

**Negotiating Architectural Languages in the Making of Socialist Architecture in Maoist-era
Guangzhou, 1949-1976**

Yuchu Cui
May 2022

School of Architecture
Department of Architectural History
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Thesis Advisor: Shiqiao Li
Committee Members: Andrew Johnston, Jessica Sewell, Shiqiao Li

*Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Architectural History*

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
List of Illustrations	v
Acknowledgements	ix
Introduction	1
Literature Review	5
Prologue: Modern Architecture in Guangzhou in the Republican Era before 1949	13
Navigating in Hardship: Socialist Architecture in Mao's China and Guangzhou	15
Lin Keming: Huaqiao (Overseas Chinese) New Village	22
Xia Changshi: Campus Buildings at the South China University of Technology	34
Mo Bozhi: Baiyun Hotel	44
Conclusion	57
Bibliography	63
Illustrations	71

Abstract

During the Maoist era (1949–1976), China's architectural development inevitably confronted strong resistance due to the political movements throughout over two and a half decades. While progress of architectural design in Mao's China was neither a vacuum nor a stagnancy, Chinese architects did have some difficulties showcasing innovations or advancements out of free wills. The International Style and Beaux-Arts classicism were both ideologically rejected in the 1950s. The architects under the command of the state became once confused about the appropriate track of design practices. In addition to political disturbance, economic hardship and relative lack of access to coeval architectural thoughts and movements outside China made the discourse of modern architecture in this socialist nation much uncertain under harsh political atmospheres. Notwithstanding such a passive position, many Chinese architects still strove to carry out their ideas in innovative but reserved ways that could be subtly accepted or at least tolerated by the state as a moral leader. This process of negotiations and mediations is centered on management of multiple architectural languages, from which to develop a set of design strategies so as to fulfil utilitarian demands and avoid any political or ideological disputes.

Many buildings in Guangzhou mirrored this architectural venture in the Maoist period, manifested by many local Cantonese architects with their unique design principles and masterpieces. A metropolis of South China bridging the nation to the world, Guangzhou had been absorbing foreign cultures, ideas, and knowledge in modern times, and the International Style had already been introduced to Guangzhou before 1949. After 1949, many Cantonese architects, previously trained in the Republican era and supportive of modernism then, found themselves in a

dilemma: they were passionate about constructions of a socialist city to present its revolutionary novelty intrinsically different from the capitalist past; In the meantime, however, their actions were obedient to and restricted by political doctrines of the state, which were so fickle that the architects were always taking a risk of suffering from criticisms. Despite this prevalent circumstance bound to politics on an everyday basis, these Cantonese architects participated actively in designing many buildings for socialist Guangzhou through careful negotiation of multiple architectural languages and demonstration of highly utilitarian performances by such buildings for socialist causes. This strategy effectively distracted the attention from the link between design elements and ideologies, common in the discourses of socialist architecture in Maoist-era China, to the emphasis on those utilitarian dimensions.

This case study-based research examines projects by three pioneering Cantonese architects: The Huaqiao New Village by Lin Keming (1901-1999), the campus buildings at the South China University of Technology by Xia Changshi (1903-1996), and the Baiyun Hotel by Mo Bozhi (1915-2003). Similarly, they all deployed the strategy of shifting the public focus from any political and ideological metaphors of the architectural languages to their rather utilitarian concerns. By weakening the political debate of the architectural languages and instead using them to strengthen the performing functions of the buildings, Lin, Xia, and Mo negotiated smoothly with the state's requirements through various expressions of design, each of which was likely to be targeted by critics for failure to conform to ongoing political doctrines, and designed a series of buildings to fulfil the functional demands in the making of socialist Guangzhou. This paper argues that the success of the architects resulted from their suaveness, shrewdness, and implicitness of smooth negotiations and mediations. Also, their innovations and creativity, evolving from the

1930s modernist architectural movements well into the ever-maturing practices in the state's assorted missions they undertook throughout the Maoist era, coexisted with the fulfilled requirements of the state compatibly.

Keywords: Guangzhou; socialist architecture; negotiations and mediations

List of Illustrations

Fig. 1 *Dr Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall, designed by Lyu Yanzhi in 1929.*

Fig.2 *Pingmin Gong (Civilian Palace) designed by Lin Keming from 1929 to 1931*

Fig. 3 *Engineering Building of the Xiangqin University by Lin Keming in 1935*

Fig. 4 *Cover Page of the Xin Jianzhu Magazine, Issue No. 2, 1936.*

Fig. 5: *Xin Jianzhu introducing Le Corbusier's community planning project in France*

Fig.6 *Liberation of Guangzhou: Crowd in Front of the Aiqun Hotel with a Full-length Portrait of Mao Zedong, Oct 1949*

Fig. 7: *Aquarium by Xia Changshi in 1951 (From Upper Left Counterclockwise: Plan, Original Appearance, Model, Facade, and Current Appearance)*

Fig.8 *Terrain Map (Top) and Plan (Bottom) of the Huaqiao New Village, Designed and Built in 1954 and completed in 1958 by Lin Keming and his Design Committee.*

Fig.9: *Elementary School: The Main Building for Classes (Top); the Auditorium and the Dormitories (Bottom)*

Fig 10: *Community Dining Hall at the Huaqiao New Village*

Fig.11 *Meandering Roads for Pedestrians (Left) and Vehicles (Right)*

Fig.12: *Plans and Facades of Standard Type-I House (Top Page) and its Variants (Bottom Page)*

Fig.13 *Type-II Houses at the Huaqiao New Village*

Fig.14 *Type III Houses (Left) and Its Variant (Right)*

Fig.15 *Type-IV Houses (left) and its variant (right)*

Fig.16 *Plan and Façade of the Dormitory at the Huaqiao New Village for Less Affluent Returning Chinese Emigrants*

Fig.17 *A Two-story House with Loggias and its Plan*

Fig.18 *Façade and Plans of Lin Keming's Residence he designed for himself in 1936, Published in Xin Jianzhu.*

Fig.19 *Romanian (Top) and Soviet (Bottom) Architects Visiting the Huaqiao New Village*

Fig.20 *Clockwise: General Plan (with a section drawing); Longitudinal Façade; Model of the No.2 Building at the SCUT campus, 1952*

Fig.21 *Ornamental details at the porch entrance and the wall Xia composed in a neat manner*

Fig.22 *Biochemistry Building at the Sun Yat-sen Medical School with Shading Panels Across the Façade, 1956*

Fig.23 *Prefabricated Shading Panels for Each Window at the Dinghushan Sanatorium, Zhaoqing, Guangdong Province, 1954*

Fig.24 *Arched Roof Layer for Heat Insulation of the Hospital Building at the Sun Yat-sen Medical School, 1956*

Fig.25 *Installation of the Arched Roof as an Insulation Layer*

Fig.26 *Cantonese vernacular water dwellings that might have intrigued Xia's design*

Fig.27 *Façade (North) of the Chemical Engineering Building at the SCUT*

Fig.28 *Upper Left: The Prefabricated Shading Panel on the South side; Upper Right: A Comprehensive Shading Panel on the East Side; Bottom: A Pendant Panel on the Corridors of the West Side*

Fig.29 *Xia's Comparative Drawings on Insulation Layers on the Roof.*

Fig.30 *A Bird Eye's View Drawing of Residence Peyrissac, Cherchell, Algeria by Le Corbusier, 1942, possibly having an influence on Xia's design*

Fig.31. *Baiyun Hotel in 1976*

Fig.32. *Recollected and Reused Blue Bricks Above the Gate, Beiyuan Restaurant*

Fig.33 *Interior Cantonese Garden of the Beiyuan Restaurant*

Fig.34 *Shuangxi Villa by Mo Bozhi in 1963*

Fig.35 *Guangzhou Hotel designed by Mo Bozhi from 1966 to 1968*

Fig.36 *Architectural Record depicting the addition to the Dongfang (Tung Fang) Hotel in Guangzhou designed by She Junnan from 1972 to 1974 through a drawing of the inner court as well as an axonometric drawing.*

Fig.37 *Photos plus a description of the newly-constructed addition to the Dongfang (Tung Fang) Hotel in 1974 published in the Architectural Record.*

Fig.38 *Ground Level Plan: Axes, gardens, and trees marked on the plan as an analysis diagram*
Analysis on the main tower, axis, trees and courtyards of Baiyun Hotel.

Fig.39 *Perspective Drawings of the Entrance Front and the Lobby*

Fig.40 *A Section Drawing of the Central Garden (Zhongting) around the Old Banyan Trees.*

Fig.41. *Drawing of the Rear Garden (Houting) at the Baiyun Hotel by Lin Zhaozhang*

Fig.42. *Perspective Drawing of the Lounge on the 28th Floor of the Baiyun Hotel by Lin Zhaozhang*

Fig.43. *Perspective Drawing of the Suite Room on the 28th Floor of the Baiyun Hotel by Lin Zhaozhang*

Acknowledgements

I am much indebted to my thesis committee that always played a key role in my completion of this thesis. Professor Shiqiao Li was the one who inspired me to unveil such an interesting history behind socialist architecture in Guangzhou; Professor Andrew Johnston and Professor Jessica Sewell, although my research subjects are not their field of study, provided me with useful advice on structuring of my thesis during my writing process. I would not have been able to complete my thesis smoothly without their warmhearted encouragement, help, and suggestions.

I am also thankful to many people at UVA. Professor Sheila Crane taught the Methodology class in my first semester, which offered me academic rigor and understanding of historiography as an architectural historian; Professor Xiaoyuan Liu and my fellow classmates at his East Asian International History Seminar, were interested in my project and raised some questions that urged me to think in a deeper direction. Also, they made me aware of the academic writing that should be clear enough to cater to interpretations of lay readers; Alumni Zhe Dong and Kelly Ritter shared with me some historical materials central to my research.

The scholars in Mainland China, Hong Kong, and the United States supported my research since its start. I would say thank you to Prof. Peng Changxin, Prof. Feng Jiang, Prof. Zhuang Shaopang, Prof. Jonathan Farris, Prof. Cole Roskam, Prof. Stan Fung, and Prof. Shelly Chan. Your interest in and support for my research prompted me to work rigorously.

