded by the bicycle wheels, but also, by rotating the shelves into two parallel lines, be able to recreate a "bike lane" in the middle of the bookshop.

In an article titled "Falling into Space"(坠入空间) written and published around the same time, Chang voiced his concern about a gap in the study of Chinese architecture, namely the lack of attention to spatial typology and spatial quality in design thinking.[33] According to the author, the blind spot derived from a pattern pervasive in the study of architectural history in China since the early twentieth century: the development of architecture as a modern discipline

[32] Zhang, "Chinese Urbanism Beyond the Beaux-Arts." 339.
[33] See 张永和 Yung Ho Chang, "坠入空间." [Falling into Space] *读书 Reading*. 25, no. 10 (1997), 30–35.

in China had disproportionally favored the "plastic" over the "spatial" aspects, in the sense that it was the physical, representable components such as the tectonic details and stylistic evolutions that received the most scholarly attention whereas the ephemeral, intangible, and relational aspects of architecture had largely been ignored. The bias remained even after more-modernist theories were introduced to China in the 1980s. For example, various foreign discourses of space—be they John Portman's "shared space" found in the design of atriums in large hotels and shopping centers or Kurokawa Kisho's "gray space," referring to the liminal space between the traditional Japanese residential space and its surrounding gardens, or the translation of Bruno Zevi's book *Architecture as Space: How to Look at Architecture* in 1985—were all made available to the Chinese audience.[34] Yet Chang found that despite the plethora of theories the spatial interpretation at the time always began and ended with the representation of formal architectural drawings, reducing the rich three-dimensional spatiality and lived experience to a mere formal exercise. As reflected in Chang's work as well as in that of others, the fact that elevations play a far more critical role than do plans in the study of Chinese architecture is very much due to the influence of early twentieth-century scholars such as Liang Sicheng, who had a specific cultural agenda of drawing the parallel of the building façades of classical Chinese architecture with those of Italian Renaissance architecture.[35] For these early historians, constructing a new etymological understanding through the stylistic evolutions of premodern timber framed buildings was a methodological invention that could help solidify Chinese architecture as a modern discipline. Yet after being enshrined as an unchanging doctrine for later

[34] See 李耀培 Li Yaopei. "波特曼的"共享空间"" [John Portman and Shared Space], *建筑学报 Architectural Journal*, no. 6 (1980), 65–70. 黑川纪章 Kurokawa Kisho, and 梁鸿文 Liang Hongwen. "日本的灰调子文化" [The Culture of Grey in Japan]. *世界建筑 World* Architecture, no. 01 (1981), 57–61. 布鲁诺·赛维 Bruno Zevi. 张似赞 Zhang Sizan *建筑空间论* [Architecture as Space]. 中国建筑工业出版社, 1985.

[35] Zhao Chen. "Elevation or Façade: A Re-Evaluation of Liang Sicheng's Interpretation of Chinese Timber Architecture in the Light of Beaux-Arts Classicism." In *Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts*. University of Hawai'i Press, 2011, 193–203.

generations with all the historiographical contexts eventually forgotten, the same method became the cause of stagnancy within the field until Chang's audacious challenge.

Opening his article with an introduction of Robin Evans's analysis of James Turrell's installation in which the artist plays freely with lighting, atmosphere, and ultimately optical illusions enacted among the onlookers, Chang claims that one of his goals is to rediscover the value of spatial experiences and spatial qualities in understanding the built environment in China. In order to achieve this, he examines different spatial types within the Chinese urban context, especially drawing on examples from his personal experiences of traveling and observing of daily life. Examples range from what he calls the "parallel city" in the large-scale socialist housing projects, where residential slabs are rationalized into paralleled rows to ensure equality, to the "inward space" such as the traditional courtyard house or gated communities organized by different *danwei*s. Other instances include the "fissure space" found in the traditional water towns in the Jiangnan area, where alleys between inwardly-planned households are extremely narrow, to "space in motion"—a concept derived from his memory of riding the Mass Transit Railway in Hong Kong with the high-speed train passing through different parts of the city. He further maintains that these experiences are both concrete and cultural:

> A human's activity is much more than a procession—a person going through a space is but one expression among a variety of ways he experiences it. In fact, the dynamic relationship one has with a space includes both the visual and beyond. Movement is bounded by different activities. All activities are specific and belong to a certain culture. As a supporting apparatus of various lifestyles, the culture is embedded in the way how architecture is experienced and used.[36]

Chang ends with a rhetorical question of whether irreproducible, untranslatable spatial experiences were overlooked precisely because the discipline favored the technical prowess of drawings as the most important way of communication whereas other aspects, including

[36] 张永和 Yung Ho Chang, "坠入空间." [Falling into Space], 34.

spatiotemporal occurrence, individual behaviors (sometimes deviant uses of space), and subjective sensations were all undervalued, if not devalued.[37]

If the manifesto-like statement tends to be buried under the layers of historical references Chang makes in this piece, the message becomes crystal clear when it is read in light of the Xishu Bookshop. Unlike the rest of the city, which had moved quickly to negate the socialist urban fabric and dismissed any lingering traces in order to catch up with global modernity, Chang's project was among the earliest to shed light on the fact that the perfectly banal, existing urban realities could also be a source of creativity. What contributes to the *danwei*'s spatial appeal is its hybrid complexity. As scholar Filippo de Pieri puts it, the origin of influences could be traced back to "imported Soviet formulas, international circulation of neighborhood planning ideas, post-CIAM housing experiences, and Taylorism filtered through collectivist ideology" as well as traditional Chinese residential spaces with enclosing walls, which was echoed by Chang's observation of the "inward space."[38] Besides being an early proponent of the spatial interestingness of *danwei* in the midst of urban renewal, Chang effectively demonstrated a way of using urban research to understand site specificities and embraced the vernacular, informal, and immaterial aspects of design rather than simply resorting to appropriated theories or stylistic languages. In article published slightly later that advocated for a reconsideration of urban China's industrial heritage, Chang once again pleaded with his fellow colleagues to suspend the

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[37] At the end of the article, Chang reflects the history of the Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture (营造学社), whose members had revolutionized the discipline by conducting in situ survey and producing a system of architectural drawings in addition to the text-based research of the premodern building manuals. However, over the next six decades, such methods become a new doctrine for a "plastic architecture" that only valued the representable aspects of architecture, such as proportion and structural ingenuity. Consequently, Chang proposes to go beyond the stagnant paradigm by exploring the complexity and diversity of Chinese spaces. Ibid., 34–35.

[38] See De Pieri, Filippo. "Modern Beijing Is No Palimpsest City: Its Evolution Is One of Wiping off and Replacing." *The Architectural Review*, December 15, 2015. https://www.architectural-review.com/essays/modern-beijing-is-no-palimpsest-city-its-evolution-is-one-of-wiping-off-and-replacing?tkn=1.

preexisting criteria for beauty, tastefulness, and Chinese culture, and urged them to find value in the relationship between "construction and form, building and site, and people and space" as a fundamental method.[39] Not long afterward an industrial site in Beijing, the Dashanzi Art District, also known as 798, was preserved and repurposed as a center for contemporary art (Figs. 61–62).[40] From an architectural perspective, Chang's work and writing played a key role in envisioning the adaptive reuse.

Another example that captures this type of experimentalism was not a building project, but a site-specific art installation in an underground contemporary art exhibition, "Traces of Existence: A Private Showing of Contemporary Chinese Art '98"(生存痕迹: 98 中国当代艺术内部观摩展), which took place on the outskirts of Beijing in 1998. With the exhibition, which featured mainly installations and performance art all created in situ within the compound of an abandoned industrial plant, the curators Feng Boyi and Cai Qing aimed to promote what were independent yet unpopular branches of contemporary Chinese art (Fig.63).[41] The group shared a common goal of escaping from and exceeding the imposing Western expectations concerning the booming contemporary art scene in China, especially the desire for paintings, that was largely based on marketability. The only architect invited, Chang quickly turned his focus to the condition of the site—an abandoned factory workshop and warehouse located between the

[39] 张永和 Yong Ho Chang, and 张路峰 Zhang Lufeng. "向工业建筑学习." [Learning from Industrial Architecture], *世界建筑 World Architecture*, no. 7 (2000), 22–23.
[40] For the history of 798 and its historical significance for urban policy in contemporary Chinese society, see Currier, Jennifer. "Art and Power in the New China: An Exploration of Beijing's 798 District and Its Implications for Contemporary Urbanism." The Town Planning Review 79, no. 2/3 (2008), 237-65.
[41] According to the curator Feng Boyi, part of the agenda of the exhibit was to widen public exposure for installations and performance art, which, at the time, were eclipsed by other mediums such as paintings. Unlike painters, the artists who made installations and engaged in performance art felt their works were less marketable and more nuanced. See 冯博一 Feng Boyi, "'生存痕迹'的痕迹." [Tracing the "Trace of Existence," originally published in *美术研究 Art Research*, 1998, no.3] in 巫鸿 Wu Hung, *关于展览的展览: 90 年代的实验艺术展示* [An Exhibition about Exhibitions: Displaying Experimental Art in the 1990s]. 北京: 中国民族摄影艺术出版社, 2016, 173–179.

Fourth and Fifth Ring Roads in Beijing. His piece, the *Sliding, Folding, Swing Door* (推拉折叠平开门), originated from a pair of large industrial sliding doors in one of the warehouses on-site (Fig. 64). He conjoined both panels with a foldable wooden frame in the middle to which another hinged one-panel swing door was attached from within. This design grew out of his observation of the site and his creative solution was the redesigning of a door that would allow people to enter and exit easily while still making it possible for trucks to pass through when necessary. To enter, one only needed to slide the two large vehicle doors ajar to unfold the wooden door and then go in through the swing door. Fueled by three different motions of "opening the door," the artwork invited the audience (primarily his fellow artists) not to take the existing site for granted and compelled them to think about the relationship between use, scale, and human activities.

In many ways, it may be argued that Chang's methodology owes a great debt to his training in the West. In fact, when it comes to the two examples I have discussed, the Xishu Bookshop and the *Sliding, Folding, Swing Door*, one probably need look no further than to the architectural theorist and historian Robin Evans and his writings such as "Translations from Drawing to Building" and "Figures, Doors, and Passages" for intellectual connections.[42] The latter essay characteristically singles out the building element of doors and historicizes their transformations in the domestic setting over the centuries. By examining the placement of doors and their relationship to the rest of the house plan from the early modern period to the Victorian era, Evans came to realize that a door's cultural connotation of partition/privacy was not always present, but was more of an invention guided by the heightened ethical codes in a particular historical moment.[43] Pairing architectural drawings with contemporary literature, Evans's inquiry probed the intersection between spatial configuration and everyday life and thus was of great

[42] On several occasions Chang mentioned that his teacher at BSU, Rodney Place, had brought conceptualization to his attention; Place in turn had been a student of Evans. For example, see Chang, Yung Ho. "THE AA AND I." *The Plan* 091, 2016.
[43] Robin Evans, "Figures, Doors, and Passages." in *Translations from Drawing to Building and Other Essays*. AA Documents 2. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997, 55–91.

interest not only to architectural historians but also to practicing architects like Chang who aspired to destabilize design assumptions and think beyond existing paradigms.[44]

Drawing inspiration from these methods, Chang was able to base the design concepts on the vernacular urban contexts in which he grew up, using urbanist analysis as the foundation of his design philosophy. Yet both his small-scale projects and his writings did not simply present these fragmentary, mundane, and idiosyncratic realities as they were; rather, he took advantage of the process of defamiliarization by making everyday buildings unfamiliar and foregrounding the spatial experience that had often been taken for granted. Such processes enabled him to rethink and reveal the historical, cultural, and aesthetic values embedded in a site and turn every commission into a design challenge. In effect, he was squarely challenging both the prevalent Chinese interpretation of the Beaux-Arts tradition that had dominated architectural pedagogy in China for decades and the postmodern theories that had gained discursive currency beginning in the 1980s. Both placed too much emphasis on the relationship between buildings and abstract and homogeneous cultural symbolism, which could often lead to a reductionist view of seeing architecture as a convenient vehicle for an anachronistic iconography and ill-fitting metaphors, whether Chineseness or deconstructionism. As a result, the individual specificities underlying different spatial experiences were frequently neglected in the design process. By refocusing on the complex spatial experiences (including the intended use, overuse, misuse, or reuse of a space) and revealing the diachronic nature of sites, Chang used architecture and art together as an intermediary vehicle to internalize both theory and history and as a means of resistance to the universalizing urbanism, when the rest of the city was suffering from the rampaging erasure of identity.

[44] Adams, Nicholas. "Review: Translations from Drawing to Building and Other Essays by Robin Evans." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 57, no. 2 (June 1, 1998), 211.

Li Juchuan and the "Architect without Architecture"

For most Chinese architects who wished to explore private practice as doing so became possible in the mid-1990s, the primary challenge was to find a sustainable business model to effectively respond to the market demand and survive the severe competition, rather than conduct conceptual experiments with design. In other words, adaptability was a far more important dimension than criticality and creativity in the nascent architectural market. This section, by centering on the marginal figure of Li Juchuan and his alternative practice, illustrates the possibility of a different type of architectural practice that was almost completely unaffected by the market, client taste, or even the pragmatic considerations of building construction and business management. Precisely because of his radical, antimarket stance, the experimentalism of his practice embodies a different dimension of Experimental Architecture and suggests the overall complexity of the movement.

In an article written in 1996, Yung Ho Chang laments the loss of architects' agency as the profession was being redefined by the market economy. A typical commission, he observes, dictates that architects meet particular functional demands, often specified by economic or legal requirements. It thus deprives architects of most of the luxury of freely exploring the cultural and experiential potential of a design.[45] The registration system that went into effect in 1995 was a milestone in the marketization of the industry. Yet the preoccupation with market competition could very well lead to the neglect of truly original and creative designs. Chang recalled that during FCJZ's early years, it was extremely challenging for his and other new private firms to find a balance between the right projects that met their own design philosophy and staying afloat business-wise.[46] As a thought experiment, Chang in several of his writings discusses the possibility of the "architect without architecture" throughout history. For example, he comments

[45] See 张永和, "策划家居"[Curating Living] in *作文本*, 2005, 83.
[46] See 何映宇 He Yingyu, "张永和：非常建筑"[=Yung Ho Chang: Extraordinary Architecture]. *新民周刊 Xinmin Weekly*. 2008.[Online interview] http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2008-08-13/113716110074.shtml.

that Alain Robbe-Grillet in his novel *La Jalousie* uses meticulous description of the interior of a house as if it were a measurement tool to gauge the daily use of space. In so doing, according to Chang, Robbe-Grillet was *practicing* architecture via literary reconstruction, rather than merely talking about it.[47]

To fully unpack this statement, it may be useful to first make the distinction between two emphases of the architectural experimentation of the time. The first, predicated on the pragmatics of design and construction of buildings, encompassed not only all the design work involved, but also the understanding of technology and materials, budgetary control, construction management, communication with the clients, and coordination with engineers, consultants, city planners, and other officials. These tasks formed the bulk of daily operations for professionals and all efforts lead to the goal of delivering buildings as the final products. The second mode, as outlined by Chang above, saw architecture as a way of knowledge production that revolved more around the spatiality and medium specificity of architecture and included the tasks of critically interpreting and analyzing human behaviors in relation to the surrounding space; understanding the built environment as the intersection of complex social, political, and cultural processes; and possibly using ways of representation to communicate such knowledge to the rest of the society. It may or may not involve the actual process of constructing buildings. Chang himself was aware of the potential of the second mode but in practice was mostly occupied with the first.

Li Juchuan, in contrast, fashioned an architectural career entirely out of nonconstructive approaches. Three different works from 1994 to 2004, *Living with a Piece of Brick for One Week*, *Beijing City Wall, 2000,* and *Red Line Plan II*, incorporated a variety of different media techniques and concepts, ranging from performance art to video art to what can be labeled socially engaged art. To this day, Li claims that he has never forfeited his responsibility as an architect, as architectural value was always at the core of his body of work. It is thus important to examine how the "architect without architecture" became a prominent strategy for Li, what goals

[47] 张永和 Yung Ho Chang. "文学与建筑." [Literature and Architecture], *读书 Reading*, no. 9 (1997), 71.

he was able to achieve that actual buildings could not, and why a dynamic relationship with contemporary art was essential to Experimental Architecture.

Li's public debut as an artist was a one-page proposal of what he called an "architectural performance," published in the underground magazine *Black Cover Book*. Edited by artists Ai Weiwei and Xu Bing and funded by Zeng Xiaojun in 1994, the publication offered a rare opportunity for contemporary artists "to publish, explain, and exchange their experimental art."[48] In the proposal, Li introduces his plan of *Living with a Piece of Brick for One Week* (Fig. 65) : "The work requires to live with a (random) piece of red clay brick for a time span of seven days, ensuring the brick is within arm's reach at all times while all other daily routines (including diet, work, entertainment, etc.) remain the same [sic]."[49]

Here, Li does not rely on any of his formal training of draftsmanship to illustrate his plan. Instead, as both the title and the proposal suggest, the work appears closest to a conceptual/performance art project. In a series of documentary snapshots taken during the proposed seven-day time frame, a piece of brick can be observed in compositions that record the activities of his daily routine—including sleeping, bathing, reading, smoking, playing computer games, riding in a taxi—with the brick sometimes being held by the artist and sometimes simply resting there within arm's reach (Fig. 66).

On the surface, the commitment seemed pretty moderate and the task was not particularly challenging, especially compared to other performance art reported in *Black Cover Book* that drew blood and sweat through hard-fought bodily interactions (most eminently exemplified by the works of the New York-based artist Tehching Hsieh and Beijing-based artist Zhang Huan). But Li's work came from a different root. What mattered to him was the exploration of the numerous ways of interaction between the brick and the hand, which according to the artist, simulated the conditions of an "architectural joint" (建筑节点). In architecture, a joint is where

[48] Zeng Xiaojun, Ai Weiwei, and Xu Bing. "Editor's Note" in *The Black Cover Book* (Hong Kong: Tai Tei Publishing Company, 1994), 159.
[49] Zeng et al. *The Black Cover Book*, 61.

two component elements of a mechanism are fitted together by design; they may not always be rigidly fixed, as in the case of a hinge or a swivel, which move upon one another while still remaining connected. A well-designed structural joint often bears witness to an architect's understanding of the availability of technology, the attentiveness to details, and their overall creativity, becoming a focal point for observing what Kenneth Frampton calls a "techno-poetic fulcrum."[50] The experience of touching, carrying, or simply coexisting with the brick highlighted the metaphor of the architectural medium as "the extension of oneself" and made the statement that a design should always originate from decisive life moments and begin with specific human needs, no matter how modest they seem. Such thinking struck as a sharp contrast to the modular, one-size-fits-all model omnipresent in both the socialist and early commercial architecture found ubiquitously in China.

Li was not the only contemporary artist who used brick—then the most common construction material in China—as a key medium of his artwork. Nor was he the only person whose art involved self-conscious interactions with a particular urban site at the time. Brick as a cheap, readymade, ubiquitously available material is found in the artworks of Wang Peng's *Wall – '93 Installation Exhibition*(1993) and Lin Yilin's *Safely Crossing the Linhe Road* (2015) (Fig. 67). As for the latter aspect of Li's work, even within the *Black Cover Book* itself were recorded several artists' attempts to work with buildings and the built environment as vehicles for producing cultural, historical, and aesthetic meanings, such as Zhang Jianjun's *Baptizing Urban Architecture*(1993), Huang Yan's *A Report of Building Demolition and Rubbing Performance* (1993–94), and Ai Weiwei's *Shutting down the Museum* (1994) (Figs. 68–69).[51] As Wu Hung points out, the 1990s in China saw an increasing awakening of contemporary artists to the use of

[50] Frampton, Kenneth, and John Cava. *Studies in Tectonic Culture: The Poetics of Construction in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Architecture*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995, 156.
[51] For discussions of Wang Peng's *Wall – '93 Installation Exhibition (*1993) and Lin Yilin's *Safely Crossing the Linhe Road* (2015), see Wu Hung. *Contemporary Chinese Art: A History, 1970s–2000s*. London; New York: Thames & Hudson, 2014, 270–71; 170; 191–94.

architecture, the urban landscape, and specific sites as both the context and content of their artistic production, which serves as a testament both to a deepened understanding of global art trends, especially the developments in land art, public art, and conceptual art, and to artists' rising awareness of the changing surroundings caused by nationwide urbanization.[52]

What set Li apart from the rest was not necessarily his formal training or his own intention, but the fact that his projects were being circulated as architectural productions at the same time. He used the snapshots taken from his week-long performance as "architectural renderings" and submitted them to a well-renowned international competition held by the Japanese architectural journal *Shinkenchiku* (新建築, *New Architecture*) and was awarded third prize despite its highly unorthodox format.[53] The theme of the annual competition for 1994 was "urban dwelling," suggested and juried by the Pritzker laureate Fumihiko Maki (槇文彦), who in his own works and writings had called for a microscopic perspective on living in the modern megalopolis, the so-called "residual spaces," and the intimacy between individuals and urban communities as a bond that cultivates a sense of place (Fig. 70).[54] In an unpublished personal memo, "On Concrete Architecture" (关于具体建筑), Li expresses a similar sensitivity in his practice:

> I call my current practice "concrete architecture." Its central concern is how architecture becomes possible to me as an individual here and now?. . . Forms, especially visual forms, are not the main concern of concrete architecture. Rather, it is about the human body. It is also about time. It pays attention to the detail, and does not assume that detail is part of the larger whole.[55]

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[52] 巫鸿 Wu Hung, "关键在于实验：谈 90 年代的中国实验艺术 (2001)" [The Key is Experiment: On Experimental Art of China in the 1990s], in *作品与展场* [Work and Site] LingNan Fine Arts Publishing House. 2005, 75.

[53] Li learned about this competition through an article, "Four Rooms," written by Chang Yung Ho in *World Architecture*, vol.8, no.2 (1987). Chang was awarded the first prize in 1986 and wrote about his experience for the journal. See Li Juchuan, interview by Zhiyan Yang, September 18, 2019, Sleepcenter, New York.

[54] See 槇文彦 Fumihiko Maki, 若月幸敏 Wakatsuki Yukitoshi, 大野秀敏 Ono Hidetoshi, and 渡辺洋 Watanabe Hiroshi. *City with a Hidden Past*. Tokyo: Kajima Institute Publishing, 2018.

[55] 李巨川 Li Juchuan, "关于一种具体建筑" [On Concrete Architecture], unpublished manuscript, 1996.

In naming his practice "concrete architecture," Li drew inspiration from the French avant-garde movement *musique concrète*. The creation of *musique concrète* did not derive from an academic understanding of music as a form of knowledge with the basic abstract concepts such as melody, harmony, and rhythm, but rather relied on sound collected from empirical, unmediated, natural sources. Li wanted to do the same with architecture by sampling his own bodily interactions with the built environment around him. The strong phenomenological emphasis was in common currency with contemporary theories raised by architects and theorists such as Juhani Pallasmaa, who argued that "architects do not primarily design buildings as physical objects, but the images and feelings of the people who live in them."[56] Precisely because of his own marginal background, Li drew on phenomenological theories as a ground to claim sovereignty over his own use of the city, prioritizing the value of the empirical and the personal.[57] This strategy helped him largely avoid the stylistic debate that became increasingly exhausted and enabled him to challenge those who either were dismissive of Western discourses or fetishized them.

In the next few years, Li's work further engaged with the video camera (and later digital video camera) as an essential medium, trying to dismantle the idea of architecture as a product of administrative centrality and intellectual superiority from the standpoint of the grassroots. Fascinated by the temporal dimension in a video work, Li navigated both the public and domestic domains and produced a series of works that often featured him in utterly mundane, uneventful situations. For example, the work *Shacking up with Kika* (1996) documented the artist with a piece of brick in his hands while watching Pedro Almodóvar's film *Kika* at home (Fig. 71). The audience was only able to see the close-up shot that focused on the artist's hand playing with the brick absentmindedly, with the sound of the movie hovering in the background and

[56] Juhani Pallasmaa. "The Geometry of Feeling: A Look at the Phenomenology of Architecture." In *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture, An Anthology of Architectural Theory*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996, 447–53.
[57] At the time, Li was a lecturer at Wuhan Institute of Technology, his alma mater. See Li Juchuan, interviewed by Zhiyan Yang, September 18, 2019, Sleepcenter, New York.

providing an atmospheric and temporal context. In another work, *Wuchang City Wall* (1995) (Fig. 72), he took a bag of bricks with him as he rode in a bus around the loop of its route. He got off the bus at each stop, laid down a piece of brick, and got back on the bus, repeating the drill for the entire loop. As the bus started a second lap, he retrieved all the pieces one by one. The entire process was recorded by a friend with a handheld video camera, which dictated the length of the work. In these works, Li was emphatically moving away from the tangible and technical aspects of architectural study, instead zeroing in on making minor, almost indiscernible interventions in the urban space with guerrilla-warfare-like tactics.

Among all his time-based artworks, *Beijing City Wall, 2000* stands out as a piece that combines personal memory with the gravity of public history. For this work, Li Juchuan hired two female undergraduates to ride in a cab with him in Beijing. Together, they went around the expressway of the Second Ring Road, a controlled-access highway at the heart of the capital city, with the artist in the front passenger seat filming the two young women sitting in the back (Fig. 73). The length of the video was again determined by the event of circumnavigation, during which time Li let the girls chat freely and casually about shopping, travel, college life, and beyond.

At first sight, the work is no different from his early works that celebrate the "practice of the everyday," yet the artist adds another layer to it through the circumstances of its origin. Conceived specifically for the Commemorative Exhibition for the 100th Birth Anniversary of Liang Sicheng, an exhibition held at the National Art Museum of China, the contemporary artwork is simultaneously overlaid with a chapter of the bygone urban history of Beijing. As indicated by the title, viewers are reminded the connection between the Second Ring Road, which the cab circumambulates, and the historical city wall of Beijing it replaced around fifty years earlier. It was Liang Sicheng , the renowned architectural historian, who at the dawn of the establishment of the PRC suggested to the communist leaders that relocation of the administrative center to outside the historical city was needed, or else the urban and population growth would cause problems such as traffic congestion, a housing shortage, malfunction of

urban life, and, the worst of all, a total erasure of the entire premodern urban fabric (the historical city wall included) of the city proper layered with centuries of history. However, the "Liang-Chen Plan" put forth by him and an urban planner Chen Chan-siang (陈占祥 also known as Charles Chen or Chen Zhanxiang) was at odds with Mao Zedong's vision of converting the traditional city into a socialist showpiece of industrial productivity for the new regime and was therefore abandoned.[58] From a sketch Liang made as one of the illustrations for the master plan, one can get a sense of his ambition to turn the city wall—an element of urban infrastructure originally conceived for military defense during imperial times—into an elevated public strolling park (Fig. 74). If realized, the 23-mile-long continuous brick walls would have been the most spectacular park of its kind (in comparison, the world-renowned Highline in the west side of Manhattan only runs 1.5 miles). In reality, however, Mao's plan prevailed, as the growth of the country's new capital quickly changed the physical appearance of the historical walled city, which inevitably resulted in the demolition of the surrounding city walls in the 1950s.[59] As the city became more congested and started to expand outward, the ring road system was planned and implemented in a concentric fashion around the old urban center. The Second Ring Road was built as the economic reform was unfolding, with the majority of it tracing the former city wall; it was turned into a freeway without traffic lights in 1990.

In the video made on March 11, 2000 by Li, the girls in the cab do mention the urban transformations in Beijing in recent years, as they try to make a bucket list for all the cool places to visit. One of them, who had grown up in Beijing, tells the other that there has been a shift in popularity in terms of places to visit from ancient imperial palaces, gardens, and other significant historical sites to the new shopping malls, and how the city has become both more modern and more polluted at the same time. They see changes as natural and inevitable without being aware of the specific urban history associated with either Liang or the Ring Road system. The video

[58] Wu Hung. *Remaking Beijing: Tiananmen Square and the Creation of a Political Space*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005, 8–9.
[59] For the history of the demolition of the Beijing city wall, see 王军 Wang, Jun. 城记 [Notes of the City]. Beijing Shi: Sheng huo, du shu, xin zhi san lian shu dian, 2003, 241-253.

work poses a question of monumentality and commemoration by asking what history means to a city and what exactly is being commemorated. The forensic quality captured by the time-based media creates an uncanny effect, demonstrating the palimpsestic nature of an urban space lost and found not based on physical traces, but depending on the efficacy of memory. When superimposed with the memory of Liang, the ride in the cab becomes an augmented reality of a reenacted utopian vision. By recontextualizing the romanticism and anachronism in Liang's original plan, Li also unveils the limits and naiveté of architects, whose voices as technocratic elites gradually lost currency in a fast-changing society that runs on a different logic.

In addition, the work marked a breakthrough in Li's own oeuvre, as it is no longer centered on the artist himself in a self-contained way. Only by juxtaposing the fashionable girls (known as *新新人类*, "new humankind," a complimentary term for the young generation) as the representatives of the twenty-first century Chinese urban *flâneur* with the phantasmic presence of Liang's plan does Li find a way to channel the particular architectural history into a broader public discourse beyond technical and professional boundaries. While the rapid urban growth may have obliterated the physical remainders of cities and even the individual identities of all architects in China as argued by Koolhaas, Li's work proves that an effective way to counter such cynicism is to use architectural expertise to offer social commentary and participate in public debate. Even though Liang's work did not bear any material fruit, it did become a discursive foundation for later, more active urban thinking and practical measurements.

In *Beijing City Wall, 2000*, Li Juchuan notes that to commemorate the past also means to allow the past to have an impact on the present. Even though up to this point, the visibility of his works was still limited to a relatively small audience base who attended the art and architectural exhibits, he saw the possibility of moving architecture from a highly specialized discipline to a larger platform in his next work, *Redline Project II* (2004). This departed from the medium of video and entered the public space by directly confronting urban realities. A site-specific

installation, *Redline Project II* was executed in Putuo District, Shanghai, in 2004 (Fig. 75).[60] The area was once part of the industrial sectors by Suzhou Creek with buildings from the 1930s to the 1980s associated with the local textile and flour factories.[61] Beginning in the 1990s, some artists and gallery owners had come to rent space to create and display art. However, the entire waterfront area was faced with an imminent threat of redevelopment (into high-rise condominiums and green space) in the early 2000s. After examining the site and researching its history, Li decided to create a work in which he had architectural surveyors conduct accurate site measurements, and then hired a façade-cleaning service to paint a 15-centimeter-wide continuous, straight redline across the entire site, even onto the facades and rooftops of existing buildings. The entire process took three and a half days to complete.

In China, a red line often appears in urban plans and other governmental documents to provide information about zoning, land use, and the boundaries between roads and building lots. Since the 1990s, planning practice has increasingly, and as some argue excessively, impacted the urban economy and aesthetics. Developmental incentives have played a crucial role here, as the sale of the right to the development of urban land is a major source of income for local governments. While red lines usually only exist on paper in urban planning and are kept hidden from the general public, they uncompromisingly determine the fates of buildings, streets, landscapes, and the overall urban fabric. Even though historically exceptional architects have known how to exploit the limitations imposed by codes and regulations to their own advantage as sources of creativity, with prominent examples being Hugh Ferriss's illustration of the "Metropolis of Tomorrow" (which provided a prototypical design for later high-rise buildings) and Shinohara Kazuo's House under High Voltage Lines (Figs .76–77), the power dynamic is

[60] Li was one of the artists invited by the Eastlink Gallery to create a work in situ as part of the exhibit. The gallery hoped to use the exhibit to draw mass media attention and build public sentiment to prevent redevelopment. See Li Juchuan, "李巨川答杨之彦问 2020/09/01 [=Correspondence with Zhiyan Yang], September 1, 2020.

[61] See Li Juchuan, "Redline Project II," personal website, http://www.lijuchuan.com/2004redline2/redline2_main_1.html

predetermined and incontestable, as the architects had no choice but to follow the decree and make adjustments accordingly.

Forsaking his role as a practicing architect, Li is here able to use site-specific art as a parody to expose the commonly opaque decision-making process that takes place without public scrutiny and reveal its destructive nature. Dissatisfied with the new buildings' self-centeredness and neglect of urban context, Li uses his knowledge as an architect/urban planner to raise public awareness of spatial politics, generate a spectacular public controversy, and possibly call for a reevaluation of the existing architectural heritage and the democratization of the right to the city. As a result, the entire district was recognized by the Shanghai municipal government as a key historical site for industrial structures in the year that followed, and the subsequent adaptive reuse has since transformed the area into a hub for creative industries known today as the M50 Art District.[62]

In sum, Li's career from 1994 to 2004 illustrates how Experimental Architects were able to use various mediums other than buildings or constructible designs to be free from the external pressure of either the marketplace or the lingering socialist ideology. The aforementioned works also demonstrate that architecture could be rendered effectively with a non-constructive approach: by engaging with the medium strategies of contemporary art, Li managed to melt down the disciplinary boundaries between architecture and other arts, highlighting how an average person could exercise their right to the city without invoking professional knowledges and skills.[63] The ambition to reinvent architecture ontologically as an avenue for research,

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[62] For the history of preservation and revitalization of the M50 industrial zone in Shanghai, see 薛鸣华 Xue Minghua, and 王林 Wang Lin. "上海中心城工业风貌街坊的保护更新: 以 M50 工业转型与艺术创意发展为例" [=The Preservation and Renewal of the Industrial Urban Fabric in Central Shanghai: A Case Study of M50], *时代建筑 Time+Architecture*, no. no. 3 (2019), 163–69.

[63] The idea of the "right to the city" was first mentioned by Henri Lefebvre in his book *Le Droit à la ville* (1968) and then popularized by another Marxist economic geographer, David Harvey. According to Harvey, the right to the city is among the basic human rights, yet in reality it has too often been reduced to the rights of private property when other types (the right to choose and

display, and public engagement in Li's practice consistently permeates all his experiments in discovering and redefining the relationship among people, places, and architectural knowledge. Conversely, contemporary art no longer serves as a mere representation of or remediation for architecture, but as a more fundamental medium intrinsic to the production and circulation of architecture in contemporary Chinese society. Although Li's practice could be seen as an extreme outlier even among his progressive peers, it is remarkable that his writing, along with that of a few other likeminded architects and critics, further tore down the barriers between disciplines and played an important role in the processes of self-identification and public communication for Experimental Architecture. The critical writings put forth by the willing architects and the simultaneous production of a history of the movement are the topics of the section to which I turn now.

Historicizing Experimental Architecture

In view of the individualistic, seemingly sporadic efforts of its proponents, what is the broader legacy of Experimental Architecture? How did it change the way we view contemporary Chinese architecture today? Is there enough historical distance to give a fair evaluation of the movement? Here I propose to divide the historicizing efforts of Experimental Architecture into two distinct phases. During the first period, from the mid-1990s to early 2000s (around 2003), architects and sympathetic critics collaborated closely and actively in creating and promoting a shared identity among the group members, characterizing Experimental Architecture as an paradigm-breaking, ongoing movement that formed a counterculture against the mainstream practice within the architectural industry, a phase I call "the Experimental Architecture *versus* history." The second, from early 2003 on, when both the involved practitioners and other

maintain social ties, lifestyles, the freedom for people to make and remake the city in their own way) have been perennially overlooked, if not deliberately blocked. See Harvey, David. "The Right to the City," *New Left Review* 53, September–October 2008; later anthologized in *Social Justice and the City*. Vol. 1. University of Georgia Press, 2010. 315‑333.

observers began to treat Experimental Architecture more as a historical phenomenon rather than as a work-in-progress project, is a phase I call "Experimental Architecture *as* history" (Table 3).

Sympathetic critics began to historicize Experimental Architecture almost concurrently, if not earlier in an anticipatory fashion, as it began to develop. The early writings served a formative role rather than one of mere contextualization, helping to define a collective identity by tapping into the avant-garde traditions both inside and outside China. Critics served as key advocates and apologists for the young generation of architects who were in opposition to the established authorities within the field when completed projects were still scarce. Among the most enterprising proponents was the critic Wang Mingxian, who took advantage of his official role as a journal editor to create platforms and discover networks for the group of young architects. An observer of the liberal intellectual atmosphere since his college years between 1978 and 1982 in Xiamen, Wang befriended local artists such as Yan Shanchun and Huang Yong Ping who also had avant-garde aspirations. After graduation, Wang took a position as editor for the state-sponsored journal *Architecture* (*Jianzhu* 建筑) in Beijing and became involved with the liberal intellectual circles in that city, where lectures, conferences, and other forms of informal gatherings were regularly held. Having witnessed the lively atmosphere among groups of young artists under the banner of the '85 Art Movement, Wang, together with Gu Mengchao, another editor with *Architectural Journal*, founded the Salon of Contemporary Architectural Culture in China (当代建筑文化沙龙) in 1986 in the hope of cultivating new conversations and promoting radical changes within the architectural community. Later, as the contributor to the architectural section, he took part in the *China/Avant-Garde* exhibition in 1989 and the writing project for *History of Contemporary Chinese Art, 1985–1986*(中國當代美術史 1985–1986) published in 1991—both of which were immediately recognized as the key signs of a nationwide avant-garde awakening in the post-Cultural Revolution era.[64] In this book, one of the earliest publications that

[64] Gao, Minglu, ed. 中国当代美术史 1985-1986 [=Contemporary Art History in China, 1985-1986]. Di 1 ban. Shanghai: Shanghai ren min chu ban she: Xin hua shu dian Shanghai fa xing suo jing xiao, 1991. For the history of early collaboration between art and architectural world in

documented and evaluated the '85 Movement, the authors reflected on the role of history writing vis-à-vis an ongoing cultural movement. Echoing Benedetto Croce's famous maxim, "All history is contemporary history," the authors dismissed the idea of writing history only for the sake of archiving and categorizing facts post hoc and claimed that historians could always play a more active role in "making history."[65] These historians realized that just as people view the past through the eye of the present, the way in which the present is historicized can have a long-lasting impact on its future direction.

After 1989, Wang continued to be active, introducing architects to artists, intellectuals, and writers, organizing conferences, and helping to publish articles that tried to bring down the disciplinary fences, especially that between art and architecture. One of the most pronounced examples of this effort is Li Juchuan's article "Parc de la Villette and Beyond" (1994) published in the journal *Architect*, for which Wang Mingxian was executive editor at the time (Fig. 78). Li begins with an introduction to architect Bernard Tschumi's project *Parc de la Villette* in Paris, a project that aimed to revitalize the urban area through a series of man-made structures and landscapes. It was deemed audacious and even controversial, because the design defied conventional picturesque park typology and its artificiality did not cater to straightforward program demands. Finding that "the original idea and the process of representation are what matters to this project. . .whereas the actual execution and construction on the physical site was closer to the mere motivation and the raw material,"[66] Li stresses that architecture has an intrinsic

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China, see 高名潞 Gao Minglu, 王明贤 Wang Mingxian, 史建 Shi Jian, 王南溟 Wang Nanmin, 祝晓峰 Zhu Xiaofeng, and 徐甜甜 Xu Tiantian. "建筑与当代艺术论坛 中国当代文化视野下的越界与交叉" [=The Forum of Art and Architecture: The Transgression and Interaction in the Perspective of Contemporary Culture in China], *时代建筑 Time+Architecture*, no. 1 (2008), 68–73.

[65] This is best discussed in the introduction: "述而不作的历史和创造历史的历史" [The history that describes and the history that makes new history], see Gao, Minglu, ed. *中国当代美术史 1985–1986* [=Contemporary Art History in China, 1985–1986], 16.

[66] See 李巨川 Li Juchuan. "《拉维莱特公园》及其他. 附：李巨川与王伯扬的通信" [Parc de la Villette and beyond, attached with correspondences between Li Juchuan and Wang Boyang]. *建筑师 The Architect*, no. 57 (April 1994), 84.

value as a system of communication rather than as a mere physical intervention to fulfill specific functional needs. Surveying what he calls "conceptual architecture"—including examples such as Tschumi's *Manhattan Transcripts*, Christo's public events of wrapping monumental buildings and natural landmarks, Gordon Matta-Clark's site-specific work of splitting an abandoned house in half, and John Hejduk's inhabitable installation known as the "House of the Suicide and the House of the Mother of the Suicide"—Li concludes that these attempts share a similar aspiration to break out of the disciplinary confines of architecture and form a unique relationship with the public paralleling that between texts and readers.

Markedly, Wang Mingxian followed Li's article with two exchanges of letters between the author and the chief editor of the journal, Wang Boyang, which was a rare practice that further foregrounded the opinions from opposing sides. In the letter, Li calls for more-serious discussions about conceptualism in architecture and about the potential lessons to be learned by Chinese colleagues, expressing frustration that the existing conversations about Western theories among Chinese interlocutors were mainly invoked as straw men or subservient categories for the sake of diversity. Taking the opposing point of view, Wang Boyang, who was almost thirty years older, emphatically maintains that unlike a painter or a writer, architects should never forfeit their role as organizers and managers of material resources and only chase after lofty ideas. He believes these types of practice should be labeled as "anti-architecture" or simply a form of "play."[67]

In response to this generational divide and cultural disunity, Wang Mingxian and like-minded critics such as Rao Xiaojun and Shi Jian started to publish more articles in various journals beginning in 1996 that alluded to the tunnel vision of the community and the limited social and cultural role contemporary architecture in China had played to that point. Wang's unique position of both operating within the official system (as an editor and later a curator) and holding an agenda from the periphery with connections in both the art and architectural worlds

[67] Ibid., 87.

made him an ideal spokesperson for the cause. In retrospect, Wang and others were able to historicize and promote Experimental Architecture as a localized avant-garde movement by means of several noteworthy strategies.