Last but not the least, I must express my utmost gratitude to my beloved parents, Yan Cui and Mei Chu. They are licensed architects with affection for history. It was because of them that I chose to become an architectural historian when I was an undergrad and I am still on my way to realize my dream. This MA thesis is therefore a sincere gift for them.

Negotiating Architectural Languages in the Making of Socialist Architecture in Maoist-era Guangzhou, 1949-1976

Introduction

During the Maoist era (1949–1976), China’s architectural development inevitably confronted obstacles, swirling around vicissitude of political matters throughout over two and a half decades. While progress of architectural design in Mao’s China was by no means a vacuum nor a stagnancy, Chinese architects did have great difficulties showcasing innovations or advancements out of free wills because of risks of official and public attacks on their works, or even on the architects’ reputations in the extreme (the Cultural Revolution). The International Style was for a long while downgraded as “formalism” and “structuralism” in which neutral terms were offered pejorative connotations politically; Traditional Chinese architecture, on the other hand, was once favored by the state rhetoric, but it soon began to denounce the trend of revivalism, as the ideological course of the state had changed over time. The architects under the command of the state once became confused about the appropriate track of designing. In addition to political disturbance, economic hardship and lack of access to coeval architectural thoughts and movements outside China since the Cold War made the discourse of modern architecture in this socialist nation much uncertain under unfavorable political atmospheres. Notwithstanding the passive position, in Guangzhou some architects strove to realize their ideas and inspirations in innovative but cautious ways that could be accepted, or at least tolerated by the state. This process of negotiation is centered on management of diverse architectural languages – styles, symbols, leitmotifs, materials, and technologies – from which the architects developed a set of shrewd design strategies in confrontation with the authorities. The strategies enabled the designers to focus on the utilitarian functions of the buildings without highlighting the aesthetics the motifs Guangzhou from any

ideological disputes. Guangzhou experienced this architectural venture in the Maoist period, manifested by many Cantonese architects with their design principles and masterpieces.¹

A metropolis of South China bridging the nation to the world, Guangzhou (Canton) had been absorbing foreign cultures, ideas, and knowledge from the Indian Ocean trades early in the Tang Dynasty well into the Song and Ming Dynasties. In the modern times from the Qing Dynasty through the Republican era, Guangzhou became a bridgehead of China's encounter with the western world and its modernness in various realms, including architecture. The municipal governments launched large-scale urban reforms to modernize the city with brand new infrastructures and civil facilities throughout the Republican era for urban welfares; Many architects working and teaching in Guangzhou were for the first time in touch with modernism from Europe and America and showcased its ideas through not only their building projects but also print cultures. After 1949, many Cantonese architects, already conscious of and active in modern movements in the Republican era, found themselves in a dilemma: they were passionate about construction of a socialist city to present its revolutionary novelty, intrinsically different from the feudal, colonial, and capitalist past; In the meantime, however, their actions were obedient to and restricted by political doctrines of the state, which could be so fickle that the architects were always taking a risk of suffering from criticisms. Thus, while they might have some thoughts in deviation from the state rhetoric, they had to express them in the disguise of utilitarianism to fulfil the demands of the authorities. Despite this prevalent circumstance bound to politics on an everyday basis, these Cantonese architects participated fully in designing many buildings for socialist

¹ The word "Cantonese" can mean the Chinese dialect spoken by people in Guangdong Province and the adjective of anything related to Guangzhou (Canton) and, in a broader sense, Guangdong Province. A synonym is "Lingnan," literally the South of the Ridge, referring to Guangdong. This thesis uses the word "Cantonese" as an adjective form unless otherwise noted.

Guangzhou based upon careful negotiation of multiple architectural languages and demonstration of highly utilitarian performances by such buildings for their socialist causes. This strategy effectively distracted the attention from the connections between design elements and ideologies, common in discourses on socialist architecture in Maoist-era China, to the emphasis on certain functional concerns that needed to be tackled effectively in construction of a socialist city.

Among so many architects and their various projects all over Maoist-era Guangzhou, to narrow the scope of research and simultaneously capture the essence of “negotiation” by these designers, this case study-based research examines representative projects by three pioneering Cantonese architects: The Huaqiao New Village by Lin Keming (1901-1999), the campus buildings at the South China University of Technology by Xia Changshi (1903-1996), and the Baiyun Hotel by Mo Bozhi (1915-2003). The case studies are preceded by a literature review on history of architecture in early 20th century Guangzhou and architectural discourses in Mao’s China, an introduction of the modernist movement in Guangzhou before 1949 as a prelude, and then a discussion of hardships Chinese architects confronted in Maoist-era China and Guangzhou. These discussions elucidate the achievements of the architects in Republican-era Guangzhou fundamental to their careers, and the situations, mostly political, they always had to face in the Maoist era. Then in the case studies, the concept of *architecture parlante* matters because the buildings selected could clearly convey from their appearances the architectural languages the architects adopted to suavely negotiate with the demands of the authorities. In addition to formal and spatial analysis of the built environments, the case studies examine the writings by the architects directly or indirectly related to their Maoist-era projects. Articles written before 1949

serve as theoretical support for the post-1949 architectural practices, and other writings completed in the Maoist era reflect their implicit thinking.

Admittedly, interpretation of their buildings and writings in the political contexts during Mao's years cannot thoroughly detect their psychological activities under the political atmosphere. Yet such a methodology can help discern major design strategies inherent in the architects' practices as well as their mindsets. Similarly, they all deployed the strategy of shifting the public focus from any political or ideological metaphors of architectural languages to utilitarian concerns regardless of styles. Weakening the political dispute of the architectural styles and instead strengthening the performing functions of the buildings like heat insulation and shading, and aesthetics like incorporation of gardens, Lin, Xia, and Mo negotiated reservedly but suavely with the state's demands. Their architectural languages referred to modern, regional, traditional, and even high-rise appearances – each of which was likely to be targeted by critics for failure to conform to ideology-oriented aesthetics of the state for being too western, too anachronistic, or too bourgeois – and designed a series of buildings in Guangzhou to fulfil the utilitarian demands for the authorities to serve the public without entanglement with criticisms.

Architecture in Maoist-era Guangzhou was not modernist in the sense architectural development in many other parts of the world ever experienced, although some modernist expressions were present in the spectrum of Guangzhou's socialist architecture with other elements, because the undesirable role of the International Style in the PRC would discourage the architects from designing completely modernist buildings. In this case, appropriateness and suitability in a

utilitarian sense became a main task for the architects. For each building, the Cantonese architects navigated within multiple architectural languages to define its unique appearance so as to be economically, functionally, and aesthetically appropriate. This “passively creative” process was characteristic of the architects’ activities in Mao’s Guangzhou, because such an architectural culture reflective of a brand-new socialist metropolis required not only the designers’ compliance with the state, but their innovations that appeared desirable and politically correct to the socialist regime. In this regard, this paper figures out that the success of the architects resulted from their suaveness, shrewdness, and implicitness of successful negotiations and mediations. Also, their innovations and creativity, evolving from the 1930s modern movements well into ever maturing practices of the state’s assorted missions they undertook throughout the Maoist era, coexisted with the fulfilled requirements of the state without incompatibility.

Literature Review

Jonathan Farris published in 2016 *Enclave to Urbanity: Canton, Foreigners, and Architecture from the Late 18th to Early 20th Century*, expanded from his doctoral dissertation over a decade ago. This publication, which is one of the few books in the English language surveying modern Cantonese architecture, examines the history of Guangzhou’s built environments based on cross-cultural exchanges between China and the West. Farris investigates the Thirteen Factories and the Shamian Island as foreign concessions from the Qing to early Republican eras, harmonious coexistence as well as tensions between Chinese and expat communities echoed by architecture as a medium. The contents do not yet cover the modern architectural movement in the 1930s. In the conclusion, he argues that the construction of the decades of the 1950s through the 1970s overall

gave an impression of a city “asleep” because “the PRC had comparably little to offer the city in terms of civic building projects given the infrastructural advancements in the republican period”.² This statement is inaccurate and stereotypical when it comes to Maoist-era Guangzhou, as one delves into the architectural history of this period. In reality, however, the Maoist-era metropolis never slept, since architectural progress did not fade but thrived for socialist causes in Guangzhou from the 1950s through the eve of Deng Xiaoping’s reform in 1978.

The scholarships written in the English language on architectural and urban history of Guangzhou in the Republican era often investigate the role of the municipal government of Guangzhou in urban planning and urbanizations. In the article *Canton Remapped*, Michael Tsin discusses the chronological trajectory of modern urban planning in Guangzhou from the final years of the Qing Dynasty to the municipal government in the 1920s. Tsin studies particularly how Sun Ke, son of modern China’s founding father Sun Yat-sen and mayor of Guangzhou during the 1920s, implemented a series of urban planning policies in terms of communication, sanitation, and public areas.³ He points out that Sun Ke’s vision offers a glimpse of the dual logic of emancipation and discipline and claims that the creation of public areas was meant to be instrumental in the production of disciplined members for the body politic.⁴ It was this new order that the municipal government of the city could lead Guangzhou toward a modernity. Lai Delin, in *Renewing, Remapping, and Redefining Guangzhou, 1910s-1930s*, studies Guangzhou’s urban designs in the Republican era with a look at some civic and monumental buildings for the nation-building process. He argues

² Jonathan Farris. *Enclave to Urbanity: Canton, Foreigners, and Architecture From the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries*. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016), p. 228.

³ Michael Tsin, “Canton Remapped” in *Remaking the Chinese City: Modernity and National Identity, 1900-1950*, ed. Esherick (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2000) p.24.

⁴ Ibid.

that the functional and layout changes of the city encapsulated the desire of the municipal authority or the mind of the city: In addition to economic growth, this desire aimed to pursue a national identity in cultural construction to disseminate the Chinese National Party (KMT)'s ideology in the urban public sphere and to the factional struggle of Guangzhou's authorities against the Nanjing Nationalist Government.⁵ Although Tsin and Lai never mention the advent of modernist architecture later in 1930s Guangzhou, their writings both reveal a background of republican-era Guangzhou in which the modern movements initiated by many Cantonese architects in the 1930s based on their design projects and the *Xin Jianzhu* magazine could thrive after the city went through the urban modernizations under the municipal government.

Cole Roskam studies post-Cultural Revolution architectural cultures in China during the early reform era. In *Designing Reform: Architecture in the People's Republic of China, 1970-1992*, he investigates many buildings, especially international hotels, in major Chinese cities built in 1970s and 1980s to reinterpret China's architectural discourses, on postmodernism for example, and to reevaluate their international influences previously underestimated. His discussion on architectural development in the late-Maoist period (1970s) on a Cold War geopolitical insight is fundamental to understanding of China's architectural progress on the international stage after the Maoist era. He points out that Chinese design and construction works between 1970 and 1975 was part of a larger party struggle to reposition China in a world experiencing dramatic political and economic change, although it was unclear then how permanent the transformations taking place

⁵ Delin Lai, "Renewing, Remapping, and Redefining Guangzhou, 1910s-1930s," in *Looking Modern: East Asian Visual Culture From Treaty Ports to World War II*, ed. Jennifer Purtle and Hans Bjarne Thomsen (Chicago: Center for the Art of East Asia, University of Chicago, 2009), p.168.

might be, and how actively China would contribute to them.⁶ While the book does not mention any specific building in Mao's Guangzhou, Roskam's articulation of a theoretical framework on the 1970s transition from ideological zeal to new conceptions offers this thesis an angle into which the architectures throughout 1970s China can be studied in a geopolitical context connecting the architectural ventures in China to the world. Mo Bozhi's Baiyun Hotel falls into this category. In historiography, there is a gap between the post-Maoist era architectural reforms studied by Roskam, although he does not take Guangzhou for example, and the modern urban constructions in the Republican era from the 1910s to the 1930s studied by Farris, Lai, and Tsin. More important than filling the gap is the research on how these Cantonese architects could maintain their creativity regardless of the shift from the republican era to the communist era before they finally had free access to foreign influences after 1978, in a broad context of political history in Mao's China.

Politics is an inevitable theme to the architectural history of Maoist-era Guangzhou. *Canton Under Communism: Programs and Politics in a Provincial Capital, 1949-1968* by the American sinologist Ezra Vogel gives a chronological account of political movements in Guangzhou and Guangdong Province from the CCP securing power in 1949 to the first two years of the Cultural Revolution. He claims that changes in people's life were changes in political organizations, not in economy, and that the change of residents' life in Guangzhou derived more from reconstruction of social order, government sponsored housing and food supply, and citizens' admission into political groups than from any technological advancements.⁷ Clearly, architecture was a tool for

⁶ Cole Roskam. *Designing Reform: Architecture In the People's Republic of China, 1970-1992*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Yale University Press, 2021), p. 52.

⁷ Ezra Vogel. *Canton Under Communism: Programs and Politics In a Provincial Capital, 1949-1968*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 351-352.

the state and the authorities to legitimate themselves with confirmation of social orders. This political symbol of Maoist-era architecture once posed a challenge to the Cantonese architects, but it simultaneously prompted them to hide their creativities under suave negotiations with the political realities so that the political and utilitarian meanings did not conflict with each other.

Firsthand sources on the modern architectural movement in Guangzhou and ensuing Maoist-era practices are usually writings by the Cantonese architects. Lin Keming's *What is Modern Architecture (shenme shi modeng jianzhu)* foretold the advent of modernist movement in China when avant-garde, modernist perspectives were firstly introduced to Guangzhou. A series of articles in the *Xin Jianzhu* magazines by the 1930s Cantonese architects, eager to peruse modernism, introduced the European and American modern movements succinctly. While they were published ahead of the Maoist era, they demonstrated how the thoughts of Cantonese architects formed early in the 1930s to function like a theoretical cornerstone for achievements of the architectural practices after 1949 to a certain degree. In the Maoist period, the architects wrote short essays often in the format of reports to the public, even though some are just journal articles, many of which are collected in *Jianzhu Xuebao*. This journal issued in the Maoist period records valuable writings by Lin, Xia, and Mo, who sought to define and practice modernism in them. In addition, the architects wrote some books, such as *Lingnan Tingyuan (Cantonese Gardens)* by Mo and Xia, which investigates cultures of the Cantonese gardens based on their cooperative fieldworks, *Mo Bozhi Wenji (Collected Writings by Mo Bozhi)*, which involves Mo's writings throughout his career, and Lin's autobiography published in the 1990s. These publications help analyze the architects' negotiations and mediations of their architectural languages with the functional demands by the authorities.

Most secondary sources in this field were produced by Chinese scholars in Guangzhou. Some are primarily descriptive, such as *Modern Cantonese Architecture 1949-1979* (*lingnan xiandai jianzhu 1949-1979*), and two biographies of Lin Keming and Xia Changshi, respectively, whereas others are analytical. Since many Cantonese architects of the Maoist period once taught in the architecture school of the South China University of Technology (SCUT) in Guangzhou, the scholars from this university as the students of these first-generation architects nowadays have produced prolific publications on the architects and their projects in the last century. Peng Changxin wrote *Modernity and Regionality – Modern Transformation of Cantonese Cities and Architectures* (*xiandai xing defang xing – lingnan chengshi yu jianzhu de jiandai zhuanxing*), in which he discussed the way Cantonese cities embraced modernity from the perspectives of both western influences and regional adaptation before 1949. He also published an essay on Xia Changshi: *Regionalism and Realism: Xia Changshi's Ideas on Modern Architecture in China* (*diyu zhuyi yu xianshi zhuyi: Xia Changshi de xiandai jianzhu gouxiang*) to figure out that Xia's architectural insight remains complicated and paradoxical for its resistance to nationalism and consideration of regionalism in political reality.⁸ Feng Jiang organized an exhibition in 2009 entitled *Retrospective of Architect Xia Changshi* to showcase Xia's buildings, academic writings, and thoughts as an everlasting legacy of the modern Chinese architecture. Zhuang Shaopang wrote a doctoral dissertation on Mo's career biographically with analysis of Mo's masterpieces, particularly garden-inspired architecture. The publications by these scholars at the SCUT enrich authentic details on the socialist buildings of Guangzhou and their designers.

⁸ Peng Changxin. "Diyu Zhuyi yu Xianshi Zhuyi: Xia Changshi de Xiandai Jianzhu Gouxian" [Regionalism and Realism: Xia Changshi's Ideas on Modern Architecture in China], *Nanfang Jianzhu* [South Architecture], no 2 (2010): p.36.

Scholarships on historiography of modern Chinese architecture deepens the overarching interpretation of the discourses on Chinese architecture after 1949. *Political Ideology and the Production of Architectural Theories in Mao's China (1949-1976)* by Song Ke reveals a missing thread in the global historiography of architectural theory by scrutinizing the relationship between political ideology and architectural discourse in Maoist China, and he argues that it was still the accumulation of knowledge about the architectural profession and discipline that championed the progress of architecture throughout the Maoist era regardless of state ideologies and political movements.⁹ *The Architectural Influence of the United States in Mao's China (1949-1976)* by Song Ke and Zhu Jianfei claims that from late 1960s to 1970s knowledge of US architecture was absorbed and adapted by Chinese architects for the creation of a Chinese modernism and for the political objective of symbolizing a Chinese national identity in a contemporary formal language.¹⁰ Both articles look at Mo Bozhi's Baiyun Hotel in particular, and the latter even compares it to Hilton to demonstrate how the American design principle of hotels influenced their Chinese counterparts. Such writings on historiography of architecture in Mao's China suggest that communication of architectural modernism with abroad was neither devoid nor nonexistent. Despite the lack, architects of the late Maoist-era (1970s) still had the contact, albeit subtle, with the capitalist world for introduction of novel architectural knowledge, and Chinese architects were capable of using that architectural language subtly. The notion of subtlety is thus central to the

⁹ Song Ke, "Political Ideology and the Production of Architectural Theories in Mao's China (1949–1976)," *Architectural Histories*, vol 6, no.1 (2018): pp. 1–15, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5334/ah.307>, p.1

¹⁰ Song Ke and Zhu Jianfei. "The Architectural Influence of the United States in Mao's China (1949–1976)," *Fabrications*, vol 26, no. 3 (2016), DOI: 10.1080/10331867.2016.1245126, p.337.

idea of the architects' negotiation as a shrew strategy to insert the innovative languages of architecture into the buildings without being discerned by the public to suffer from opprobrium.

This state of field suggests that the Maoist-era architecture in Guangzhou is so far understudied in the English-speaking academia due to the stereotype that buildings in Mao's Guangzhou were almost unanimously designed by architects yielding to the state. As the firsthand sources and current scholarships on 20th century Cantonese architecture (in the Chinese language) manifest, the architectural practices in Maoist-era Guangzhou symbolized an extension of the modern movements in the Republican period and an adamant foundation in preparation for this city's architectural prosperity in the post-Maoist era until today. In other words, the architectural progress during the Maoist period played a transitional role from the Republican era to the post-1978 reform era. The spirit of the 1930s endeavors was expressed reservedly in the Maoist years, and the experience accumulated in the hardest time foretold the works burgeoning after 1978. Furthermore, although the scholarships on Maoist-era Chinese architecture, including the cases of Guangzhou, have acknowledged the political atmosphere in Mao's China as an impediment to the commitments of these architects and discussed in detail their innovative compositions of the buildings, the motives and the strategies of the Cantonese architects concentrate mostly on the architects' engagement with the buildings *per se*. Their connection to the political milieu, a necessary condition to the practices of the architects, and encounter with the authorities in Mao's China remain still unaccentuated in many previous scholarships (although Peng discusses Xia's ideal versus the state rhetoric). This phenomenon requires interpretations of how the buildings in Mao's Guangzhou showcased their uniqueness relatively unchallenged by the stiff doctrines of the state and the authorities. Building on the historical sources and the extant scholarships in analysis

of the architects and their buildings, this thesis aims to elicit some design patterns of the architects in suave negotiation with the state's demands for civic architecture.