First, age became a principal distinguishing factor, a commonality shared among group members despite their varying geographic and educational backgrounds. All architects associated with Experimental Architecture were born after 1949 and received their collegial training after the resumption of higher education following the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1977. This post-Mao generation also represented arguably the most affected age group, as many entered their prime when the professionalization and privatization reforms of architectural design were underway. The group identity was further consolidated in 1999 when Wang Mingxian organized the section "Experimental Architecture by Young Architects" in the larger *Contemporary Chinese Architecture* exhibit held in the National Art Gallery during the Conference of World Architecture in 1999.[68] Whereas the exhibit categorized all works completed in the post-1949 era as contemporary and mostly celebrated designs made before the 1990s, Wang hoped the "Experimental" section could acknowledge the more recent development of the field and promote up-and-coming young talent. His plan met with strong opposition from the more-senior architects and architectural historians and this section was eventually removed from the National Art Gallery, becoming its own *Salon des Refusés* in a separate venue.[69] According to Wang, the episode of this canceled exhibit served as a testament to not only the bureaucratic hindering (at best) or persistent attempts to control (at worst) art and architecture, but more importantly, to the fact that Experimental Architecture's own status as a counterculture and its "pursuits [were] very much intertwined with the making of history" as well.[70]

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[68] See Wu, Hung, *Exhibiting Experimental Art in China*, 185.
[69] See 王明贤 Wang Mingxian. "空间历史的片段——中国青年建筑师实验性作品展始末" [A Fragment in a History of Space—the Story Behind an Exhibition of Experimental Works by Young Chinese Architects]. In *今日先锋 Avant-Garde Today*. 8. 天津: 天津社会科学院出版社, 2000, 1–8.
[70] Wu, Hung. *Exhibiting Experimental Art in China*. 189.

Second, the early historicization relied on careful orchestration of architects' individualities and collectivity. It was under Experimental Architecture that Chinese architects' individuality and authorship started to be consistently featured and at times even made a focal point. Part of the authorship also derived from the architects' own attempts to write and theorize their design thinking and practices. At the same time, critics knew from the outset that it was necessary to establish Experimental Architecture as one common project and its participants as an alliance, especially when faced with the established mainstream, whether the domestic authority backed by large design institutes and major architectural schools or the international peers who had arrived along with global capital. This strategy epitomized the shifting dynamic of a restructuring architectural community, which changed from one large "system" (体制) based on official positions—a professional structure governed by the state administration where everyone belonged to a *danwei*, usually a design institute or a school department—to smaller, loosely organized "circles," (圈子) in which one's identity was a matter of personal preference and was independent of their place of work. The phenomenon can be observed in both the art and the architectural worlds and was welcomed as a positive sign of depoliticization and self-empowerment in history writing after the '85 Art Movement.[71] Echoing this shift, Wang selected one or two representative figures from each major geographic region across the country in order to present the widespread momentum of the movement. For example, Yung Ho Chang in Beijing, Wang Shu in Hangzhou, Tang Hua and Wu Yue in Shenzhen, Zhao Bing (and occasionally Li Juchuan) in Wuhan, and Liu Jiakun in Chengdu were commonly mentioned by the authors.[72] This group (or subsets of it) appeared frequently in interviews and domestic and

[71] As a result, more and more artists deliberately dissociated themselves from the official system and embraced the global market in the 1990s. See 吴鸿 Wu, Hong, "从"体制"到"圈子"——90年代中后期前卫艺术状态分析" [=From 'System' to 'Circle:' An Analysis of the State of Avant-Garde in the Late 1990s.]; for the English translation, see Wu Hung, Peggy Wang, and Museum of Modern Art, eds. *Contemporary Chinese Art: Primary Documents*. New York: Durham, NC: Museum of Modern Art; distributed by Duke University Press, 2010, 307–310.
[72] See appendix for the articles published on Experimental Architecture prior to 2008.

international exhibits and were even given the opportunity to publish their own monographs, which had rarely happened for living architects before in the PRC, let alone for those who had but a few built projects under their belt.[73] In this light, architects, both as individual voices and as a collective force proposing and representing certain aesthetic and social values about an urbanizing society, became subjects of public scrutiny just as much as the architectural designs themselves.

Third, critics noticed that to compensate for the lack of built works (and the lack of business opportunities), Experimental Architects relied on diverse experiences across a variety of other media—ranging from conceptual art to urban research, from product design to installations, from exhibits to critical and creative writings—as sources of inspiration and means of expression. Both the architects and critics soon realized that the attempt to marry architecture and other media was more than a matter of convenience. Rather, it was a necessary step in order to depart from the superficial engagement with both old and new Western theories since the 1980s. According to some of the observers, the ways in which these theories had been introduced previously highlighted formal differences and essentially reduced various "isms" to their stylistic qualities while eliminating much of the original context that had given rise to these theories in the first place. No wonder a sense of belatedness and anxiety was produced out of this skin-deep engagement.[74] By contrast, Experimental Architects were able to take full advantage of their marginal status to be more flexible and open-minded with the available tools, which endowed their practices with a hint of utopianism and self-reflexivity. As pointed out by Lynda Schneekloth, while most architects create architectural designs that are meant to be implemented and last for a long time, for some architects the "intention is to give visual form to a critique of

[73] In 2002, Wang facilitated the publication of several monographic anthologies on Experimental Architects featured the works and writings of Yung Ho Chang, Wang Shu, and Liu Jiakun, respectively. See Ding Guanghui, "Experimental Architecture in China" (2015), 34.
[74] 彭怒 Peng Nu, and 支文军. Zhi Wenjun. "中国当代实验性建筑的拼图——从理论话语到实践策略." [Puzzles of Contemporary Chinese Experimental Architecture — From Theoretical Discourses to Practical Strategies] *时代建筑 Time+Architecture*, no. 5 (2002), 20–25.

current conditions, or to create an imaginary world of as if."[75] As indicated in the case of Li Juchuan, a more inclusive strategy was adopted to foster a new and intricate relationship between architecture and art. Architecture was now seen in China as art not because of its arbitrariness, its potential to signal (mainly visual and decorative) symbolism, or its ability to embody abstract or literal idealism, be it monumentality or Chineseness. Rather, the reasons that architecture can be seen as a branch of art is because "architects are influenced by artists in developing conceptual strategies."[76] Like art, architecture provides a way to evaluate urban conditions, to call attention to the changing dynamic of different players within the urban environment, to form narratives that are otherwise hard to convey, and to communicate to the general public without being excessively patronizing or esoteric.

The early historicization successfully painted an image of Experimental Architecture as a self-conscious, anti-establishment movement by concentrating on its multimedia sensitivities and a constellation of individual talents with creative strategies divorced from the grand narratives and stylistic preoccupations perpetuated by its intellectual antecedents. However, before long people started to challenge this avant-garde narrative. They also called into question this autobiographical, if not self-aggrandizing, way of history writing, disputing whether the umbrella term of Experimental Architecture served more as a convenient shorthand rather than described a coherent movement and whether its relevance still applied entering the twenty-first century. It was through this new round of discussions, viewed now at a critical distance, that the historicization of Experimental Architecture took on new meanings.

In December 2003, at a conference that celebrated the ten-year anniversary of the Atelier FCJZ founded by Yung Ho Chang and Lu Lijia, one of the key ideologues, Shi Jian (史建), announced the "end of Experimental Architecture and the beginning of Contemporary

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[75] Schneekloth, Lynda H. "Unredeemably Utopian: Architecture and Making/Unmaking the World." *Utopian Studies* 9, no. 1 (1998), 18–19.
[76] Chau, Hing-wah. "Conceptual Narratives of Yung Ho Chang's Cross-Cultural Practice." *Architecture and Culture* 2, no. 2 (July 2014), 205–212.

Architecture."[77] Shi maintained that as a counterculture, Experimental Architecture was established as a highly individualized mode of practice to resist the large multinational firms and state-run design institutes and therefore it represented a temporary, preparatory phase and only provided provisional solutions. As the large design institutes underwent dramatic internal restructuring and adapted to the market economy and the Experimental Architects for their part quickly scaled up their practices and became more institutionalized, the distinction became increasingly blurry. Put simply, the movement had run its course when the original ideological antithesis seemed to dissolve. Shi's statement did not fail to attract controversy. Wang Shu, for one, claimed that even though there was an element of truth to the observation, the fade of the term's relevance should not be taken as a regression and did not discount the movement, because experimenting should "just be part of the norm."[78] In other words, projects like either the Beijing West Railway Station and Xishu Bookshop would not cease to emerge and exist as physical realities in order to fulfill their respective social, cultural, and political purposes. What Experimental Architecture had achieved within a relatively brief period of time was to carve out a discursive space for the proliferation of the latter kind, namely projects that may not seem significant at first sight. Despite the Xishu Bookshop's short lifespan of only four years and small scale, there was no shortage of publicity, even after its demolition.

In addition to Experimental Architecture and Contemporary Architecture, some historians proposed the use "criticality" or "critical architecture" as alternatives. For example, Zhu Jianfei, a UK-trained and Australia-based architectural historian, argued in his seminal article "Criticality in between China and the West" (2005) that the recent development of Chinese architecture should no longer be treated in isolation, but deserved to be contextualized as part of the global,

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[77] 史建 Shi Jian. "从'实验建筑'到'当代建筑.'" [=From "Experimental Architecture" to "Contemporary Architecture"], in *城市, 空间, 设计 Urban Flux*, no. 9 (2009).
[78] 周庆华 Hing-wah Chau. "'实验建筑'?'当代建筑'? ——思考当代中国实验性建筑" ["Experimental Architecture? Contemporary Architecture? —Reflections on Experimental Architecture in Contemporary China"]. In *新观察: 建筑评论文集* [New Observations, Anthology of Architectural Criticism]. 同济大学出版社, 2015, 5.

contemporary phenomenon. Zhu found that while some Western theorists such as Koolhaas were fascinated by the unimaginable urban transformation in China because of its pace, scale, and efficiency, the conventional, Eurocentric view still tended to dismiss its intellectual value.[79] Peter Eisenman's "Critical Architecture in a Geopolitical World" (1995) is symptomatic in this regard. Tracing the genealogy of the notion of "criticality" in the West as well as its interaction with architecture since the late eighteenth century (owing to the influences of Kant and Piranesi), Eisenman suggests that both criticality and avant-gardism had their roots in the criticism of the capitalist ideology. Being critical has thus been synonymous with being a type of "transgressive architecture" that rejects the accommodation of the *status quo*.[80] He then questions whether the same can be said about the more recent architectural development in the non-Western, emerging economies of countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore and cities like Hong Kong, Seoul, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta, and Shanghai.[81] If, according to the author, modernity in these places is merely the result of a process of reverse engineering and could be appropriated as commodity, with sleek, spectacular, technology-laden towers dressed up to look modern, then such buildings should be seen as a new form of conservatism, a "Teflon" architecture.[82]

Juxtaposing the views of Eisenman and Koolhaas, Zhu highlights the unevenness in the exchange of ideas between China and the West, noting a lack of reciprocity among the international interlocutors. Koolhaas was curious about China's urban development, yet was uninterested in making further distinctions among individual architects on the ground, whereas Eisenman was altogether indifferent, distrusting the legitimacy of any possible critical practice. Zhu on the other hand believes that young architects such as Yung Ho Chang, Liu Jiakun, and Ma Qingyun held the key to solving this problem of unevenness and long-standing bias, because

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[79] Zhu, Jianfei. "Criticality in between China and the West." *The Journal of Architecture* 10, no. 5 (November 2005): 479–98.
[80] Eisenman, Peter. "Critical Architecture in a Geopolitical World." In *Architecture Beyond Architecture: Creativity and Social Transformations in Islamic Cultures,* the 1995 Aga Khan Award for Architecture, Academy Editions Ltd, 1996, 79.
[81] Ibid., 81.
[82] Ibid.

their practices had both internalized the Western tradition of critical architecture and thoughtfully reflected on China's own cultural and historical specificities. As argued by the author, this "in-between-ness" that helped reconfigure the center-periphery relationship was itself a testament to a criticality of a particular historical moment and should not be overlooked.

Responding directly to Zhu Jianfei's article, another historian Zhu Tao took things one step further by dividing the criticality into two categories, that of formal language and that of social engagement.[83] The former, exemplified by Chung's interest in conceptualism and the urban vernacular, critical spatial practice, and reconsideration of the Beaux-Arts tradition, pointed to the desire to develop a design method that produces a unique work with an influence (political or aesthetic) that can reach beyond itself. For the latter, Zhu referenced Manfredo Tafuri (and his critique of architectural ideology in the mode of capitalist production) and Kenneth Frampton (and his critical regionalism against the universalism and cultural homogeneity) as his points of departure.[84]

Within the Experimental Architects' circle, Li Juchuan was one of the earliest advocates for the relationship between architectural experiments and social awareness. In an article published in late 2002, "Architects and Intellectuals," he raises the question of whether contemporary architects, now increasingly engulfed in the ebb and flow of the market economy, have the social obligation to conduct architectural experimentation in order to address social inequality and public welfare. In the article, Li targets a project known as "The Gallery of Asian Architects" (亚洲建筑师走廊, later also referred to as the Commune by the Great Wall, 长城脚下的公社) as his main subject of criticism. A collection of privately owned high-end villas developed by the SOHO Group, one of the largest real estate developers in the country, it was

[83] 朱涛 Zhu Tao. "近期西方"批评"之争与当代中国建筑状况——"批评的演化——中国与西方的交流"引发的思考" [= Recent Debate about Criticality in the West and Its Relevance with the Development of Chinese Architecture—Responding to Zhu Jianfei's "Criticality in between China and the West"], in *时代建筑 Time+Architecture*, 2006, 71-78.
[84] Ibid., 73–74.

designed by twelve Asian architects, who were selected by Yung Ho Chang and Ai Weiwei (Fig. 79).[85] At issue was not to what extent a building can be measured by artistic and technological criteria or judged by whether local material or craftsmanship was employed to reflect regional specificity; rather, Li's indictment focuses on what could happen if this new architecture was aestheticized and exploited by and for the powerful and the privileged. Comparing the architects with Edward Said's ideal intellectual from his *Representation of the Intellectual,* [86] Li acknowledges that "the commercial and cultural adventure initiated by the real estate developer was seen by the contemporary architects as an ideal opportunity to realize their hope (to make designs with few constraints). Yet in so doing they tended to ignore one glaring fact: by siding with the free will of capital, the architects cut the tie between their social responsibility (as intellectuals) and the broader culture."[87] Influenced by Tafuri's writing, Li is concerned that as soon as the pursuit of architectural experimentation as well as its history writing becomes an innovative and desirable quality in the public perception, it could easily fall prey to the market niches and appropriated by market forces and state developmentalism.

By placing Experimental Architecture within the broader, international context, both Zhu Jianfei and Zhu Tao managed to shift the intellectual focus of the movement from "Experimental Architecture versus History" to "Experimental Architecture as History." Unlike the earlier critics who placed the emphasis on announcing the arrival of the new architectural sensibility as a history-disrupting, epoch-making movement, these younger historians with Western educational

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[85] Developed together by Zhang Xin and Pan Shiyi, a couple and the co-CEOs of the Beijing-based SOHO group, one of the largest developers in the 2000s, the project was conceived as an experimental prototype rather than a conventional housing project, with the expectation that each star architect—including world-renowned figures such as Shigeru Ban, Kengo Kuma from Japan, Seung H-Sang from South Korea, and Kanika R'kul from Thailand—would leave their own design imprints in the idyllic landscape just outside Beijing. See Zha Jianying. "The Turtles: How an Unlikely Couple Became China's Best-Known Real-Estate Moguls." *New Yorker*, July 11 and 18, 2005.

[86] See Said, Edward W. *Representations of the Intellectual: The 1993 Reith Lectures*. 1st American ed. New York: Pantheon Books, 1994.

[87] 李巨川 Li Juchuan. "建筑师与知识分子" [=Architects and Intellectuals]. *时代建筑 Time+Architecture*, no. 5, (2002), 37.

backgrounds and global perspectives tended to be more reserved and more historical. A critical distance was thus gained through a more thorough examination of the intellectual origins of some of the Experimental ideas, while further distinctions were made among the members of the group. The so-called Experimental Architects, as shown by the cases of Li and Chung, not only differed in their educational backgrounds, strategies of operation, and overall institutional resources and professional goals, but more importantly had different understandings of where the experimentalism should be enacted as well. Paradoxically, while some architects such as Yung Ho Chang strived to do away with the socialist tradition as both a formal style and means of production for the architectural profession and advocated a complete depoliticization of the discipline by turning to a "purer" engagement with the spatial, tectonic, and representational concerns, others such as Li Juchuan pointed out the absurdity or impossibility of contemporary architects' existing in a value-free vacuum and essentially called for a repoliticization of architect's professional role, especially when it came to the fight for the right to the city.

Conclusion

How successful was Experimental Architecture as a progressive, mode-breaking movement? If we judge it by the number of buildings it managed to produce and the reception of those projects by the general public, then its impact was marginal. If we judge it by the degree to which it departed from the existing cultural paradigm and aesthetic predilections in the socialist and the early years of the Reform Era and to which it reshaped architects' identities and preoccupations, then the impact was undeniable and far-reaching.

In the making of the International Style, the curators/historians Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson played a crucial role in distilling the common goals and values, smoothening out ideological and formal differences (sometimes even conflicts), and most importantly, displaying the style to the general public in and beyond the Western world with an appealing and memorable label that lasted for decades. Similarly, the making of Experimental Architecture in China some six decades later involved a similar degree of avant-garde idealism in addition to a

well-organized campaign of mythmaking and network making, which finally managed to create enough momentum to render the status quo a crisis, an obstacle to overcome. What this chapter has intentionally left out is how Experimental Architecture came to represent China as its most representative architectural movement to the rest of the world, and the long and complicated process of exhibiting contemporary Chinese architecture and urbanism up through the early 2000s. These developments will be the central focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 4 Transformation on Display—Exhibiting Contemporary Chinese Architecture, 1982–2005

"What does it mean to exhibit architecture? Isn't architecture, once it is built, always already on display? "

Barry Bergdoll, *Out of site/In plain view: A History of Exhibiting Architecture since 1750* (2013)[1]

The end of the Cultural Revolution marked a new beginning for Chinese architecture in a number of ways. As discussed in the previous chapters, the recurring challenges facing the architectural community in the post-Mao era were to identify and legitimize the contemporary—a different epoch from the previous decades not only because of the external political, economic, or social influences, but also because of forces within the discipline—and to establish ways of contextualizing and conceptualizing such contemporaneity. Exhibitions proved to be another crucial platform after the 1980s. In this light, the current chapter will focus on the effort of curating and representing architecture in various exhibitionary circumstances, sampling examples from 1982 to 2005 in order to suggest that the cross-cultural, interdisciplinary interactions enabled a decisive "turn to the contemporary" as architectural exhibitions were employed to present new architectural thinking and facilitate more cultural changes.

The understanding of Chinese architecture as a timeless tradition and somewhat disconnected from the rest of the world was the prevalent view throughout much of the twentieth century and largely framed historiographical development. This perception continued to shape the intellectual landscape of Chinese architecture even after the Cultural Revolution, especially

[1] Bergdoll, Barry. "Out of Site/in Plain View: On the Origins and Actuality of the Architecture Exhibition." In *Exhibiting Architecture, A Paradox?* New Haven, CT: Yale School of Architecture, 2015. 13.

outside the country. This was evidenced in the architectural export and reproduction of classical gardens (such as the Astor Chinese Garden Court inside the Metropolitan Museum of Art, completed in 1980), the decorative archway (such as the Friendship Archway in Washington D.C., erected in 1986), and exhibitions that exclusively celebrated premodern monuments and religious heritage (such as the 1984 *Chinese Traditional Architecture* exhibition held at the China Institute in America) (Fig. 80).[2] These endeavors, despite their popularity at the time, became increasingly anachronistic as postsocialist Chinese society became more integrated in global exchanges of capital, information, and networks. However, a new sensitivity in the display and discussion of Chinese architecture could not be conceived of in a vacuum; it had to be grounded historically and institutionally within the conceptual, temporal, and spatial confines. I argue that the investment in contemporary architecture in China deserves closer historical scrutiny, because the construction of its meaning and parameters was a complex process, often involving both local and global interests and methodologies. During this process, it can be observed that different experiments in exhibiting architecture and urbanism both reflected and catalyzed the contemporary turn, as they destabilized the existing canon, expanded scopes and representations, and connected the local phenomena with global audiences.

[2] For the history of building the Astor Chinese Garden Court, see Murck, Alfreda, and Wen Fong. "Ch.7, Building a Garden Court in New York." In *A Chinese Garden Court: The Astor Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012, 54–64. The design of the Friendship Archway in Washington, D.C., was first published in Chinese in the second issue of the architectural journal *World Architecture* in 1987. See "Friendship Archway in Chinatown, Washington, D.C. USA, 1986" *World Architecture.* vol. 8, no. 2 (1987), 36. For the genesis and development of the exhibition "Chinese Traditional Architecture," see the exhibition catalogue. Steinhardt, Nancy Shatzman. "Preface." *Chinese Traditional Architecture*. China Institute in America, 1984, 6–7.

The existing scholarship on the history of exhibiting contemporary Chinese architecture has largely focused on the domestic development, especially associating it with the rise of Experimental Architecture.[3] A small exhibition in 1999, *An Exhibition of Experimental Works by Young Chinese Architects*, originally a section of a larger exhibition, has commonly been held to as a watershed event, because it featured a group of young architects as the representatives of the newly privatized design industry for the first time. The fact that it was removed from a larger official exhibit that covered the country's architectural accomplishments since 1949 right before

[3] Anglophone scholarship on contemporary architectural exhibitions of China has been limited. Wang Mingxian was one of the earliest critics and curators to organize architectural exhibitions of the new generation of architects outside the official circle and his reflections were translated in English. See Wu Hung, *Exhibiting Experimental Art in China*. Chicago: David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, the University of Chicago, 2000, 185–189. Yong Ho Chang published a book that documents his involvement as a participating artist, exhibition designer, and curator in various domestic and international exhibitions. See Zhang, Yonghe. *Exhibition as Construction Experiment*. Edited by Yung Mian and Cheng Yishi. Melbourne: Images Publishing, 2019. Meanwhile, article-length studies in Chinese have been published in a much larger volume, including Qin Lei and Yang Fan's state-of-the-field articles, including one written in conjunction with the "Documenta of Chinese Contemporary Architectual Exhibitions" (中国当代建筑文献展) held in Shanghai West Bund 2013 Biennale of Architecture and Contemporary Art. See also 秦蕾 Qin, Lei and 杨帆 Yang, Fan. "关于展览的展览:中国当代建筑展览文献展" [Exhibition about Exhibitions: Documenta of Chinese Contemporary Architectural Exhibitions]. *城市建*筑 [Urbanism and Architecture], no. 21 (2013). 30. See also Qin, Lei 秦蕾 and Yang, Fan 杨帆. "中国当代建筑在海外的展览." [Overseas Exhibitions of China's Contemporary Architecture] *时代建筑 Time+Architecture*, no. 01 (2010): 41–47. German curator Eduard Kögel curated a seminal international exhibition that featured the group of avant-garde architects of Experimental Architecture in Berlin. His article published in 2018 traces the historical context of staging the international debut for the Experimental Architects. See 爱德华·柯格尔 Eduard Kögel and 苏杭 Su Hang. "西方对中国建筑的认知柏林 Aedes 画廊"土木"(TUMU)展览及其背景." [The Perception of Chinese Architecture in the West: TUMU—An Exhibition at the Aedes Gallery in Berlin and its Context] *时代建筑 Time+Architecture*, no. 002 (2018), 26–30. An article written by Li Xiangning and Mo Wanli discusses the positive influences exhibitions have had in disseminating new architectural ideas and contributing to the creation of new theories. See Li Xiang Ning 李翔宁 and Mo Wanli 莫万莉. "当代建筑展览与中国建筑策展学展望." *美术观察*. no. 008 (2019): 22–24.

the opening and later restaged as a Salon des Refusés added to its historical significance.[4] Scholars have maintained that an ideological conflict between different generations of architects—those who worked in the state-sponsored design institutes system within the planned economy on the one hand and those who worked independently in a market-driven environment on the other—was made manifest through both the organization and cancellation of this component of the exhibition.[5] For this reason, the rising awareness of the new exhibitionary sensitivity has often been seen as a by-product of the emerging Experimental Architecture. As I will argue next, however, the increasing prominence of architectural exhibitions in the post-Mao era was far beyond a home-grown phenomenon and should not be seen as the exclusive province of progressive architects who attempted to employ exhibitions to promote avant-garde ideologies. The four cases with which I engage here, *Environnement Quotidien en Chine* (1982) at the Centre Pompidou, *New Urbanism: Pearl River Delta* (1997) at Documenta X, *Cities on the Move I* (1997) at Vienna Secession, and the architectural design proposal for the Times Museum featured in the Second Guangzhou Triennial, all moved beyond the conventional and straightforward way of pedestalling architecture and promoting individual architects in an isolated, artificially created setting. Instead, they raised the question of what architecture—both as a practice and a field of knowledge—could do differently in the exhibitionary environment than it could do in a fast-changing, urbanizing society. In other words, these exhibitions collectively experimented with architecture's potentiality as a medium in various forms of

[4] See 王明贤 Wang Mingxian. "空间历史的片段——中国青年建筑师实验性作品展始末." ["Fragments of Spatial History—The Genesis of the Exhibition of Experimental Works by Young Chinese Architects"] In *今日先锋 Avant-Garde Today*. 8. 天津: 天津社会科学院出版社, 2000, 1–8.

[5] The exhibition was relocated to the Beijing International Convention Center and reappeared as an independent display, *An Exhibition of Experimental Works by Young Chinese Architects*. See Wu Hung, *Exhibiting Experimental Art in China*. 185.

representations and the possibilities of generating more-profound meanings rather than presenting built realities or projecting a utopian image of the country's architectural future. With the curators, institutions, architects, and artists navigating freely between their professional identities, national borders, and disciplinary boundaries, these exhibitions initiated negotiations *about* and *with* architecture, transforming people's perception of contemporary architecture in China and, in the process, the medium of the exhibition itself.

From the Architectural Icons to the Architecture of the Everyday: Exhibiting Architecture in the 1980s

Architectural exhibitions took place during the first three decades of socialist China. Domestically, the information they provided was meant mainly as a form of professional education and exchange. More-formal, intercultural exhibitions were also organized, mostly by institutions with official backing such as the Architectural Society of China, as diplomatic reciprocation of the imported exhibitions of foreign architecture. Often comprised of photographs and brief introductory texts about exemplary building projects, these "Pictorial Exhibitions of Architecture" traveled from country to country with little alteration.[6] In an extant

[6] Architecture from the Soviet Union was the main source of inspiration during the early socialist years as a testament to the "superiority of the socialist system." However, after the Sino-Soviet relationship fractured in 1960, this exchange ended and the spotlight shifted to the remaining socialist allies, including countries from the Eastern Bloc. Prominent examples include *The Pictorial Exhibition of Hungarian Architecture* (1963) and *The Pictorial Exhibition of Romanian Architecture* (1961). These exhibitions, often organized as part of the program whenever a foreign professional delegation came to China on an official visit, offered an overview of a country's architectural highlights, usually covering a long history with diverse building types from Gothic cathedrals to postwar schools and factories. For example in *The Pictorial Exhibition of Finnish Architecture* held in the midst of the Cultural Revolution in 1973, several of Alvar Aalto's designs were introduced, yet the textural description mainly focused on the specific building programs and architectural materials. Neither stylistic analysis of the modernism nor Aalto's biographical information as a pioneering modernist were offered. See 佚名. "祝贺罗马

ephemeral brochure that served as a catalogue, one sees displayed a collection of China's architectural highlights, from classical structures such as the seventh-century Anji Bridge (for the engineering ingenuity) and the Great Wall (for its magnitude and historical significance) to modern examples such as the Wuhan Yangtze River Bridge (completed in 1957; included because of its technological accomplishment) and some anonymous spa sanatorium in Canton as a sign of modern comfort (Fig. 81). A quick fly-through of a millennia's worth of architectural works in a vast country left little room for either critical discussions of the individual projects or reflection on the entire cultural tradition around buildings and people's relationship with the built environment.[7] It should be noted that modernist architecture was by and large eschewed, due to its association with capitalist ideology. Instead, representing "Chineseness" was a recurring, and perhaps the most visible, theme, employed by the exhibition organizers both as a way to frame disparate case studies and to satisfy what was understood to be the desire of foreign spectators.

尼亚建筑图片展览会开幕建筑学报" *Architectural Journal*, 1961, no.3. 38. and 佚名. "匈牙利建筑图片展览会在京举行建筑学报" *Architectural Journal*, 1963, no.4. See also The Architectural Society of China, 中国建筑学会--大事记 ["Memo, 1960–1967"], webpage, May 9, 2007 http://www.chinaasc.org.cn/news/22506.html.

[7] Architectural exhibitions took on different forms and meanings during the early decades of the PRC. Besides the small exhibitions staged only for professional or pedagogical reasons, the public perception of and interest in buildings and sites was seldom driven by the credo "architecture for architecture's sake." Rather, exhibitions often served larger didactic or political narratives about the newly established socialist society. According to historian Denise Y. Ho, both national monuments, often treated as lieux de mémoire with Tiananmen Square and the Mausoleum of Sun Yat-sen serving as the primary examples of such "places of memory," and prototypical everyday structures, often elevated as an exemplary building block for the construction of a model society, could be turned into display devices for mass education and mobilization, imparting sanctioned messages about the revolutionary past or cultivating emotions necessary to make new revolutions. Recent scholarship that has dealt with these landmark public projects including Wu Hung's study of Tiananmen Square, Delin Lai's study of the Mausoleum of Sun Yat-Sen and the Sun Yat-Sen Memorial, and Yu Shuishan's study of Chang'an Avenue. See Ho, Denise Y. *Curating Revolution: Politics on Display in Mao's China*. Cambridge Studies in the History of the People's Republic of China. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, 5.

Overall, up to the end of the Cultural Revolution, there was neither a strong incentive for curatorial interventions nor reflection on the potentiality of the exhibition as a critical medium for meaning making.

It was under these circumstances that *Environnement quotidien en Chine, Chine urbaine—Chine rurale* broke new ground with the clear ambition of departing from the existing paradigm of representing Chinese architecture in a transitional era and instead embraced the idea of "architecture of the everyday" (Figs. 82–83). Held at the Centre Pompidou in Paris in 1982, it moved away from a simple celebration of the classical and iconic examples and instead touched upon a variety of topics related to the built environment and its impact on everyday life.[8] Held inside the Center for Industrial Creation (Galerie du Centre de Création industrielle, CCI hereafter) at the Centre Pompidou—a museum that had been open for less than six years and was fully dedicated to modern art—the exhibition offered an opportunity for the Chinese interlocutors to test out their updated understanding of the major issues facing both the public and practitioners and for their foreign peers to closely investigate lived experiences in both rural and urban areas. A collaborative effort between the Chinese Society of Architecture and the CCI, the exhibition and the subsequent publication raised questions concerning previously neglected or inaccessible subject matter such as the modernization of housing, vernacularism, and regional identity. The exhibition even offered a rare musing on the contemporary building industry within the socialist system, revealing the day-to-day workflow of individual architects inside the large state-sponsored design institutes.

[8] The exhibition was titled "中国建筑、生活、环境展览" (literally, "Chinese Architecture, Life, and Environment") in Chinese. See Anonymous 佚名. "'中国建筑,生活,环境展览'在法国巴黎开幕" [*Environnement quotidien en Chine, Chine urbane—Chine rurale* Opens in Paris]. *建筑学报* Architectural Journal, 1982, no. 8. 73–74.

The timing of the exhibition proved particularly important. While the nationwide "reform and opening-up" had begun in the late 1970s, market reform was taking place very gradually and involved a great deal of trial and error. The experiments with the privatization of the housing market would not unfold until the late 1980s and the nationwide urbanization campaign at this point was more of an anticipatory projection rather than an ongoing reality—at this time 80 percent of the Chinese population was still dwelling in rural areas. In retrospect, this Sino-French collaboration was more than an historical documentation driven by both the outside-in curiosity from the French perspective and inside-out aspiration from the Chinese side—it became a discursive field through which the future of the country was being ruminated on and even predicated.

For the same reason, housing was unequivocally the central focus of the exhibition. This was a topic that previously had been considered only a domestic affair and was seldom featured in overseas exhibitions. The exhibition, while acknowledging China's rich architectural past, simultaneously dismissed the canonized architecture, because what had represented Chinese building culture—typically the imperial palaces, classical gardens, and religious monuments—had long been accessible only to the elite, if not the ruling, class and had little to do with normal people's lives and China's urban reality.[9] In the post-Mao era, the building industry was under pressure to combat the housing shortage as economic activity in cities began to boom and architects came to realize that urban housing had been treated as a form of social welfare under

[9] In the press release, it is stated squarely that the constellation of traditional architectural heritage cannot be directly translated to contemporary experience. This is because what Chinese architecture had been known for—imperial palaces, monumental temples, extravagant gardens—had all belonged to the elite class, whereas what concerned most Chinese architects today was serving the majority. "Information Presse CCI: Environnement Quotidien en Chine." Centre Georges Pompidou, 1982. 9–10.

the socialist society, with the work units being responsible for providing residences for their workers. Meanwhile, as the rural population started to move to the city and tilt the urban-rural demographic balance, the existing program could no longer be sustained and had to be addressed through design. The resulting display thus provided the exhibition's audience with a more contextualized reading of how the built reality of the country related to the current sociopolitical circumstances, raising questions as to why social, economic, and technological factors—including demographics, property ownership, degrees of prefabrication and standardization, and even the one-child policy—had come to bear on people's living situations and therefore guided architectural practice.

In one of the articles anthologized in the official exhibition catalogue, "du rez-de-chaussée au 12e étage: un choix délicat" (From the Ground Floor to the 12th Floor: A Delicate Choice), architect Zhang Kaiji (张开济) captures this tension between the current socialist public housing policy and the efficiency problem it caused for both the work units and the rest of the society (Fig.84).[10] The financial burden, whether taken on by the state directly or through the subsidization of work units, would prove prohibitive, given the current pace of urbanization.[11] As a leading architect in the field who was fully aware that future changes in architectural standards and building codes might depend on his research and suggestions, Zhang discusses in detail the available design solutions to take full advantage of existing urban land. After comparing the pros and cons of different solutions (such as high-rise apartment buildings over ten stories) and reflecting on the possible implications for future development, Zhang offers two alternatives:

[10] Zhang, Kaiji 张开济, "du rez-de-chaussée au 12e étage: un choix délicat." In Zhongguo jian zhu xue hui, Centre de création industrielle, and Centre Georges Pompidou, eds. *Environnement Quotidien en Chine*, 1982. 16–23.
[11] Ibid.

apartment buildings of four to six stories with a more compact layout or low-rise, high-density gated communities of buildings with setback top floors.[32] Needless to say, prescient architects like Zhang were already preparing for the imminent changes by both calling attention to the macrolevel systematic issues such as the irreconcilable tension between the unstoppable urbanization and the unsustainable socialist welfare housing program on the one hand and discussing microlevel design strategies and introducing unfamiliar notions such as privacy and accessibility requirements to the Chinese audience on the other. Through contributions such as this, the quality of life of the common people in the here and now, rather than the prestigious built environment inhabited by the elite class from the past, was spotlighted in the exhibition.

In addition to the discussion of housing and mass planning from professional architects' points of view, the exhibition also tried to approach China's here and now through a careful presentation of vernacularism. An article published in the Chinese magazine *Art Design* faithfully describes the sensation of everydayness one had upon arriving at the exhibition inside the Centre Pompidou:

> One is greeted with two vertical banners written in Chinese—one reads "Environnement quotidien en Chine" and the other reads "Long live the friendship between the Chinese and French peoples"—upon entering the Centre Pompidou and both run all the way up along the escalator. At the entrance of the exhibition space, there stands a traditional northern style gate of a typical Chinese household, suggesting that the door of the country is now open and welcoming to foreign exchanges. The majority of the display was organized according to a symmetrical, octagonal floorplan, dividing the exhibition into two parts: the urban and rural environment, each with large-scale photographs, architectural models, life-size interior recreations, etc. as the artifacts on display. Octagonal and moon gates were alternated to transition audiences from one section to next, while the ceiling of the octagonal pavilion was covered by translucent nylon fabric to create a yurt-like enclosure.[12]

[12] See He Zhenqiang 何镇强. "中国城乡展览在巴黎."[Exhibition of the Urban and Rural China in Paris], in *装饰 Decoration*, 1983/2 (n.d.). 34.

As one navigated the gallery space, passing through the stylized interior design with elements distilled from typical forms of the Chinese built environment such as the moon-shaped and octagonal-shaped gates and decorative grilles, it became clear that the goal for the exhibition was both experiential and informational. In addition to professional sketches, large color photographs, and architectural models, many of the artifacts on display were collected directly from daily life such as stamps, propaganda posters, cigarette packaging, and even lunch boxes, in order to resonate with the exhibition title and its concern with the quotidian. Furthermore, the exhibition was punctuated with two life-size reconstructions of typical building interiors, one urban and one rural (Section C), and a miniature garden in the Suzhou Style (Section H), as well as the showing of a pre-1949 newsreel (Section F) and a three-channeled slide show in the middle (Section E) that created contrasting images of then and now (Figs.85–86).[13]

The exhibition publication took the idea of "architecture without architects" even further, showing things from household objects to shop signs and street posters, all of which stood as a testament to the rising curiosity about the country from the outside after a long hiatus in exchange. People, as well as their daily activities and their interactions with the environment, were incorporated into a supposedly architectural exhibition, captured by spontaneous snapshots that bore witness to street vendors' selling of groceries, snacks, and books; group exercising and martial arts training in public squares and parks; people's riding bikes on their daily commutes; and people's after-hours leisure activities such as sketching outside or taking birds for a walk out in the wilderness. A picture of two people quarreling in the street was even included in the catalogue. According to urban historian Jordan Sand, in the 1980s "uncovering common

[13] "Information Presse CCI: Environnement Quotidien en Chine." 27.

memories and reappraising familiar landscapes offered a new set of values concerning the space of the city and the rights residents had in it."[14] Whereas the desire to understand the quotidian and the local may have some universal appeal in urban studies in the age of globalization, this vernacular-driven, antimonumental sentiment had its historical and ideological specificity in post-Mao China. According to the exhibition designer He Zhenqiang (何镇强), this exhibition "did away with exaggeration, cover-up, and hyperbolic slogans."[15] To him, instead of showing what ought to be in the model neighborhood or model housing by way of propagandizing, the exhibition presented contemporary China as-is without official sanction, and in so doing was extremely valuable. This more "modest and fresh way" of organizing exhibitions had the benefit of making China accessible again to outside (especially Western) viewers while also resonating with the ongoing political discourse of "emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts" (解放思想, 实事求是, *jiefang sixiang*, *shishi qiushi*), a central ideology promoted by Deng Xiaoping that was considered a prerequisite to the country's pursuit of further economic and political reforms.[16]

Be that as it may, one should not mistake the political rhetoric of presenting a faithful version of reality from the Chinese side for the guiding principle of the exhibition. Quite the contrary; both the critics as well as the curatorial team were aware that the goal was not to reduce the exhibition into a singular, indisputable truth or a coherent image of present-day China. If anything, the Sino-French collaboration destabilized this image by incorporating multiple voices. One of the leading curators, Hélène Larroche, claimed that the dynamic engagement between

[14] Sand, Jordan. *Tokyo Vernacular: Common Spaces, Local Histories, Found Objects*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013. 4.
[15] See He Zhenqiang 何镇强. "中国城乡展览在巴黎," 35.
[16] Ibid.

Chinese "illumination" (*l'éclairage*) and French "receptivity" (*réceptivité*) defined the production of the exhibit.[17] For example, the Chinese French architect Léon Hoa (also known as Hua Lanhong 华揽洪) played a pivotal role in the materialization of the exhibition, serving as both a consultant and a liaison between the two institutions and architect groups.[18]

Furthermore, the inclusion of a section about graphic and industrial design was another feature that attested to the influences from the French side, because exhibitions of architecture in China had focused mainly on either ethnocentric styles and decorations or technological/engineering complexity and dedicated little space to architecture's relationship with material and visual culture. Scholars and curators in the catalogue proposed the proliferation of visual communication in the public space and the material transformation within the domestic domain as harbingers of a changing society. An article titled "Vers Un Design Chinois"(Toward a Chinese Design) clearly referenced Le Corbusier's modernist manifesto *Vers une Architecture,* in which the French-Swiss architect polemically pointed to the aesthetics of industrial machines (including cars, ocean liners, and even airplanes), rather than those of classical architecture, as the direction for modernist architecture to follow. Similarly, the Beaubourg exhibition arrived at the conclusion that industrial design rejuvenated traditional crafts and craftsmanship in a modernizing society, as it responded better to individual needs and to market competition.[19] Another article, "Sur les Murs et dans la Rue" (On the Walls and in the Street), saw advertising

[17] Hélène Larroche, "Image Perçue, Image Donnée" in *Environnement Quotidien en Chine*. 6–7.
[18] Hua Lanhong, also known as Leon Hoa (1912–2012) is mostly remembered for his contribution to the debate about Beijing's urban planning in the 1950s. But he left China for France after retiring from the Beijing Institute of Architectural Design in 1977 and became a bridging figure between the architectural communities in the two countries. For a more detailed monographic study of Hua/Hoa's life and work, see Luo Zhi's dissertation, *An Alternative Path, Architect Leon Hoa and His 1950s.*
[19] "Vers Un Design Chinois." *Environnement Quotidien en Chine*. 170–73.

posters, street and shop signs, and formal art exhibitions and informal blackboard gazetteers as critical loci where the transformation of the urbanscape and by extension of urban life could be discerned.[20] Finally, the inclusion of the calligraphic representation and popularization of the mechanical typewriters of Chinese characters captured the unique cultural experiences and medium specificity of the modernization in the design industry (Fig.87). All these examples spoke to the commitment of the Beaubourg exhibition to rediscovering China and its built environment as a continually transforming reality. The success of the exhibit led to another exhibition, *Macao ou jouer la différence* (Macao, or playing the difference), the following year, which called attention to the cultural differences of and architectural negotiations between the Chinese territory and the Portuguese administration in the process of the territory's urban development and the global exchange of capital, network, and identities.