Prologue: Modern Architecture in Guangzhou in the Republican Era before 1949

During the Republican era (1912-1949), some enlightened Chinese officials from the municipal government, like Sun Ke (mayor of Guangzhou from 1921 to 1927), as well as local architects as intellectuals exhibited an ambition to transform the city towards modernness. On one hand, the urban development echoed a rising nationalism all over China in the early 20th century. Since Guangzhou was once a major city for the revolution against the imperial regime, it involved existence of a strong nationalist sentiment, as was embodied in civic architecture sponsored by the municipal government. For example, the Memorial Hall of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the political icon of this city, was designed in 1929 by Lyu Yanzhi in revival of classical Chinese architecture under the influence of the Beaux-Arts architecture, equipped with modern construction materials and techniques, and dedicated to the founding father of modern China (fig.1). On the other hand, particularly, the urban development of Guangzhou under the warlord Chen Jitang's governance of Guangdong Province from 1926 to 1936 represented an ambition to compete on a regionalist level with Chiang Kai-Shek's central Nationalist Government in Nanjing before Chen resigned after his unsuccessful coup d'état in 1936 and the central government in Nanjing took over Guangzhou. Mass-scale development of infrastructures – bridges, universities, low-cost housing, etc. – across the city took place under Chen's reign, committed to commercial prosperity and public welfare.¹¹

¹¹ Peng Changxin. *Xiandai Xing Difang Xing—Lingnan Chengshi yu Jianzhu de Difang Zhuanxing* [Modernity and Regionality – Modern Transformation of Cantonese Cities and Architectures]. (Shanghai: Tongji University Press, 2012), p. 236.

Aside from the Beaux-Arts oriented Chinese Revival Style echoing nationalism, Cantonese architects searched for different approaches to defining modernity of Chinese architecture when they were first in touch with modernism's simplicity and neatness precisely expressed in their works, such as Lin Keming's Civilian Hall designed for the city's low-income male populations in 1929 and completed in 1931 under Chen Jitang's philanthropy (fig.2).

The universities in Guangzhou provided an intellectual platform to promote introduction and communication of modern academic thoughts overseas. The Xiangqin University (sponsored by Chen Jitang and opened from 1934 to 1938) included an architecture department with a strong engineering focus (fig.3). It not only hired professors who studied architecture abroad to amplify its resources, but adopted an unusual non-Beaux Arts curriculum for architecture students, then different from most architecture schools in China. The architect-turned instructors like Lin Keming published several articles to highlight the significance of modernism to China's agenda of architectural reforms. Furthermore, central to the progress of modern architectural thoughts in Guangzhou was a pioneer magazine called *Die Neue Architektur* (*Xin Jianzhu*) issued by Li Lunjie and Zheng Zuliang, the students of Lin Keming at the Xiangqin University (fig.4), who advocated learning from latest modernist thoughts in design from Europe and America.¹² First issued in 1936, the *Xin Jianzhu* focused on the avant-garde of architectural development in the western world in the hope that they would shed light on China's architecture in the future. Many architectural ideas novel to China discussed in the magazines involved urban planning matters like Le Corbusier's

¹² The magazine had a German name on its cover, meaning The New Architecture (in Chinese Xin Jianzhu). It operated from 1936 to 1938, and after Guangzhou was seized by Japan in 1938, the editors evacuated to Chongqing and published two issues in 1941. During the Chongqing period, the German name on the magazine cover was changed to *Die Neue Baukunst* (The New Art of Building). The last issue was published in 1946 after the editors returned to Guangzhou after the war.

urban theories (fig.5). It was within this short period of the 1930s in Guangzhou that both construction of urban infrastructures and intellectual endeavors to spread knowledge of modernism laid an adamant foundation for architecture with modernist features in the Maoist era. This progress of modernist experiments was halted by the Sino-Japanese War and the Chinese Civil War from 1937 to 1949, before the communist authorities started mass reconstructions after the takeover of Guangzhou in 1949. The writers and the editors of the *Xin Jianzhu*, many of whom were alumni from the architecture department at the Xiangqin University, understood that international modernism should not only be studied as a style or an aesthetic form. They intended to resort to the utilitarian dimensions of such a style that they could consider modernist architecture as a scientific approach to addressing many housing issues in China and transforming the built environments to modernize the nation.¹³ The 1930s architectural commitments were theoretically rooted in many post-1949 state-commissioned projects, when the architects owned very limited access to their coeval architectural movements outside Mao's China.

Navigating in Hardship: Socialist Architecture in Mao's China and Guangzhou

After the CCP's takeover of the city in the autumn of 1949 (fig.6), the Cantonese architects were passionate about their service in the newly founded communist regime as they were during the republican era. In 1951, when the city hosted the South China Specialty Exhibition as a sign of recovery of urban prosperity, they were commissioned to design the exhibition site and they

¹³ For the Cantonese architects' discussion on the forms of the International Style from a utilitarian rather than aesthetic perspective, see Huo Ran. "guoji jianzhu yu minzu xingshi – lun xin zhongguo xin jianzhu di xing de jianli" [International Architecture and National Form – On Establishment of Forms of New Architecture in New China], *Xin Jianzhu*, no.1 (1941), p.9.

designed the exhibition halls with modern styles in representation of a revolutionary spirit. However, they then had no idea what they had to confront and suffer in the next two decades. The ever-changing policies and requirements for China's socialist architecture could never avoid entanglements with many political matters through the lens of volatile and insecure political environments during the Maoist era, reaching the peak in the Cultural Revolution.

In the early 1950s, Mao's China practiced artistic and architectural aesthetics modelled after Socialist Realism, a Stalinist version of neoclassicism on monumentality, in the Soviet Union and simultaneously rejected its modernist counterpart, such as the International Style, as a remnant of bourgeois tastes that should be swept into the dustbin of history. The revival style of classical Chinese architecture, practiced already in the Republican era before 1949 by architects trained in Beaux-Arts education, continued to serve the new communist regime as a "National Style," advocated by many Chinese architects such as Liang Sicheng in 1954. For instance, the traditional "big roof" placed on top of civic buildings exemplified this appreciation of aesthetics usually from ideological perspectives (in this case, anachronism). In contrast, the spread of modernist ideas from outside China during the Republican period came to a halt in such a circumstance that the mainstream rhetoric labelled them a product of the capitalist world. For instance, a letter published on *Jianzhu Xuebao* (*the Architectural Journal*) criticized modernist buildings and called them pejoratively "Hong Kong or US style box-shaped structures," when it attacked the exhibition halls at the Specialty Exhibition of South China hosted in Guangzhou in 1951, including Xia Changshi's

aquarium (fig.7).¹⁴ Groundless and preposterous in hindsight, this pejorative description of architectures linked to Hong Kong and the US was meant to belittle the capitalist world.

At the All-Union Conference of Construction Workers in 1954, Nikita Khrushchev denounced the Academy of Architecture of the USSR for their lopsided emphasis on aesthetics and appearance that led to tremendous waste in monumental construction. Aesthetically, China followed the Soviet Union to derogate Beaux-Arts architecture for its flamboyance, impracticality, and high costs. In 1955, when anti-waste movements were launched by the government, a general principle of “appropriateness, economy, and if possible, aesthetics” was proposed by the authorities to guide architectural designs.¹⁵ Zhai Lilin, a professor from the Tongji University, wrote an article published in *Jianzhu Xuebao* to reprimand Liang Sicheng’s fascination with classical paradigms of Chinese architecture for being wasteful and prioritize utility instead, although he kept disregarding the International Style as “reactionary aesthetics”.¹⁶ While modernist architecture was for a short while freely discussed by architects during the Hundred Flowers Campaign (1956-1957), the ensuing Anti-Rightist Movement (1957-1959) forcibly terminated this discourse.¹⁷ Chinese architects after this purge became more timid and more tentative in both practices and theoretical discussions due to denial of both the National Style and the modern architecture by the state which bemused and troubled those Chinese architects.¹⁸

¹⁴ Lin, Fan. “Renmin yaoqiu jianzhushi zhankai piping he ziwo piping” [People are asking architects to start critiques and self-criticisms]. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no. 2 (1954), p. 122.

¹⁵ Song Ke. “Political Ideology and the Production of Architectural Theories in Mao’s China (1949–1976),” p. 4.

¹⁶ Zhai Lilin. “Lun jianzhu yishu yu mei ji minzu xingshi” [On Art and Beauty of Architecture and National Form]. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.1 (1955), p.58.

¹⁷ The Hundred Flowers Campaign was launched by Mao Zedong in 1956 to invite the public to freely convey their opinions of the Chinese Communist Party; however, when he felt threatened by such remarks, he started in the next year the “Anti-Rightist Movement” to purge those intellectuals.

¹⁸ Song. p. 6.

Although what constituted appropriate forms of China's socialist architecture after the Anti-rightist movement remained contentious and susceptible to harsh political influences, socialist architectures tended to represent their functional contents no matter how the appearances conformed to the state's demands. The principle of "appropriateness, economy, and if possible, aesthetics" proposed by the state always dictated the architects to prioritize functions and low costs over beauty, so any aesthetic dimensions would be built on fulfilment of functional and monetary concerns. In 1959, the Ten Buildings of Beijing erected as monuments to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the People's Republic corroborate this insight: Some still adopt the Beaux-Arts facades whereas some have an entirely modern appearance, since the general principle provided some room for discussion of the styles. The phenomenon became more self-evident later in the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution when the state accelerated the speed of construction for economic concerns at all costs while belittling aesthetics and sometimes even functions. Disorder in the field of architecture gradually lessened in the later stage of the Cultural Revolution (early and mid-1970s), when the Chinese government started to promote rapprochements with many capitalist countries: Since international communications required brand-new facilities, hotels in particular, to accommodate international guests, under this circumstance did Chinese architects design the civic projects with modern and highly utilitarian languages to showcase China's positive images. Guangzhou was then a case in point.

Activities of Cantonese architects in Maoist-era Guangzhou conformed to the discourses of China's socialist architectures discussed above, but a closer glance at this historical period in

Guangzhou implies that design innovations by them are far more than merely obeying the state authorities. Instead, they inserted multiple architectural styles, symbols, technologies, and motifs as signs of implicit negotiation with commissions they were undertaking from the government. In the political milieu, it was not easy for them to openly resist the quest of the state or manifest any innovations based on individuality, and they did so by disguising the individual ideas of styles in the form of utilitarian functions of the buildings' everyday use. Realistically, the architects disguised the inspiring facets of architecture as utilitarian considerations for the efficient and functional use of spaces, and therefore public attentions would be less entangled with forms, styles, and their ideological associations. Also, the architects studied local and traditional building cultures to apply some regional ideas to designs. For styles, whatever they chose for civic projects commissioned by the state, each was likely to be targeted for political reasons – too bourgeois, too foreign, too anachronistic, too expensive, etc. So, mediation of various languages away from political risks was central to the Cantonese architects who placed them under the shield of utilitarianism in order to justify their actions in line with the principle-oriented state rhetoric.

Lin Keming, head of the Guangzhou Design Institute and an official in charge of urban planning and constructions in the Maoist period, was already conscious of modernism in the 1930s, when he practiced and taught architecture in Guangzhou. In the Maoist era, albeit unable to explicitly advocate modernism that he once admired, he remained very open-minded and tried to create flexible spaces, despite being pressured to do so, for free discussions among architects. In the Hundred Flowers Campaign, he openly advocated that design teams should frequently host

seminars in which every architect enjoyed a chance to put forward personal thoughts.¹⁹ After this movement turned to a purge against intellectuals, his speeches delivered in conferences always discreetly highlighted adherence to state policies and collectivism as opposed to individualism, nevertheless he – whenever possible – hinted that the architects should make innovations upon the foundation of traditions of working people in accordance with their demands nowadays. In his 1961 speech for the South Architectural Style Conference held in Guangzhou, he mentioned potential development of “the Southern Architectural Style” as a regional representation of socialist styles in which he took Guangzhou for instance to demonstrate some features such as greenery, ventilation, and shading, which he believed were long-term products of the local working population’s wisdom over history.²⁰ The utilitarian and functionalist aspects of modernism or the International Style the Cantonese architects advocated before 1949 were in line with the official narrative of anti-waste, low-cost, and appropriate designs, but the ideological and stylistic connotations of this style as a western and capitalist product in Mao’s China stigmatized modernist architecture. Thus, the architects often avoided their buildings’ stylistic and aesthetic attentions to the public and instead highlighted utility to be politically correct.

Cantonese architects like Lin negotiated their ideal architectural languages in a context of utilitarianism with criteria imposed by the authority. They were eager to incorporate some awe-inspiring motifs to enrich their design on the premise that they were supposed to assure the government without deviating from its requirements issued by the authorities. Admittedly, it is obvious, as the architectural historian Zhu Jianfei argues, that there were ideological critiques in

¹⁹ Lin Keming. “Wo dui zhankai baijia zhengming de jidian yijian” [My Suggestions on the Hundred Flowers Campaign]. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.6 (1956), pp.50-51.

²⁰ Lin Keming. “Guanyu jianzhu fengge de jige wenti” [Some Issues on Architectural Styles]. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.8 (1961), pp. 2-4.

socialist architecture rejecting autonomy in form and authorship and that collectivity mattered most under the state as a moral leader.²¹ The study of Maoist-era Guangzhou's socialist architecture nevertheless should not neglect the indispensable role of individual architects whose ideals contributed to selection of multiple architectural styles, symbols, and motifs in negotiation with the tasks from the state. In addition, some officials of the local authorities supported the architects' activities. Lin Xi, vice mayor of Guangzhou in charge of urban construction from the 1950s and the 1980s (he was sent to the labor camp in the Cultural Revolution but returned to his post in 1972), was interested in values of both modern ideas from the West and traditional Cantonese cultures. His intervention in design projects and friendship with many Cantonese architects remained vital to their success, because he always helped them resist and disregard any doubts, criticisms, and even attacks normally on political and ideological basis. Thus, on some occasions, open-minded local bureaucrats as decision makers could give the architects a "shelter" under which they embarked on negotiations smoothly. From the perspective of individuality over collectivity, the case studies would explore the individuals' endeavor to negotiate their pursuit of certain architectural languages with the functional requirements by the authorities in the design projects: Despite political and ideological pressures, Lin adhered to modernist principles he had long pursued since the 1930s; Xia was concerned about local climates from which he developed low-cost building technologies to create suitable subtropical architecture; Mo's lifelong affection for Cantonese gardens urged him to incorporate garden elements in contemporary buildings to fulfil civic demands with a sense of traditional aesthetics. While collective efforts of teamwork mattered much to completion of their design projects, the factors of the individuals related to the

²¹ Zhu Jianfei, "Opening the Concept of Critical Architecture: The Case of Modern China and the Issue of the State," in *Non West Modernist Past: On Architecture & Modernities*, ed. William S. W. Lim and Jiat-Hwee Chang. (Singapore: World Scientific Publications, 2012), p. 112.

use of architectural styles, symbols, technologies, and motifs as languages of formal and spatial expressions would take an overarching role throughout the design processes.

Lin Keming: Huaqiao (Overseas Chinese) New Village

As a pioneering architect in pursuit of modernism, Lin had to confront complicated political atmospheres after 1949. He needed to be very cautious about designing the buildings for the authorities so as not to evoke official criticisms, and his pre-1949 affection for modernist architecture could no longer be conveyed straightforwardly to the public, even though certain facets of modernism, such as functionalism, are fundamental to his projects during the Maoist era. On the other hand, as a design expert as well as an intellectual, Lin availed nation building agendas of the socialist regime when he was appointed the deputy head of the Guangzhou Architecture and Engineering Bureau in 1952 and later the head of the Guangzhou Design Institute. During the second half of the 20th century, Lin presided over design and construction of many civic building projects iconic of Mao's Guangzhou. While it was mandatory for him to always obey the state's demands and he, for instance, designed several buildings in the Chinese Beaux-Arts style before the official negation of this "national form," many of Lin's works implicitly revealed spirits of modernism in terms of functionality, neatness, and convenience that had long inspired him to modernize Chinese architectures since the 1930s.

The Huaqiao New Village is one of the masterpieces in Mao's Guangzhou that represents Lin's everlasting pursuit of modernist ideas regardless of the political situation. This residential complex to accommodate returning overseas Chinese immigrants (in Chinese *guiqiao*) and their

families in the 1950s echoed the central authorities' agenda to invite the Chinese immigrants to relocate and invest back home for their support and financing (remittance).²² Labelled as a “socialist paradise” that urged the overseas Chinese to return to the “socialist family,” the self-contained Huaqiao New Village accommodate delicate pleasures, exotic tastes, and traditional customs of the residents.²³ It involved a capitalist, bourgeois lifestyle of its residents, which the authorities tolerated temporarily in the 1950s. Thus, Lin and his colleagues possessed an opportunity to insert the modern style into the houses within the complex, since it could satisfy much the everyday life of the privileged residents and consequently the authorities would be gratified as well. While neither Lin's autobiography nor any scholarships on him account for his detailed involvement in this civic project he undertook with a design committee, the source of inspiration was highly likely to come from spread of architecture thoughts in 1930s Guangzhou, because the thoughts by Lin and other Cantonese architects in their writings and publications have been evidenced by formal expressions of this residential complex as theoretical support.

When Lin Keming received the mission from the Guangzhou government in 1954, he was at this stage not unfamiliar with public housing programs. Early in the republican period, he participated already in designing civic projects for the municipal government aiming to promote urban welfare, and the Pingmin Gong (Civilian Hall) was designed by him in 1929 to accommodate and civilize low-income male residents under the governmental commission (see Fig.2). Experimenting some concepts of modernism for the first time at this three-story building, Lin fulfilled the function of the residents' everyday activities through a language of neatness and added

²² Shelly Chan. *Diaspora's Homeland: Modern China In the Age of Global Migration*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018), p. 155.

²³ Shelly Chan. *Diaspora's Homeland: Modern China In the Age of Global Migration*. pp.163-164.

value to the nascent popular discourse of modern architecture in China. Also, he taught architecture design at the local universities (Lin had taught at the College of Engineering of Guangdong Province since 1929 and it was merged into the Xiangqin University in 1934 until the wartime shutdown in 1938.). Lin studied at École d'Architecture de Lyon under the French architect Tony Garnier from 1923 to 1926 and had been in touch with the prevailing trends of modernism in interwar Europe. When he became a professor back in Guangzhou, he was very passionate about introducing modern architectural thoughts from the West to China and incorporating them into pedagogies as well as practices. During the 1930s, Lin published several short essays at the school journals and magazines, with *What is Modern Architecture (shenmo shi modeng jianzhu)* in 1932 being his manifesto of modernism, in which he argued that modern architecture makes sense based on demands of modern societies and that this is the scientific evolution of architecture. Another essay by him in 1938 is a commentary on the 10th anniversary of the first CIAM Congress in Switzerland, following his translation of the congress manifesto. He mentioned in his writing a number of architects of the modern movements including Le Corbusier, Otto Wagner, Adolf Loos, Gerrit Rietveld, etc.²⁴ Meanwhile in the 1930s, Lin's cohorts in Guangzhou were eager as well to study the ongoing modern movements in the western world and published a number of articles on modern movements at the *Xin Jianzhu* magazines. For example, an essay in the first issue of this magazine discussed Le Corbusier, his groundbreaking theories, completed works and urban design proposals.²⁵ Also, there were writings that introduced public housing programs in Europe such as

²⁴ Lin Keming. "Guoji Xinjianzhu Huiyi Shizhounian Jinian Ganyan 1928-1938" [Comments on the 10th Anniversary of the First CIAM Congress 1928-1938], *Xin Jianzhu*, no.7 (1938), p.1.

²⁵ See Zhao Pingyuan. "Jianzhu yu jianzhujia: chuncui zhuyi zhe Le Corbusier zhi jieshao" [Architecture and Architects: Introduction of Le Corbusier the Purist]. *Xin Jianzhu*, no.1 (1936), pp.20-23. This article introduced Le Corbusier's theories developed in the interwar period, like the five points of architecture, and mentioned some of his early works like the Plan Voisin.

the New Frankfurt Project.²⁶ As a professor at the Xiangqin University, Lin was very familiar with the articles by his cohorts as well as these revolutionary theories.