In retrospect, the groundbreaking Beaubourg exhibition took two crucial steps in rewriting the stagnant conventions of the exhibiting of Chinese architecture. First, rather than treating architecture as isolated, exemplary objects and the representative imagery of the nation, this exhibition went in an opposite direction by selecting mundane artifacts and everyday buildings for display in order to convey the message of the here and now. The careful contextualization of the sociological, political, and ethnographical roots embedded in the vernacular architecture depicted not only attested to the cross-cultural nature of the curatorial collaboration, but also pointed to an ideological reorientation that had taken place within China that no longer favored grand narratives or recycled the most iconic examples from an unchanging canon.

[20] "Sur les Murs et dans la Rue." *Environnement Quotidien en Chine*. 174–75.

Second, the medium of the exhibition itself underwent an intense reconsideration in the hands of the exhibition participants. Stylistically speaking, the highlighted examples did not go beyond either the traditional or socialist realist category and China's newfound enthusiasm for modernism was largely absent from the exhibition. However, the discussion of the exhibition site, the direct addressing of the various institutional expectations, and the attention paid to graphic and exhibition design were indispensable to the Beaubourg show, even though curating was still an unfamiliar concept, let alone profession, within the field of architecture in China at the time. The examples displayed in the exhibition were not necessarily selected for their design merit or formal ingenuity—they were there to raise issues and illustrate architects' manifestos in order to destabilize the age-old cultural dominance of both historicism and socialist realism.

Site of Knowledge and Site of Experience: Exhibiting Architecture in the 1990s

If *Environnement quotidien en Chine, Chine urbaine—Chine rurale* at the Centre Pompidou created just a glimpse of the prescient knowledge of the architectural future for a reforming Chinese society in the early 1980s, by the mid-1990s the urbanizing process was well under way, fueled partly by the commercialization of the housing market. Economic globalization, privatization of the right of land use, and urban migration all expedited this overwhelming trend, which also caused the state to loosen its control over the design industry, so that the private practice of architectural design came into existence for the first time since the establishment of the PRC in 1949. This great sea change was again first captured by contemporary exhibitions organized on an international stage rather than in domestic settings, providing both theoretical and creative interpretations of the unfolding events.

In this regard, *New Urbanism: Pearl River Delta* at Documenta X in Kassel, Germany, in 1997 encapsulated the rising interest in the urban transformations and the large-scale commercial developments in China as well as being an early attempt to exhibit the various political, social, and cultural dimensions at work (Fig. 88). The exhibition originated as a project carried out by Rem Koolhaas, the Dutch architect and architectural theorist, and a team of students he taught at the Harvard Graduate School of Design between 1995 and 1997, that entailed extended field research on urbanism on the Pearl River Delta Region (hereafter, PRD) in the southern part of China. It traced the historical and political genesis of the megalopolis and offered a preliminary analysis of how the social and economic life of the residents was being affected by the explosive urban growth. Before its findings, including statistical and cartographical data, field photographs, collections of ephemera and first-hand observations, and references from historical research and popular culture were published in a landmark 700-page book, *Great Leap Forward,* in 2001, some materials appeared in public, in which many of the key concepts and strategies of representation were rehearsed (Fig. 89). Officially recognized as a piece of artwork by Rem Koolhaas, *New Urbanism: Pearl River Delta* was in fact closer to an independent, miniexhibition within the large contemporary art quinquennial. In retrospect, it is clear that this exhibition should be read as a step in the long process of knowledge production related to urbanism in a non-Western context rather than a stand-alone effort. In this vein, a number of factors need to be considered in order to decipher the exhibition's particular display format and curatorial strategy. These include the nature of collective urban research, Koolhaas's own understanding of the architectural exhibition as a particular medium for the construction and communication of meaning, and the underlying institutional and logistical conditions of Documenta X.

First, like Koolhaas's seminal work *Delirious New York,* this field research also took existing cities as it found them, foregrounding the unprecedented urban growth of the PRD region. The main difference between the two works lies in the approaches to the field: whereas *Delirious New York* depended heavily on secondary archive materials and pop cultural images such as historical posters and postcards, the research on PRD involved more on-site fieldwork.[21] In his "Generic City," published right before the fieldwork, Koolhaas declared that contemporary cities were inevitably becoming generic and that the loss of specific urban identities had to do with the fact that cities had expanded at an unprecedented speed and on an unimaginable scale, engulfing the surrounding hinterland that was previously rural or suburban and had little history or urban fabric attached. This process of incorporating history-less, nonurban areas into the urban system had replaced the modernist model of renewing the existing (often historical) urban center and had become the pervasive model of urbanization in the age of globalization. At first glance, the case study of PRD should have been the most recent and convincing piece of evidence of this phenomenon. However, as suggested by Chris Berry, the field research as a case study also began to undo the more-theoretical construction (or as he called it, a manifesto) of the notion of a "generic city." This was because the PRD project, by being based on detailed, empirical research, actually delved into the political, historical, and professional specificities in order to account for how the region came to be the preeminent instance of the urban experiment—a special case that was not by any means the first and only became a prototype for the rest of China after its success.[22] Exhibitions in this context thus served as a recalibration

[21] Liu, Yuyang (architect, former student at Graduate School of Design), interview by the author, unpublished. February 18, 2022.
[22] Berry, Chris. "Imaging the Globalized City: Rem Koolhaas, U-Thèque, and the Pearl River Delta." In *Cinema at the City's Edge*. University of Hong Kong Press, 2010. 155–70.

rather than confirmation of a theoretical hypothesis. For example, after Shenzhen was designated a Special Economic Zone in 1980, the local government was gradually given the authorization to sell the use right of the urban and rural land to private developers, which became a driving force for urban development, incentivizing speculation in real estate that eventually resulted in a building boom.[23] Architecture here played a narrow but pivotal role. Architects were greatly sought after in order to meet the demands of rapid real estate development, yet their creative input was largely sidelined. This paradox was later documented in *Great Leap Forward*, as one author, Nancy Lin, notes:

> A building's primary function is no longer to serve human needs. The traditional concepts associated with architecture such as aesthetics, comfortable environment, advanced building technology, and human occupancy have been suppressed to emphasize quantitative measures like construction volume, capital investment, construction time, cost, and profit return.[24]

Rather than offering any premature judgments about these aspects or rushing into any concrete plans for professional interventions, Koolhaas and his students realized that it was more valuable to share theIR research observations with audiences. Consequently, the design of the exhibition largely evinced the unprocessed quality of the initial research, bearing witness to the raw yet vibrant urban dynamic one would encounter on a visit. The collaged texts and images, which created an imposing, if not maddening, visual effect, included aerial views of the city, advertising photos taken from the brochures of a real estate development company, block quotes

[23] The designation as the Special Economic Zone in 1980 meant the PRD region became the nation's largest testing ground for economic reforms. Housing was transformed from what was considered a component of social welfare distributed by the work units during the early decades of the PRC to a commodity that could be exchanged freely on the market in the late 1980s. For the historicization of this shift, see Liu, Yuyang. "Chronology: Pearl River Delta." and Craciun, Mihai. "Ideology: Shenzhen." In *Great Leap Forward*, TASCHEN GmbH, 2001. 30–43; 44–155.

[24] Lin, Nancy. "Architecture: Shenzhen." In *Great Leap Forward*. 165.

in both Chinese and English, and statistical charts. By contrast, no building models, hand sketches, or architectural diagrams typically found in an architectural exhibition were included—the floor space was even left open for circulation for those attending (Fig. 90).

Second, as observed by scholars such as Christophe van Gerrewey, exhibitions organized by Koolhaas and the Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMA) have consistently demonstrated a tendency to prioritize architecture as a communication tool, a means to probe the social and cultural causes, rather than as aesthetic or architectonic artifacts to be singled out.[25] This tendency explains Koolhaas's reluctance to recreate the spatial experiences of the urban environment in China inside the gallery in any significant way. Sharing his reservations about architectural exhibition with Marxist architect and theorist Manfredo Tafuri, Koolhaas renounced the superfluous use of exhibitionary space and scenographic approach of staging architecture in the gallery space without touching on any "real" issues. Having eschewed architecture's narcissistic confinement within small, elite professional and intellectual circles, he broke free from "an exaltation of architecture's own apartness" lamented by Tafuri and continued to explore the exhibition format in alternative ways by turning to the performativity of the datascape and its ability to bring the political, social, and historical contexts to the fore.[26] Viewers of *New Urbanism: Pearl River Delta* who expected to see material hints of designs, forms, or the ingenious touch of the world-renowned architect were frustrated by the delivery of the content. Yet the emphasis on the performativity of assorted data was a deliberate representational strategy, both paralleling the sense of disorientation and detachedness felt by potential home buyers in Shenzhen and Guangzhou and capturing the free-flowing state of

[25] Van Gerrewey, Christophe. "Outreach Extensions: OMA/Rem Koolhaas Exhibitions as Self-Critical Environments." *Architectural Theory Review* 23, no. 1 (January 2, 2019). 90–113.
[26] Ibid.

capital and the homogenizing telecommunication as the dominant urban experiences in the globalized era.

Lastly, the conceptual, institutional, and logistical framework of Documenta X cannot be overlooked, as it dictated what could be implemented as part of an international art event geared toward the globalized art community. As envisioned by the French curator Catherine David, the artistic director of Documenta X, the large-scale quinquennial was not meant to spectacularize contemporary practices as aesthetic products conforming to and dominated by the logic of the cultural industry and the Western-centric art market. Rather, she saw the last Documenta of the century as an opportunity to reset and focus on the interdependent relationship between contemporary art and institutional and international politics in the age of global modernity. In this light, *New Urbanism* resonated well with the overall spirit of the international art event, both presenting the political and socioeconomic foundation that had given rise to this new type of urbanism outside the Western canon and exposing the limitation of architecture as a self-serving professional trade at the same time. Meanwhile, as acknowledged by David, "the extreme heterogeneity of contemporary aesthetic practices and mediums—matched by the plurality of contemporary exhibition spaces (the wall, the page, the poster, the television screen, the Internet) . . . necessarily oversteps the spatial, and temporal but also ideological limits of the 'white cube.'"[27] Similarly, *New Urbanism* from the outset was not meant to be contained within the gallery space and presented with definiteness. On the contrary, it sought to create a certain degree of ambiguity and open-endedness: many ideas were presented without sufficient explanation in the exhibition in Documenta and the montage of texts, images, and statistical data appeared more as fragmented and polemical impression rather than a serious attempt at

[27] David, Catherine. "Introduction." *Documenta X: Short Guide*/Kurzführer. 11.

theorization. As much of the content reappeared in print with some of the early ideas better elaborated in the final book *Great Leap Forward* in 2001, it became clear that the exhibition had served as a stepping stone to a much more elaborated project.[28]

Influenced by Koolhaas's vision of featuring and interpreting the rising Asian megacities as a subject matter for research and exhibit, another groundbreaking exhibition, *Cities on the Move I,* opened in November 1997 at Secession in Vienna, Austria, marking the beginning of a series of itinerant exhibitions across Europe, the United States, and Asia over the next two years (Fig. 91).[29] This exhibition series, curated by the Sino-Swiss duo Hou Hanru and Hans Ulrich Obrist, highlighted artists and architects whose practices were in active dialogue with the mutating urbanscape and the transforming urban cultures in a number of Asian countries and regions. For both curators, cities had become more than a topic; they had turned into a fundamental method for artistic production: "Cities are catalysts for innovation, transformation, and contestation, as well as sites for sociocultural ferment, discourse, and engagement."[30] Cities also offered new perspectives on circumventing the nation-based narrative in exhibiting contemporary art outside the West.[31] Furthermore, the notion of *the city as processes,* rather than

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[28] Liu Yuyang, interview by the author. February 18, 2022.

[29] Initiated for the Secession in Vienna between November 26, 1997, and January 18, 1998, *Cities on the Move* is a traveling exhibition that was also featured in CAPC musée d'art contemporain de Bordeaux, MoMA P.S.1, the Louisiana Museum in Denmark, the Hayward Gallery in London, the Museum of Modern Art in Helsinki, and in the city of Bangkok from 1997 to 1999. Hans Ulrich Obrist recalled that a meeting with Koolhaas in the summer of 1995 proved a key moment for the preparation of *Cities on the Move*. Rather than "formulat[ing] a theory about this [the topic of Asian cities] from afar," the curator duo developed a series of fieldwork and empirical encounters with architects and artists. See "Architecture, Urbanism and Exhibitions," in Obrist, Hans Ulrich. *Ways of Curating*. New York: Faber and Faber, 2014. 110–114.

[30] Wong Hoy Cheong, "Cities on the Move: Twenty Years On," in *Podium, M+ Stories* (blog), November 2017.

[31] Hou, Hanru. *On the Mid-Ground: Selected Texts*. Edited by Hsiao-Hwei Yu. Timezone 8. Hong Kong: Timezone, 2002. 218.

fixed entities, and as such open to use, reuse, and misuse from the bottom up, while challenging the modernist ideal that cities are rational and result from planned effort, was of particular historical and cultural value in the contemporary Asian context.

Unlike *New Urbanism,* which widened the focus to examine the relationship between urbanism and the economic and political forces driving it at the macrolevel, *Cities on the Move I* foregrounded the individual agency of the artists, writers, and architects. The belief was that these people, the most sensitive to and critical of the surrounding changes, were eager to create "temporal interruptions of the high speed of urban mutation" and resist the "theme-parkization of urban space" and sterilization of popular culture. Therefore it is through their works that "alternative 'sub-spaces' or non-institutional 'artist-run-space'" could be discovered.[32] Over two years, Hou and Obrist conducted extensive fieldwork by visiting a number of countries and regions to track down artists and architects and persuade them to become part of the exhibition-making process.[33] The exhibition consequently amassed works in various media, including installations, photography, videos, performance and conceptual art, architectural models, and drawings, in order to showcase that art could be employed to understand the changing urban realities even in places where infrastructural support for art making (such as conventional museums and galleries) tended to be lacking.

[32] Ibid. 221.

[33] The curators included people who were native to the Asian countries as well as foreigners who worked in Asia. In this light, the geographic tie became more important than the nationality of the participating artist (for example, both Rem Koolhaas and the Harvard Project on the City were included in the exhibition) and this transnational and multicultural approach became the foundation of the exhibition series. See Hou, Hanru, and Hans Ulrich Obrist, *Cities on the Move*. Ostfildern-Ruit: New York, N.Y: Hatje.1997.

Another key characteristic that sets *Cities on the Move I* apart from *New Urbanism* is the significant awareness of the site and creative use of space through exhibition design. Hosted inside the Secession Building in Vienna, *Cities on the Move I* attempted to invoke aspects of placeness among viewers by transforming the museum interior into an urbanscape of a typical Asian city, an act termed by Lucy Steeds as "mock-city building" or "interior urbanism."[34] This is particularly evidenced in the exhibition design overseen by the young Chinese architect Yung Ho Chang. Commissioned by the curators, Chang created a large installation that served both as a centerpiece installation and a piece of site-specific infrastructure as a response to Hou Hanru's idea of envisioning an extremely high-density exhibit as a distinct viewing experience. The work, placed in the middle of the main gallery, consisted of a two-tier metal frame covered by translucent plastic wrapping as an enclosure. It occupied almost half of the floor space of the gallery while leaving the middle ground empty as if it were a courtyard in a traditional Chinese *siheyuan* complex (courtyard house) (Fig. 92). Functionally, the installation carved out a parcel of empty space inside the gallery and added a mezzanine floor for people to gather around and view the formal program or improvised performance. Aesthetically, by employing cheap, temporary materials, the unassuming appearance of the work not only made other artists feel comfortable in readapting its surrounding surfaces as extra wall space on which to hang their own works, but also reminded viewers of the scaffolding system on a construction site seen ubiquitously in developing countries in Asia. Furthermore, by deliberately seizing more space than expected, it artificially densified the rest of the exhibition space, making the already

[34] Steeds, Lucy. "Exhibitions and the City: To Accelerate or Pause? Two Case Studies" *Yishu*, vol. 13, no. 2 (2014): 118–119.

congested gallery even more so, helping establish the exhibit as a metonymic, microcosmic city with a sense of density, transience, and work-in-progress-ness.[35]

Interestingly, the spatial manipulation did not end with Yung Ho Chang's site specific installation, as this work itself became subject to further artistic appropriation in the same exhibition. The Chinese-French artist Huang Yong Ping conceived of his project as a symbiotic presence to the existing scaffolding system by proposing to insert eighty-two live tortoises between the bottom of the metal columns and the ground, which cultivated the unsettling image that the whole set could potentially be on the move (Fig. 93).[36] Tortoises are a common element in Huang's own artistic repertoire; more importantly, they bear a historical reference to the mythological creature of Bixi, allegedly one of the nine sons of the dragon in premodern myths, and were incorporated into traditional Chinese architecture, especially in the form of tortoise-mounted steles and tablets that dated back to the Han dynasty. As this tradition was disseminated, first to China's neighboring countries, and then picked up by Western writers in the nineteenth century, it became one of the most widely recognized decorative built structures that make use of Chinese cultural symbolism among international viewers (Fig. 94). By uprooting Yung Ho Chang's modern and perhaps nationless architectural installation and then playfully layering it with culturally specific paraphernalia, Huang's engagement with the existing environment in the gallery space was analogous to how some of these contemporary artists worked on the ground. Increasingly disenchanted with the tabula rasa space inside institutional white boxes, they desired to take matters to the street, treating the public space, the swiftly changing built environment in their respective cities, as the fundamental conditions and

[35] Zhang, Yonghe. *Exhibition as Construction Experiment*. Edited by Yung Mian and Cheng Yishi. Melbourne: Images Publishing, 2019. 5.
[36] "Huang Yong Ping, No.24." *Cities on the Move*. No pages.

inseparable context of their art making. Their methodical ways of challenging the prescribed use of urban environments and exploring the alternative possibilities of working in and navigating the city was in turn internalized by the curators as a crucial perspective from which to understand Asian cities not as history- and identity-less generic cities, but as cities with hodgepodges of cultural influences and identities in the making.

Using "cities" as the umbrella concept to include both art and architectural works outside the Western canon and present them side by side in the same exhibition proved to be both innovative and ambitious. Yet the effectiveness of this experiment should not be accepted without consideration. In fact, an irreconcilable tension seemed to distinguish the two professional camps of architects and artists: most of the former chose to exhibit their past or ongoing design projects that catered to the various developmental needs of the thriving Asian cities, ultimately portraying those places as positive, opportunity-laden hotbeds of activity. This sanguine optimism was countered by a number of artists, who seemed more skeptical of the fervent and sometimes violent urban growth. Their art projects, often deriving from personal experiences and invoking a sense of nostalgia, disorientation, or sarcasm, showed a more complex spectrum of attitudes and emotions toward the urbanization campaign. Such a divide seemed to attest to what David Clarke described as the opposing perspectives embodied by the bureaucrat, who saw modernity as "marked by a powerful obsession to impose a thoroughly rationalized order on to the world, an order that would efface all traces of the ambivalence" on the one hand, and by the flâneur, whose "existence was built upon the sustained disavowal of the cognitive ordering of space, in favor of a self-defined and self-centered aesthetic spacing" on the other.[37] Reclaiming the lived experience on the ground and reconstructing it inside the exhibition

[37] Clarke, David. "Introduction," in *The Cinematic City*., Routledge, 1997. 3–7.

space, Yung Ho Chang's site-specific architectural installation and Huang Yong Ping's subsequent reappropriation offered a possible reconciliation between architecture and art, the man-made (scaffolding) and the natural (tortoise), the cognitive (represented by the bureaucratic) and the haptic (represented by the flâneur). Unlike the flattened collage in *New Urbanism* or the abstract impression conveyed in "Generic City," the juxtapositions of Chang and Huang and *Cities on the Move I* as a whole indicated a form of resistance against the universalization and reductionism of global urbanization.

Both *New Urbanism* and *Cities on the Move I* represented a force emerging outside official circles with the goal of presenting the latest updates on contemporary Chinese architecture and urbanism. Because of the international background of both curatorial teams and the institutional framework, the exhibitions inevitably foregrounded the impact of globalization on places and individuals rather than focusing on distilling Chineseness from the dispersed architectural practices and urban realities. Both exhibitions seemed to share the quality of heterotopia in the sense that they interwove the spatial realities of the gallery and elsewhere—in the case of *New Urbanism,* an intellectual space that transformed itself from Koolhaas's sketch to the final book, and in the case of *Cities on the Move I*, a series of public spaces found in the fast-changing Asian cities—simultaneously.[38] Like other heterotopic sites where their layers of meanings derived from the negotiation of different powers, curators, researchers, architects, and artists in these instances approached the exhibitions as man-made environments and the process of constructing meanings through exhibition building as a spatial practice that could fill the void left behind by the relaxation of state control and form new individual and cultural identities of the otherwise unnoticed, real sites halfway around the world.

[38] Foucault, Michel, and Jay Miskowiec. "Of Other Spaces." *Diacritics* no.16, vol. 1 (1986): 22.

Exhibition as Public Outreach: The Second Guangzhou Triennial and the Times Museum

Although the abovementioned exhibitions were curated for international audiences, the new scope, methodology, and representation strategies nevertheless proved influential on the architectural community at home as well. The number of architectural exhibitions skyrocketed in the late 1990s and early 2000s within China. This surge, however, was met with criticism from scholars and practitioners alike, who claimed that these exhibitions often failed to deliver a similar level of intellectual ambition, methodological reflection, and proper documentation.[39] It seemed that the more participants became familiar with the exhibitionary mechanism, the more they became interested only in self-serving agendas such as marketing and networking, rather than using the opportunities to advance architectural thinking that could lead to real changes.

Underlying this phenomenon was a more fundamental tension between exhibitions and architecture. Because the former for the most part take place in spatially confined environment and last a short period of time, the architectural creations made specifically for exhibitions are usually temporary and modest in scale. If addressing the agendas of the art institutions and meeting certain artistic or critical criteria were to become the priority, how could architecture on display attend to the needs and issues of the "real world" and serve "real life" patrons? The last case study here of the Second Guangzhou Triennial explains how a collaborative endeavor of architects, curators, and institutions managed to break free from exhibitionary limitations and have a long-lasting impact on the local community in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

It could be argued that the Guangzhou Triennial was born out of the seismic urban transformation in the Pearl River Delta and the vibrant activities of the local community of artists, as traces of both were captured in *New Urbanism: Pearl River Delta* and *Cities on the*

[39] Qin and Yang. "Exhibition about Exhibitions: Documenta of Chinese Contemporary Architectural Exhibitions." 30.

Move I. It was not surprising that the founding members of the Guangdong Museum of Art in Guangzhou, established in 1997, came to see the city as a center of contemporary art in southern China and initiated the Guangzhou Triennial in 2002 in order to facilitate exchanges among artists, architects, and the general public locally and beyond. With the title of *Beyond: An Extraordinary Space of Experimentation for Modernization*, the Second Guangzhou Triennial organized by Hou Hanru, Hans Ulrich Obrist, and Guo Xiaoyan from the Guangdong Museum of Art sought to give expression to the relationship between art making and place making and bring art in contact with the specific urban context of Guangzhou. During the triennial, a proposal to create a permanent space for the Times Museum—a recently established partner of the Guangdong Museum of Art as well as a hosting institution of the triennial—stood out as a notable example of how architectural exhibitions could anticipate and inform design projects, ensure their execution, and nurture a sense of place-ness and communities even after the exhibition itself had ended.[40] I argue that the exhibition was not intended to be a final product, but as a means of public outreach that could lead to social good in the long term. The example here showcases how the triennial played an instrumental role in connecting key figures and resources while envisioning architecture not just as an imposed reality, but as a way of negotiating with the program, site, and the social and cultural conditions of the community in which it took place. Its materialization did not come about thanks to the visions of architects alone, but required the active support, institutional flexibility, and collaborative effort of patrons, curators, and the city government, as well as the public.

[40] Shen Ruijun (former curator at Guangzhou Times Museum), interview by the author, August 22, 2022.

The commission for building a noncollecting, private art museum emerged prior to the triennial when the local real estate company Times Property decided to team up with the Guangdong Museum of Art to both promote contemporary art in a newly developed urban space and establish its own brand as a sponsor of art and cultural events around 2003.[41] The task proved challenging from the outset. The museum was to be located in the urban periphery where things appeared "generic" in the Koolhaasian sense. The region was mostly zoned and constructed as a residential community for the rapidly expanding Guangzhou. A limited amount of urban infrastructure such as subways was in place, let alone major cultural institutions (Fig. 95). The previous two locations used by the Times Branch of the Guangdong Museum of Art before 2005 were no more than temporary spaces, converted sales buildings for the multiphase development of a high-end gated community known as the "Times Rose Garden." Although these venues proved increasingly unfit for a committed partnership, the projected permanent museum building still had to be sited inside the gated community. It was under these circumstances that the curatorial team decided to invite Rem Koolhaas to participate in the triennial and work toward a long-term architectural solution for the Guangdong Museum of Art, the Times Property, the residents of the community, and the rest of the city.

During his initial visit, Koolhaas came to realize the problem with the proposed site that was located in the central green area of the real estate property and surrounded by a ring of high-rise residential towers. He became impressed by the contrast between the well-developed gated community and the adjacent, underdeveloped urban fringe after viewing the area from the roof of

[41] 赵趄 Zhao, Qie, "从广东美术馆时代分馆到时代美术馆" [From the Times Branch of GMoA to Times Museum] in Zhu Ye and Zhang Dan, eds. *Our Times: The Birth of Guangdong Times Museum*. Jiangsu Phoenix Publishing & Media. 2020. 12–22.

one of the towers still under construction.[42] He and his colleague Alain Fouraux returned with a radical and intentional plan, later unveiled at the triennial in late 2005,[43] according to which the museum would be compartmentalized based on varying functions and then separately integrated into three existing interconnected eighteen-story residential buildings (Fig. 96).[44] A viewer would enter the museum from the main street on the first level, without needing to go through a separate gate into the private, gated community, to attend lectures and performances and spend time in the gift shop. An independent elevator would then take the viewer to the rectangular gallery space on the added nineteenth floor, which was glazed with floor-to-ceiling elaborate round windows overlooking the city. Meanwhile, with the museum being focused on the production and display rather than collection of contemporary art, a robust artist-in-residence program was conceived, granting artists easy access to the fabrication shops and warehouses in the basement or the apartments-converted-artists' studios nestled on the fourteenth floor, where open-studio sessions could be held from time to time. To compensate for the museum's lack of visibility from the street, the architects designed a billboard-like roof cantilevered from an added X-shaped steel skeleton. A large double-sided LED sign with information on exhibitions and related events was also planned that would be attached to the outside of the elevator and move up and down with it.

The approach of "blending" an institutional building of high culture into an upscale yet nondescript residential building was both unprecedented and subversive for contemporary art

[42] "Archive Three: Koolhaas on Site" in *Our Times: The Birth of Guangdong Times Museum*. 106–13.
[43] Guangdong Museum of Art. *The Second Guangzhou Triennial: Beyond: An Extraordinary Space of Experimentation for Modernization*. Guangdong: Museum of Art, 2006. 118–19.
[44] "Archive Four: Koolhaas's Proposal." In *Our Times: The Birth of Guangdong Times Museum*. 142–87.

museums in China, a new building typology that burst onto the architectural scene there around 2000. In fact, a number of private art museums were inaugurated within a few years as part of the nationwide campaign to advance the "cultural industry" that were often sponsored by large real estate companies such as the Times Property. Despite their providing much-needed platforms for contemporary art as more flexible and progressive alternatives to the state- or academy-controlled museum system, this trend produced considerable controversy. In reality, these early attempts pointed to uncertain prospect, as they struggled to create well-functioning spaces, build solid collections, sustain lasting organizations, and engage effectively with the public. It was commonplace for these new museums to follow two design patterns. They were either readapted commercial buildings—usually sales offices—inside a recent development plan or parachuted as a brand new iconic landmark, usually into the undeveloped urban outskirts to boost the value of the surrounding land. Both patterns tended to overexploit museums' cultural capital to serve companies' branding strategies at the cost of the needs of artists, curators, and the audience, thus revealing museums' overreliance on companies' financial health, willingness to invest, and respect for professionalism.[45]

Treating this context as a source of inspiration, the architects involved in the triennial sought to creatively tackle the institutional and physical challenges simultaneously. On the one hand, the design foregrounded the museum's key mission of being an incubator for art making. As mentioned in the exhibition catalogue for the triennial, the building was envisioned as "a toolbox" that could "offer support and facilities for production of art in the broadest sense of the word and a means to exhibit this process."[46] Artists were encouraged to have their works

[45] 赵趄 Zhao, Qie, "从广东美术馆时代分馆到时代美术馆." 21.
[46] *The Second Guangzhou Triennial*. 118–119.

exhibited after living and working there for an extended period of time. Rejecting the idea of dropping a landmark into a remote suburb and expecting local residents to embrace its presence, the architects imagined that artists, museum staff, and local residents could have a symbiotic relationship. Through daily encounters or even nuisances and conflicts, the bottom-up artistic practices and interwoven spatial experiences could be acknowledged and enjoyed by the local community. This, the architects hoped, would eventually make the often-obscure process of art making more accessible, both physically and conceptually.

On the other hand, the design could be seen as a critical commentary on a particular urban typology and history that had fascinated Koolhaas since 1995. As gated communities had become the most commonplace housing type and a profitable paradigm that attracted the most development interest in the Chinese real estate market, many architects and scholars at the time lamented its homogenous forms and negative impact on the urbanizing process in contemporary China. This rampant, profit-driven way of urban development and its resulting monoprogrammed residential neighborhoods were often executed at an astounding pace, with the construction of the necessary infrastructure and amenities to ensure quality of life lagging behind. In this light, home buyers often found themselves moving further and further out of the urban centers to places where access to various public services and urban functionalities was frequently lacking. Yet for Koolhaas and Fouraux, both the site research and the proposed design demonstrated an unyielding commitment to this building type and the communal contexts it generated, rather than simply dismissing it as a context-less "generic city." The architects thus valorized the historical and economic specificity of the gated community. The dispersed planning of the museum and its embeddedness within a vertical building proved to be more than a gesture of antimonumentality and of the blurring of high and low architecture. By locating the

museum in a building adjacent to urban streets instead of in the center of a gated community as originally intended, the architects managed to both maximize the museum's publicness while also reducing unwanted disturbance by visitors of the rest of the neighborhood (Fig. 97). Furthermore, it avoided demanding more land from the client or the city, which would help the museum's long-term financial health and allow for more-flexible museum practice.

Unlike the previous exhibitions of the 1990s that had served as reflections of what had already been built, the Second Guangzhou Triennial presented a new possibility of seeing exhibitions as motors to generate an architecture that could be new centers for social and cultural engagement. The experimentalism here thus depended not so much on coming up with unprecedented architectural forms or establishing a world-class museum with a comprehensive functionality, but rather on the innovative use of architectural space as a social device to blur the boundary between contemporary art and public life and thus redefine the ways in which cultural life could unfold in a community that had little access to it. To make clear that it was not just the architects who harbored this vision, one of the curators, Hou Hanru, writing on a separate occasion, also called for more-thoughtful, contextualist attitudes toward China's fast-changing urban realities, in particular "the high-density, uneven development, diversifying urban lifestyles and cultural identities, chaotic and unplanned housing conditions, pollutions, congestions, and the political and cultural transformation of the entire society."[47] According to him, architects in China should neither self-Orientalize their practices via ideas such as "spirit," "fengshui," or "yin-yang" in order to emphasize their superficial regionalist roots nor introduce ideas such as "globalization," "high-tech," and "virtuality" as a one-size-fits-all cure for the problems

[47] See Hou Hanru 侯瀚如, Han Yan 韩彦, and Zhou Rong 周榕. "'平常'与'非常'之间——有关张永和以及非常建筑工作室的评述" [Between the Usual and the Unusual, Some Words on Yung Ho Chang and Atelier FCJZ], *建筑师 The Architect*, no. 2 (2004). 21.

mentioned above. Instead, he used the triennial to celebrate those practitioners who looked beyond the aesthetic or economic values of a project and those who explored architecture's social influences in imaginative, open-ended ways outside the capitalist or bureaucratic framework.[48]

In order to foster local engagement, the public was able to view the design proposal at the triennial, inside the temporary, sales-office-turned Times Museum, and assess both the positive and negative impacts it might have on the community firsthand. Both the Times Group and the urban planning department of Guangzhou welcomed this new direction and played pivotal roles in solving the practical problems introduced by the design by loosening zoning restrictions, communicating with the residents of the building, and inventing a solid program to go with the site condition and institutional structure. Challenging the conventional "white box" model, the Times Museum represented a different type of museum making that no longer touted the consumption of art as a new lifestyle or a marker of social status, instead stressing art's participation in local affairs and art as a viable way of knowledge production.[49] The museum opened its door to the public in 2010 and remained in operation till 2022 (Fig. 98).

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[48] Ibid.

[49] The design proposal underwent a series of revisions. For example, the fabrication shops in the basement and artists-in-residences on the fourteenth floor in the original plan had to be abandoned and replaced by storage space and museum offices. A separate elevator exclusively installed for the museum's use (including a protruding LED screen attached to the elevator) did not materialize, and the museum staff, museum goers, and artists had to share elevators with the residents of the building, which was sometimes inconvenient. The compromise regarding the program of on-site production was compensated for by a purposefully conceived archive and research department and the promotion of new media art. More interestingly, the colorful graphics on the rooftop facing down toward the street were originally conceived only as a placeholding design for the triennial display and were designed to be painted over before each new exhibit as a changeable billboard. However, the construction team quickly executed this design before the museum staff could make changes to it. The fact that the billboard listed in large Chinese characters "Guangdong Museum of Art" and a few exhibition items that belonged

Conclusion

This chapter considers four different instances of exhibiting the contemporary architecture of China from the early 1980s to the early 2000s in order to observe the historical shift in the conceptualization and organization of architectural exhibitions. These diverse efforts fit poorly with a story of a single individual, institution, or movement generating groundbreaking changes that all of a sudden made exhibitions an indispensable part of architectural practice and culture in post-Mao, postsocialist Chinese society. Despite their apparent differences, however, they all did away with the goal of distilling a coherent image of Chineseness through architecture so common in exhibitions up to the 1980s. Nor did they completely follow the modernist tradition of singling out individual architects in order to celebrate their distinguished design ingenuity. Rather, the abovementioned instances stood out as displaying a stronger desire to understand the architecture and urbanism that was emerging in China during its transitional era as-is, with trials and errors, before any overarching formulaic exhibitionary paradigms could take hold.

In this light, *Environnement quotidien en Chine, Chine urbaine—Chine rurale* introduced the notion of the quotidian in architecture by highlighting the pressing issue of housing. Moreover, architecture's interdisciplinary potential was duly explored, as ethnographic studies of product and graphic design in China bridged the gap between architecture, mass culture, and

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to the Guangdong Museum of Art and not to the Times Museum created a slightly awkward and confusing image and derailed the original purpose of the graphics. However, as the chief curator Shen recollects, the museum decided to keep this visual design unaltered as a testament to the "raw, hasty, spontaneous, and vibrant" nature of the art community in Guangzhou. Shen Ruijun, interview by the author, August 22, 2022.

everyday life. *New Urbanism* used the exhibition as an interface to present architectural and quasi-ethnographic research for the purposes of unpacking China's explosive urbanization campaigns and testing the communicative limitations of visual and textual data and infographics in relation to architectural subjects. Shedding light on the commercialized architectural practice vis-à-vis its broader social, economic, and political implications not only questioned the conventional curatorial focus on architectural designs, but also opened up new ways of engaging with the commonplace, the temporary, and the nonmonumental aspects of Chinese architecture outside the official, grand narrative. *Cities on the Move I* further dismantled the nation-based representation of architectural experience that had played a predominant role throughout the history of displaying non-Western building traditions and instead foregrounded the perspectives of the individual producers, users, inhabitants, and flâneurs as they interacted with the changing urbanscape. The congested design of the exhibition space also knit together the multicultural backgrounds of the nomadic artists and architects, which further brought down the disciplinary boundaries between art and architecture. Lastly, the design proposal and the subsequent materialization of the Times Museum, born out of the Second Guangzhou Triennial, demonstrated architectural exhibitions' potential to overcome their institutional and programmatic barriers and extend the exhibitionary outreach to the general public outside professional circles.

Several conclusions can be drawn about these exhibitions' efforts in what can be understood as a transitional period for both the architectural community and Chinese society at large between the early 1980s and early 2000s. First, despite the long-lasting appeal of premodern Chinese architecture for foreign audiences, a new, contemporary dimension was firmly established in the exhibiting of architecture of China. This is partly due to the transfer of

power between generations of architects. Nothing better exemplifies this transition than the father-son duo of Zhang Kaiji (b. 1912), who worked for Beijing Institute of Architectural Design and Research, and Yung Ho Chang (also known as Zhang Yonghe, b. 1955), who was educated in the United States and opened the first private design firm in China. As the new generation of architects were forced to look for commissions in a market still largely dominated by the large state-sponsored design institutes and international commercial firms such as SOM and KPF, it is not surprising that they embraced the different exhibition opportunities and their production was more concerned with China's here and now rather than with the country's architectural past.

Second, nation branding, or expressing "Chineseness" through architecture, started to lose cachet in exhibitions related to contemporary subjects. Examples of self-conscious challenges to this exhibition orthodoxy, best exemplified by *Cities on the Move I,* began to use transcultural, cosmopolitan methodologies to neutralize the nation-based narrative. Even though the state was still involved in some of the exhibitions staged during this period, including *Environnement quotidien en Chine, Chine urbaine—Chine rurale*, individual curators, architects, and scholars started to exercise more agency and explore the subject from various perspectives as their roles in determining what to show and how to produce a critical and engaging exhibition became more prominent. An increasingly international enterprise, the architectural exhibition became a channel through which the rest of the world could rediscover China and new networks could be formed. For example, Rem Koolhaas and his team's study of the urbanism of the Pearl River Delta region proved to be an influential case study for the Chinese architectural community and its success also helped Koolhaas's compy land subsequent projects in China. Wang Shu travelled internationally for the first time to attend the opening of the *TUMU*

exhibition in Berlin in 2001, which was considered the collective international debut of the Experiment Architects.

Third, what arose behind such international exchange was an awareness of the vernacular, which resulted from a combination of factors, including a reaction to the country's previous socialist rhetoric, reflection on the marketization of the design industry, and the attempt to recontextualize the China story in relation to global architectural culture. Exhibitions provided a suitable platform for engaging with architectural and urban reality as-is by highlighting noniconic buildings, lived experiences, site-specific experiments, and neglected urban contexts. The defamiliarization of the urban vernacular—what Yung Ho Chang calls the "leftover space" (space left between built or planned efforts, often-neglected urban space such as back alleys, etc.)—and the emphasis on people's day-to-day interactions with such spaces in turn became a forms of critique in themselves, dissociating architecture from an ideological perspective and celebrating the bottom-up, piecemeal innovations through professional lenses.[50]

Fourth, exhibitions proved a key site for intermedial exchange between architecture and other art forms. The boundaries between architecture and other visual media were much more malleable than they had been during the previous era, with architects regularly participating in art exhibitions and artists doing the same in architecture exhibitions. The ways in which artists and architects intermingled or even joined forces varied, from site-inspired installations/performances within the physical boundaries of the gallery space to critiques of or interventions in the actual public space and urban environment. This triggered many architects to think about their work as not just final products and about their representations in new ways

[50] See Hou Hanru 侯瀚如 et al. "'平常'与'非常'之间——有关张永和以及非常建筑工作室的评述." 21.

other than drawings, models, and photographs. Research projects, on-site installations, and time-based works (e.g., Li Juchuan's work discussed in chapter 3) become increasingly popular.

Lastly and perhaps most importantly, exhibitions created a new nexus that connected the professional world with the general public by enabling the "social" aspects of architecture to permeate through the professional barriers and become part of the public discourse. These case studies demonstrate a range of possibilities of how exhibitions could liberate architecture from an aesthetic or technical focus and probe issues such as better housing, spatial politics, resistance to homogenization, and community engagement. While trial and error persisted in these experiments, it is undeniable that social aspects collectively became a salient theme when exhibiting contemporary architecture in China.

Conclusion Toward a New Architectural Culture

It is widely established that architecture has been at the core of China's historic urban development—with its level of urbanization moving from less than 20 percent in 1980 to above 50 percent in 2010—and has been dramatically affected by the wholesale political, economic, and social changes that have taken place in the post-Mao era (some call the postsocialist era). Historians have so far eloquently reflected on the profound impact the privatization and marketization of the profession had on what it meant to be an architect in China. Globalization was another key source of historical agency, as the influx of foreign capital, as well as the free flow of information from the rest of the world and the increasing exchange through worldwide networks, further facilitated the cultural shifts.

Responding to these external factors, a group of architects, scholars, critics, and artists in China experimented with different media and advanced different platforms in order to reclaim the disciplinary autonomy of architecture and explore its potential for cultural expression. What had constituted the canon of Chinese architecture up to that moment—mostly traditional and socialist (or Beaux-Arts-influenced) monuments and landmarks—was challenged by many, as new criteria and values were introduced. Consequently, as the chapters in this dissertation have demonstrated, Western-style buildings, commercial buildings (such as modern hospitality architecture like the Fragrant Hill Hotel), small, temporary renovation projects (such as the Xishu Bookshop), artworks in the form of video pieces (such as *Beijing City Wall, 2000)* and urban happenings (such as *Redline Project II*), and architectural exhibitions all embodied this shift of culture. Yet these projects alone were not enough to initiate reflection on the methodology and historiography of the study of Chinese architecture. Rather, it was the

symbiotic relationship among the material experiments, together with the debates and controversies they generated, the questions they put forward, and the ways in which they interfaced with users and observers near and far that contributed to this overall paradigmatic transformation.

Multiculturalism, vernacularism, contextualism, and social engagement were all added to the collective endeavor to further delink architecture from the ethnocentric/nationalistic or socialist realist traditions. Granted, grand landmarks incorporating innovative technologies and mesmerizing formal features were still sought after and constructed at the behest of the central and local governments as a way of displaying the country's achievements in terms of development and cosmopolitanism, and world-renowned architects and architectural firms such as John Portman, SOM, Paul Andreu, Rem Koolhaas, Zaha Hadid, and Herzog and de Meuron were all involved in this process.[1] Nevertheless "Chinese Architecture" as both a discourse and a practice were no longer solely defined by a top-down, centralized mechanism, whether dictated by the state, the lofty historical idealism of Chineseness, or a select few within the academy. It could also spring up from everyday life, avant-garde art, or even receptions and interpretations by agents outside the country, as exemplified in the cases of the Sino-Japanese survey, the architectural design by I.M. Pei, and Rem Koolhaas's groundbreaking study of urbanism.

It is my belief that those who longed for a new architectural culture treated the various media—including but not limited to empirical survey and history writing, journals and translated texts, contemporary art, and architectural exhibitions—as means of analysis and representations all at once. This period was arguably the first time in the history of Chinese architecture that a

[1] For lists of the international companies and individual architects active in China since 1978, see 薛求理 Xue, Charlie Q. L. *世界建筑在中国* [World Architecture in China]. Di 1 ban. Shanghai: Dong fang chu ban zhong xin, 2010. 206–49.

group of people wholeheartedly embraced architecture's intermediality, seeing this move as a self-reflexive strategy and part of their career responsibility. The methodology of this dissertation has tried to reflect this tendency as a historical product of the moment as well as a guiding principle that is still effective today in deepening the understanding of the cultural and historical specificity of the medium fluidity of architecture.

This dissertation research is also meant as a response to the epistemological conundrum raised by Fu Xinian in the introduction: how can one bridge the gap between the tradition and current matters and undertake the study of Chinese architectural history with the problematics and practicalities encountered in the process of design and other architecture-related endeavors such as knowledge production and communication? As illustrated in the case studies throughout this dissertation, the search for a new architectural culture and the embrace of architecture as an expanded field has opened up different possibilities for the public to gain more access to architecture via different channels and interpret it from different perspectives. As some of the examples built during this period became targets of waves of urban renewal and were replaced by even newer projects, this period—one generally held up as the beginning of the contemporary architecture of China—started to feel remote to the observes both home and abroad, or in other words, it became history. It is in these diverse and distinctive cultural forms that both history and practice can manifest themselves, resist the commercial and political forces and universalization, and find a way to last.

APPENDIX: Tables

Table 1 Selected Publications on Jindai Jianzhu before 1980

Year	Author	Original Title	English Title
1942-1944	Liang Sicheng 梁思成	中国建筑史 [Unpublished manuscript, 结尾——清末及民国以后之建筑]	*History of Chinese Architecture,* "Epilogue, Late Qing and Repubican Architecture"
1956	Liu Xianjue 刘先觉	中国近百年的建筑 [Master Thesis]	Chinese Architecture from the Past One Hundred Years
1958-1961	Editing Committee of Modern Architecture History, 中国近代建筑史编辑委员会	中国近代建筑史 [First Draft]	*Draft for Modern Architecture in China*
1962	Multiple authors	中国近代建筑简史 [Used as Textbook on Collegiate Level]	*Brief History of Chinese Architecture, Part.2, Modern Architecture*
1964	Su Gin-djih 徐敬直	Chinese Architecture, Past and Contemporary (中国建筑，过去与当下)	
1978	Wang Shiren 王世仁	中国近代建筑与建筑风格 [Journal Article, Originally published on Architectural Journal, vol.4, 1978]	"Styles of the Modern Architecture in China,"

Table 2 Publications Resulted from the 1987-1991 Sino-Japanese Architectural Survey

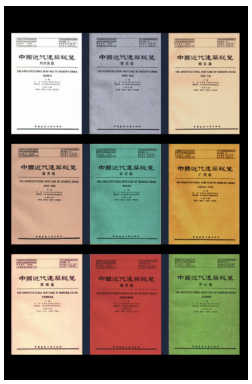
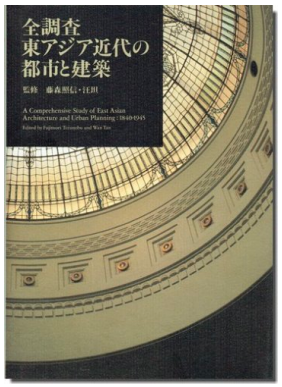
Original Title	中国近代建築総覧:天津篇(1989)	中国近代建筑总览	全調査東アジア近代の都市と建築
Original English Title	The Architectural Heritage of Modern China: Tianjin	The Architectural Heritage of Modern China Series	A Comprehensive Study of East Asian Architecture and Urban Planning: 1840-1945
Date of Publication	1989	1992-1995	1996
Volume	1	15	1
Publisher	Internally Published by University of Tokyo	北京: 中国建筑工业出版社	東京：筑摩書房
Coverage	Tianjin	Beijing, Harbin, Yantai, Qingdao, Jinan, Nanjing, Wuhan, Guanzhou (Canton), Xiamen(Amoy),Yingkou, Shenyang, Dalian, Lushan, Chongqing, Kunming,	Beijing, Harbin, Yantai, Qingdao, Jinan, Nanjing, Wuhan, Guanzhou (Canton), Xiamen(Amoy),Yingkou, Shenyang, Dalian, Lushan, Chongqing, Kunming, Shanghai, Changchun, Tianjin, Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan(briefly surveyed as a whole), Seoul, Daegu, Mokpo
Images			

Table 3 Selected Primary Writings on Experimental Architecture

Publication Time	Original Title	English Title	Author	Publication
Oct. 1996	实验与对话——记5·18中国青年建筑师，艺术家学术讨论会	Experiment and Dialogue: Overview of the May 18th Symposium for Young Chinese Architects and Artists	Rao Xiaojun, Yao Xiaoling	Architect, 72(Oct. 1996), 80-83
July-Sept, 1997	边缘实验与建筑学的变革	Marginal Experiment and the Reform of Architectural Studies	Rao Xiaojun	New Architecture, vol.15, no.1, 1997
Jan-Feb, 1998	九十年代中国实验性建筑	Experimental Architecture of the 1990s in China	Wang Mingxian, Shi Jian	Literature and Art Studies, no. 01 (1998):
Jan, 2000	空间历史的片断——中国青年建筑师实验性作品展始末/王明贤	The Fragments of Spatial History - Review of Exhibits for Experimental Architecture by Young Architects	Wang Mingxian	Avant-Garde Today, no.8, 2000
April-June, 2000	实验建筑:一种观念性的探索	Experimental Architecture: A Conceptual Exploration	Rao Xiaojun	Time+Architecture, vol.16, no.2 (2000)
April-June, 2000	建筑的实验	Architectural Experiments	Wang Mingxian	Time+Architecture, vol.16, no.2 (2000)
April-June, 2000	对中国大陆实验建筑的认识	Experimental Architecture in Mainland China	Zhang Wenwu	Time+Architecture, vol.16, no.2 (2000)
April-June, 2000	在“安静”的“建造”与不懈的实验之间——席殊连锁书屋系列访谈	Between Construction and Experiment - Interview with Yung Ho Chang and Zhaohui Wu on Xishu Bookstores	Peng Nu	Time+Architecture, vol.16, no.2 (2000)
Sept.-Oct.,2002	中国当代实验性建筑的拼图——从理论话语到实践策略	The Jigsaws of Contemporary Experimental Architecture in China - From Theoretical Discourses to Practical Strategies	Peng Nu, Zhi Wenjun	Time+Architecture, vol.18, no.5, (2002)
Jan.-Feb.,2003	如何看待中国建筑的实验性——上海双年展杂感	How to Understand the Experimentalism in Chinese Architecture - Review of the Shanghai Biennial	Wang Mingxian	Time+Architecture, vo.19, no.1 2003
Sept.- Oct. 2003	实验与先锋	Experiment and the Avant-Garde	Zhi Wenjun	Time+Architecture, vol.5, 2003
Nov.-Dec. 2004	"实验建筑"现象的剖析与审视	The Experimental Architecture Phenomenon: Analysis and Examination	Hu Siguang	Architect, no.6, 2004

Jan. 2004	非常实验“建筑城市学”——中国实验建筑代表人物张永和的非常十年	Extraordinary Experiment "Architectural Urbanism," Yung Ho Chang, the Representative of Experimental Architecture in China and his Extraordinary Decade	Gu Chunxiao	Construction Science and Technology, no.2, 2004
Nov. 2005	建筑师市场策略发展趋势的展望--考察当代中国实验建筑师的活动	Envisioning the Developmental Trend of the Marketing Strategy for Architects - On Contemporary Experimental Architects in China	Fan Cheng, Wang Qun	Architectural Journal, no.11, 2005
April, 2006	当代中国实验建筑的先锋性	The Avant-Gardism of Contemporary Experimental Architecture in China	Jiang Hao	New Architecture, vol.25, no.4, 2006
May, 2008	史建:中国实验建筑从喧嚣走向终结	Interview with Shijian: Experimental Architecture, from Clamor to End	Zhou Wenhan	iHome, vol.8, no.5, 2008

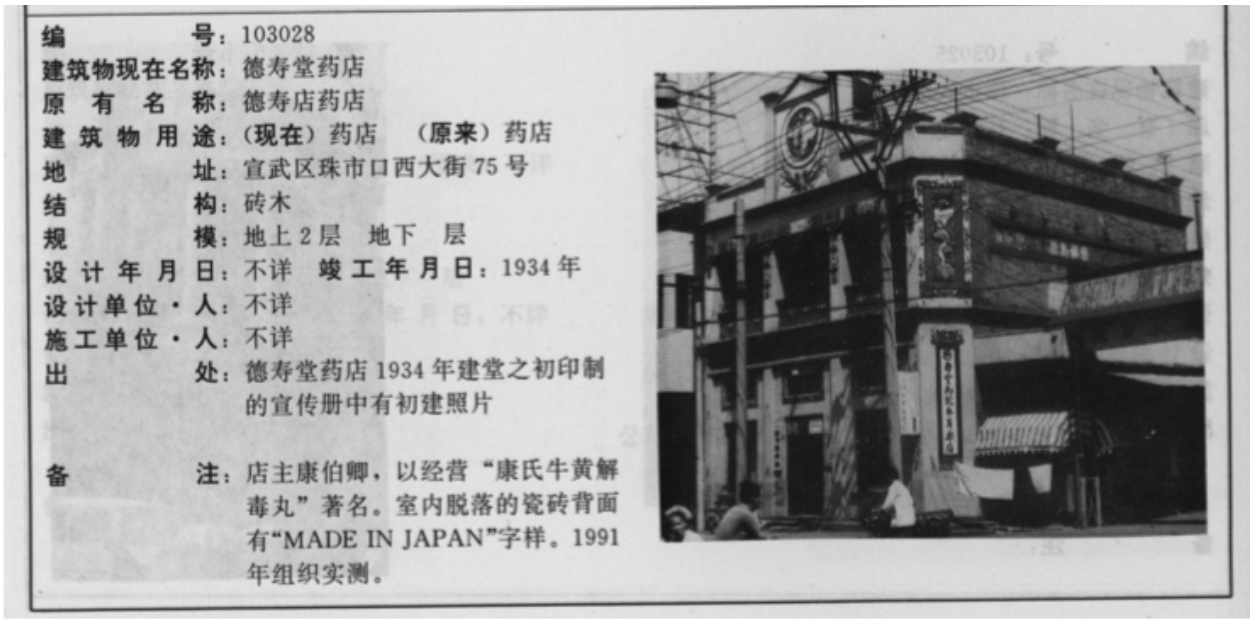
FIGURES



Figure 1 "The Tree of Architecture" (detail) from Banister Fletcher, A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method for Students, Craftsmen & Amateurs.

Note how "Chinese & Japanese" architecture was set on a side branch as one of the non-Western building traditions that did not evolve over time.

Source: Banister Fletcher, A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method for Students, Craftsmen & Amateurs, 1st ed. 1896; last ed. 1986



编　　号：103028
建筑物现在名称：德寿堂药店
原 有 名 称：德寿店药店
建筑物用途：（现在）药店　（原来）药店
地　　址：宣武区珠市口西大街75号
结　　构：砖木
规　　模：地上2层　地下　层
设计年月日：不详　竣工年月日：1934年
设计单位·人：不详
施工单位·人：不详
出　　处：德寿堂药店1934年建堂之初印制的宣传册中有初建照片

备　　注：店主康伯卿，以经营“康氏牛黄解毒丸”著名。室内脱落的瓷砖背面有“MADE IN JAPAN”字样。1991年组织实测。

Figure 2 An example of surveyed architecture as it appears in the catalog: Deshou Hall (德寿堂, a local drug store) in Beijing, originally completed in 1934.

Source: The Architectural Heritage of Modern China: Beijing (中国近代建筑总览 北京). (1993), 180.

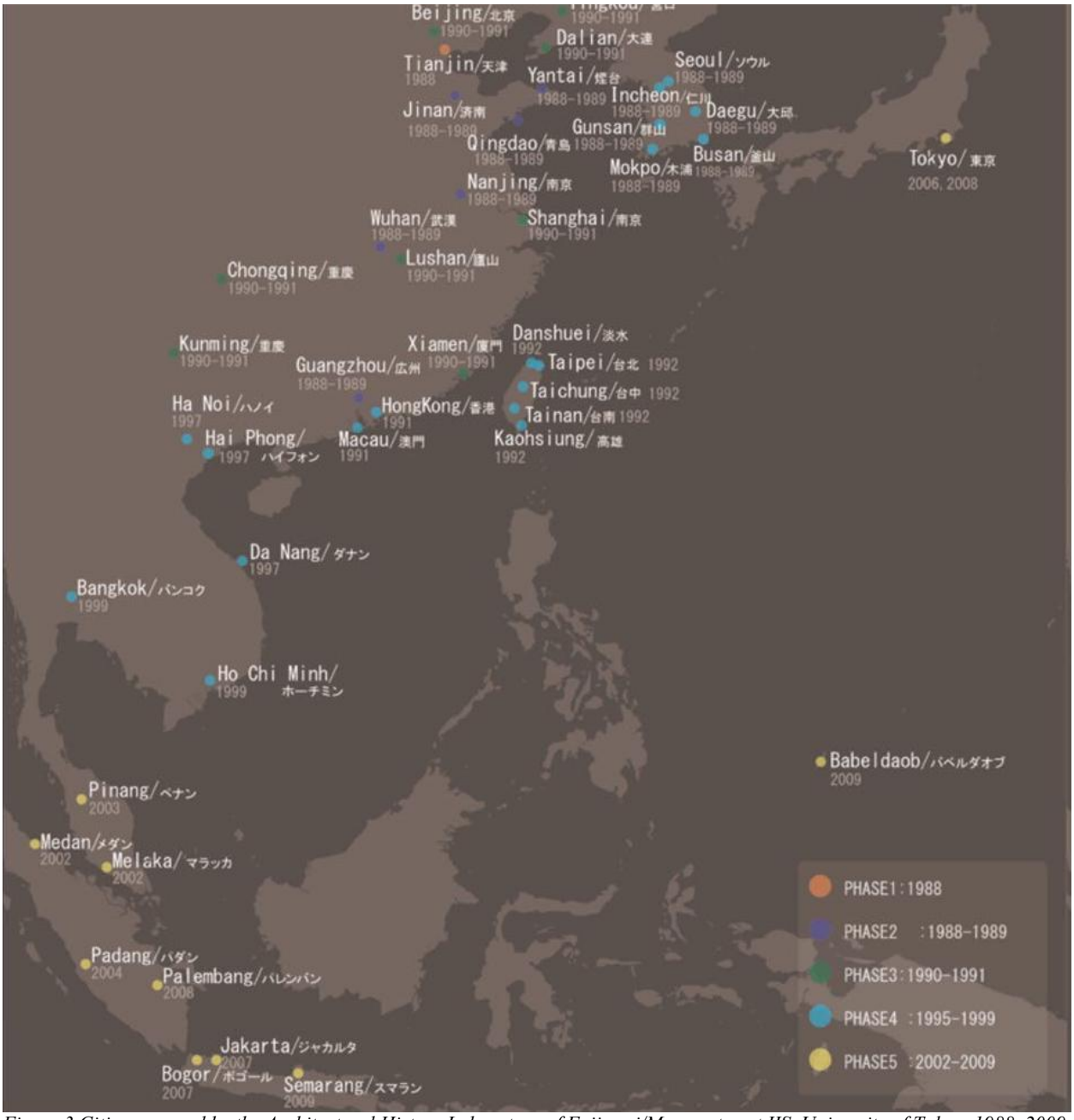


Figure 3 Cities surveyed by the Architectural History Laboratory of Fujimori/Muramatsu at IIS, University of Tokyo, 1988–2009.

Source: http://www.shinlab.iis.u-tokyo.ac.jp/1-1concept/history/01_history.html (original caption: "都市環境文化資源悉皆調査の軌跡 1988–2009" [Trajectory of Urban Environment and Cultural Resources Survey, 1988–2009]).

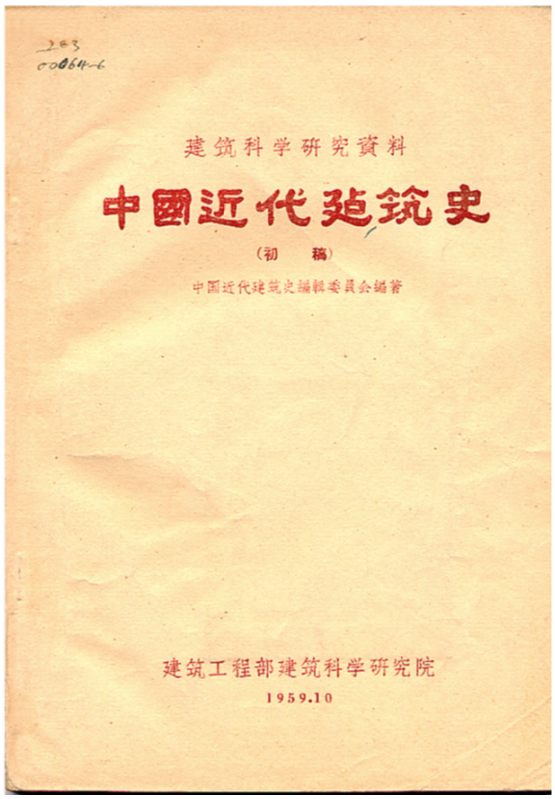


Figure 4 Book Cover for History of Chinese Modern Architecture, First Draft (中国近代建筑史 初稿), published in 1959 by the Architectural Science Research Institute under the Architectural and Construction Department (建筑工程部建筑科学研究院)

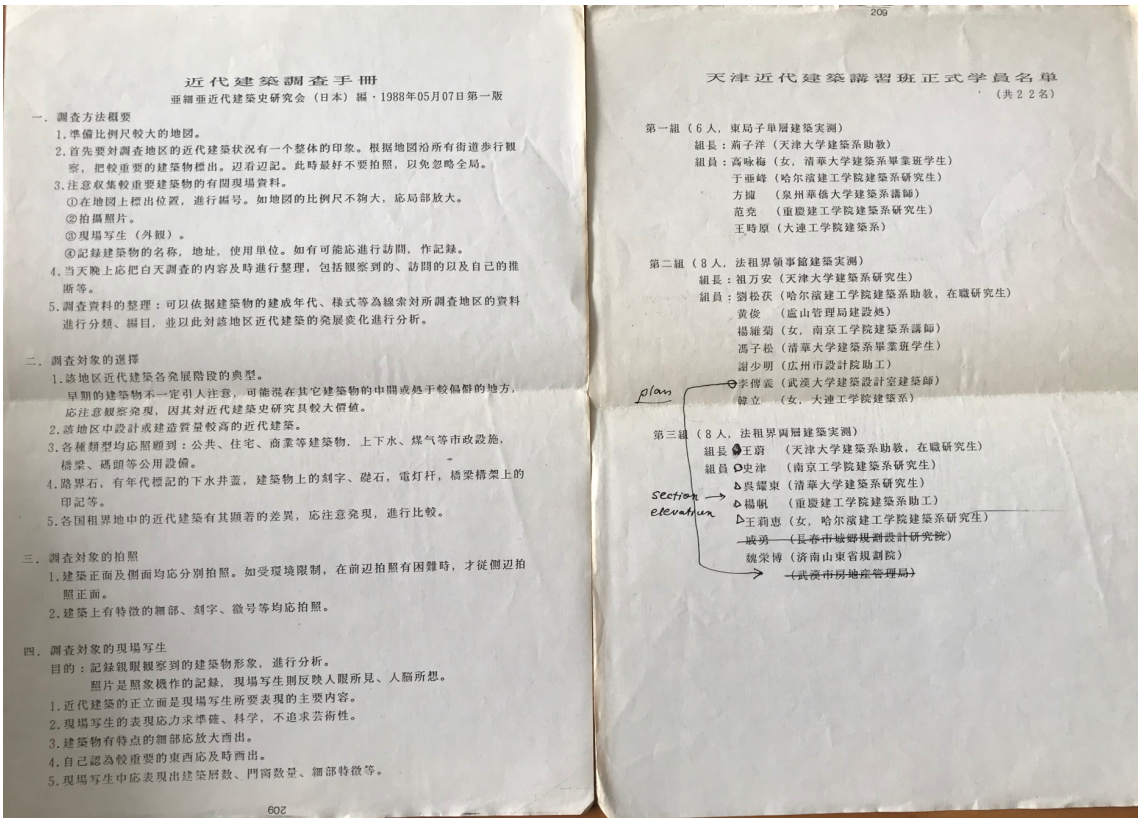


Figure 5 Book Cover for the most widely circulated textbook published on the subject, The Brief History of Chinese Architecture: Volume 2, A Brief History of Chinese Modern Architecture (中国建筑简史, 第二册: 中国近代建筑简史).

This is the second volume of the "Three Histories," published in 1962 by China Industry Press



Figure 6 Book Cover for Existing Kindai Kenchiku of Meiji, Taisho and Showa in Japan (日本近代建築総覧ー各地に遺る明治大正昭和の建物) edited by the Architectural Institute of Japan (日本建築学会), under the supervision of Muramatsu Teijiro(村松貞次郎).



近代建築調査手冊

亜細亜近代建築史研究会（日本）編・1988年05月07日第一版

一．調査方法概要

1.準備比例尺較大的地図。

2.首先要対調査地区的近代建築状況有一个整体的印象。根据地図沿所有街道歩行観察，把較重要的建築物標出。辺看辺記。此時最好不要拍照，以免忽略全局。

3.注意収集較重要建築物的有関現場資料。

①在地図上標出位置，進行編号。如地図的比例尺不夠大，応局部放大。

②拍摂照片。

③現場写生（外観）。

④記録建築物的名称，地址，使用単位。如有可能応進行訪問，作記録。

4.当天晩上応把白天調査的内容及時進行整理，包括観察到的、訪問的以及自己的推断等。

5.調査資料的整理：可以依据建築物的建成年代、様式等為線索対所調査地区的資料進行分類、編目，並以此対該地区近代建築的発展変化進行分析。

二．調査対象的選擇

1.該地区近代建築各発展階段的典型。

早期的建築物不一定引人注意，可能混在其它建築物的中間或処于較偏僻的地方，応注意観察発現，因其対近代建築史研究具較大価値。

2.該地区中設計或建造質量較高的近代建築。

3.各種類型均応照顧到：公共、住宅、商業等建築物，上下水、煤气等市政設施，橋梁、碼頭等公用設備。

4.路界石，有年代標記的下水井蓋，建築物上的刻字、礎石，電灯杆，橋梁構架上的印記等。

5.各国租界地中的近代建築有其顕著的差異，応注意発現，進行比較。

三．調査対象的拍照

1.建築正面及側面均応分別拍照。如受環境限制，在前辺拍照有困難時，才従側辺拍照正面。

2.建築上有特徴的細部、刻字、徽号等均応拍照。

四．調査対象的現場写生

目的：記録視眼観察到的建築物形象，進行分析。

照片是照象機作的記録，現場写生則反映人眼所見、人脳所想。

1.近代建築的正立面是現場写生所要表現的主要内容。

2.現場写生的表現応力求準確、科学，不追求芸術性。

3.建築物有特点的細部応放大画出。

4.自己認為較重要的東西応及時画出。

5.現場写生中応表現出建築層数、門窗数量、細部特徴等。

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天津近代建築講習班正式学員名単

（共２２名）

第一組（６人，東局子単層建築実測）

組長：蒋子洋（天津大学建築系助教）

組員：高咏梅（女，清華大学建築系畢業班学生）

于亜峰（哈尔濱建工学院建築系研究生）

方擁　（泉州華僑大学建築系講師）

范尭　（重慶建工学院建築系研究生）

王時原（大連工学院建築系）

第二組（８人，法租界領事館建築実測）

組長：祖万安（天津大学建築系研究生）

組員：劉松茯（哈尔濱建工学院建築系助教，在職研究生）

黄俊　（塩山管理局建設処）

楊維菊（女，南京工学院建築系講師）

馮子松（清華大学建築系畢業班学生）

謝少明（広州市設計院助工）

plan → 李得義（武漢大学建築設計室建築師）

韓立　（女，大連工学院建築系）

第三組（８人，法租界両層建築実測）

組長 ●王蔚　（天津大学建築系助教，在職研究生）

組員 ○史津　（南京工学院建築系研究生）

Δ吳耀東（清華大学建築系研究生）

Section elevation → Δ楊帆　（重慶建工学院建築系助工）

Δ王莉惠（女，哈尔濱建工学院建築系研究生）

~~祝勇　（長春市城郷規劃設計研究院）~~

魏栄博（済南山東省規劃院）

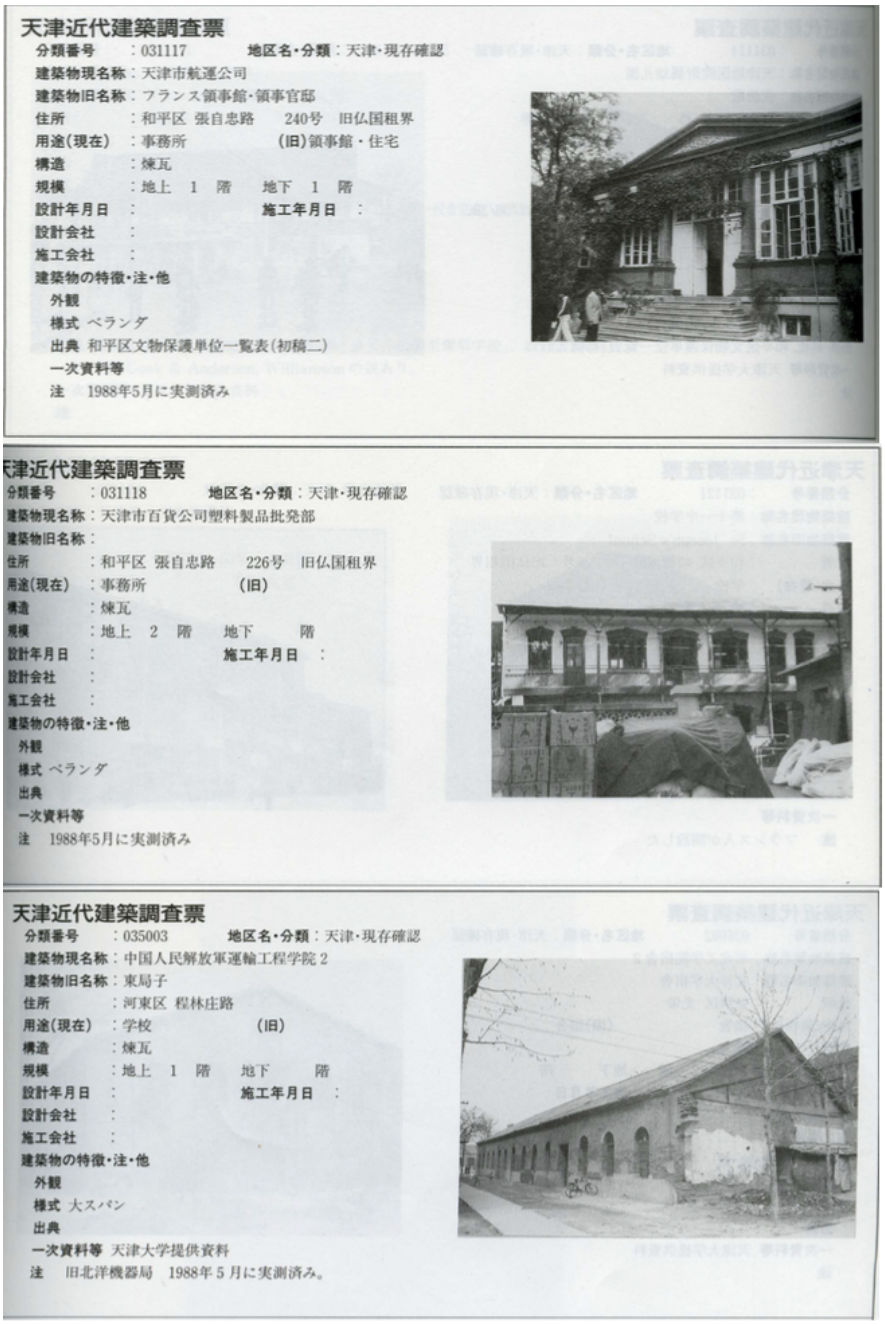
~~（武漢市房地産管理局）~~

Figure 7 Pages from a handbook for the survey of jindai jianzhu in China, edited by Research Institute of Asian Modern Architecture (アジア近代建築史研究会) on May 7, 1988, including a list of participants for the "Tianjin workshop."

Source: ephemeral from the collection of professor Nishizawa Yasuhiko (西澤泰彦). Photograph by the author.



Figure 8 Book Cover for The Architectural Heritage of Modern China: Tianjin (中国近代建築総覧 天津篇), internally published in 1989 by the University of Tokyo.


天津近代建築調査票

分類番号　：031117　　地区名・分類：天津・現存確認
建築物現名称：天津市航運公司
建築物旧名称：フランス領事館・領事官邸
住所　：和平区 張自忠路　240号　旧仏国租界
用途(現在)：事務所　(旧)領事館・住宅
構造　：煉瓦
規模　：地上　1　階　地下　1　階
設計年月日　：　施工年月日　：
設計会社　：
施工会社　：
建築物の特徴・注・他
外観
様式 ベランダ
出典 和平区文物保護単位一覧表(初稿二)
一次資料等
注　1988年5月に実測済み

天津近代建築調査票

分類番号　：031118　　地区名・分類：天津・現存確認
建築物現名称：天津市百貨公司塑料製品批発部
建築物旧名称：
住所　：和平区 張自忠路　226号　旧仏国租界
用途(現在)：事務所　(旧)
構造　：煉瓦
規模　：地上　2　階　地下　階
設計年月日　：　施工年月日　：
設計会社　：
施工会社　：
建築物の特徴・注・他
外観
様式 ベランダ
出典
一次資料等
注　1988年5月に実測済み

天津近代建築調査票

分類番号　：035003　　地区名・分類：天津・現存確認
建築物現名称：中国人民解放軍運輸工程学院 2
建築物旧名称：東局子
住所　：河東区 程林庄路
用途(現在)：学校　(旧)
構造　：煉瓦
規模　：地上　1　階　地下　階
設計年月日　：　施工年月日　：
設計会社　：
施工会社　：
建築物の特徴・注・他
外観
様式 大スパン
出典
一次資料等 天津大学提供資料
注　旧北洋機器局　1988年5月に実測済み。

Figure 9 Top, survey index card for the French Consulate in Tianjin; middle, survey index card for an anonymous building (The Wholesale Department of Plastic Products for Tianjin Department Store); and bottom, Dongjuzi, a warehouse built with modern structure.

Source: The Architectural Heritage of Modern China: Tianjin *(*中国近代建築総覧 天津篇 *). 146, 147,191.*

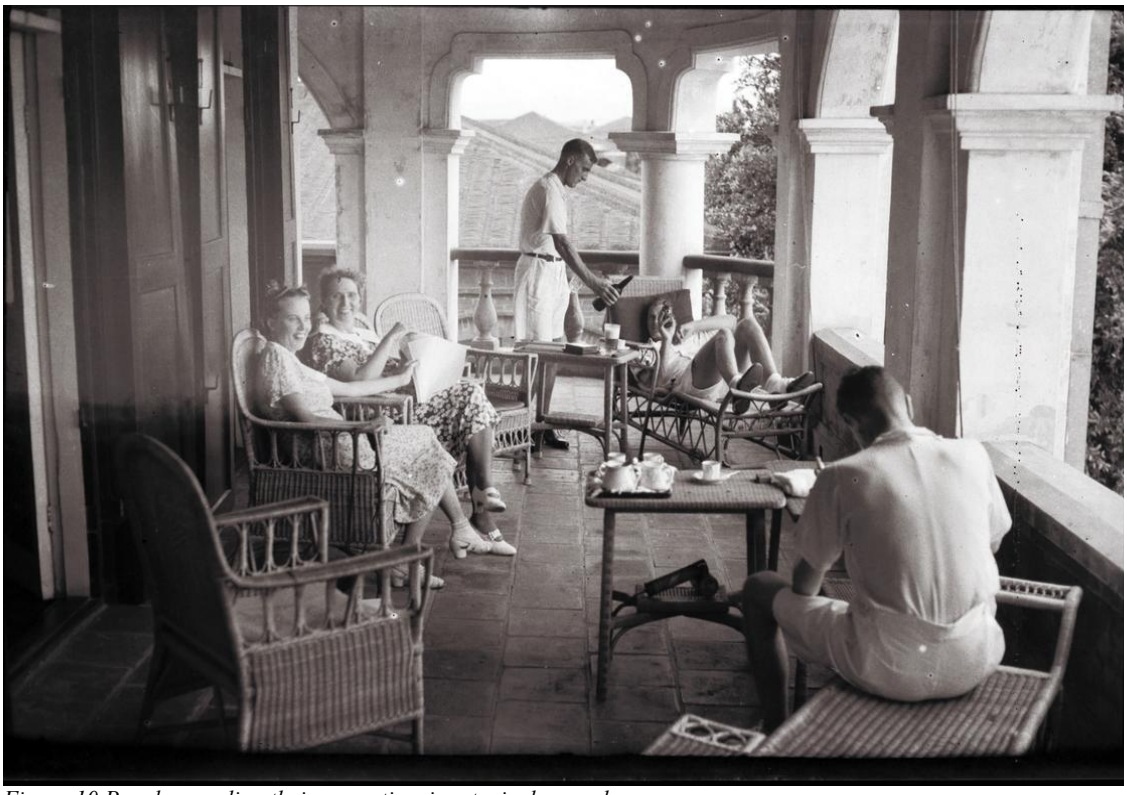
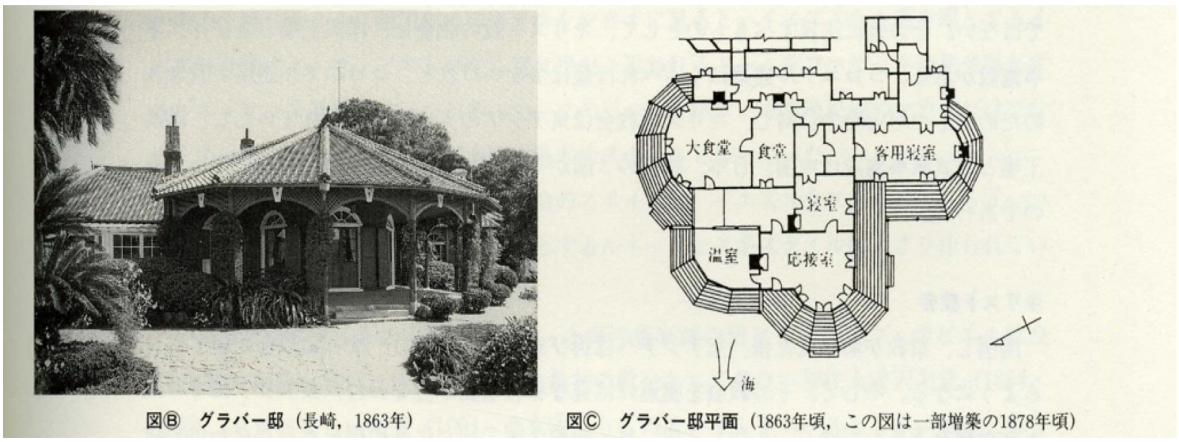


Figure 10 People spending their spare time in a typical veranda space.

Source: "Rella Warner and friends on the veranda" from the Gerald & Rella Warner Taiwan Negative Collection, from Lafayette College Libraries, 1938. https://ldr.lafayette.edu/concern/images/7m01bn11s



図Ⓑ　グラバー邸（長崎，1863年）　図Ⓒ　グラバー邸平面（1863年頃，この図は一部増築の1878年頃）

Figure 11 Exterior and floor plan of the Thomas Blake Glover Residence, Nagasaki, completed in 1963.

Source: Comprehensive Study of East Asian Architecture and Urban Planning: 1840–1945 *全調査東アジア近代の都市と建築 (1996), 85.*

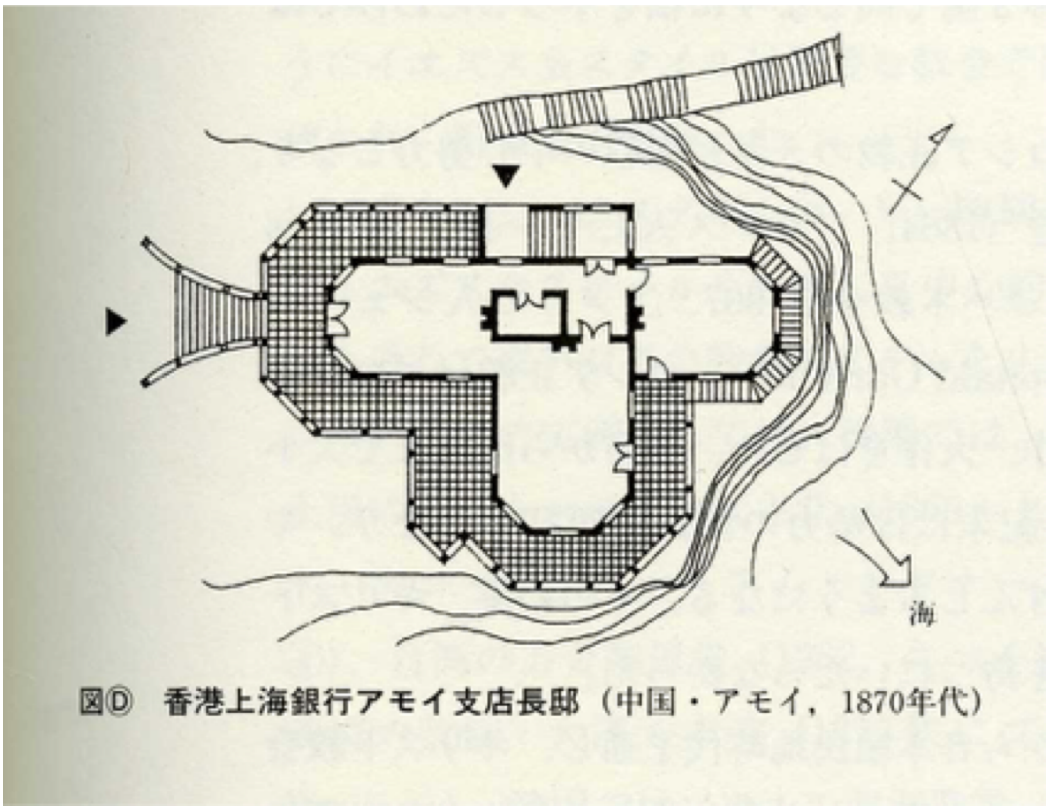


Figure 12 Plan for a residential house owned by the Branch President of HSBC Xiamen, ca. 1870s.

Note how similar the verandas wrapped around three sides of both buildings, taking up considerable floor space.

Source: Comprehensive Study of East Asian Architecture and Urban Planning: 1840–1945 *全調査東アジア近代の都市と建築 (1996), 85.*

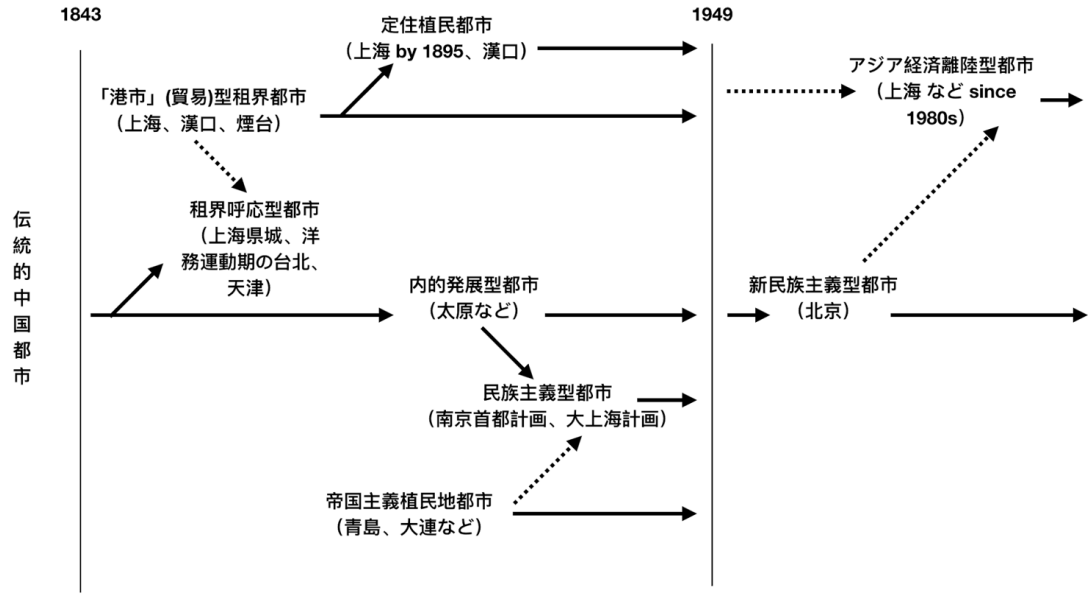


Figure 13 Different typologies of urban development for modern cities in China defined by Japanese scholars, Originally diagrammed by Muramatsu Shin 村松伸.