However, this time Lin and his colleagues could not openly speak to inspirations from modernist architecture, since the state rejected such a capitalist taste despite the utilitarian aspects of modernism that could be adopted expediently. Not only did the political situation prevent them from showcasing modern design explicitly, but they then had little access to their contemporaneous architectural development in the western, capitalist world as well. Nevertheless, this group of architects headed by Lin Keming could be highly intrigued by any knowledge they accumulated in the republican era, in particular the 1930s. As the patrons of the residential complex were rich returning overseas Chinese besides the government, the architects could negotiate the composition of design with the government's political ideal of founding a socialist paradise for their clients, the returning emigrants. They mostly maintained the bourgeois lifestyles of where they used to live, such as Southeast Asia and North America, so it was hardly feasible for the authorities to forcibly have them integrate into the Chinese societies at once. The initiative of creating a separate residential zone for the returning emigrants reflected an expedient to obtain their remittances to financially support the nation building. To deal with this non-socialist, privileged enclave within the socialist metropolis (the overseas Chinese then technically had a private ownership over the properties at the Huaqiao New Village.), catering to any demands of the clients became an umbrella under which to find some flexibility to design the houses of the Huaqiao New Village

²⁶ See Huo Yunhe. "Xiandai de dushi jihe zhuju" [Modern Urban Collective Housings]. *Xin Jianzhu*, no.5&6 (1937), pp. 94-109.

with a modern appearance of a middle-class community. It matched the taste of the overseas Chinese who were privileged by the state in the 1950s.

On October 1954 the site of the New Village was chosen to be in the suburb roughly 3 kilometers away from the center of Guangzhou's historic districts. Half of the New Village is surrounded by the Baiyun Mountain in the north and the Yuexiu Mountain in the west, and the terrain is on three hills at the bottom of these mountains (Fig.8). Unlike the old residential areas of Guangzhou, this selected site rendered the civic project more flexible for the design committee to undertake, because a potential conflict with any existing constructed environment was never a concern to the design committee in this case. To fit in the hilly terrain, three axes had been created by Lin and other designers after four reiterations.²⁷ They wished that the buildings could be arrayed in order along the axes without breaking the shape of the hilly terrain while maximizing the efficient use of space for an economic reason, which had always been emphasized by the state rhetoric. The roads inside the Huaqiao New Village took a spiral form to match the hilly terrain and connect the residences to the outside. At the center is an elementary school (Fig.9) at the zenith of the hills, together with some other public welfare facilities like the public dining hall to be public social spaces for the *guiqiao* residents (Fig.10). Furthermore, greenery permeated the whole community. A marsh was transformed into a greenbelt that has become the axis of the landscape and extended to an artificial lake at the south entrance. Besides, along the roads are sloped terraces where grasses and trees are planted; The residents normally have their green spaces outside the houses where the returning overseas Chinese installed flowers, grass, and trees to add pleasure to

²⁷ Zhu Pu. "Guangzhou Huaqiao Xincun" [Guangzhou's Huaqiao New Village], *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.2 (1957), p. 19.

their life in the Huaqiao New Village, so there are arrays of Cantonese plants, like white jade orchid trees and Chinese redbuds, as well as many exotic types imported from abroad, in particular Southeast Asia.²⁸ In the 1950s, there were several “new villages,” communities with public housing, built in Guangzhou to accommodate the workers and their families and thus promote urban welfare, but none of them could have a “taste” in the same way as the Huaqiao New Village did its residents in terms of special treatment of the government, high-level housing conditions, and social pleasures.

In the republican era, Lin researched some urban planning issues as part of his endeavors to reform Chinese architectures in terms of promotion of urban welfares, and therefore his role in designing the Huaqiao New Village turned the thoughts into practice. Lin published an article titled *On Urban Planning Issues* (*tantan dushi jihua wenti*) at the *Engineering Quarterly* (*gongcheng jikan*), a journal issued by the Guangdong Civil Engineers’ Society, in 1932. He argued in this writing straightforwardly that urban planning was the science of inhibiting chaotic swelling of the city and restoring its development in order.²⁹ To justify his statement, Lin proposed that urban planning lies in traffic convenience, sanitation and safety, residential pleasures, and eventually promotion of social cultures. Lin derived this awareness of scientific urban planning in modern China in pursuit of welfare primarily from acquaintance with the modern movements in Europe and previous experience of designing the Pingmin Gong for the municipal government. When the Guangzhou government positioned him as an official with professional backgrounds in charge of urban constructions, Lin needed to be rather wary about his remarks and actions in case of political

²⁸ Chen Jianyi. “Guangzhou Huaqiao xincun jianshe fazhan yanjiu” [Study on Construction and Development of the Huaqiao New Village in Guangzhou]. (MA Thesis, Guangzhou: South China University of Technology, 2012), p. 31.

²⁹ Lin Keming. “Tantan dushi jihua wenti” [On Urban Planning Issues]. *Gongcheng Jikan* [Engineering Quarterly], no.3 (1932), p. 45.

imbroglios. It became impossible for him to expose his knowledge of the modern movements of the western world to the general public in the Maoist era, but what he once accumulated and advocated in the 1920s and 1930s helped him to design a community for the returning emigrants, comparable to a suburban middle-class counterpart in the West and uncommon in Mao's China.

Lin negotiated the basic ideas he formulated on urban planning in the 1930s with the utilitarian concerns of the New Village, bringing the former to the latter to satisfy this commission. Layout of the streets inside the community, for instance, attests to the concept of convenient traffic discussed in Lin's article, in which he wrote about several types of road networks and called for suitability of terrains. The "meandering type" is one of the street networks Lin took for example, and the meandering spiral roads around the hills at the Huaqiao New Village can be regarded as a realization of Lin's thoughts on traffics in the Maoist times (Fig.11).³⁰ The roads become gradually narrower and the pedestrian lane on both sides of the roads at the bottom of the hills are reduced to only one side as the height increases. The one-lane paths on top of the hills are of mixed use to both pedestrians and vehicles, and at one of the hilltops, since there are only three single houses, the designers only installed staired walkways for the residents.³¹ In this respect, Lin and his design committee took costs into account in response to the state's anti-waste requirement, simultaneously making it convenient for the residents to walk and drive as well as guaranteeing traffic safety across the hills. Lin's emphasis on pleasures of residents refers mostly to public parks, because he believed their eudaimonia would be derived from activities outdoors; he claimed, people stuck at

³⁰ Lin Keming. "Tantan dushi jihua wenti" [On Urban Planning Issues], p.46.

³¹ Chen Jianyi. "Guangzhou Huaqiao xincun jianshe fazhan yanjiu" [Study on Construction and Development of the Huaqiao New Village in Guangzhou], p.29.

home would otherwise develop some unhealthy hobbies such as gambling.³² So, social pleasures of the residents according to Lin are essentially associated with outdoor green spaces. By 1958, while the public gardens only account for 9.18% of the total area (23,234 out of 252,856 square meters), the private gardens attached to the single-family houses occupy 46.56% of the total area (117,743 out of 252,856 square meters).³³ Private ownerships mattered to these properties co-invested by both returning Chinese emigrants and the government; and the private properties acquiesced by the authorities take up nearly half of the total area. So, Lin and his colleagues in this situation allocated most greenery spaces to the private gardens, playing the same role as the parks on the residents, possessed by the *guiqiao* families. They lived at single-family multistory houses and thus obtained Lin's notion of residential pleasures from the gardens where they planted, both of which were then inaccessible to average Chinese households.

For domestic houses at the Huaqiao New Village, Lin Keming inserted the architectural language of modern aesthetics into his design in collaboration with the committee. Technical neatness and utilitarian values Lin stressed in the essay *What Is Modern Architecture* had found their place at this "socialist paradise," which carried, in fact, many bourgeois characteristics unique to the returning emigrants in Guangzhou, because they simultaneously manifested the official principle of "appropriateness, economy, and if possible, aesthetics." The negotiation of Lin's familiar modern style with the official dogma proved smooth. When this project started in 1954 and 1955, Chinese architects, following the footstep of Soviet architects, began to criticize the national form of Beaux-Arts classicism, so the previous plan of adopting "green tiles and red bricks"

³² Lin Keming, p.47.

³³ Zhu, p.19.

as the standardized form was soon rejected by the design committee in favor of neatness.³⁴ While modernism or the International Style was still disfavored by the state for its ideological connection to the capitalist world, the abolition of the Beaux-Arts “national form” freed Lin and his coworkers much from forcibly imitating the Soviet model. Plus, the *guiqiao* residents enjoyed a voice in decision making processes due to the privileged identity as investors and the Chinese government in the mid-1950s expediently compromised by catering to their requirements. Due to these reasons, Lin’s design committee could thus shrewdly and subtly add the modern style and motifs to the houses of this bourgeois enclave of socialist Guangzhou as an approach of negotiation.

The design committee built four types (I, II, III, IV) as standardized housing units, and each type also is composed of 2 subtypes with slight variance in order to gratify the *guiqiao* patrons as much as possible for diverse options available. In addition, there are several rowhouses and collective dormitories for less affluent residents (Fig.12-16). Normally, the ground floor includes the living room, the kitchen, and the dining room as the public spaces and the second floor serves as the private sector of the house with the bedrooms, the bathrooms, and the balcony. Configuration of different spaces was functionally defined. The main residential areas like the bedrooms and the common rooms face south for sunlight and southeast winds, typical of Guangzhou’s humid climates, and the service areas like the bathrooms and the kitchens face north so that the southeastern winds can oust turbid air.³⁵ Particularly, the balconies to the south are indispensable components of the multistory houses, since the residents still needed open fresh air inside the houses as they did outdoors for ventilation as well as pleasures. Lin and his colleagues impregnated

³⁴ Zhu, p.25.