Source: Shanghai Illustrated: Modern City of 150 Years 図説上海 : モダン都市の 150 年(1998), 19.

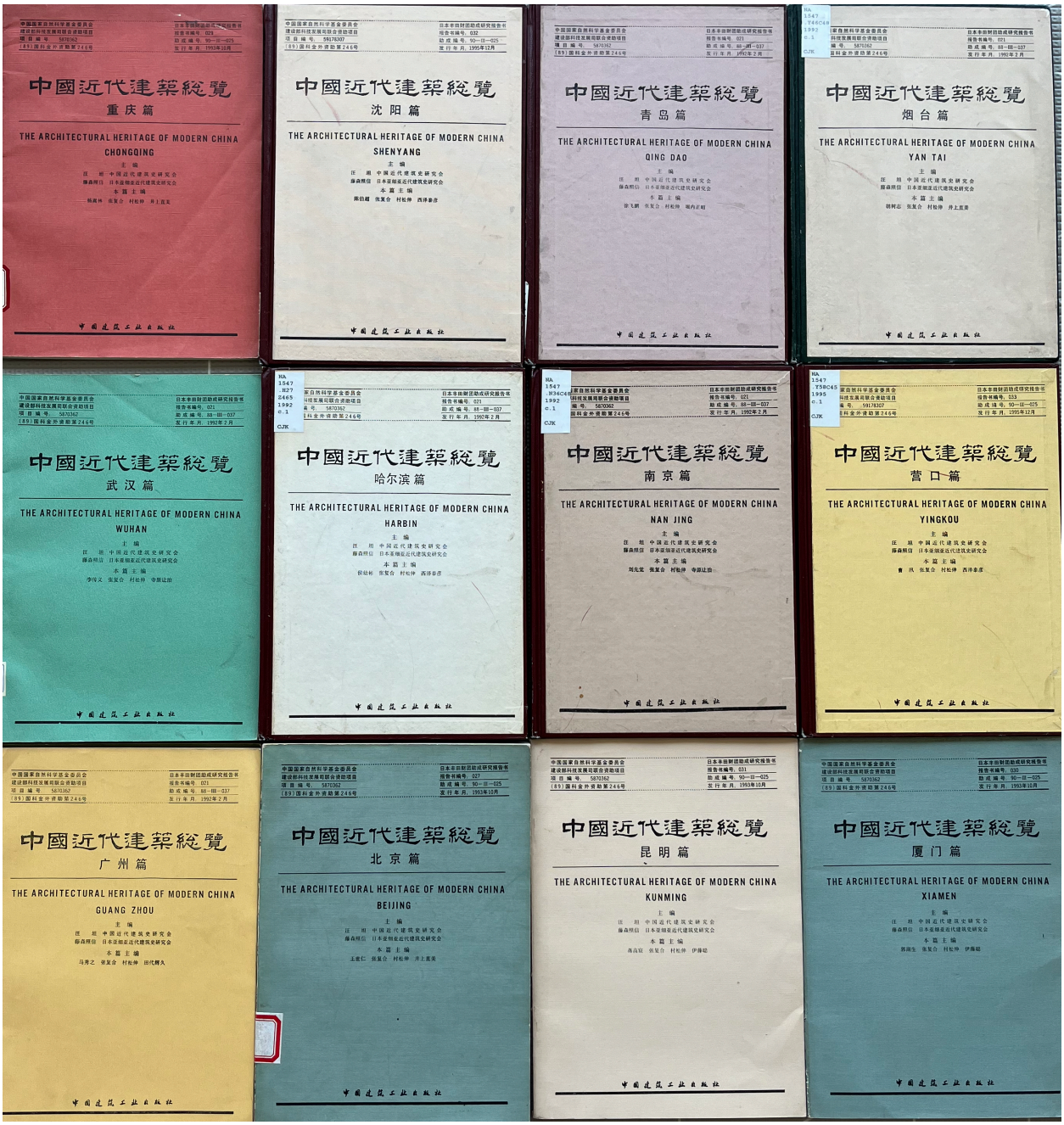


Figure 14 Examples from The Architectural Heritage of Modern China (中国近代建筑总览) (1992–1995).

Source: Photographed by the author.

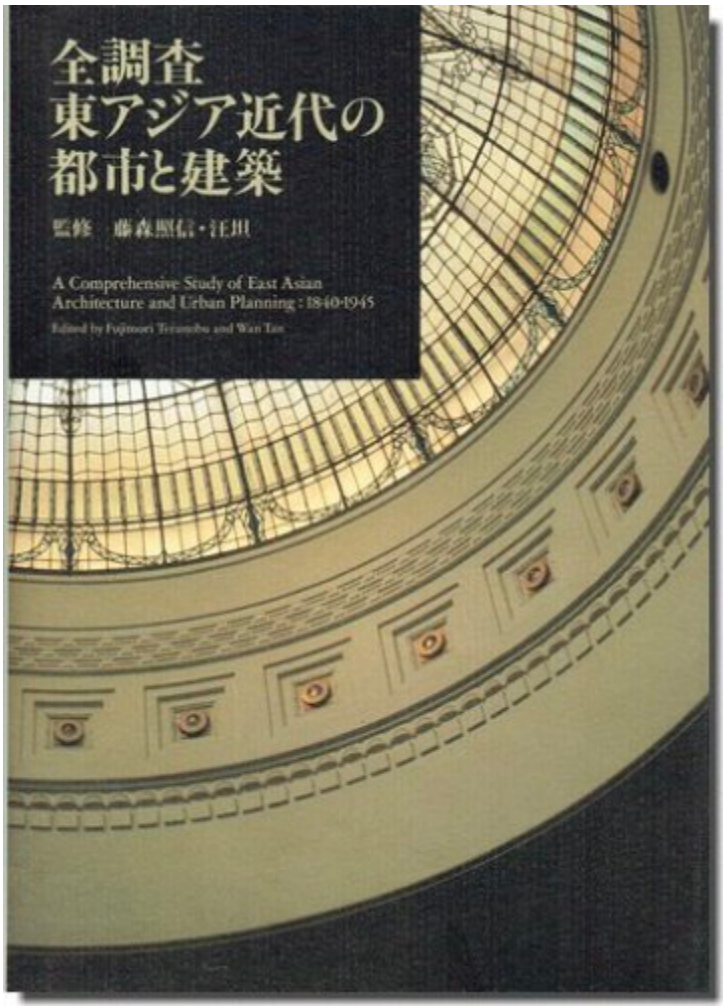


Figure 15 Book cover for the 全調査東アジア近代の都市と建築 Comprehensive Study of East Asian Architecture and Urban Planning: 1840-1945 (1996)

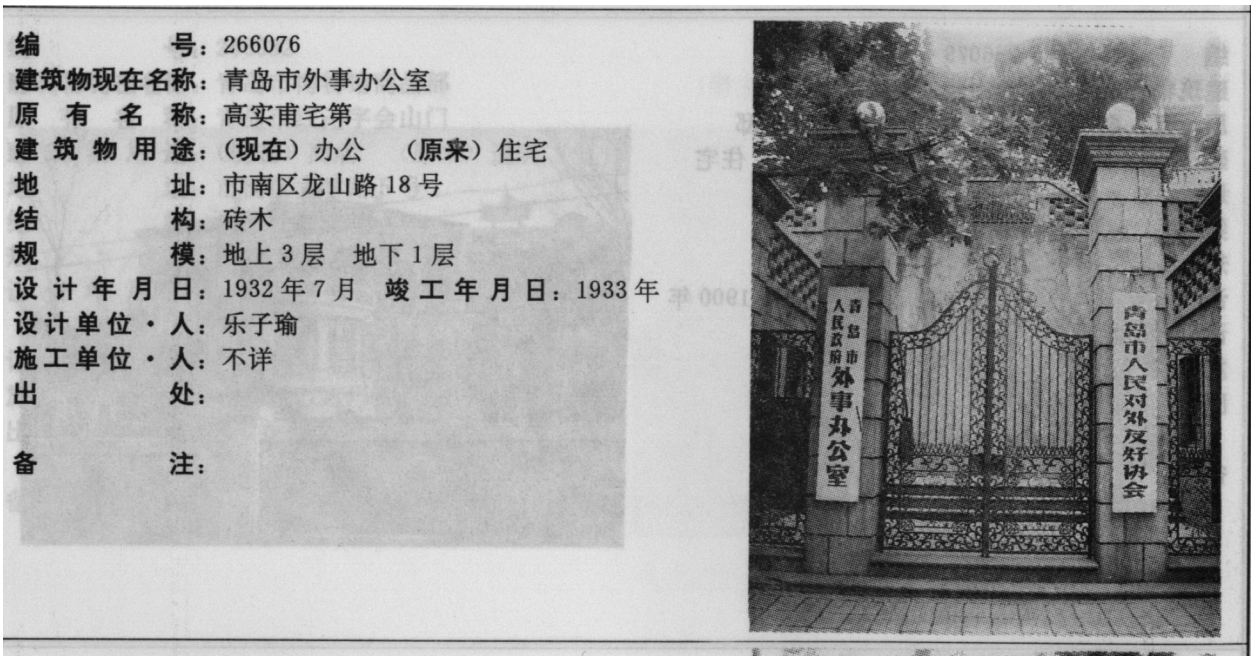


Figure 16 Example of photographic transparency. Survey index card of the original Gao Shifu Residence, used as the Qingdao Foreign Affairs Office.

As the photo suggests, the main building was kept visually inaccessible from the gate of the building site.

Source: 中国近代建筑总览 青岛 [The Architectural Heritage of Modern China: Qingdao] (1992): 63.

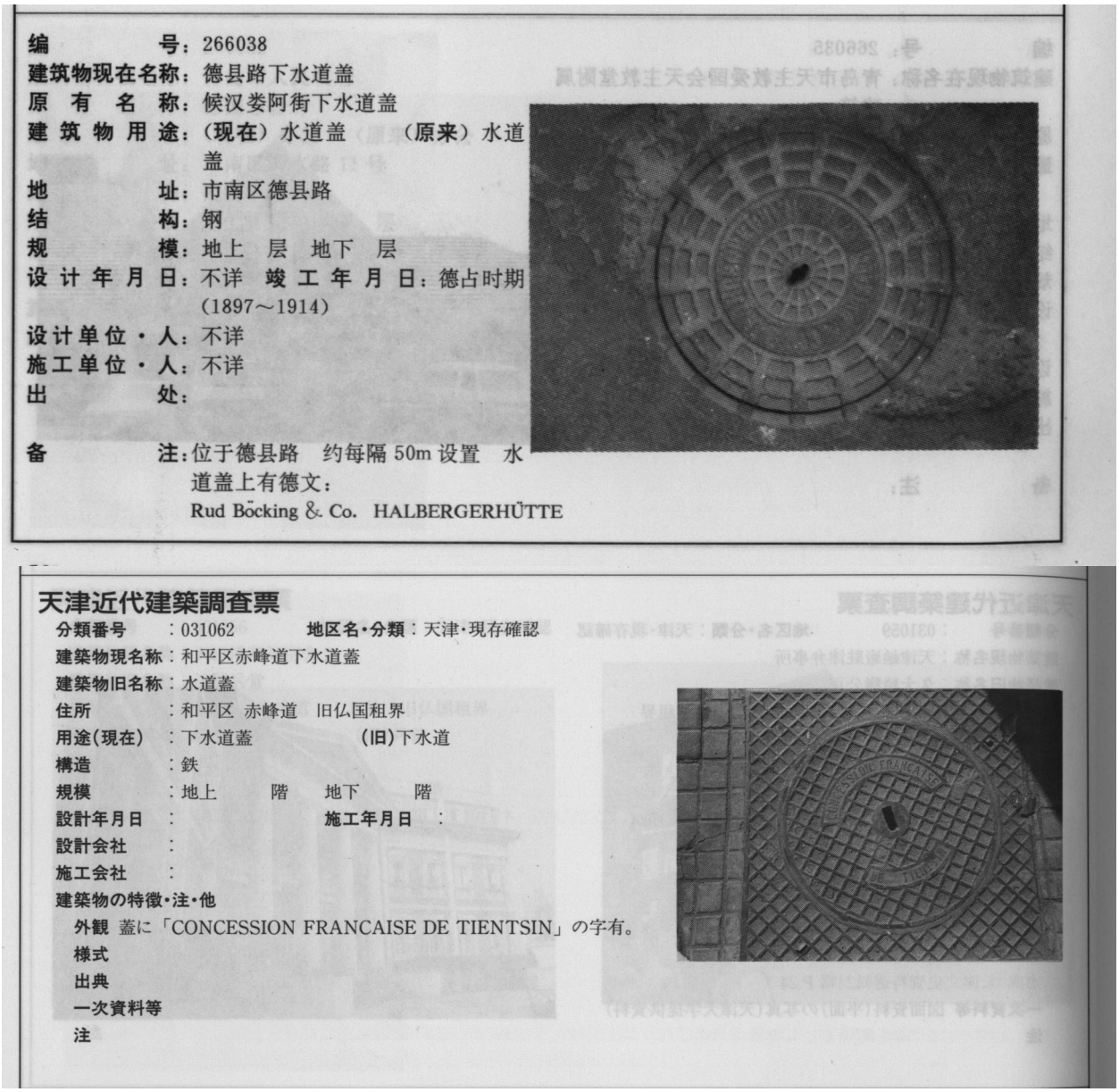


Figure 17 Examples of maintenance hole covers documented in the survey. Upper, a maintenance hole cover from Germany design. The lower, a maintenance hole cover in the French concession with the inscription of "Concession Française de Tientsin."

Source: Upper: 中国近代建筑总览 青岛 The Architectural Heritage of Modern China：Qingdao *(1992), 50. Lower:* 中国近代建築総覧:天津篇 The Architectural Heritage of Modern China: Tianjin *(1989), 128.*



Figure 18 Photograph of Tianfeng Yuan Shop, in Harbin, photograph taken by Masuda Akihisa.

Source: 全調査東アジア近代の都市と建築 Comprehensive Study of East Asian Architecture and Urban Planning: 1840-1945 (1996), 26-27.

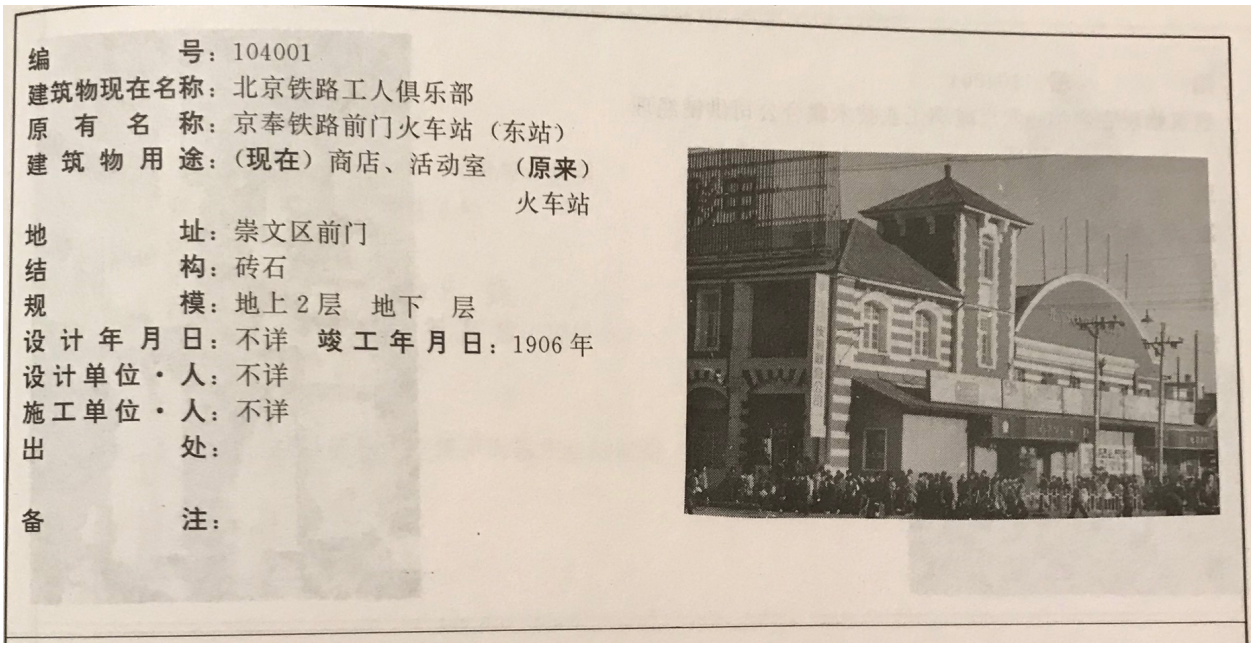


Figure 19 Survey index card of the Zhengyang Gate East Station from an in situ investigation conducted between 1990 and 1991.

Source: 中国近代建筑总览 北京 [Architectural Heritage of Modern China: Beijing] (1993), 187.



Figure 20 China Railway Museum, preserved and partially reconstructed from the original Zhengyang Gate East Station, completed in 1998.

Source: "2012 年的车站" [The Railways Station as of 2012], unknown creator. This image is made available by www.wikiwand.com, CC BY-SA 2.0.

https://www.wikiwand.com/zh-cn/%E4%B8%AD%E5%9B%BD%E9%93%81%E9%81%93%E5%8D%9A%E7%89%A9%E9%A6%86%E6%AD%A3%E9%98%B3%E9%97%A8%E9%A6%86#Media/File:BEIJING_RAILWAY_MUSEUM_THE_FORMER_BEIJING_RAILWAY_STATION_BEIJING_CHINA_OCT_2012_(8807483302).jpg



Figure 21 The first journal coverage of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial by a Chinese architectural media.

Source: 林樱 Maya Lin. "华盛顿越战纪念碑,美国." [Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington D.C., U.S.A] in 世界建筑 World Architecture, no.1, 1988.

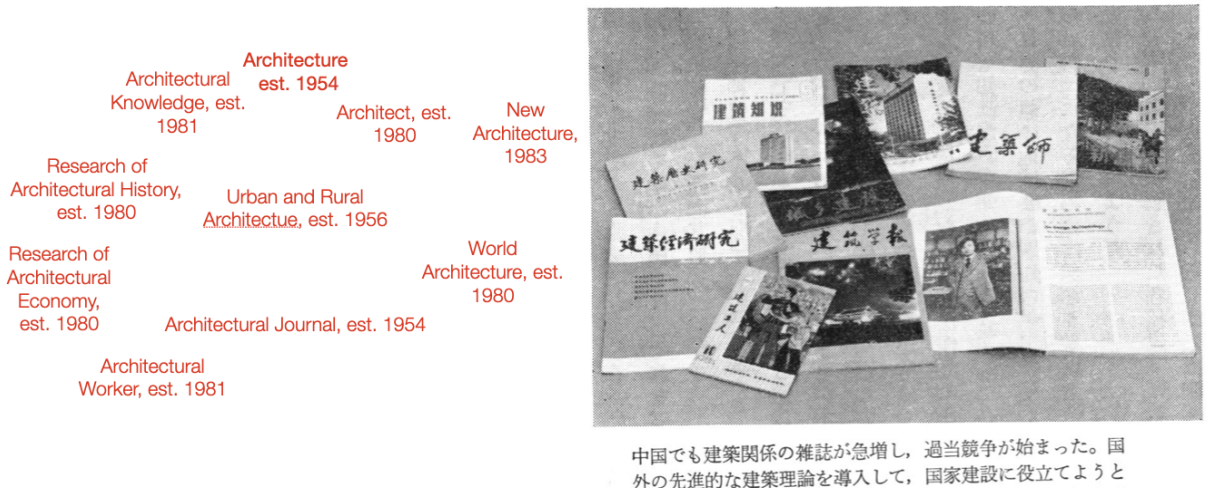


Figure 22 Examples of nationally available architectural journals in the 1980s.

Source: 村松伸 Muramatsu, Shin. 中国建築留学記 Chūgoku Kenchiku Ryūgakuki. Tōkyō: Kajima Shuppankai. 111.

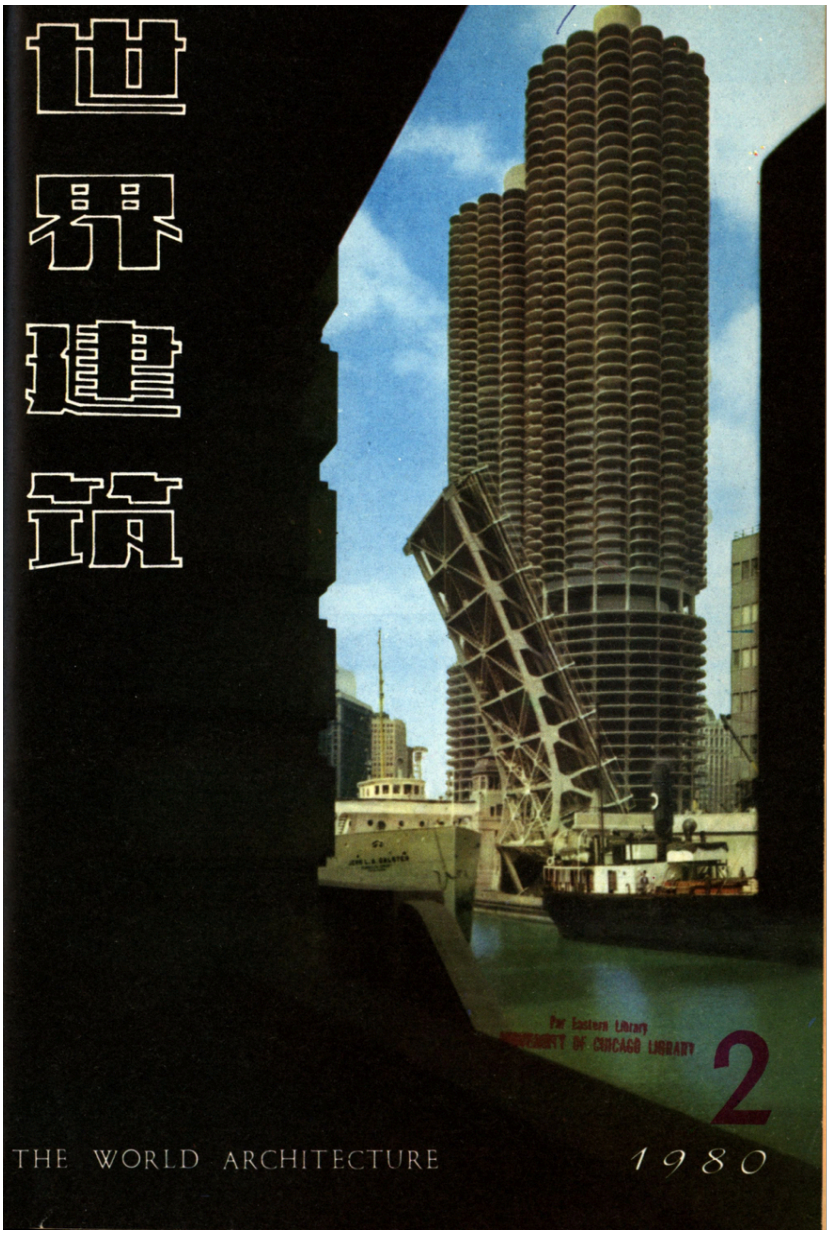


Figure 23 Journal cover for Shijie Jianzhu (World Architecture 世界建筑).

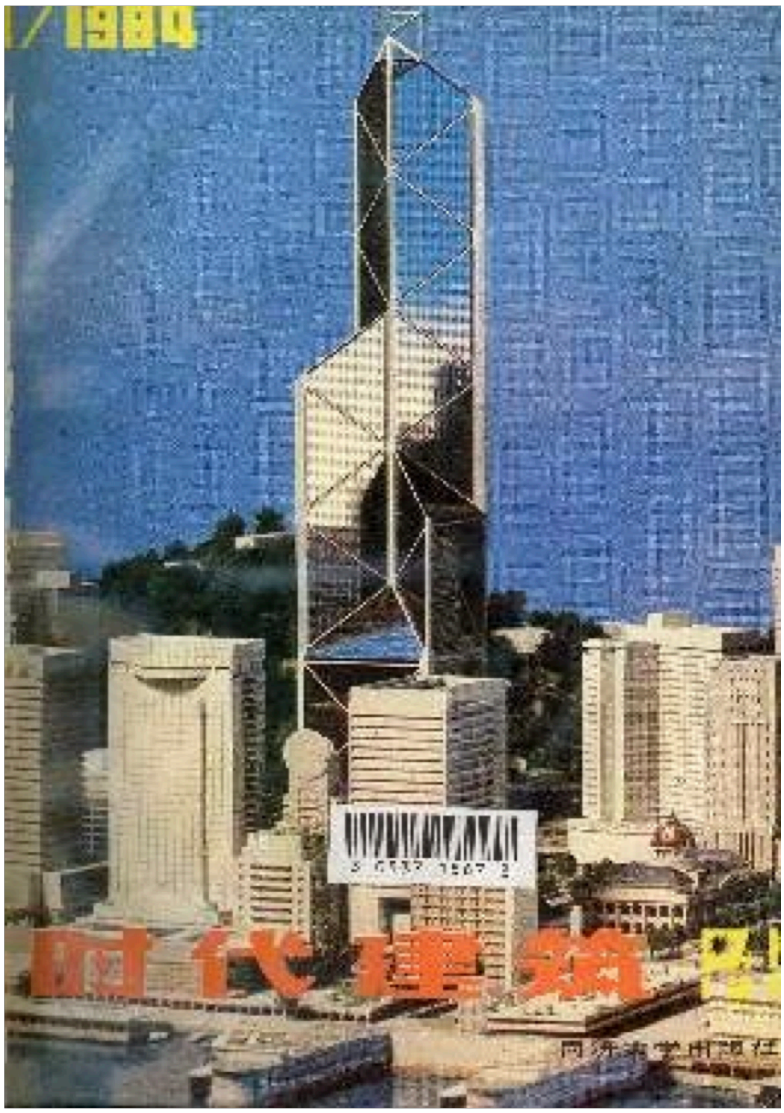


Figure 24 Journal cover for Shida Jianzhu (Time+Architecture 时代建筑).

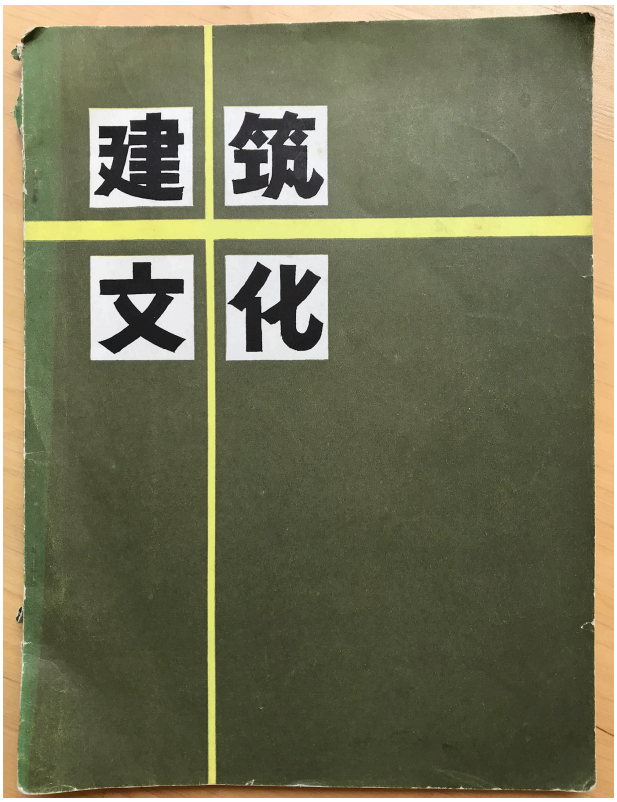


Figure 25 Journal cover for Jianzhu Wenhua (Architectural Culture 建筑文化, predecessor of Time+Architecture).

Source: Image photographed by the author



Figure 26 Examples of early architectural journals in the republican era. Left: cover for The Builder (建築月刊, est. 1933); right, The Chinese Architect (中國建築, est. 1932).



Figure 27 Film poster and still from the documentary Chung Kuo, Cina (China), directed by Michelangelo Antonioni in 1972.

Source: Michelangelo Antonioni, director. Chung Kuo, 1972.



不准招摇撞骗

——批判安东尼奥尼拍摄的反华影片《中国》

上海市规划建筑设计院 一室

不准丑化我国首都北京的光辉形象

荆圭华

Figure 28 Examples of articles published in architectural journals that criticized Antonioni's film.

Source: Left, 上海市规划建筑设计研究院[Shanghai Institute of Urban Planning and Architectural Design].不准招摇撞骗——批判安东尼奥尼拍摄的反华影片《中国》[Stop Lying – Critique on Antonioni's Anti-China film, Cina].建筑学报 Architectural Journal, no.2, 1974. Right, 荆圭华 Jin Guihua. 不准丑化我国首都北京的光辉形象 [Stop Vilifying the Glorious Image of Our Capital, Beijing]建筑学报 Architectural Journal, no.2, 1974.

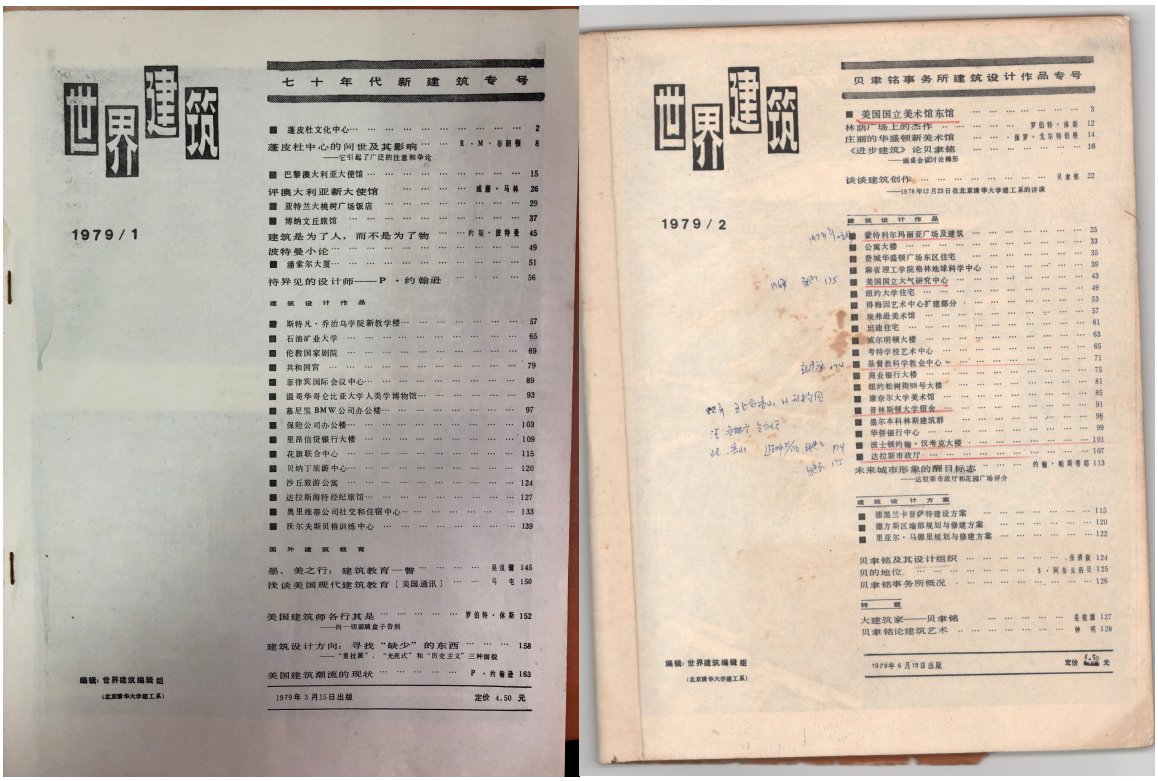


Figure 29 Table of contents from the two trial issues of World Architecture in 1979.

Source: Photographed by the author



Figure 30 I.M.Pei's "Collins Place in Melbourne Australia" Upper: covered in A+U. Lower: covered in World Architecture.

Note how the latter basically reprinted from the former and kept the layout and images as they are. The only difference is the translated texts from English and Japanese to Chinese.

Source: Left: 建築と都市 [a+u]. I M.ペイの作品 28 題. No.61, 1976, January. Right: World Architecture, Trial Issue, no.2. 96-97.

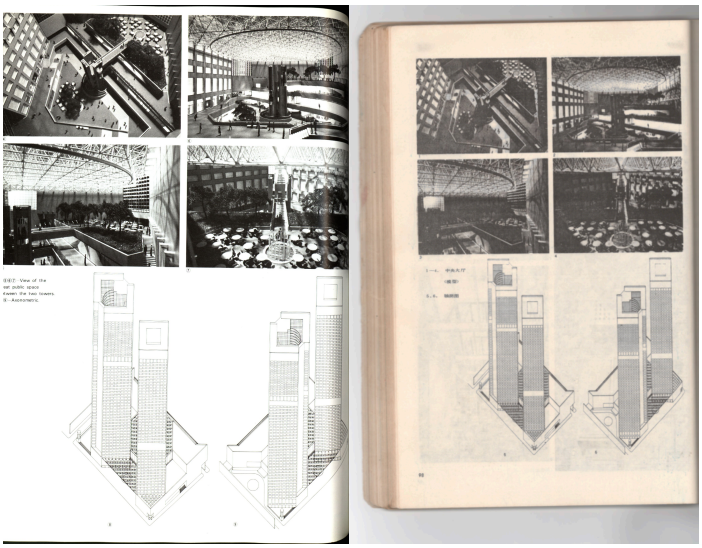


Figure 31 Interior views and axonometric view of the "Collins Place in Melbourne Australia." Left" covered in A+U; right: covered in World Architecture.

Source: Left: 建築と都市 [a+u]. I M.ペイの作品 28 題. No.61, 1976, January. Right: World Architecture, Trial Issue, no.2. 98.

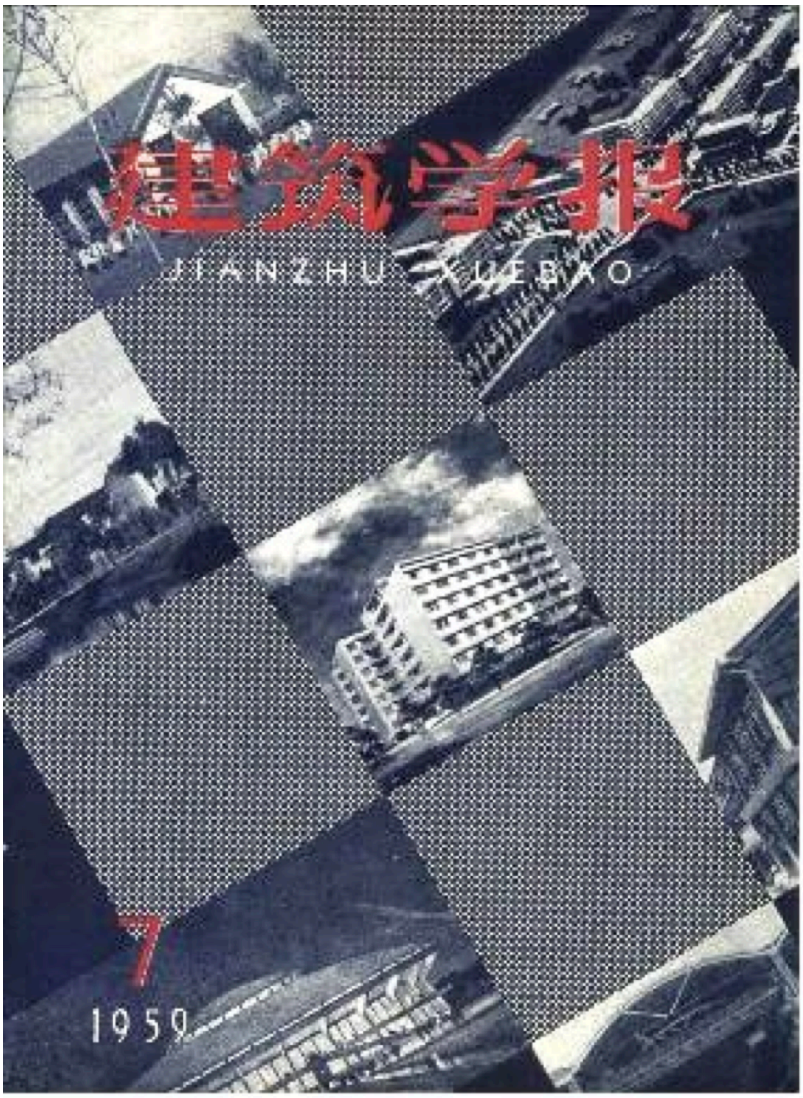


Figure 32 Journal cover for Jianzhu Xuebao (Architectural Journal 建筑学报), no.7, 1959



Figure 33 Journal cover for Jianzhu Xuebao (Architectural Journal), no.4, 1976



Figure 34 Journal cover for Jianzhu Xuebao (Architectural Journal), no.5, 1980

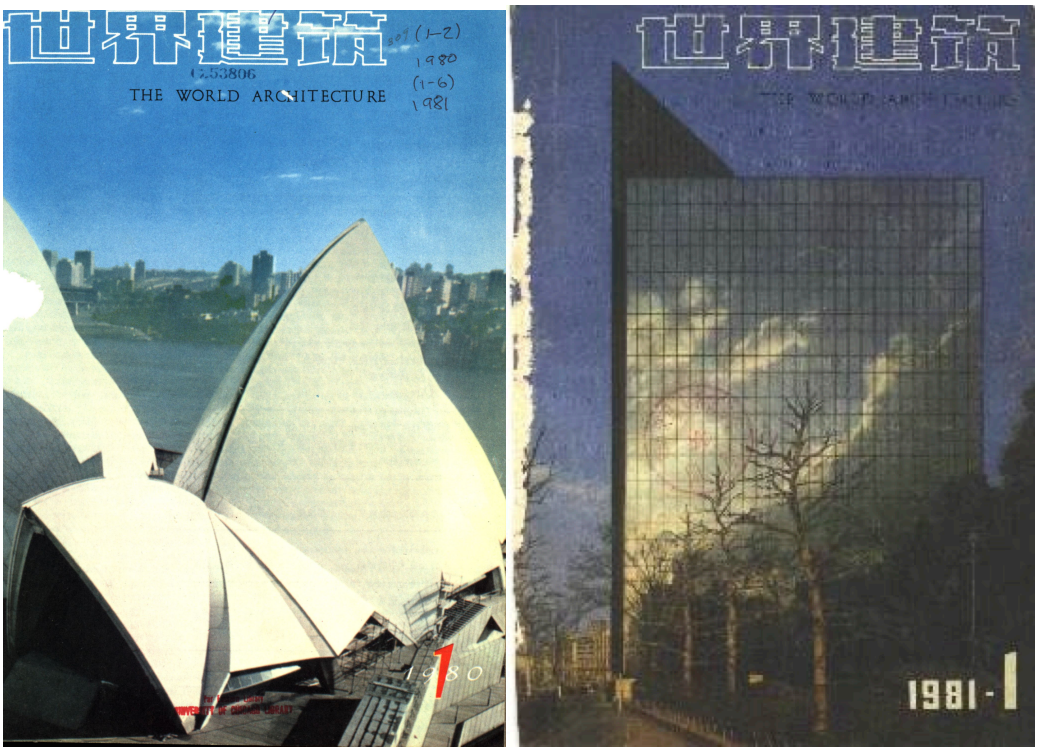


Figure 35 Journal covers for Shijie Jianzhu (World Architecture). Left: featuring the Sydney Opera House. no.1, 1980; right: featuring the Sogetsu Kaikan. no.1, 1981.



Figure 36 Fragrant Hill Hotel, Beijing, as of 2018.

Source: photographed by the author.

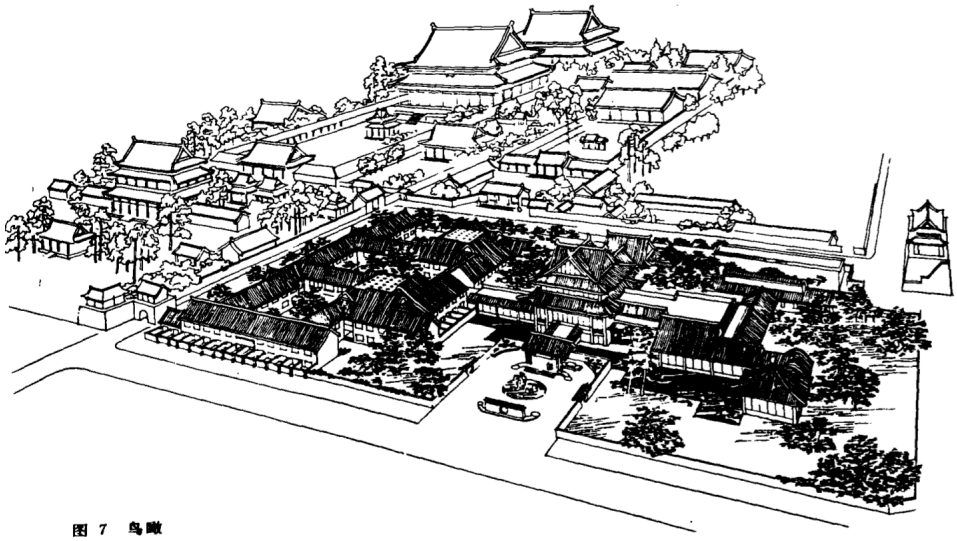


图 7 鸟瞰

5



图 3-3 阙里宾舍外观

Figure 37 Queli Guest House, or Queli Hotel, in Qufu, Shandong, designed by Dai Nianci 戴念慈, completed in 1985.