³⁵ Chen. pp. 34-35.

the balconies with multiple forms of dynamic expression. In type II and III houses, the balconies are generally square and rectangular, whereas the ones in type I and IV are circular and semicircular; they all accommodate the residents, their families, and sometimes their guests to hold different kinds of daily entertainment as a healthy way of life. When equipped with columns and extended in length, the balcony would turn to a loggia. There is even one building that made the balconies on both levels cover the whole south façade to form a two-story loggia, reminiscent of the Qilou houses on Guangzhou's commercial streets (Fig.17).³⁶ The residents could install flower stands on the roof of the top floor balconies to beautify the living environment in promotion of aesthetics. While the main body of the house is always a reinforced concrete cube, resulting from industrialized standardization, the balcony or loggia projecting from it visually demonstrates a sense of lightness, dynamic, and flexibility in design. Fabrications of other components on the facades, such as windowsills, eaves, cornices, and balcony roofs, were in such an attenuated texture that they enhanced visually slenderness of the house rooted in neatness rather than flamboyance.³⁷ Besides, the light-tone colors the design committee adopted for the houses are diverse, and each space (exterior wall, staircase, ceiling, living room, bedroom, etc.) has its own light color brushed on the walls to shape polychromic, plain but not ostentatious, appearances. Visual diversity of the living sphere, tolerated but not endorsed by the state in this situation, coexisted with functional unity of standardized housings within this *guiqiao* community.

In terms of aesthetics, Lin's dynamic composition of these houses based on a largely functionalist insight at the Huaqiao New Village is theoretically pertinent to his definition of

³⁶ Chen. p.35.

³⁷ Chen. p.38.

modern architecture in the 1932 writing: Motions of transportations, including trains, automobiles, vessels, and airplanes, represent progressiveness; applications of such dynamic objects to the form of static counterparts like architecture comprises the aesthetic principle.³⁸ Lin Keming was clearly influenced by Le Corbusier who made the same metaphor with transportations, although his name was never mentioned in this essay.³⁹ The standardized residences, to some extent breaking away from some ideological and stylistic restrictions due to the privilege of the *guiqiao* residents, smoothly reflected the neat, modest, pure, and functionalist languages of modern architecture he developed before 1949, from which he derived the aesthetic principle. The formal expression of the single-family residences built with the projecting balconies or loggias plus architectural components with light textures across the facades and surrounded by greenery spaces is reminiscent of the cruise ships with decks on the ocean. An archetype of the houses at the Huaqiao New Village could be Lin Keming's own two-story residence built in 1936 with reinforced concrete. It includes a roof terrace, a clear division of the public and private spaces for his family, a backyard, and a semioval-shaped balcony. The expressions of Lin's house were very likely to be a source of inspiration in terms of the similar design languages for the Huaqiao New Village (Fig.18). In reality, however, Lin and his colleagues who researched into modernist architecture early in the 1930s could never speak this out to the public because of the ideological conflict in Mao's China. And the actions of learning from other nations under the official narrative were literally limited to the Soviet Union and the East Bloc: the architects adopted the Soviet standard of housing density (ratio of house to greenery areas) that the ratio for two-story single-family houses should be 35%, based on the Soviet criteria of urban design; another action was to criticize

³⁸ Lin Keming, "Shenmo Shi Modeng Jianzhu" [What Is Modern Architecture], *Guangdong Shengli Gongzhuan Xiaokan* [Journal of Guangdong Provincial School of Engineering], (1933), p.89.

³⁹ For the connection between Le Corbusier and Lin Keming, See Sylvia Chan, "Constructing Chineseness: Translations of Architecture into Modern China From the Mid-nineteenth Century to 1949." (PhD Dissertation. Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong. 2018), p. 225.

the classical national form.⁴⁰ In this case, Lin and other architects obeyed the state to implement its requirements for the design of the Huaqiao New Village as a prerequisite. Then they took advantage of this chance to reservedly showcase a modern style out of utilitarianism, recognized by their clients when they had moved in since 1958, so the government cast little doubt on design matters and was also satisfied in that the community could serve visually as an image of propaganda and financially as a source of remittances.

The Huaqiao New Village demonstrated the implicit but sagacious negotiation of a series of modern architectural leitmotifs with a task demanded by the government to accommodate the returning overseas Chinese. The state's expedient to content these emigrants returning home and their need to maintain a comfortable lifestyle similar to the foreign nations where they stayed provided Lin, a pioneer of modern architecture, with some ambiguity regarding the social meaning of the buildings at the Huaqiao New Village. He and his team used this ambiguity to position the style and the language of architecture on behalf of the *guiqiao* residents' welfare. By the time the first stage of the Huaqiao New Village's construction had been completed, this community became an international landmark publicizing the CCP's policies of welcoming the overseas Chinese home. Romanian and Soviet architects, for instance, visited this landmark during their tours in China (Fig.19).⁴¹ Unfortunately, although the Huaqiao New Village initially served as a successful image of the CCP's homecoming policies to the returning Chinese emigrants, the further plan to expand the community westward never materialized in the 1960s due to monetary issues and disruption by the political movements: the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. In addition, the

⁴⁰ Zhu. p.25.

⁴¹ Guangzhou huaqiao xincun bianjizu, *Guangzhou huaqiao xincun* [Guangzhou overseas Chinese new village]. (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 1959), p. 84.

relationship between the authorities and the emigrant residents began to deteriorate, as the latter maintained their lifestyles and modes of productions the former considered capitalist and bourgeois and became dissatisfied.⁴² As is indicated, the expedient of the state to deal with the returning emigrants left some flexibility for Lin to carry out his design. After the construction was completed and the overseas emigrants moved in, this obscure middle ground eventually lost its political value. Despite this downturn, the Huaqiao New Village still keeps its authentic taste until today as a serene middle-class neighborhood in Guangzhou.

Xia Changshi: Campus Buildings at the South China University of Technology

Aside from the Huaqiao New Village, a large number of unique buildings had been designed and constructed in socialist Guangzhou over the course of the 1950s by these Cantonese architects, regardless of economic and political concerns, but not every project could enjoy a degree of design flexibility like the Huaqiao New Village for the affluent residents. They were instead obliged to lower expenses issued by the state or the government as the sole patron. The strategy of constructing low-cost buildings to fulfil certain social demand in dedication to socialist causes offered the architects a limited degree of freedom and flexibility in design, because lowering the costs alluded to incapability of conforming strictly to paradigms favored by the state. Thus, designers could create some alternatives in the name of low-cost architectures which minimized expenses and prioritized functions simultaneously. Xia Changshi belonged to this type of architects. The emphasis on low costs remains central to his design strategies throughout the

⁴² Chan. p.165.

Maoist period. This initiative of lessening expenditures for the state prompted him to study how to improve conditions of built environments with deficient resources, given the economic hardship of this newly founded socialist nation. For his buildings, Xia completed the tasks of the state never by merely fulfilling basic functions in terms of tight budgets, but he strove to develop his appropriate design patterns and building technologies for climatic concerns and applied them to the low-cost civic projects in terms of climate-friendly spatial and visual effects. Xia's design of a couple of campus buildings at the SCUT during the 1950s attests to his smooth negotiation of the technology-oriented architectural languages with the state's anti-waste requirement.

Xia, like Lin Keming, had an experience of studying in Europe during the interwar period and became aware of modern architecture. He was in Germany from 1923 through 1932, earning a bachelor's degree in architecture under the guidance of the German architect Hermann Billing from the University of Karlsruhe in 1928 and a doctoral degree in architectural history from the University of Tübingen in 1932. During this decade, Xia not only learned about the modern architectural movements taking place, typified by the Bauhaus School, in this country, but also studied medieval architecture to complete his dissertation on late Gothic architecture in northern France.⁴³ After his return to China, Xia worked briefly for a firm in Shanghai and was soon employed by the railroad department during the 1930s. In 1934, he joined the *yingzao xueshe* (Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture) and surveyed the Suzhou gardens with some Chinese architects including Liang Sicheng. His fascination with diverse architectural cultures regardless of their historical periods and geographical locations remained fundamental to his

⁴³ Eduard Kögel, "Between Reform and Modernism: Xia Changshi and Germany." *Nanfang Jianzhu* [South Architecture]. no.2 (2010), p.24.

design principle of flexibly combining the traditional with the modern in Guangzhou. During the Sino-Japanese War, he evacuated to Chongqing and taught in the newly established architecture department at the Chongqing University 1941. While the dominant pedagogical methodology in college was still the Beaux-Arts, Xia adopted an alternative to teach design classes where he advocated functionalism and practicality of buildings rather than artistic compositions in a Beaux-Arts sense.⁴⁴ However, due to his distinction from the Beaux-Arts prevalence and censures against him by some instructors and students in favor of the Beaux-Arts pedagogy, Xia resigned in 1943 indignantly.⁴⁵ His utilitarian approach to designing buildings as well as a nongregarious personality defined his uniqueness, which would trouble him after 1949 and require him to launch negotiations.

In Maoist-era Guangzhou, Xia taught at the architecture school of the SCUT and simultaneously served as a state architect for the authorities to undertake many building commissions, some of which are the SCUT's campus buildings for the pedagogical and administrative purposes. As mentioned above, the attack on Xia's aquarium from the *Jianzhu Xuebao* reminded Xia of cautions he was supposed to take as a state architect. Confronting ideological criticism, Xia remained silent on this ideological dispute, and due to the support by the vice mayor Lin Xi who encouraged his creativity, his career was not disrupted by that article critical of him published in the journal. For him, this incident in the early 1950s – when the political atmosphere was yet not as tight as the 1960s – indicated that he must have been wary of the styles and motifs he adopted as design languages from then on. They should be politically correct in the

⁴⁴ Tan Jian and Tan Xiaoling, *Jianzhu jia Xia Changshi* [The Architect Xia Changshi]. (Guangzhou: South China University of Technology Press, 2012), pp.64-65.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

state's opinions, so Xia could not explicitly convey the idea of modernism but instead wisely mediate the architectural languages in his works to safely please the state and pursue the ideal architecture to which he adhered at the same time.

The *No.2 Building* at the SCUT for administrative use, designed by Xia and constructed in 1952, epitomized this negotiation of Xia's architectural languages with the state's aesthetic preference (Fig.20). Since 1949, the Soviet Union had always been China's mentor in art and architecture, and China embraced the Socialist Realism, entrenched in Stalinist aesthetics. After some Soviet architects visited Beijing and considered the imperial architecture as a paradigm of the national form for China, in the first half of the 1950s, many multistory buildings equipped with traditional Chinese roofs plus modern building materials were erected all over the country. While Xia Changshi possessed a taste and understanding of Chinese traditional architecture, he was against this trend of blindly following Socialist Realism to waste resources and damage aesthetics which he believed lies in suitability and functionality. However, due to ideological stigmatization of architectural modernism in Mao's China, Xia did not clearly showcase his deviation from the officially endorsed fashion as resistance in case of potential political pressure. Rather, he compromised to adopt the "national form," but expediently diminishing the elements of the traditional Chinese architecture and augmenting the impression of neatness and simplicity as the core values of modern architecture against exuberance.