Source: Upper: Dai Nianci 戴念慈.阙里宾舍的设计介绍[Design Overview of Queli Guest House].建筑学报 Architectural Journal, 1986(01).5; lower: Exterior view of the building façade. Reproduced from Wang Wei, The Practice and Discourse of Queli Hotel: A Cautious Attempt in the 1980s. 2020.15.



Figure 38 Great Wall Hotel in Beijing, completed in 1984. China's first Five-Star, international hotel.

Source: Great Wall Hotel, Official Website: http://www.greatwallhotelbeijing.com/en/

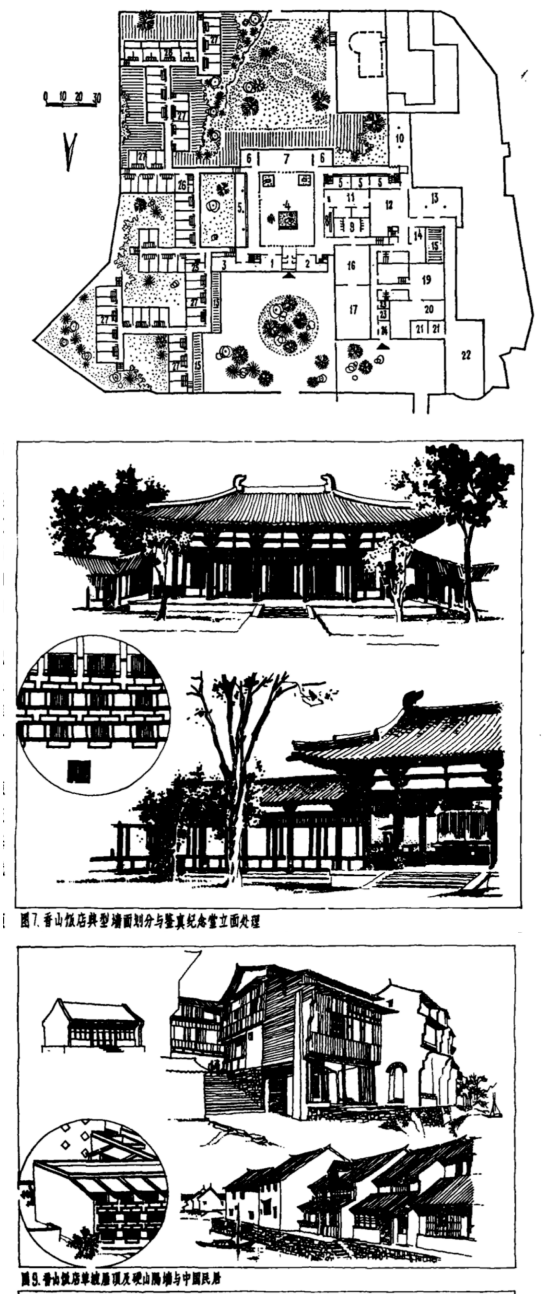


Figure 39 Wang Tianxi's analysis of the Fragrant Hill Hotel. Upper: plan of the site that resembles the spatial layout of a Jiangnan Garden; middle: the elevation that resembles the facade of Jianzhen memorial Hall, a building completed in 1973 that was modeled after a lost Tang Dynasty temple; bottom: the roof design and balcony partition that resembles the "Yingshan"(硬山) Style common to traditional vernacular residences, with flush gable, no overhanging roof.

Source:王天锡."香山饭店设计对中国建筑创作民族化的探讨[On the Design of Fragrant Hills Hotel and its Influence on Nationalization of Chinese Architecture]"建筑学报 Architectural Journal*, 1981.*



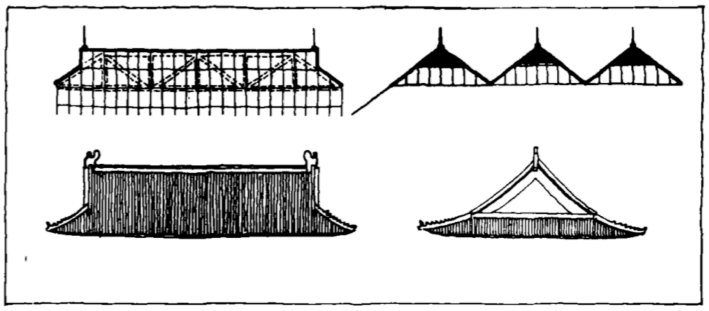


图8. 香山饭店采光顶棚与传统九脊顶的比较



Figure 40 Main atrium of the Fragrant Hill Hotel. Upper: Interior view of the central atrium; lower left: The design of the triangulated truss ceiling, which, according to Wang Tianxi, resembles the traditional hip-and-gable roof, or Xieshan (歇山) Style; lower right: the interior, as of 2018.

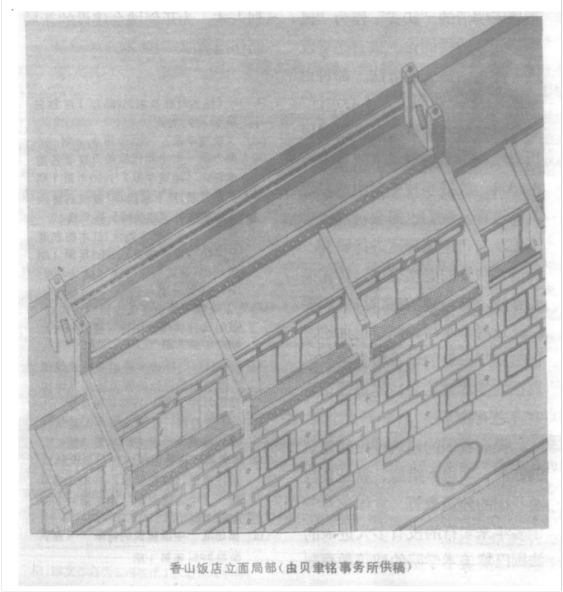
Also note the garden elements such as the screen wall, the moon gate, the placement of scholarly rock and bamboo.

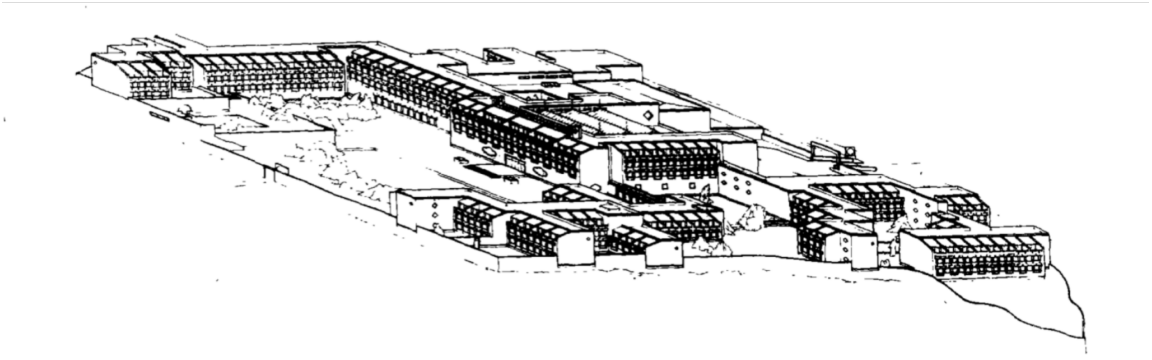
Source: upper:A+U, no.1, 1985. 90-91; lower left: 王天锡. "香山饭店设计对中国建筑创作民族化的探讨[On the Design of Fragrant Hills Hotel and its Influence on Nationalization of Chinese Architecture]" 建筑学报 Architectural Journal*, 1981 ; lower right: roof detail, photograph by the author.*



Figure 41 Astor Court Garden inside the Metropolitan Museum of Art, built in the style of a Ming dynasty scholar's courtyard with a skylight roof.

Source: Daniel, McDermon, "Make the Most of the Met," New York Times, https://www.nytimes.com/guides/culture/guide-to-the-metropolitan-museum-of-art





香山饭店鸟瞰图（由贝聿铭事务所供稿）

Figure 42 Axonometric view of the roof details for Fragrant Hill Hotel versus the isometric view of the Fragrant Hill Hotel.

Note both diagrams in Zhou's article emphasize Pei's rational design methods and strip bare the contextual information about the site.

Source: 周卜颐. "从香山饭店谈我国建筑创作的现代化与民族化."[From Fragrant Hills Hotel to the Modernization and Nationalization of Architectural Design in Our Country]. 新建筑 New Architecture*, 1983.*

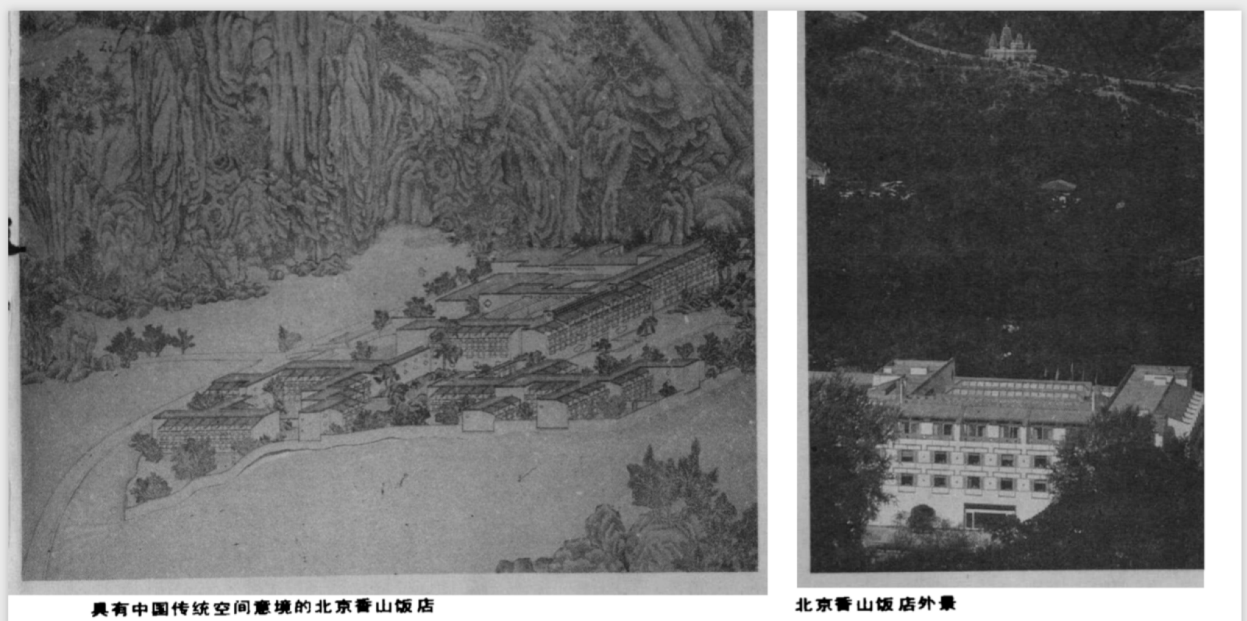


Figure 43 Diagram within an imagined, traditionally rendered landscape by late Ming painter Zheng Zhong, juxtaposed with a real aerial shot of the complete project.

Note this article published in Architectural Journal stresses the harmonious relationship between the building and the landscape painting.

Source: 杨士萱. "贝聿铭的事业与艺术."[The Career and Art of I.M.Pei]. 建筑学报 Architectural Journal*, vol.10, 1992.*

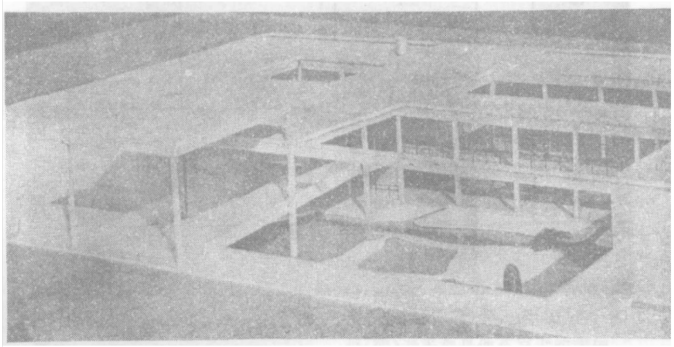


图 1 1946年贝聿铭在哈佛当研究生时设计的"上海博物馆模型"

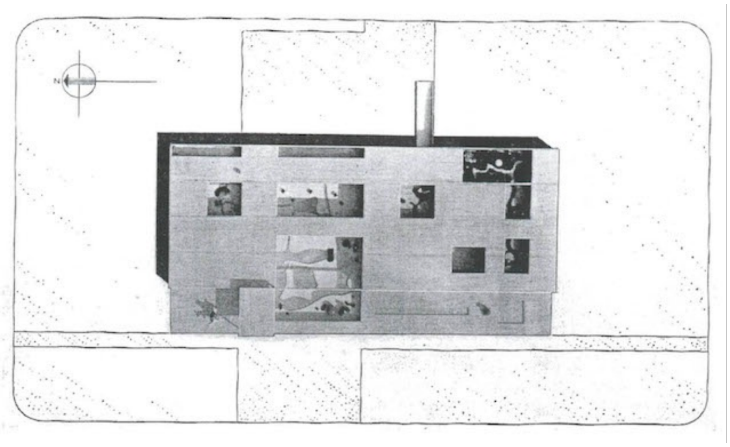


Figure 44 I.M.Pei's unrealized design for the Shanghai Museum as his thesis design at Harvard GSD, 1946, model and plan.

*Source: 周卜颐 "正确对待现代建筑 正确对待我国传统建筑." [Correctly Treat Modern Architecture, Correctly Treat Our Country' s Traditional Architecture]. 时代建筑 Time+*Architecture*, vol.2, 1986.*



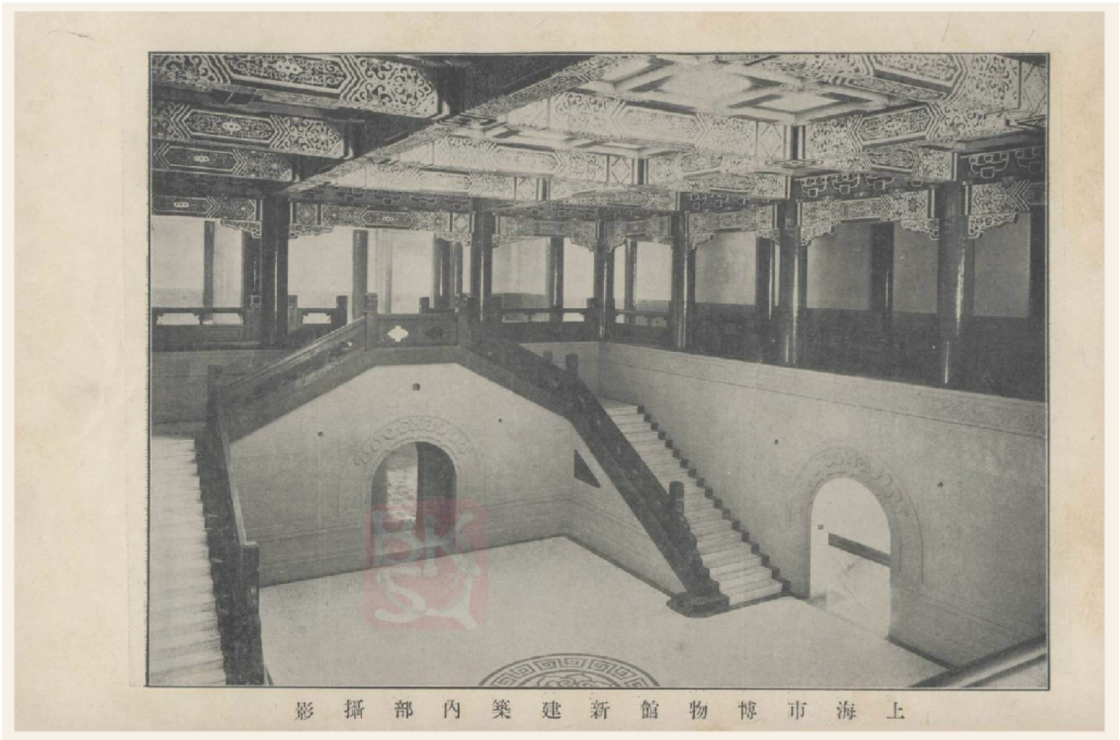
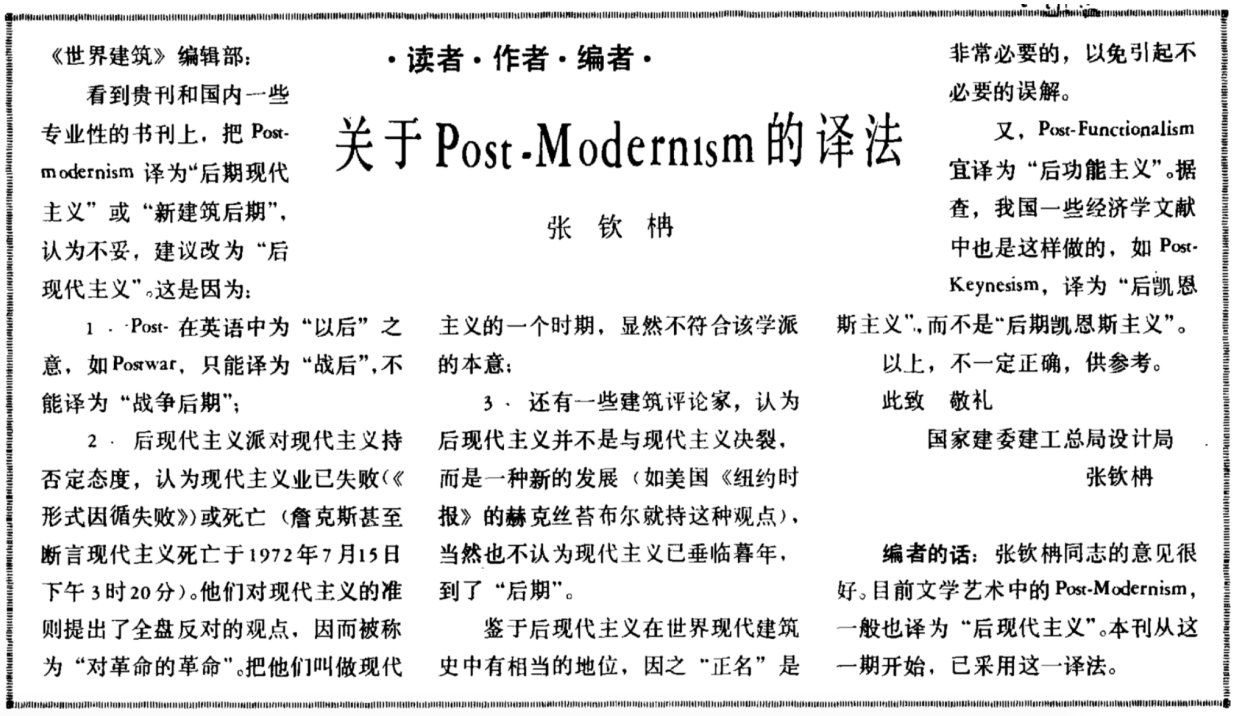


Figure 45 Dong Dayou 董大酉's palatial-styled Shanghai Municipal Museum(1934), exterior and interior shots.

Source: 《中国博物馆协会会报》[Bulletin the Museums Assocuation of China]. vol.2, no.4, 1935. 5-6. Images accessed through the Chinese Periodicals Database for the Republican Period 1911-1949 民国时期期刊全文数据库



·读者·作者·编者·

关于Post-Modernism的译法

张 钦 楠

《世界建筑》编辑部：

看到贵刊和国内一些专业性的书刊上，把 Post-modernism 译为"后期现代主义"或"新建筑后期"，认为不妥，建议改为"后现代主义"。这是因为：

1．Post- 在英语中为"以后"之意，如Postwar，只能译为"战后"，不能译为"战争后期"；

2．后现代主义派对现代主义持否定态度，认为现代主义业已失败（《形式因循失败》）或死亡（詹克斯甚至断言现代主义死亡于1972年7月15日下午3时20分）。他们对现代主义的准则提出了全盘反对的观点，因而被称为"对革命的革命"。把他们叫做现代主义的一个时期，显然不符合该学派的本意；

3．还有一些建筑评论家，认为后现代主义并不是与现代主义决裂，而是一种新的发展（如美国《纽约时报》的赫克丝苔布尔就持这种观点），当然也不认为现代主义已垂临暮年，到了"后期"。

鉴于后现代主义在世界现代建筑史中有相当的地位，因之"正名"是非常必要的，以免引起不必要的误解。

又，Post-Functionalism 宜译为"后功能主义"。据查，我国一些经济学文献中也是这样做的，如 Post-Keynesism，译为"后凯恩斯主义"，而不是"后期凯恩斯主义"。

以上，不一定正确，供参考。

此致 敬礼

国家建委建工总局设计局

张钦楠

编者的话：张钦楠同志的意见很好。目前文学艺术中的 Post-Modernism，一般也译为"后现代主义"。本刊从这一期开始，已采用这一译法。

Figure 46 An Article by Zhang Qinnan that discusses the accurate Chinese translation of "Postmodernism."

Source: Zhang Qinnan 张钦楠.关于 Post-Modernism 的译法[Regarding the Accurate Translation for Postmodernism].世界建筑 World Architecture, 1981(4). 78.



Figure 47 Beijing West railway station, completed and opened to the public in 1996.

Source: "Beijing West Railway Station," N509FZ, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/92/Beijing_West_Railway_Station_%28202207071858 18%29.jpg, CC BY-SA 4.0



四 间 房 （300×300×300英尺）

Four rooms, 1986

获日本《新建筑》住宅设计竞赛一等奖

设计 张永和

连着两年想做《新建筑》住宅设计竞赛方案都没做成，所以这次早就开始磨拳擦掌了。可是等拿到题目一看，心里顿时凉了半截。今年竞赛出题和评选的建筑师竟是杨海末(Helmut Jahn)，杨是德国人，近年来搞过许多大工程，时下在西方建筑界颇有些影响。

而杨出的题目却是空洞洞的：

300×300×300英尺

想象一个在高密度市区中四面临街的300 300 300英尺的立方，在其中设计一个居住建筑。该建筑必须触到立方体的六个面。

尽管一时颇为失望，还是决定振作精神搞一个方案，不是为了别的，只是不想再等一年。

下手之前首先想到的是美国城市中的流浪汉收容所、又称无家可归者之家。其性质和旅馆相似，但没有单间，两间大通仓，一男一女。厕所、浴室、饭堂都是公用的。租一个床位通常一晚只需几毛钱。然而使我发生兴趣的并不是这种设施本身，而是设施内居民生活的集体化。因为美国城市的另一特殊现象是：大量的单身人口，他们住在传统的独门独户的公寓里，而独寂寞是个大问题。把无家可归者之家的集体生活方式借鉴到单身住宅设计中来，是我第一个设计方案的中心思想。设计的建筑形式也是借来的——中国福建客家民居。我在三百英尺立方体中放了三圈建筑，分别是入口更衣厕浴，厨房餐厅，起居卧室(从里到外)。这个顺序是根据大部分单身下班后的生活习惯排列的。建筑内居民个人的重要性和私密性从入口到卧室层层递减。平面中与主体建筑成角度的部分叫做"旅社"，居民可以租用它们来取得暂时的个人私密性。此方案具有很强的批判性和讽刺性，但做为解决实际问题的手段，它显得很单薄；而且归根结底，方案所示的生活方式和传统的学生宿舍大同小异。设计就此停滞不前了。

当时我自己正在为下个学年找房子住。一天在报纸上看到一则广告："四间房单身汉公寓出租"。一听起来，好象这四间房间是一样的，一样的重要，一样的大小，象中国"四间大北房"的意思。尽管我知道这是不太可能的，我还是把这个一转念的想法记了下来。后来去看了那所公寓，四间房间实际上是起居室、卧室、厨房、厕所，大的大，小的小。公寓没租，倒为设计打开了两条新的思路：

一 重新研究了单身汉下班后的活动顺序后，我意识到回家——淋浴——更衣——用餐——娱乐——睡觉的模式，尽管具有普遍性，但它是一个僵死的东西，不能包容许多因人而异的因素。根据这个模式设计，只能限制居民的行为而不能支持他们的行为。

二 开始考虑空间和家具的关系。发现了家具限定空间的功能从而限定空间本身的现象。西方公寓中的空间普遍是围绕一些家具设计的，因此一个空间只能容纳一个功能，最终居民的生活就受到公寓建筑的制约。厕所只能作为厕所、卧室也只能作为卧室，以此类推。相反，传统的东方住宅空间则往往是灵活得多，中文"居室"一概念只说明空间和日常生活的关系，而不指明任何具体的活动，日本的几乎没有家具的传统房间和中国北方的建筑、家具皆含体"炕"都可以说是这种观念的具体体现。

根据上述的想法，设计开始有些头绪了，至此减轻单身或市居民孤独问题的努力放弃了。

我的获奖方案是一个透明的正立方体。正式图上的简短文字是我最后设计意图的总结：

单身公寓——一个未婚城市居民的矛盾

确定空间

对方便的需要
正视现实
都市性的
理性的
功能性的
机器
线索：求变化

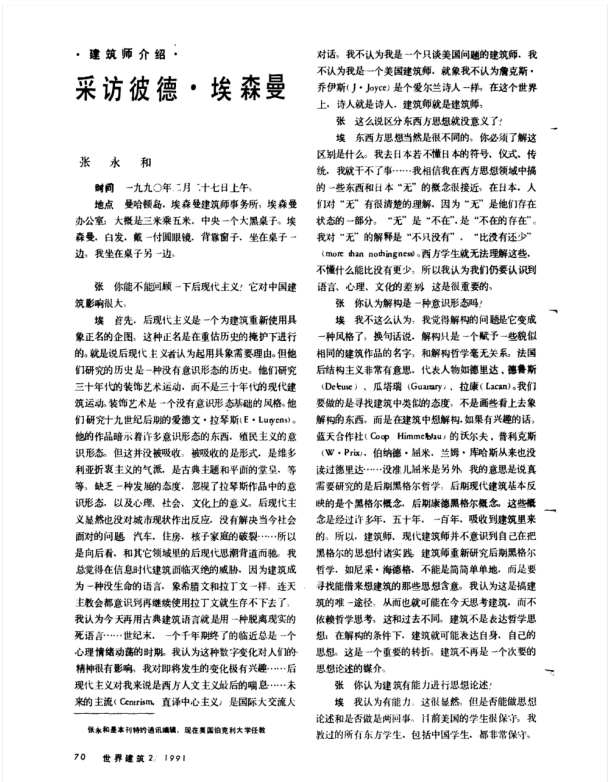
不确定空间

对自由的渴望
追求理想
非都市性的
感情的
精神的
家
线索：求统一

注：其实这个矛盾已经不止是单身汉的了，每一个城市居民都有这个矛盾，是否明确地确定房间的功能和性质实际上是人的物质生活和精神生活矛盾统一的问题。这里没有正确和错误，我的设计是试图在两这个矛盾而不是解决矛盾，所以住宅空间既有变化又有统一。

文中都市性一词是指城市中线性的、有规律、有系统的生活方式而非都市型一词则暗指城市人的自由意志常常体现在对大自然或田园情趣的向往。

56 世界建筑2/ 1987



·建筑师介绍·

采访彼德·埃森曼

张 永 和

时间 一九九〇年 二月 十七日上午。

地点 曼哈顿岛，埃森曼建筑师事务所。埃森曼办公室：大概是三米乘五米，中央一个大黑桌子。埃森曼，白发，戴一付圆眼镜，背靠窗子，坐在桌子一边，我坐在桌子另一边。

张 你能不能回顾一下后现代主义？它对中国建筑影响很大。

埃 首先，后现代主义是一个为建筑重新使用具象正名的企图。这种正名是在重估历史的掩护下进行的。就是说后现代主义者认为起用具象需要理由，但他们研究的历史是一种没有意识形态的历史。他们研究三十年代的装饰艺术运动，而不是三十年代的现代建筑运动。装饰艺术是一个没有意识形态基础的风格。他们研究十九世纪后期的爱德文·拉琴斯(E·Lutyens)。他的作品暗示着许多意识形态的东西。殖民主义的意识形态，但这并没被吸收。被吸收的是形式，是维多利亚折衷主义的气质，是古典主题和平面的堂皇，等等，缺乏一种发展的态度，忽视了拉琴斯作品中的意识形态，以及心理、社会、文化上的意义。后现代主义显然也没对城市现状作出反应，没有解决当今社会面对的问题，汽车，住房，核子家庭的破裂……所以是向后看，和其它领域里的后现代思潮背道而驰。我总觉得在信息时代建筑面临灭绝的威胁，因为建筑成为一种没生命的语言，象希腊文和拉丁文一样。连天主教会都意识到再继续使用拉丁文就生存不下去了。我认为今天再用古典建筑语言就是用一种脱离现实的死语言……世纪末，一个千年期终了的临近总是一个心理情绪动荡的时期。我认为这种数字变化对人们的精神很有影响。我对即将发生的变化极有兴趣……后现代主义对我来说是西方人文主义最后的喘息……未来的主流(Centrism，直译中心主义)是国际大交流大对话。我不认为我是一个只谈美国问题的建筑师，我不认为我是一个美国建筑师，就象我不认为詹克斯·乔伊斯(J·Joyce)是个爱尔兰诗人一样。在这个世界上，诗人就是诗人，建筑师就是建筑师。

张 这么说区分东西方思想就没意义了？

埃 东西方思想当然是很不同的。你必须了解这区别是什么。我去日本若不懂日本的符号、仪式、传统，我就干不了事……我相信我在西方思想领域中搞的一些东西和日本"无"的概念很接近。在日本，人们对"无"有很清楚的理解，因为"无"是他们存在状态的一部分。"无"是"不在"，是"不在的存在"。我对"无"的解释是"不只没有"，"比没有还少"(more than nothingness)。西方学生就无法理解这些，不懂什么能比没有更少。所以我认为我们仍要认识到语言、心理、文化的差别，这是很重要的。

张 你认为解构是一种意识形态吗？

埃 我不这么认为。我觉得解构的问题是它变成一种风格了，换句话说，解构只是一个赋予一些貌似相同的建筑作品的名字，和解构哲学毫无关系。法国后结构主义非常有意思，代表人物如德里达、德鲁斯(Deluse)、瓜塔瑞(Guattary)、拉康(Lacan)。我们要做的是寻找建筑中类似的态度，不是画些看上去象解构的东西，而是在建筑中想解构。如果有兴趣的话，蓝天合作社(Coop Himmelblau)的沃尔夫、普利克斯(W·Prix)、伯纳德·屈米，兰姆·库哈斯从来也没读过德里达……没准儿屈米是另外。我的意思是说真需要研究的是后期黑格尔哲学。后期现代建筑基本反映的是个黑格尔概念，后期康德黑格尔概念。这些概念是经过许多年，五十年，一百年，吸收到建筑里来的。所以，建筑师、现代建筑师并不意识到自己在把黑格尔的思想付诸实践。建筑师重新研究后期黑格尔哲学，如尼采·海德格，不能是简单单地，而是要寻找能借来想建筑的那些思想含意。我认为这是搞建筑的唯一途径。从而也就可能在今天思考建筑，而不依赖哲学思考，这和过去不同。建筑不是表达哲学思想，在解构的条件下，建筑就可能表达自身，自己的思想。这是一个重要的转折。建筑不再是一个次要的思想论述的媒介。

张 你认为建筑有能力进行思想论述？

埃 我认为有能力。这很显然，但是否能做思想论述和是否做是两回事。目前美国的学生很保守。我教过的所有东方学生，包括中国学生，都非常保守。

张永和是本刊特约通讯编辑，现在美国伯克利大学任教

70 世界建筑2/ 1991

Figure 48 Examples of articles written by Yung Ho Chang 张永和 while studying and working in the U.S. Left, "Four Rooms." World Architecture, no.2, 1987; Right, "Interview with Peter Eisenman." World Architecture, no.2, 1991.

Since the 1980s, Yung Ho Chang started to make contributions to the Chinese architectural media as he studied at architecture schools, became a teacher, and began his own architectural firm in the U.S. During this period, he is one of the most published architects among his peers.



Figure 49 Yung Ho Chang in his office of Atelier FCJZ 非常建筑 in Beijing, ca. 1995.

Source: photograph by Xu Zhiwei. From "Yuanmingyuan Art Village" series.



Figure 50 Xishu Bookstore 席殊书屋, completed in 1996 and demolished in 2000. Left: interior; right: front view with movable shelf-on-the-wheels.

Source: Left: 张永和 Yung Ho Chang, and 非常建筑工作室 Atelier FCJZ. 绘本非常建筑 [Atelier FCJZ, Extraordinary Architecture Illustrated] (2014). 12. Right: photograph from Atelier FCJZ's official website. https://www.fcjz.com/archive/p/5b4720396918e75d6d70822f



Figure 51 The site before Chang's renovation. The overhanging sign in Chinese reads "Architectural Design Institute of the Ministry of Construction." Notice it was used as an entrance for both outgoing and incoming traffic as well as a temporary bike storage.

Source: provided by Atelier FCJZ in Beijing



Figure 52 Interior details. The mezzanine level of the bookshop.

Note the fluorescent lamps underneath the translucent, frost glass floor.

Source: photograph from Atelier FCJZ's official website. https://www.fcjz.com/archive/p/5b4720396918e75d6d70822f

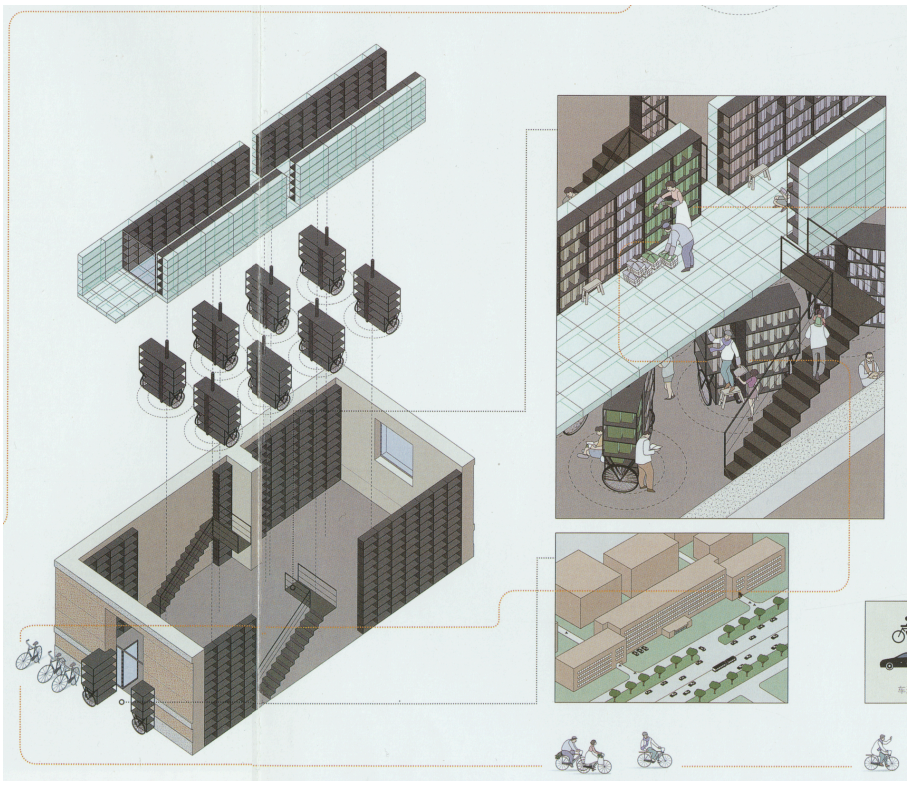


Figure 53 An exploded axonometric view of the interior space.

Note how the shelves can rotate to create different spatial sensibilities.

Source: Diagrams from 张永和 Yung Ho Chang, and 非常建筑工作室 Atelier FCJZ. 绘本非常建筑 [Atelier FCJZ, Extraordinary Architecture Illustrated] (2014). 7-8.

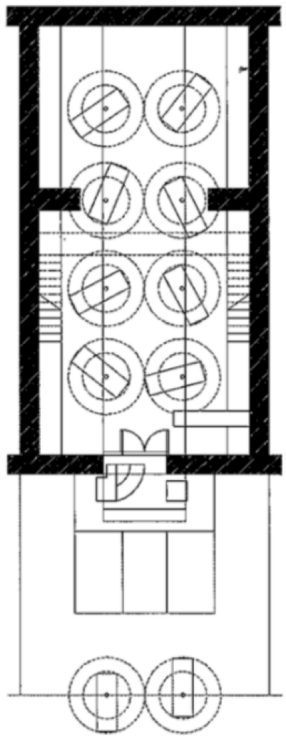


Figure 54 Plan for the first floor of the Xishu Bookshop.

Source: 张永和 Yung Ho Chang, and 非常建筑工作室 Atelier FCJZ. 绘本非常建筑 [Atelier FCJZ, Extraordinary Architecture Illustrated] (2014).10.

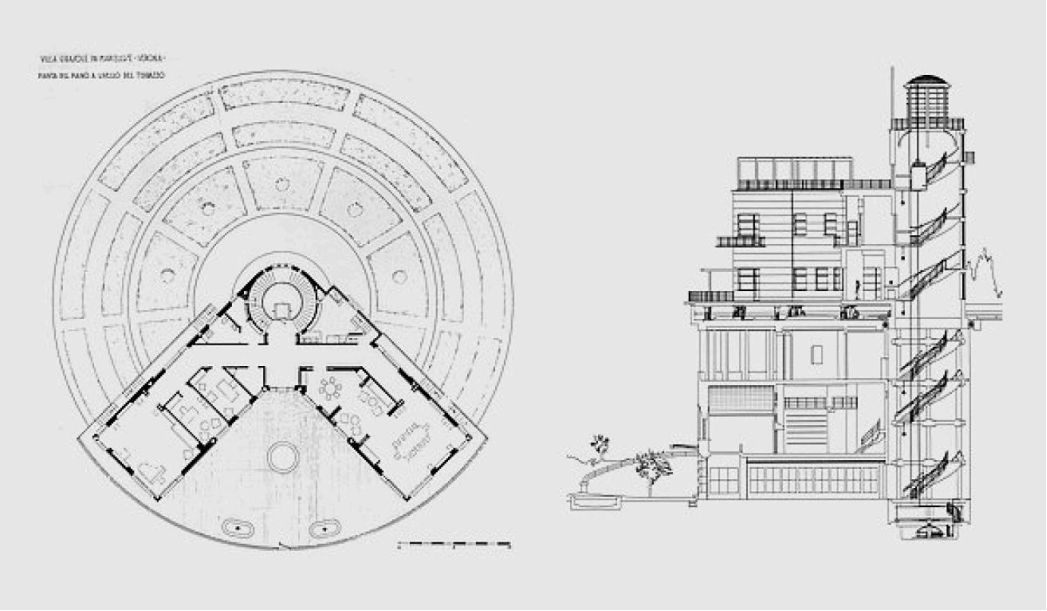


Figure 55 Plan and section showing the mechianical revolving system of the "Sunflower House," Villa Girasole (1935), designed by Angelo Invernizzi.

Source: image accessed from arquigraph, https://arquigraph.tumblr.com/post/158660290856/pioneer-angelo-invernizzi-villa-girasole-is

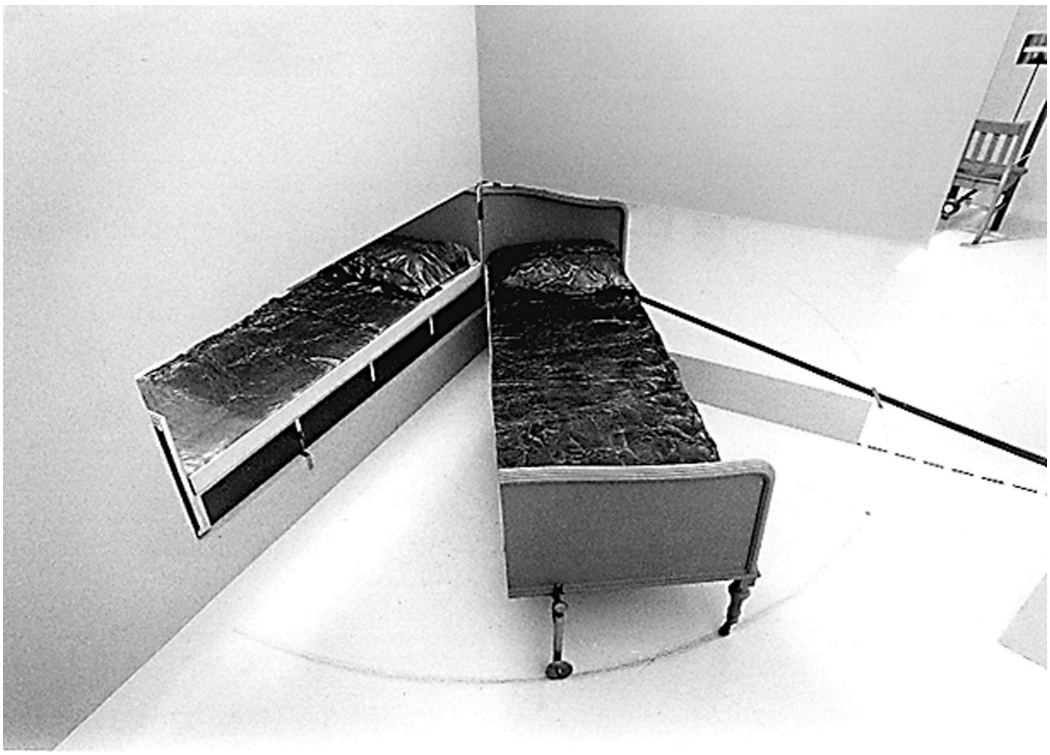
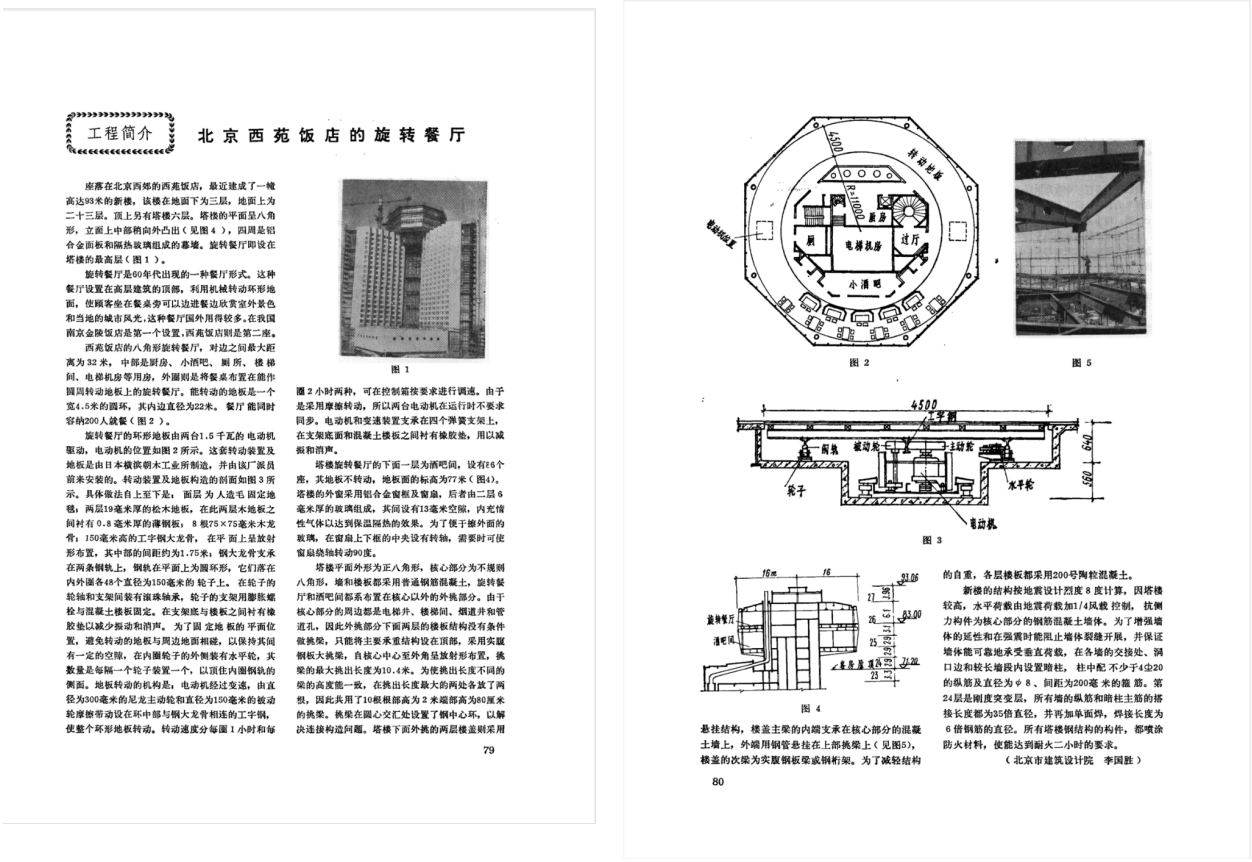


Figure 56 An interior detail of the WithDrawing Room (1987), created by the American architectural duo Elizabeth Diller and Richardo Scofidio.

Source: official website of Diller Scofidio + Renfro, https://dsrny.com/project/withdrawing-room



工程简介

北京西苑饭店的旋转餐厅

座落在北京西郊的西苑饭店，最近建成了一幢高达93米的新楼，该楼在地面下为三层，地面上为二十三层。顶上另有塔楼六层。塔楼的平面呈八角形，立面上中部稍向外凸出（见图4），四周是铝合金面板和隔热玻璃组成的幕墙。旋转餐厅即设在塔楼的最高层（图1）。

旋转餐厅是60年代出现的一种餐厅形式。这种餐厅设置在高层建筑的顶部，利用机械转动环形地面，使顾客坐在餐桌旁可以边进餐边欣赏室外景色和当地的城市风光，这种餐厅国外用得较多。在我国南京金陵饭店是第一个设置，西苑饭店则是第二座。

西苑饭店的八角形旋转餐厅，对边之间最大距离为32米，中部是厨房、小酒吧、厕所、楼梯间、电梯机房等用房，外圈则是将餐桌布置在能作圆周转动地板上的旋转餐厅。能转动的地板是一个宽4.5米的圆环，其内边直径为22米。餐厅能同时容纳200人就餐（图2）。

旋转餐厅的环形地板由两台1.5千瓦的电动机驱动，电动机的位置如图2所示。这套转动装置及地板是由日本横滨朝太工业所制造，并由该厂派员前来安装的。转动装置及地板构造的剖面如图3所示。具体做法自上至下是：面层为人造毛固定地毯，两层19毫米厚的松木地板，在此两层木地板之间衬有0.8毫米厚的薄钢板；8根75×75毫米木龙骨；150毫米高的工字钢大龙骨，在平面上呈放射形布置，其中部的间距约为1.75米，钢大龙骨支承在两条钢轨上，钢轨在平面上为圆环形，它们席在内外圈各48个直径为150毫米的轮子上。在轮子的轮轴和支架间装有滚珠轴承，轮子的支架用膨胀螺栓与混凝土楼板固定。在支架底与楼板之间衬有橡胶垫以减少振动和消声。为了固定地板的平面位置，避免转动的地板与周边地面相碰，以保持其间有一定的空隙，在内圈轮子的外侧装有水平轮，其数量是每隔一个轮子装置一个，以顶住内圈钢轨的侧面。地板转动的机构是：电动机经过变速，由直径为300毫米的尼龙主动轮和直径为150毫米的被动轮摩擦带动设在环中部与钢大龙骨相连的工字钢，使整个环形地板转动。转动速度分每圈1小时和每

图1

圈2小时两种，可在控制箱按要求进行调速。由于是采用摩擦转动，所以两台电动机在运行时不要求同步。电动机和变速装置支承在四个弹簧支架上，在支架底面和混凝土楼板之间衬有橡胶垫，用以减振和消声。

塔楼旋转餐厅的下面一层为酒吧间，设有86个座，其地板不转动，地板面的标高为77米（图4）。塔楼的外窗采用铝合金窗框及窗扇，后者由二层6毫米厚的玻璃组成，其间设有13毫米空隙，内充惰性气体以达到保温隔热的效果。为了便于擦外面的玻璃，在窗扇上下框的中央设有转轴，需要时可使窗扇绕轴转动90度。

塔楼平面外形为正八角形，核心部分为不规则八角形，墙和楼板都采用普通钢筋混凝土，旋转餐厅和酒吧间都系布置在核心以外的外挑部分。由于核心部分的周边都是电梯井、楼梯间、烟道井和管道孔，因此外挑部分下面两层的楼板结构没有条件做挑梁，只能将主要承重结构设在顶部，采用实腹钢板大挑梁，自核心中心至外角呈放射形布置，挑梁的最大挑出长度为10.4米。为使挑出长度不同的梁的高度能一致，在挑出长度最大的两处各放了两恒，因此共用了10根根部高为2米端部高为80厘米的挑梁。挑梁在圆心交汇处设置了钢中心环，以解决连接构造问题。塔楼下面外挑的两层楼盖则采用

图2

图5

图3

图4

悬挂结构，楼盖主梁的内端支承在核心部分的混凝土墙上，外端用钢管悬挂在上部挑梁上（见图5），楼盖的次梁为实腹钢板梁或钢桁架。为了减轻结构的自重，各层楼板都采用200号陶粒混凝土。

新楼的结构按地震设计烈度8度计算，因塔楼较高，水平荷载由地震荷载加1/4风载控制，抗侧力构件为核心部分的钢筋混凝土墙体。为了增强墙体的延性和在强震时能阻止墙体裂缝开展，并保证墙体能可靠地承受垂直荷载，在各墙的交接处、洞口边和较长墙段内设置暗柱，柱中配不少于4Φ20的纵筋及直径为φ8、间距为200毫米的箍筋。第24层是刚度突变层，所有墙的纵筋和暗柱主筋的搭接长度都为35倍直径，并再加单面焊，焊接长度为6倍钢筋的直径。所有塔楼钢结构的构件，都喷涂防火材料，使能达到耐火二小时的要求。

（北京市建筑设计院　李国胜）

Figure 57 "The Revolving Restaurants at the Beijing West Garden Hotel", an article published in the Journal of Architectural Structure.

The West Garden Hotel completed in 1984 was the first hotel in Beijing, second in the country after Jinling Hotel in Nanjing, to install a revolving restaurant on the rooftop. At the time, most of the articles published during that time centered their concerns around the technological challenge. John Portman was especially known for employing revolving restaurants for his design of hospitality buildings in China.

Source: 李国胜 Li Guosheng. 北京西苑饭店的旋转餐厅[The Revolving Restaurants at the Beijing West Garden Hotel]. 建筑结构学报 Journal of Architectural Structure*, 1984(03):79-80.*

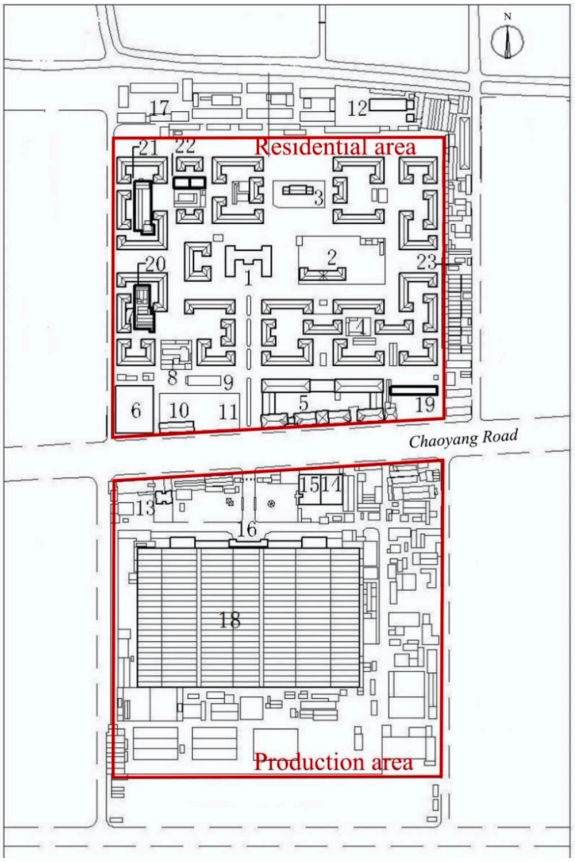


Figure 4. The danwei compound of Beijing No. 2 Textile Factory. 1–the dining hall; 2–primary school; 3–kindergarten; 4–garden house; 5–dormitories, a hospital, and a canteen; 6–retail store; 7–residential buildings; 8–the textile training school; 9–nurseries; 10–post office; 11–playground; 12–Balizhuang No. 2 Middle school; 13–mother and baby rooms; 14–bathrooms; 15–garage; 16–office buildings; 17–unused land; 18–factory workshops; 19, 20–newly built buildings; 21–neighborhood factory; 22–bathrooms. Source: reproduced from Zhang, Y.; Chai, Y.W.; Zhou, Q.J. The Spatiality and Spatial Changes of Danwei Compound in Chinese Cities: Case Study of Beijing No. 2 Textile Factory. *Urban Plan. Int.* **2009**, *5*, 20–27. (In Chinese).

Figure 58 A typical layout and spatial configuration for a work unit compound in the socialist era: Beijing No. 2 Textile Factory.

Source: Zuopeng Xiao, et al., "Corporate-Run Society: The Practice of the Danwei System in Beijing during the Planned Economy Period." Sustainability 2020, 12(4). 1338.

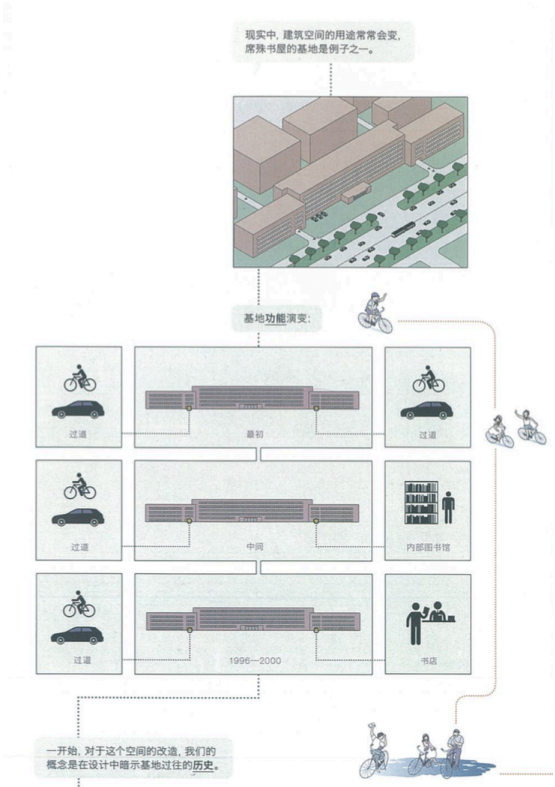


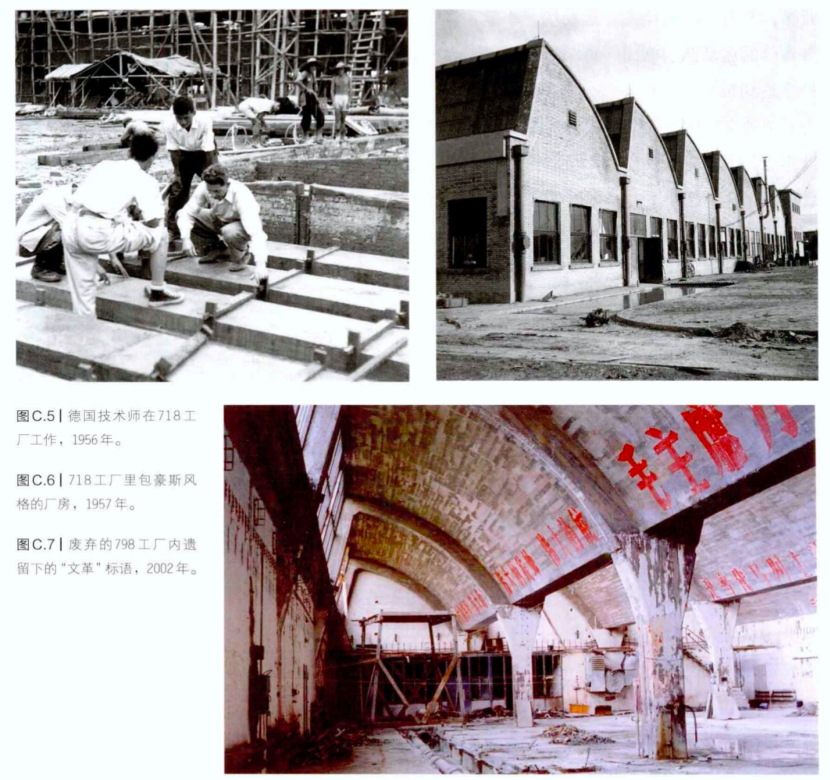
Figure 59 The changing function of the Eastern Entrance, from passageway to internal reading room/storage, to Xishu Bookshop, depicted in a series of conceptual drawings to explain the history of the site by Atelier FCJZ.

Source: Diagrams from 张永和 Yung Ho Chang, and 非常建筑工作室 Atelier FCJZ. 绘本非常建筑 [Atelier FCJZ, Extraordinary Architecture Illustrated] (2014). 7-8.



Figure 60 The site condition today: even though the eastern entrance has been restored into a passageway, the weight of the site has shifted westwards with two of major new constructions (marked in red) erected near the Western entrance.

Source: Baidu Map, annotation by the author.



图C.5 | 德国技术师在718工厂工作，1956年。

图C.6 | 718工厂里包豪斯风格的厂房，1957年。

图C.7 | 废弃的798工厂内遗留下的“文革”标语，2002年。

Figure 61 Transformation of 718 workshop from an industrial site of factories to an art district. Three different moments of 798, in clockwise, German Technicians working on the construction of the factory buildings, 1956; the workshops as they are freshly completed in the Bauhaus style, 1957; the interior of a deserted factory building in 2002.

Source: 巫鸿, 废墟的故事, 中国美术和视觉文化中的“在场”与“缺席.” 2012.



Figure 62 Interior space of the 718 factory building after being turned into an art gallery by Pace Gallery.

Source: photograph accessed from Pace's official website, "Talking on Paper." https://www.pacegallery.com/exhibitions/talking-on-paper/



Figure 63 Artists posed in front of the exhibit "Traces of Existence: A Private Show of Contemporary Chinese Art" in 1998. Yung Ho Chang is the fifth figure from the right.

Source: photograph by Xu Zhiwei. From "Yuanmingyuan Art Village" series.



Figure 64 Sliding, Folding, Swing Door*, an in situ installation piece for the "Trace of Existence: A Private Showing of Contemporary Chinese Art '98" curated by Cai Qing and Feng Boyi.*

Source: Zhang, Yonghe, and Atelier Feichang Jianzhu. Yung Ho Chang/Atelier FCJZ: Exhibition as Construction Experiment*. 2019.*

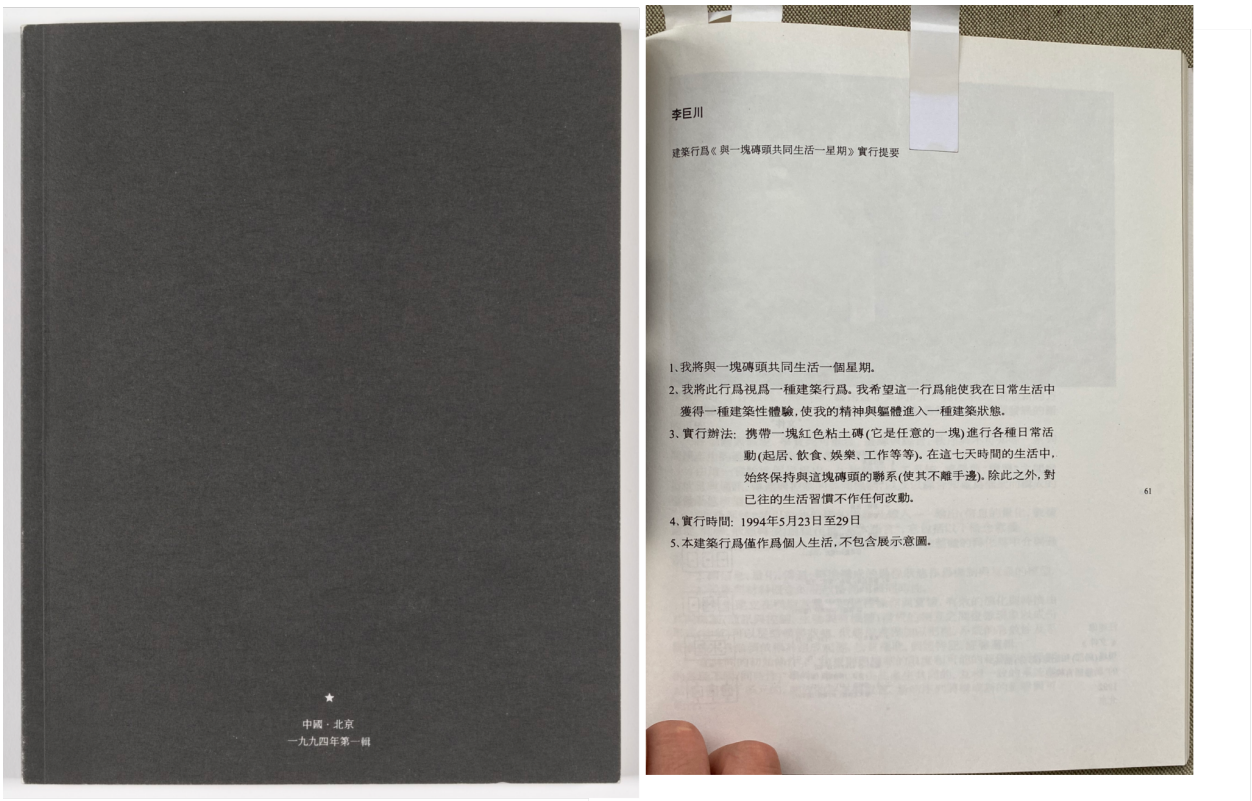


Figure 65 Li Juchuan 李巨川's proposal for the "Living with a Piece of Brick for One Week," first published in the Black Cover Book. Left: Book cover for Black Cover Book, or Heipishu; right: the page of the proposal, photograph by the author.

Source: Zeng Xiaojun, Ai Weiwei, and Xu Bing. Black Cover Book. (Hong Kong: Tai Tei Publishing Company, 1994). 61.



Figure 66 Snapshots documentation of the Living with a Piece of Brick for One Week (1994). The upper left plaque reads in English: "September 26 - October 2, 1994, Wuhan China, I and a brick lived together in this city. With this brick, my body and spirit could be dwelled."

Source: images provided by the artist Li Juchuan.



Figure 67 Use of bricks(including the concrete masonry unit blocks shown in the right image) in contemporary Chinese art. Bricks were a common building material in China at the time. Left, Wang Peng 王蓬's Wall - ' 93 Installation Exhibition (1993); right, Lin Yilin 林一林's Safely Crossing the Linhe Road (2015)

Source: Wu Hung. Contemporary Chinese Art: A History, 1970s>2000s*. London; New York: Thames & Hudson, 2014.*

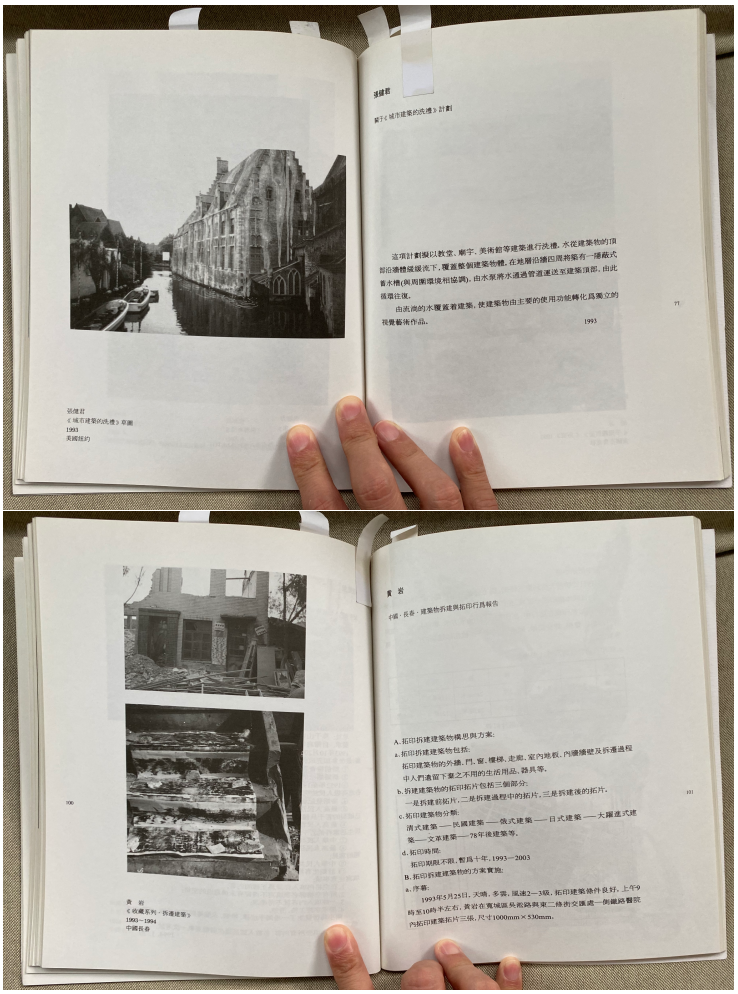


Figure 68 Artworks that invoked site-specificity or involved architecture from the Black Cover Book. Upper:.Zhang Jianjun 张健君, Baptizing Urban Architecture (1993); bottom.Huang Yan 黄岩, A Report of Building Demolition and Rubbing Performance in Changchun, China (1993-94).

Source: Zeng Xiaojun, Ai Weiwei, and Xu Bing. Black Cover Book. (Hong Kong: Tai Tei Publishing Company, 1994).76-77, 100-101.

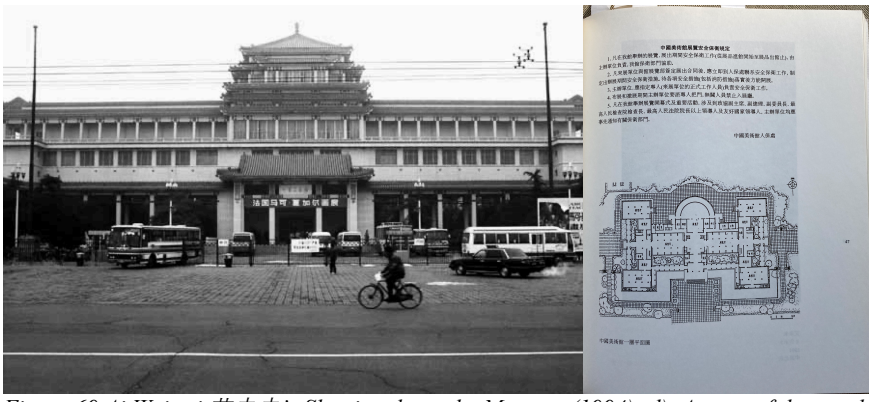


Figure 69 Ai Weiwei 艾未未's Shutting down the Museum (1994); d). A page of the regulation of use for the National Art Museum (as part of the contract for rental) and the layout of the museum space, both are part of the work for Shutting down the Musuem (1994)

Source: Zeng Xiaojun, Ai Weiwei, and Xu Bing. Black Cover Book. (Hong Kong: Tai Tei Publishing Company, 1994). 47.



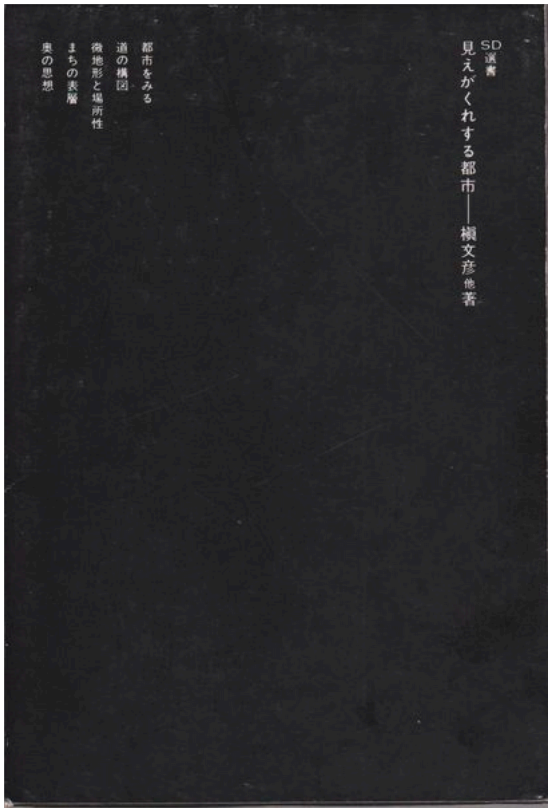


Figure 70 Left:cover for the JA(The Japan Architect). This issue announces the 1994 Shinkenchiku Housing Design Competition Results. Right: the book cover for Fumihiko Maki 槇文彦 et al. City with a Hidden Past.

Source: 1994 建築年鑑/新建築住宅設計競技結果発表, JA No.17 (1995-1); Right: the book cover for Fumihiko Maki et al. 槇文彦，見えがくれする都市 [City with a Hidden Past. Tokyo], originally published in 1987.



Figure 71 Li Juchuan, Shacking up with Kika (1996), video, 100 minutes.

Source: images provided by the artist Li Juchuan.



Figure 72 Li Juchuan, Wuchang City Wall (1995), from left to right: proposal, route map, and three photographs that documented the event.

Source: Exhibition photos from "Wuhan Club" (2019). Photo courtesy of the Sleepcenter, New York in 2019.



Figure 73 Li Juchuan, Beijing City Wall 2000 (2000). Video, screenshots from the video.

Source: film stills provided by the artist Li Juchuan.

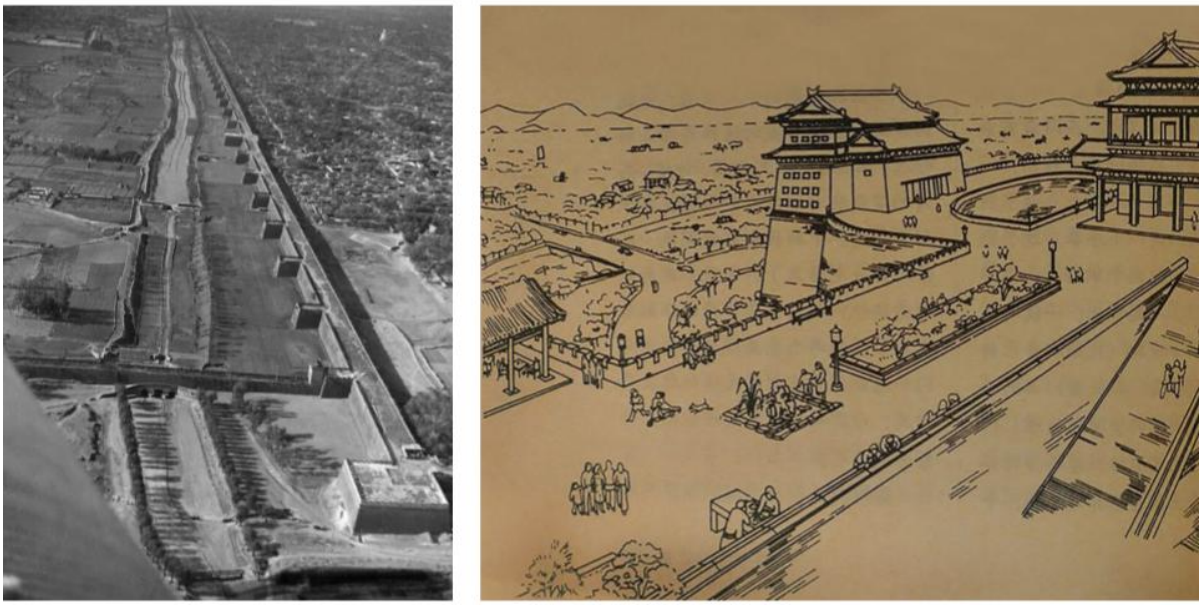


Figure 74 Beijing city wall before demolition. Left: aerial view of the Beijing city wall in 1933; right, Liang Sicheng's sketch of the Beijing city wall, and towers.

Note how Liang envisioned the city wall to be turned into a strolling park for people to gather, play chess, and walk the dog, etc.

Source: Left: Aerial view of Peking by German Graf Zu Castell. Image reproduced from http://en.people.cn/n/2015/0812/c98649-8934716-8.html

Right: originally published in Liang Sicheng Wenji [Anthology of Liang Sicheng], Vol.4, 1982. Reproduced from Wang Jun, Chengji [Evolutionary Record of Beijing City], 2006.



Figure 75 Li Juchuan, Red Line Plan II, Shanghai*, 2004. Left: site plan; right: execution of the red line.*

Note how the red line cuts across a number of existing buildings on the site.

Source: Left: http://www.lijuchuan.com/2004redline2/redline2_main_2.html

Right: http://www.lijuchuan.com/2004redline2/redline2_main_r.html

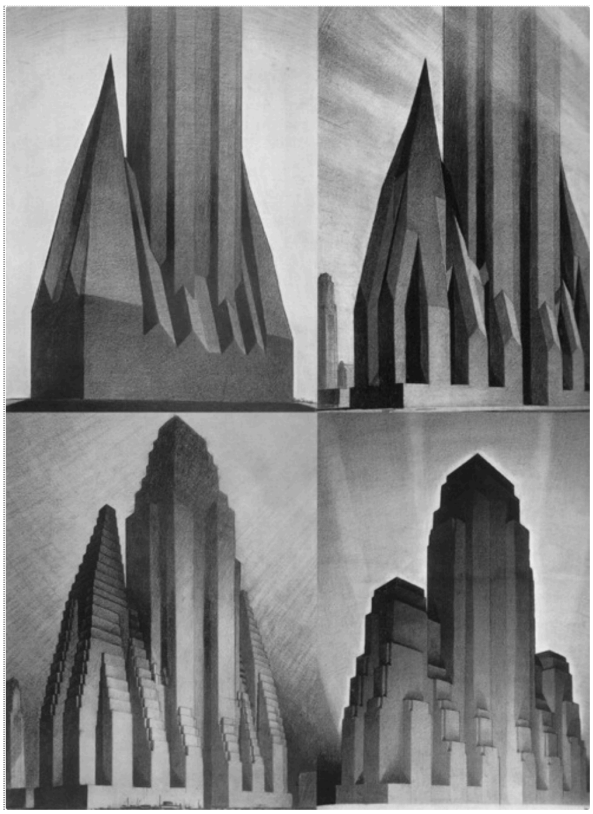


Figure 76 Hugh Ferriss, Illustrations from The Metropolis of Tomorrow *(1929)*

Note how the architect explored the possible ways of creating building profiles and set-backs for the high-rise to fit the New York City Zoning Resolution. His sketches set the archetype for later designs of skyscrapers.

Source: Hugh Ferriss, The Metropolis of Tomorrow (Princeton Architectural Press, 1986), 73, 75, 77, 79.

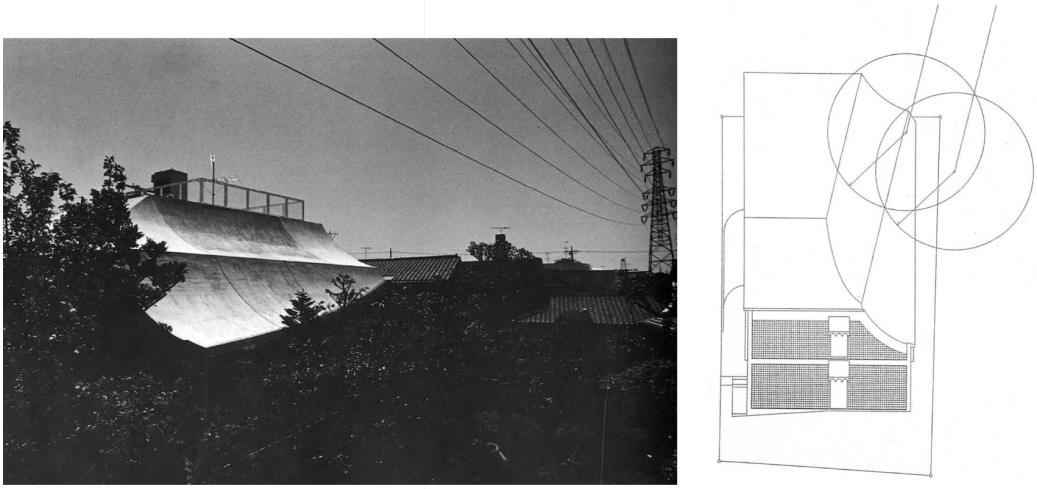


Figure 77 Shinohara Kazuo 篠原一男, House under High-Voltage Lines (1981). Note how architect Shinohara in this case uses the precise arc described by each easement of the two high-voltage lines that pass directly overhead to design the roofline.

Source: Kazuo Shinohara Estate, Tokyo Institute of Technology; Photographed by Tomio Ohashi. Reproduced from Internet, https://www.atlasofplaces.com/architecture/house-under-high-voltage-lines/.

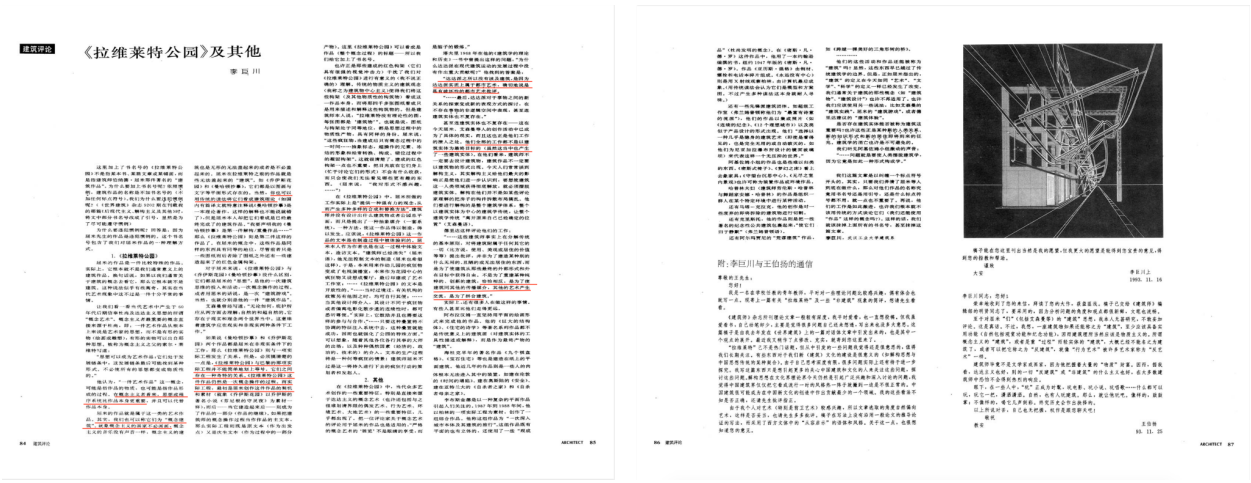


Figure 78 An article written by Li Juchuan entitled "Parc de la Villette and Beyond," followed by a debate in the format of correspondence between Li and editor in Chief, Wang Boyang over the issue of whether non-constructive projects could be seen as "architecture."

Source: 李巨川 Li Juchuan. "《拉维莱特公园》及其他. 附：李巨川与王伯扬的通信." [Parc de la Villette and beyond, attached with correspondences between Li Juchuan and Wang Boyang]. 建筑师 Architect*, no. 57 (April 1994), 84.*

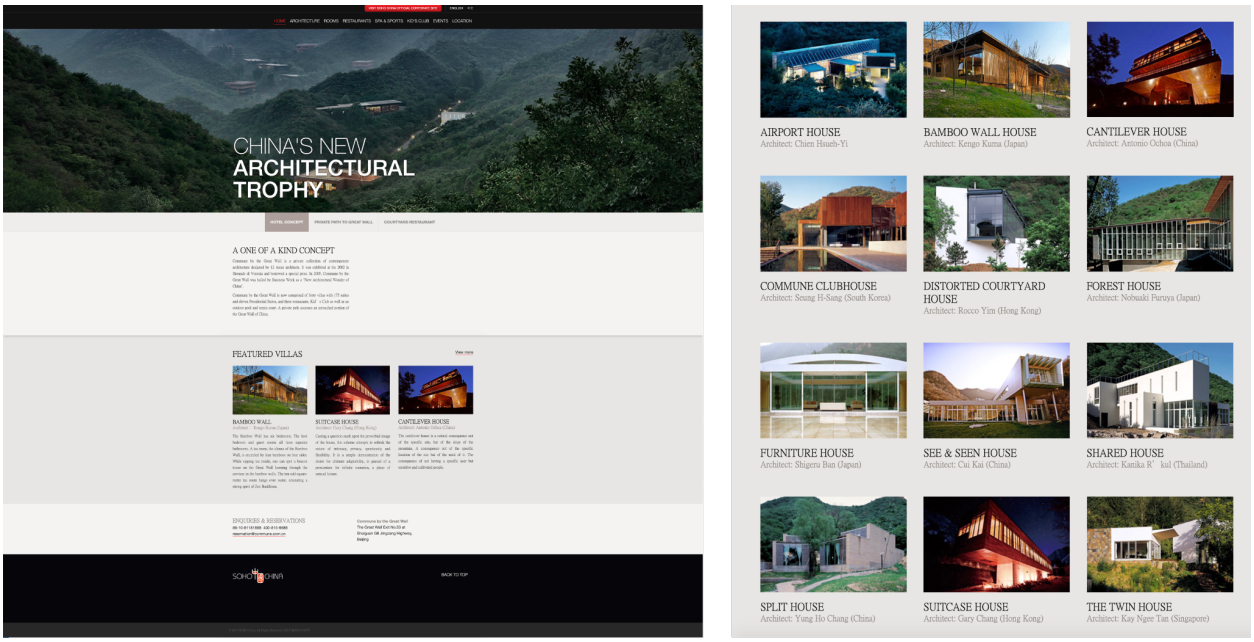


Figure 79 The official website for Commune by the Great Wall. Left, home page; right, twelve different villas designed by twelve Asian star architects.

Source: reproduced from the official website of the Commune by the Great Wall. http://commune.sohochina.com/



Figure 80 Examples of Chinese architectural exports in the 1980s. Left: the Astor Chinese Garden Court inside the Metropolitan Museum of Art , New York City (1980). Upper Right: The Friendship Archway in the heart of Chinatown in Washington D.C. (1986). Lower Right, Gallery view of the "Chinese Traditional Architecture" exhibition held at the China Institute in America New York City (1984)

Sources: Official Website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, https://www.metmuseum.org/learn/educators/lesson-plans/the-chinese-garden-court

Reproduced from Jackie Jia Lou, "Revitalizing Chinatown into a Heterotopia: A Geosemiotic Analysis of Shop Signs in Washington, D.C.'s Chinatown" Space and Culture *10(2):171.*

Official Website of the China Institute, https://www.chinainstitute.org/gallery-exhibitions/past-exhibition/



Figure 81 Pictorial Exhibition on Architecture of The People's Republic of China, cover and example pages of a published catalog.

Source: Pictorial Exhibition on Architecture of the People's Republic of China, images reproduced from from https://book.kongfz.com/15270/5745465445/



Figure 82 Exhibition catalogue for Environnement Quotidien en Chine, Chine Urbaine—Chine rurale held in Centre Pompidou in 1982.

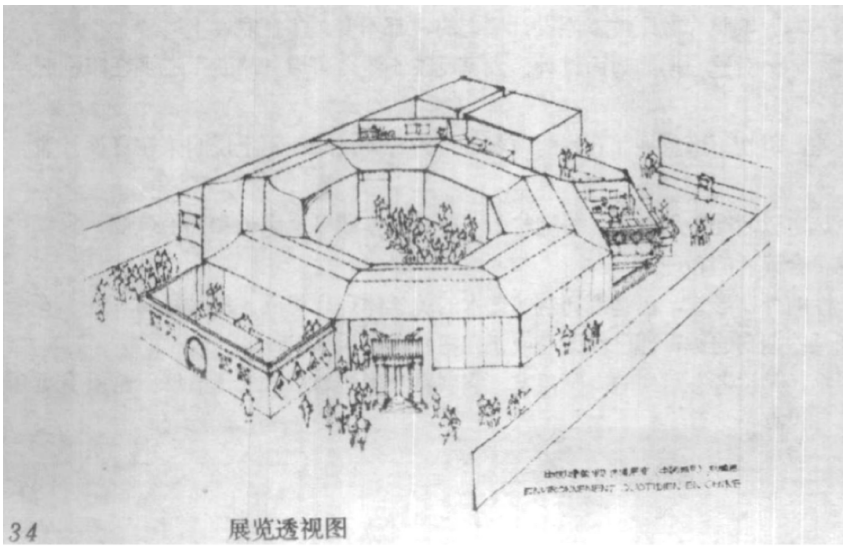
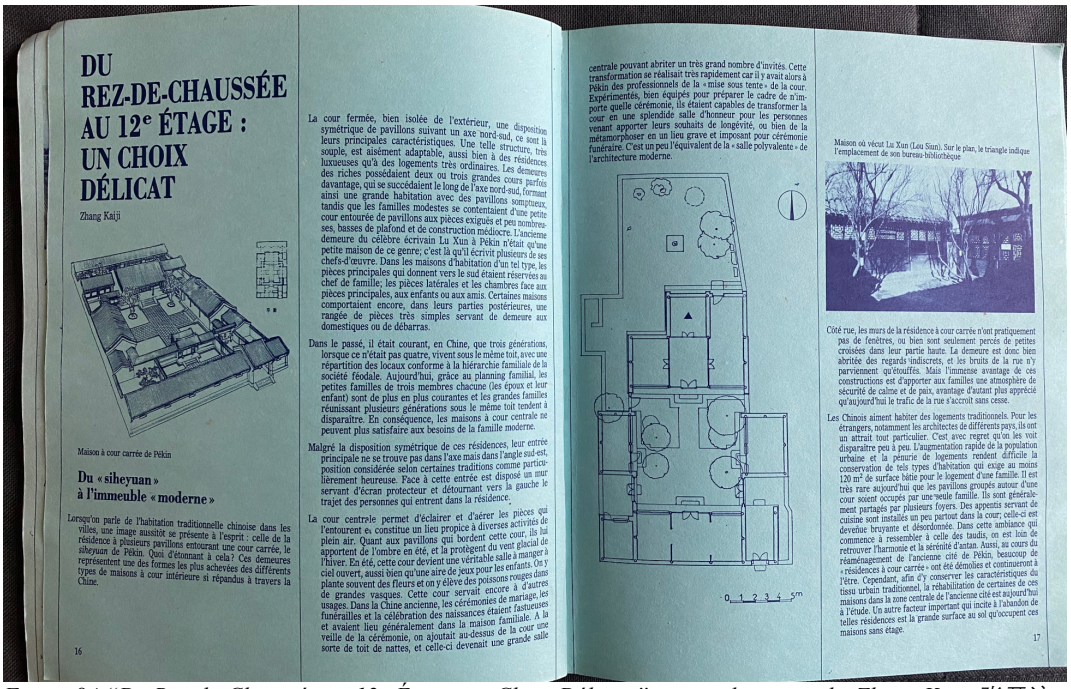


Figure 83 Perspectival diagram of the gallery space.

Source: He Zhenqiang 何镇强. "中国城乡展览在巴黎." [Exhibition of Chinese Urban and Rural in Paris] in 装饰 Decoration, 1983/2 (n.d.). 34.



DU REZ-DE-CHAUSSÉE AU 12e ÉTAGE : UN CHOIX DÉLICAT

Zhang Kaiji

Maison à cour carrée de Pékin

Du « siheyuan » à l'immeuble « moderne »

Lorsqu'on parle de l'habitation traditionnelle chinoise dans les villes, une image aussitôt se présente à l'esprit : celle de la résidence à plusieurs pavillons entourant une cour carrée, le siheyuan de Pékin. Quoi d'étonnant à cela ? Ces demeures représentent une des formes les plus achevées des différents types de maisons à cour intérieure si répandus à travers la Chine.

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La cour fermée, bien isolée de l'extérieur, une disposition symétrique de pavillons suivant un axe nord-sud, ce sont là leurs principales caractéristiques. Une telle structure, très souple, est aisément adaptable, aussi bien à des résidences luxueuses qu'à des logements très ordinaires. Les demeures des riches possédaient deux ou trois grandes cours parfois davantage, qui se succédaient le long de l'axe nord-sud, formant ainsi une grande habitation avec des pavillons somptueux, tandis que les familles modestes se contentaient d'une petite cour entourée de pavillons aux pièces exiguës et peu nombreuses, basses de plafond et de construction médiocre. L'ancienne demeure du célèbre écrivain Lu Xun à Pékin n'était qu'une petite maison de ce genre; c'est là qu'il écrivit plusieurs de ses chefs-d'œuvre. Dans les maisons d'habitation d'un tel type, les pièces principales qui donnent vers le sud étaient réservées au chef de famille; les pièces latérales et les chambres face aux pièces principales, aux enfants ou aux amis. Certaines maisons comportaient encore, dans leurs parties postérieures, une rangée de pièces très simples servant de demeure aux domestiques ou de débarras.

Dans le passé, il était courant, en Chine, que trois générations, lorsque ce n'était pas quatre, vivent sous le même toit, avec une répartition des locaux conforme à la hiérarchie familiale de la société féodale. Aujourd'hui, grâce au planning familial, les petites familles de trois membres chacune (les époux et leur enfant) sont de plus en plus courantes et les grandes familles réunissant plusieurs générations sous le même toit tendent à disparaître. En conséquence, les maisons à cour centrale ne peuvent plus satisfaire aux besoins de la famille moderne.

Malgré la disposition symétrique de ces résidences, leur entrée principale ne se trouve pas dans l'axe mais dans l'angle sud-est, position considérée selon certaines traditions comme particulièrement heureuse. Face à cette entrée est disposé un mur servant d'écran protecteur et détournant vers la gauche le trajet des personnes qui entrent dans la résidence.

La cour centrale permet d'éclairer et d'aérer les pièces qui l'entourent et constitue un lieu propice à diverses activités de plein air. Quant aux pavillons qui bordent cette cour, ils lui apportent de l'ombre en été, et la protègent du vent glacial de l'hiver. En été, cette cour devient une véritable salle à manger à ciel ouvert, aussi bien qu'une aire de jeux pour les enfants. On y plante souvent des fleurs et on y élève des poissons rouges dans de grandes vasques. Cette cour servait encore à d'autres usages. Dans la Chine ancienne, les cérémonies de mariage, les funérailles et la célébration des naissances étaient fastueuses et avaient lieu généralement dans la maison familiale. A la veille de la cérémonie, on ajoutait au-dessus de la cour une sorte de toit de nattes, et celle-ci devenait une grande salle centrale pouvant abriter un très grand nombre d'invités. Cette transformation se réalisait très rapidement car il y avait alors à Pékin des professionnels de la « mise sous tente » de la cour. Expérimentés, bien équipés pour préparer le cadre de n'importe quelle cérémonie, ils étaient capables de transformer la cour en une splendide salle d'honneur pour les personnes venant apporter leurs souhaits de longévité, ou bien de la métamorphoser en un lieu grave et imposant pour cérémonie funéraire. C'est un peu l'équivalent de la « salle polyvalente » de l'architecture moderne.

0 1 2 3 4 5m

Maison où vécut Lu Xun (Lou Sun). Sur le plan, le triangle indique l'emplacement de son bureau-bibliothèque

Côté rue, les murs de la résidence à cour carrée n'ont pratiquement pas de fenêtres, ou bien sont seulement percés de petites croisées dans leur partie haute. La demeure est donc bien abritée des regards indiscrets, et les bruits de la rue n'y parviennent qu'étouffés. Mais l'immense avantage de ces constructions est d'apporter aux familles une atmosphère de sécurité de calme et de paix, avantage d'autant plus apprécié qu'aujourd'hui le trafic de la rue s'accroît sans cesse.

Les Chinois aiment habiter des logements traditionnels. Pour les étrangers, notamment les architectes de différents pays, ils ont un attrait tout particulier. C'est avec regret qu'on les voit disparaître peu à peu. L'augmentation rapide de la population urbaine et la pénurie de logements rendent difficile la conservation de tels types d'habitation qui exige au moins 120 m² de surface bâtie pour le logement d'une famille. Il est très rare aujourd'hui que les pavillons groupés autour d'une cour soient occupés par une seule famille. Ils sont généralement partagés par plusieurs foyers. Des appentis servant de cuisine sont installés un peu partout dans la cour; celle-ci est devenue bruyante et désordonnée. Dans cette ambiance qui commence à ressembler à celle des taudis, on est loin de retrouver l'harmonie et la sérénité d'antan. Aussi, au cours du réaménagement de l'ancienne cité de Pékin, beaucoup de « résidences à cour carrée » ont été démolies et continueront à l'être. Cependant, afin d'y conserver les caractéristiques du tissu urbain traditionnel, la réhabilitation de certaines de ces maisons dans la zone centrale de l'ancienne cité est aujourd'hui à l'étude. Un autre facteur important qui incite à l'abandon de telles résidences est la grande surface au sol qu'occupent ces maisons sans étage.

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Figure 84 "Du Rez-de-Chaussée au 12e Étage: un Choix Délicat," an article written by Zhang Kaiji 张开济 explaining the housing problem and possible solutions raised by the architect.

Source: Zhang Kaiji, "du rez-de-chaussée au 12e étage: un choix délicat" in Zhongguo jian zhu xue hui, Centre de création industrielle, and Centre Georges Pompidou, eds. Environnement Quotidien en Chine [Zhongguo Cheng Xiang: Exposition. Paris: Centre de création industrielle, Centre Georges Pompidou, 1982. 16–17.

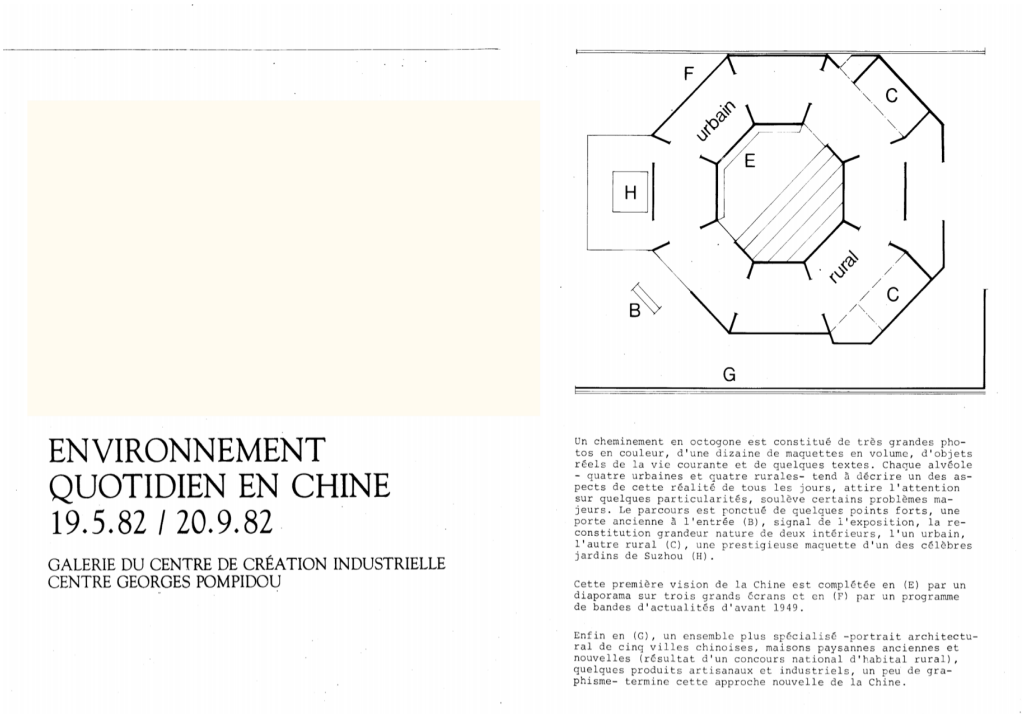


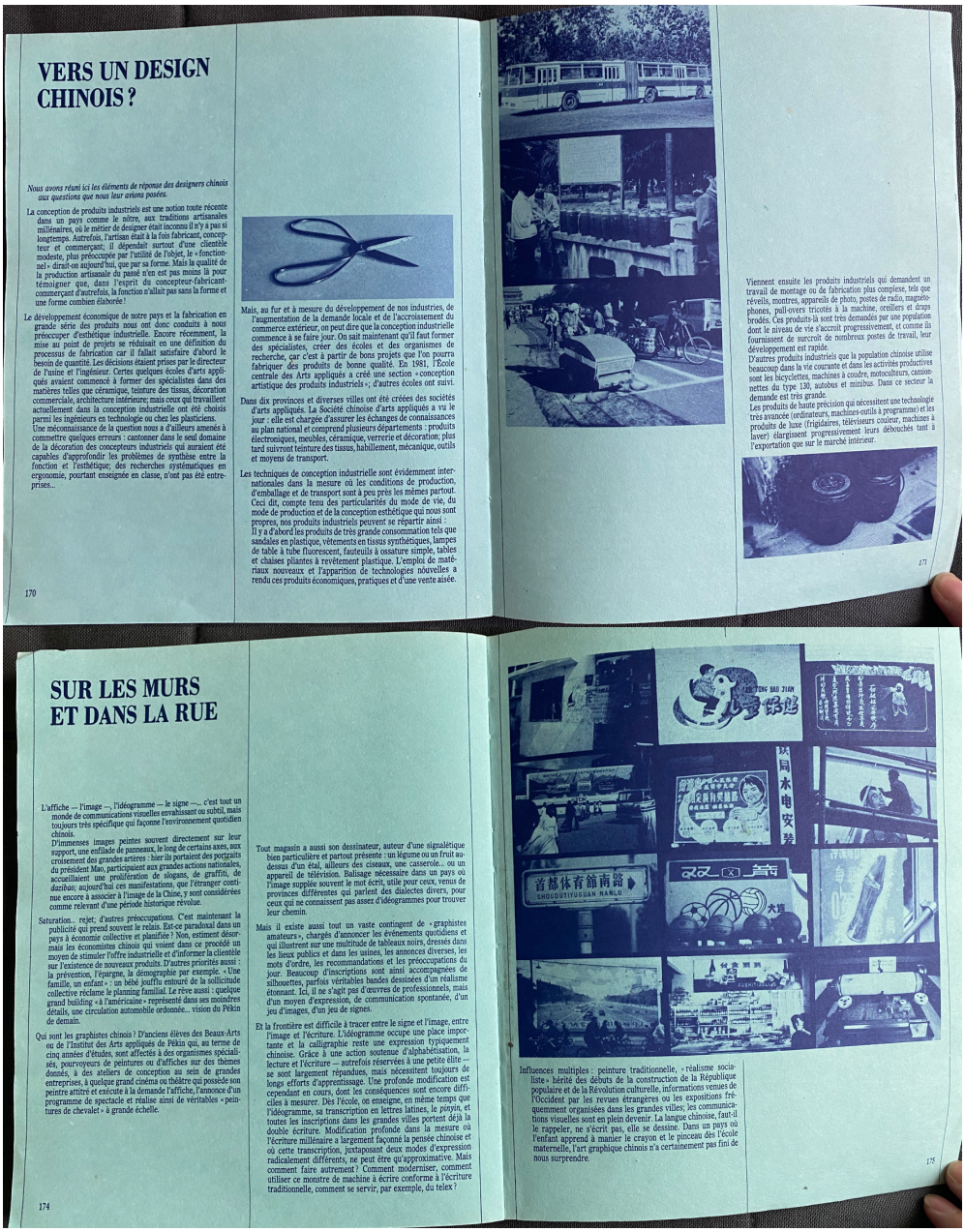
Figure 85 Layout plan for the exhibition design.

Source: "Information Presse CCI: Environnement Quotidien en Chine." Centre Georges Pompidou, 1982. 27.



Figure 86 Photographs of the exhibition entrance and an interior view.

Source: He Zhenqiang 何镇强. "中国城乡展览在巴黎." [Exhibition of Chinese Urban and Rural in Paris] in 装饰 Decoration, 1983/2 (n.d.). 34.



VERS UN DESIGN CHINOIS ?

Nous avons réuni ici les éléments de réponse des designers chinois aux questions que nous leur avions posées.

La conception de produits industriels est une notion toute récente dans un pays comme le nôtre, aux traditions artisanales millénaires, où le métier de designer était inconnu il n'y a pas si longtemps. Autrefois, l'artisan était à la fois fabricant, concepteur et commerçant; il dépendait surtout d'une clientèle modeste, plus préoccupée par l'utilité de l'objet, le « fonctionnel » d'naif- on aujourd'hui, que par sa forme. Mais la qualité de la production artisanale du passé n'en est pas moins là pour témoigner que, dans l'esprit du concepteur-fabricant-commerçant d'autrefois, la fonction n'allait pas sans la forme et une forme combien élaborée !

Le développement économique de notre pays et la fabrication en grande série des produits nous ont donc conduits à nous préoccuper d'esthétique industrielle. Encore récemment, la mise au point de projets se réduisait en une définition du processus de fabrication car il fallait satisfaire d'abord le besoin de quantité. Les décisions étaient prises par le directeur de l'usine et l'ingénieur. Certes quelques écoles d'arts appliqués avaient commencé à former des spécialistes dans des matières telles que céramique, teinture des tissus, décoration commerciale, architecture intérieure; mais ceux qui travaillent actuellement dans la conception industrielle ont été choisis parmi les ingénieurs en technologie ou chez les plasticiens.
Une méconnaissance de la question nous a d'ailleurs amenés à commettre quelques erreurs : cantonner dans le seul domaine de la décoration des concepteurs industriels qui auraient été capables d'approfondir les problèmes de synthèse entre la fonction et l'esthétique; des recherches systématiques en ergonomie, pourtant enseignée en classe, n'ont pas été entreprises...

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Mais, au fur et à mesure du développement de nos industries, de l'augmentation de la demande locale et de l'accroissement du commerce extérieur, on peut dire que la conception industrielle commence à se faire jour. On sait maintenant qu'il faut former des spécialistes, créer des écoles et des organismes de recherche, car c'est à partir de bons projets que l'on pourra fabriquer des produits de bonne qualité. En 1981, l'École centrale des Arts appliqués a créé une section « conception artistique des produits industriels »; d'autres écoles ont suivi.

Dans dix provinces et diverses villes ont été créées des sociétés d'arts appliqués. La Société chinoise d'arts appliqués a vu le jour : elle est chargée d'assurer les échanges de connaissances au plan national et comprend plusieurs départements : produits électroniques, meubles, céramique, verrerie et décoration; plus tard suivront teinture des tissus, habillement, mécanique, outils et moyens de transport.

Les techniques de conception industrielle sont évidemment internationales dans la mesure où les conditions de production, d'emballage et de transport sont à peu près les mêmes partout. Ceci dit, compte tenu des particularités du mode de vie, du mode de production et de la conception esthétique qui nous sont propres, nos produits industriels peuvent se répartir ainsi :
Il y a d'abord les produits de très grande consommation tels que sandales en plastique, vêtements en tissus synthétiques, lampes de table à tube fluorescent, fauteuils à ossature simple, tables et chaises pliantes à revêtement plastique. L'emploi de matériaux nouveaux et l'apparition de technologies nouvelles a rendu ces produits économiques, pratiques et d'une vente aisée.

Viennent ensuite les produits industriels qui demandent un travail de montage ou de fabrication plus complexe, tels que réveils, montres, appareils de photo, postes de radio, magnétophones, pull-overs tricotés à la machine, oreillers et draps brodés. Ces produits-là sont très demandés par une population dont le niveau de vie s'accroît progressivement, et comme ils fournissent de surcroît de nombreux postes de travail, leur développement est rapide.
D'autres produits industriels que la population chinoise utilise beaucoup dans la vie courante et dans les activités productives sont les bicyclettes, machines à coudre, motoculteurs, camionnettes (du type 130), autobus et minibus. Dans ce secteur la demande est très grande.
Les produits de haute précision qui nécessitent une technologie très avancée (ordinateurs, machines-outils à programme) et les produits de luxe (frigidaires, téléviseurs couleur, machines à laver) élargissent progressivement leurs débouchés tant à l'exportation que sur le marché intérieur.

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SUR LES MURS ET DANS LA RUE

L'affiche — l'image —, l'idéogramme — le signe —... c'est tout un monde de communications visuelles envahissant ou subtil, mais toujours très spécifique qui façonne l'environnement quotidien chinois.
D'immenses images peintes souvent directement sur leur support, une enfilade de panneaux, le long de certains axes, aux croisement des grandes artères : hier ils portaient des portraits du président Mao, participaient aux grandes actions nationales, accueillaient une prolifération de slogans, de graffiti, de dazibao; aujourd'hui ces manifestations, que l'étranger continue encore à associer à l'image de la Chine, y sont considérées comme relevant d'une période historique révolue.

Saturation... rejet; d'autres préoccupations. C'est maintenant la publicité qui prend souvent le relais. Est-ce paradoxal dans un pays à économie collective et planifiée ? Non, estiment désormais les économistes chinois qui voient dans ce procédé un moyen de stimuler l'offre industrielle et d'informer la clientèle sur l'existence de nouveaux produits. D'autres priorités aussi : la prévention, l'épargne, la démographie par exemple. « Une famille, un enfant » : un bébé joufflu entouré de la sollicitude collective réclame le planning familial. Le rêve aussi : quelque grand building « à l'américaine » représenté dans ses moindres détails, une circulation automobile ordonnée... vision du Pékin de demain.

Qui sont les graphistes chinois ? D'anciens élèves des Beaux-Arts ou de l'Institut des Arts appliqués de Pékin qui, au terme de cinq années d'études, sont affectés à des organismes spécialisés, pourvoyeurs de peintures ou d'affiches sur des thèmes donnés, à des ateliers de conception au sein de grandes entreprises, à quelque grand cinéma ou théâtre qui possède son peintre attitré et exicnte à la demande l'affiche, l'annonce d'un programme de spectacle et réalise ainsi de véritables « peintures de chevalet » à grande échelle.

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Tout magasin a aussi son dessinateur, auteur d'une signalétique bien particulière et partout présente : un légume ou un fruit au-dessus d'un étal, ailleurs des ciseaux, une casserole... ou un appareil de télévision. Balisage nécessaire dans un pays où l'image supplée souvent le mot écrit, utile pour ceux, venus de provinces différentes qui parlent des dialectes divers, pour ceux qui ne connaissent pas assez d'idéogrammes pour trouver leur chemin.

Mais il existe aussi tout un vaste contingent de « graphistes amateurs», chargés d'annoncer les événements quotidiens et qui illustrent sur une multitude de tableaux noirs, dressés dans les lieux publics et dans les usines, les annonces diverses, les mots d'ordre, les recommandations et les préoccupations du jour. Beaucoup d'inscriptions sont ainsi accompagnées de silhouettes, parfois véritables bandes dessinées d'un réalisme étonnant. Ici, il ne s'agit pas d'œuvres de professionnels, mais d'un moyen d'expression, de communication spontanée, d'un jeu d'images, d'un jeu de signes.

Et la frontière est difficile à tracer entre le signe et l'image, entre l'image et l'écriture. L'idéogramme occupe une place importante et la calligraphie reste une expression typiquement chinoise. Grâce à une action soutenue d'alphabétisation, la lecture et l'écriture — autrefois réservés à une petite élite — se sont largement répandues, mais nécessitent toujours de longs efforts d'apprentissage. Une profonde modification est cependant en cours, dont les conséquences sont encore difficiles à mesurer. Dès l'école, on enseigne, en même temps que l'idéogramme, sa transcription en lettres latines, le *pinyin*, et toutes les inscriptions dans les grandes villes portent déjà la double écriture. Modification profonde dans la mesure où l'écriture millénaire a largement façonné la pensée chinoise et où cette transcription, juxtaposant deux modes d'expression radicalement différents, ne peut être qu'approximative. Mais comment faire autrement ? Comment moderniser, comment utiliser ce monstre de machine à écrire conforme à l'écriture traditionnelle, comment se servir, par exemple, du telex ?

Influences multiples : peinture traditionnelle, « réalisme socialiste » hérité des débuts de la construction de la République populaire et de la Révolution culturelle, informations venues de l'Occident par les revues étrangères ou les expositions fréquemment organisées dans les grandes villes; les communications visuelles sont en plein devenir. La langue chinoise, faut-il le rappeler, ne s'écrit pas, elle se dessine. Dans un pays où l'enfant apprend à manier le crayon et le pinceau dès l'école maternelle, l'art graphique chinois n'a certainement pas fini de nous surprendre.

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Figure 87 Articles that introduce the product and graphic design in socialist China Upper:"Vers Un Design Chinois;" Lower: "Sur les Murs et dans la Rue."

Source: Society of Architecture in China, Centre de création industrielle, and Centre Georges Pompidou, eds. Environnement Quotidien en Chine. Paris: Centre de création industrielle, Centre Georges Pompidou, 1982. 170, 174.



Figure 88 Installation view of the New Urbanism: Pearl River Delta organized by Rem Koolhaas and graduate students from Harvard Graduate School of Design at the Documenta X, Kassel, 1997.

Source: image reproduced from Christophe Van Gerrewey. Outreach Extensions: OMA/Rem Koolhaas Exhibitions as Self-Critical Environments. Architectural Theory Review, 23:1, 2019. 109.

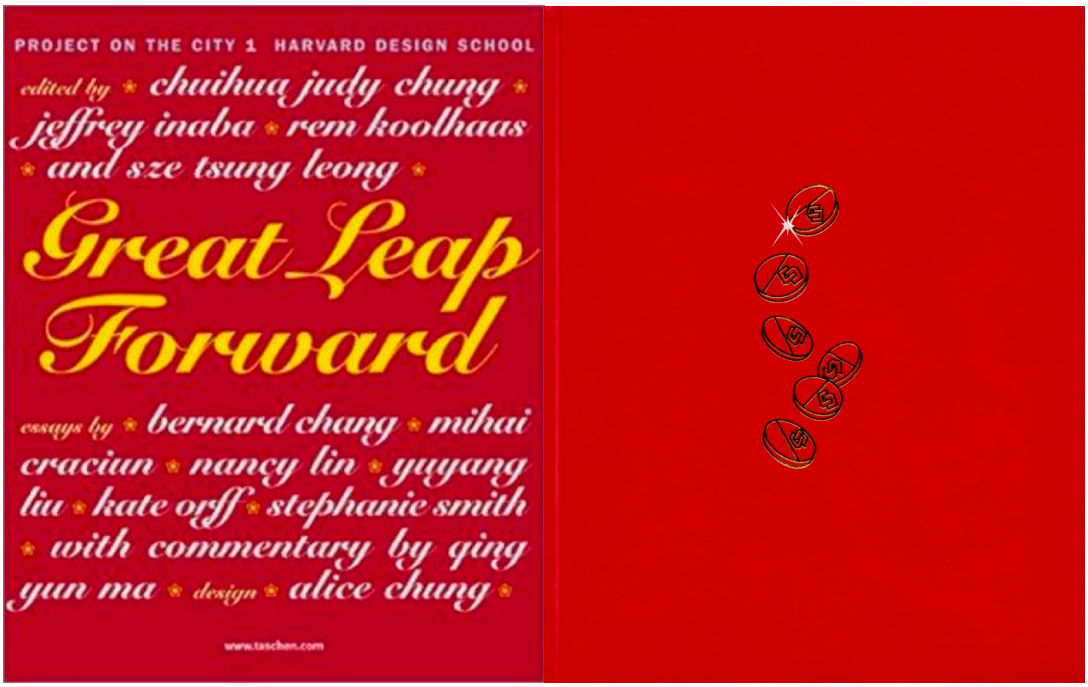


Figure 89 Book covers for Great Leap Forward, published in 2001 by Taschen



Figure 90 Gallery views for New Urbanism: Pearl River Delta

Source: Images accessed from Liu Yuyang's personal collection



Figure 91 Installation view of the Cities on the Move I held at Secession, Vienna in 1997.

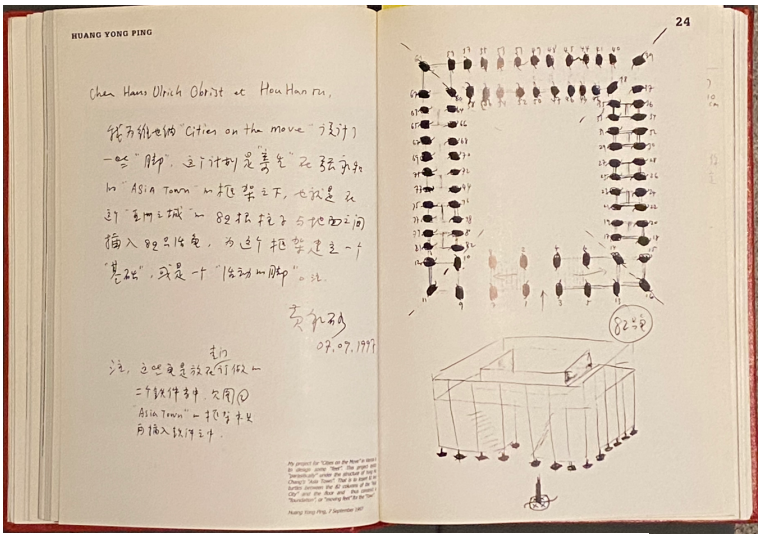
Source: image accessed from the "Cities on the Move Exhibition Archive" in Asian Art Archive. https://aaa.org.hk/en/collections/search/archive/cities-on-the-move-exhibition-archive--photo-documentation/object/cities-on-the-move-1-exhibition-view-1-32607



Figure 92 Courtyard City by Yung Ho Chang and Atelier FCJZ. Upper: gallery view, the installation also allowed space for other works, including the two dimensional artworks hung in the back of the wall facing outward, and the video works underneath the scaffolding; Lower: Yung Ho Chang's hand sketch of the exhibition space.

Source: images accessed from the "Cities on the Move Exhibition Archive" in Asian Art Archive. Upper: https://aaa.org.hk/en/collections/search/archive/cities-on-the-move-exhibition-archive--photo-documentation/object/cities-on-the-move-1-exhibition-view-1-34738;

Lower: https://aaa.org.hk/en/collections/search/archive/cities-on-the-move-exhibition-archive-admin-documents/object/cities-on-the-move-1-floor-plan-204229/sort/title-asc.



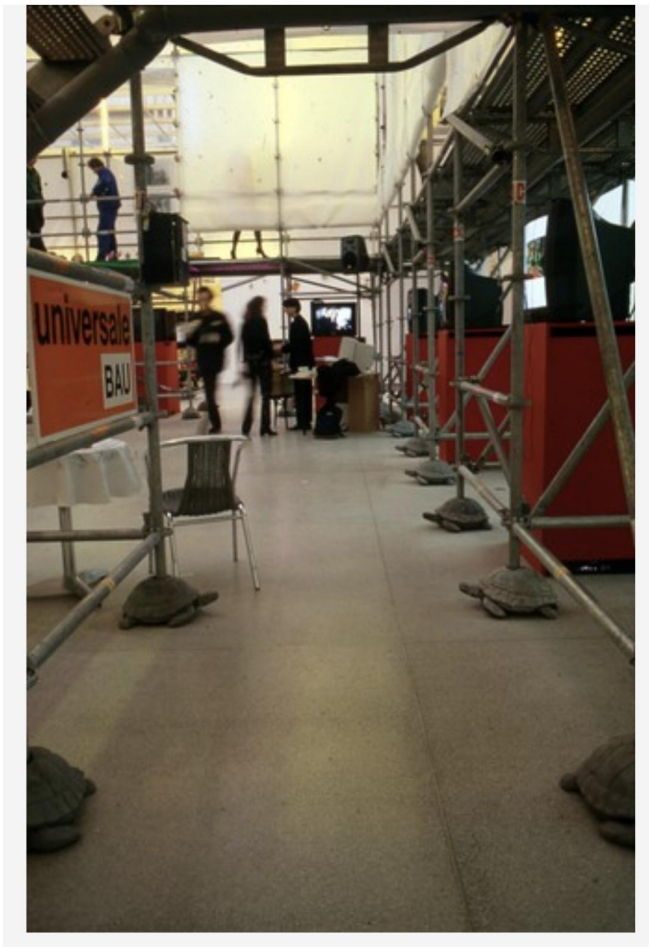


Figure 93 Huang Yong Ping 黃永砯's Turtle Town, a readaption of Yung Ho Chang' s Courtyard City. Upper: Concept drawing; Lower: gallery view of Huang' s work.

Source: upper, image reproduced from the exhibition catalogue. Hou, Hanru, and Hans Ulrich Obrist. Cities on the Move. Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1997.unpaged. Lower: https://aaa.org.hk/en/collections/search/archive/cities-on-the-move-exhibition-archive--photo-documentation/object/cities-on-the-move-1-exhibition-view-1-32619/sort/title-asc/page/3



Figure 94 Harvard Bixi, a marble stele carved with texts and ornaments, mounted on a turtle-shaped pedestal. It has been located at Harvard University as a gift from the Havard Chinese Alumni since 1936.

Source: Image accessed from Wikemedia Commons. Daderot, "Bixi in Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA." 19 June 2010, public domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bixi_in_Harvard_University_-_IMG_8960.JPG



Figure 95 Exterior view of the Times Museum. Notice the museum was rooftop cantilever could be seen from afar. The photographs were taken in 2009, when this part of the urban fringe in Guangzhou was still unevenly developed.

Source: Image accessed from Iwan Baan's professional website https://iwan.com/portfolio/times-museum-guangzhou-rem-koolhaas-alain-fouraux/

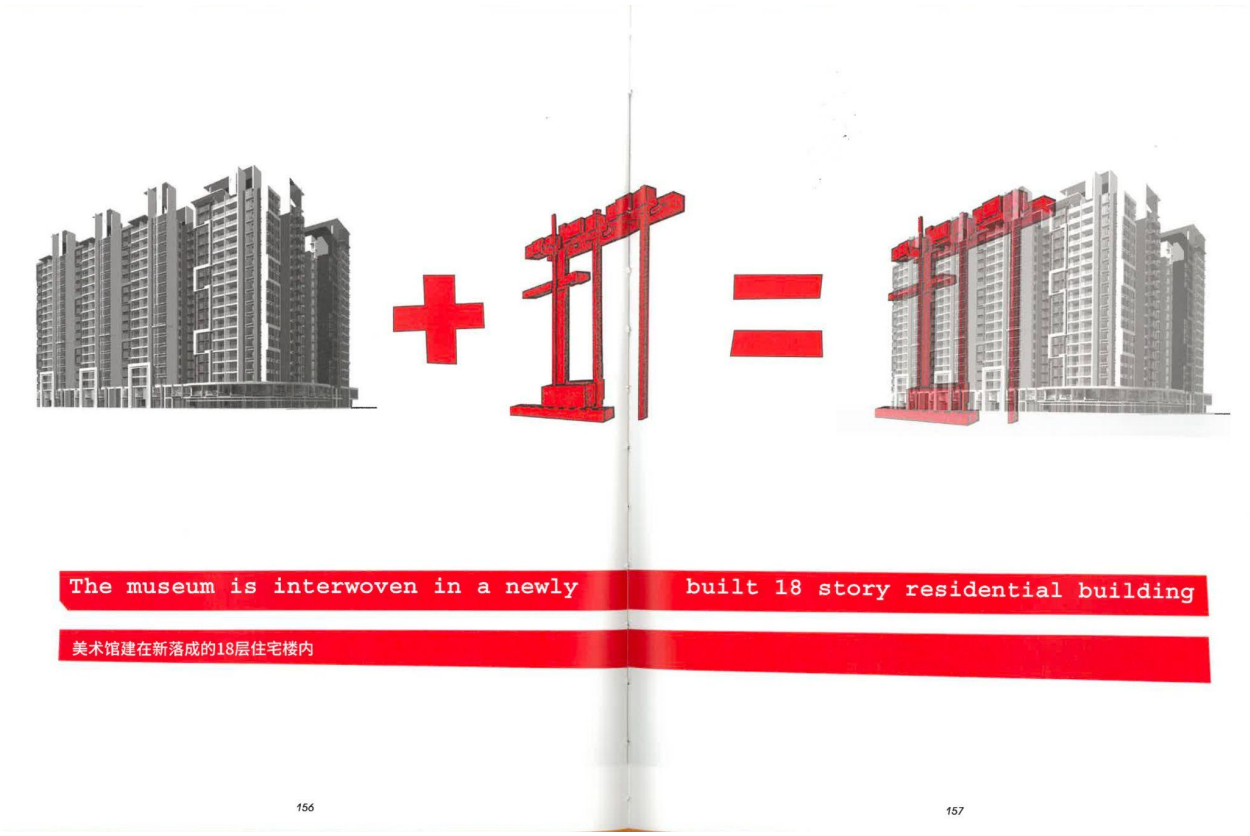


Figure 96 The conceptual diagram of the Guangdong Times Museum in Guangzhou, designed by Rem Koolhaas & Alain Fouraux

Source: Image scanned from 朱晔 Zhu, Ye; 张丹 Zhang Dan. "档案四, 库哈斯设计方案"["Archive 4: Koolhaas's Design Proposal"] 我们的时代：广东时代美术馆的诞生 [Our Times: the Birth of Guangdong Times Museum] Phoenix Publishing & Media Group, 2020. 156-157.



Figure 97 The relocation of the Times Museum from the center of the gated community (white rectangle) to the periphery (black rectangle), which makes it more accessible for viewers to come from outside the neighborhood.

Source: Liu, Heng 刘珩, "广东时代美术馆"[Guangdong Time Art Museum] 城市环境设计 Urban Environment Design. No. 08, 2016. 62. Image processed and annotated by the author.



Figure 98 Exterior view of the museum gallery space.

source: Iwan Baan's professional website.https://iwan.com/portfolio/times-museum-guangzhou-rem-koolhaas-alain-fouraux/

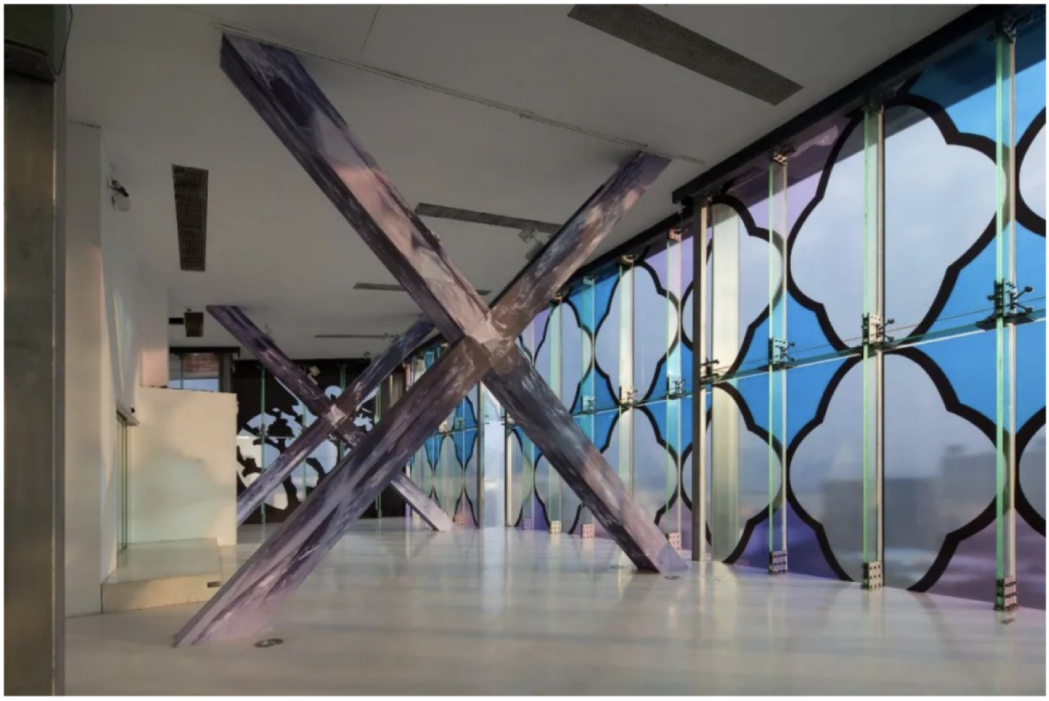


Figure 99 An example of site-specific installation by artist Zheng Guogu 郑国谷 in 2015.

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