For the facade, Xia incorporated the leitmotifs of classical Chinese architecture in a Beaux-Arts composition, however, they were not rendered by him cumbersome to the building. Despite

his reluctance to manipulate the design of this campus building with a classical style, he arranged these classical elements rationally to infuse some modern ideas into them. To Xia Changshi, practicality, functionality, and comfortability matter most to this building used collectively by the faculty staff and the students at the SCUT on an everyday basis. Therefore, monumentality conveyed by Chinese classical architecture, such as imperial palaces and temples, would otherwise appear inappropriate. Xia smoothly remedied this defect in his design as a way of mediating the conflict between the Beaux-Arts composition and modern architectural ideas. He lessened the size of the gable roof so it does not cover the whole plan of the building. It was nicknamed “the small hat” by one of Xia’s students, because the large gable roof typical of the national form was nicknamed “the big hat” by the public in early 1950s China.⁴⁶ The eaves and brackets on the cornice resemble in this case a “brim” of the hat. Under the brackets are the piers Xia selected as an alternative to the columns so as to reduce the weight and the consequent expense. In this symmetrical longitudinal façade, except the central bay with three windows, each bay unit consists of two windows. Xia made the windows double because he could add the pillars between each two of them so that the structures necessitated fewer beams, saving the cost.⁴⁷ At the entrance to the building, Xia installed a roofed porch that includes the dougong brackets. He did not adopt any glazed tiles but switched to inexpensive grey tiles for the porch roof. Replacing sculptural reliefs across the façade as an ornament to the Chinese classical architecture, Xia simplified ornamentation through a motif of twin rhombuses between each two levels (Fig.21). The building materials Xia selected are red bricks, mortars, and plasters at relatively low costs. The authorities’ economic concern allowed Xia to decrease the references to Socialist Realism and arranged the

⁴⁶ Tan Jian and Tan Xiaoling, *Jianzhu jia Xia Changshi* [The Architect Xia Changshi]. p. 119.

⁴⁷ Tan Jian and Tan Xiaoling, p.121.

Beaux-Arts inspired classical elements in a plain and neat manner evocative of modernism. Aesthetics of this classical style building originates from rationality and plainness of Xia's subtle mediation rather than flamboyance and monumentality echoing Socialist Realism.

During the second half of the 1950s, as Chinese architects rejected Socialist Realism after the Soviet Union did so, Xia was free from having to incorporate the classical style into the projects as the authorities once demanded. At this point, Xia started to develop a system of building techniques on shading, ventilation, and temperature reduction and applied them to the buildings. On one hand, Guangzhou is in a subtropical zone and remains hot, rainy, and humid for most of the year. He had been often conscious of the relation of climates to architecture since he designed a dormitory of the female students at the Sun Yat-sen University in 1945, although the original building and its images could not be discovered.⁴⁸ With his ambition and the profession as a calling, he was committed to exploring how architecture could be designed and built to adapt to human comfort against unpleasant weathers. In addition, this ambition of building toward a better quality to tackle climatic issues in this subtropical city conformed to the state policy of "appropriateness, economy, and if possible, aesthetics." Economy mattered most to the state in terms of its isolation to many parts of the world. Another objective of Xia's development of the techniques, besides comfortability, was expense abatement considerate of the state's hardship. So, the authorities would acknowledge Xia's technical innovations and application to design, and Xia enjoyed a sense of flexibility and freedom to create his own formal expressions.

⁴⁸ Tan Jian and Tan Xiaoling, p.93.

Xia's technological innovations to deal with climates matured over time, as he kept experimenting and applying the results to the new buildings for much more creations. Spring and autumn, and winter are fairly transitory in Guangzhou all the year round, and inhabitants of the city experience summer that lasts at least four months per year. Architecturally, Xia noticed some vernacular methods of reducing heat in Guangzhou. For instance, pergolas would be installed on the vernacular houses by their residents during summers, however, Xia pointed out that they could not be long-term solutions. Guangzhou's residents often demolished the pergolas after the summer was over and reinstalled them after the winter. Xia claimed that installment and demolition of the temporary pergolas not only wasted money but also had fire hazards. It was thus necessary for him to develop shading panels to effectively address the weather issues that had long posed a challenge to housing in Guangzhou and improve housing conditions and qualities. Lacking scholarly references as theoretical support, Xia and his students did a lot of thermodynamic experiments to acquire the mathematical raw data: They found that if the windows are shaded during the hours with the strongest sunlight (10 a.m. to 5 p.m.) of a day then the windows could be entirely open and the room temperature would decrease by 4 to 5 °C.⁴⁹ From 1952 to 1956, Xia experimented the shading panels he invented in hospital designs (the buildings at the Sun Yat-sen Medical School). He added the panels projecting from the facades in parallel or vertical postures, or both (Fig.22). Throughout his experimental and applicational processes of developing shading devices, Xia always kept in mind that he needed to control the expenses for the state as much as possible while sparing no efforts to improve the devices' efficiency. Later, Xia shifted to prefabricated concrete panels shading the windows individually at the Dinghushan Sanatorium, a health resort in Zhaoqing, a town west of Guangzhou (Fig.23). Also, Xia selected arched roofs as layers of heat

⁴⁹ Tan Jian and Tan Xiaoling, pp.94-95.

insulation. He installed bricks, each cut in a quarter of the standard brick size, on the surface of the concrete roof panels and added ventilation holes beneath the arches (Fig.24&25). During this period, Xia investigated vernacular architecture in Guangdong with his colleagues to be keen on discovering the features to be adapted. The motif of curved arches on the rooftops might be influenced by “water dwellings” built by Cantonese fishermen residing on rivers in terms of Xia’s investigation of Cantonese vernacular architecture (Fig.26).⁵⁰ Since the sun in the daytime would be in a position of 80 to 90 degrees to the horizon, the curves could inhibit virtually vertical sunlight efficiently and reduce much the heat transferred to the concrete roof panels.⁵¹

The design strategy of Xia to cope with climate was already sophisticated, when he worked on the Chemical Engineering Building at the SCUT in 1957 (Fig.27). Due to his previous experiments and hospital designs, he had accumulated a set of design languages for subtropical architecture in Guangzhou. The building accommodates the laboratories for pedagogical and research purposes, so the control of temperature was key to the requirement from the state-run university as Xia’s commissioner. Still using bricks and concrete blocks as the sole materials and composing the facades in a plain manner, Xia added uniqueness to this campus building through the shading and heat insulation devices for not only technical purposes but rational aesthetics. He installed different types of shading panels on different sides of this 8000-square-meter building: The south adopted the prefabricated individual shades so that each window could have its own shade; the east adopted the comprehensive shading panel that covers all the windows on that side;

⁵⁰ Tang Guohua. “Xia shi zheyang yu lingnan jianzhu fangre” [Xia Changshi’s Sunshades and Lingnan Architectural Heat proofness] *Xin Jianzhu* [New Architecture], no 6 (2015), p. 18.

⁵¹ Xia Changshi. “Ya Re Dai Jianzhu de Jiangwen Wenti – Zheyang. Gere. Tongfeng”. [Issues on Temperature Reduction for Subtropical Architecture: Sun Shading, Heat Insulation, and Ventilation]. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. no.10 (1958), p.38.

the west façade has an outdoor corridor connected to the laboratories, so Xia devised a pendant shading panel as an extra layer projecting from the west façade; the north façade was not furnished with any shade because the sunlight on this elevation is minimal (Fig.28).⁵² Before installment of these shading panels, Xia investigated the sunlight's interaction with each side of this building to determine what type of panels he needed to select for each elevation and whether or not such a panel should be placed, lest there would be any unnecessary costs wasted.

For the roof of the main building, Xia made an advance, switching from the quarter-cut bricks to the half-cut bricks. Each bay unit across the south façade of the Main Building could have its own arched roof (Fig.29). Not only did the ½ brick layer unit save costs, as Peng Changxin argues, but also strengthens the visual connection to the projects by Le Corbusier, just like his 1942 proposal of *Résidence Peyrissac* in an agricultural domain of Cherchell, Algeria (Fig.30).⁵³ So, if Xia were indeed inspired by both vernacular architecture and the work by Le Corbusier, this would have suggested that Xia's observation would not be parochial but universal. Unlike Lin Keming, Xia left almost no writings on his engagement with the modern movements of the western world, although he then witnessed them in Europe. Yet he was likely to have an access to the theories of Le Corbusier via certain channels before 1949 or even the resources that the vice mayor Lin Xi, Xia's supporter, brought from Hong Kong to Guangzhou during the 1950s such as architecture magazines. In the hardship of Mao's China, Xia had no choice but to listen to the state's command. And yet he maintained his creativity to make technological advancements in the design projects on the premise of fulfilment of utilitarian matters. This strategy allowed him to

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Peng Changxin. "Diyu Zhuyi yu Xianshi Zhuyi: Xia Changshi de Xiandai Jianzhu Gouxiang" [Regionalism and Realism: Xia Changshi's Ideas on Modern Architecture in China]. p.39.

insert his own architectural languages that practically prevented the buildings from ideological and political rebukes.

In 1958, Xia published an article in *Jianzhu Xuebao* titled *Problems on Lowering Temperature of Buildings in Subtropical Zone* (*yaredai jianzhu de jiangwen wenti*). This writing by Xia was in a modest, cautious attitude and a succinct tone to conclude the progress he had achieved since 1952 in building technologies with respect to climatic issues. In each section where Xia provided the readers with examples of technological applications to architecture, including the SCUT campus buildings, he frequently mentioned the expenditure issues and how a technology, such as the shading panels, could reduce the state's expenses as much as possible and the efficient use of the buildings could be honed as well. According to his trial, if the building's height decreases by 0.5 meters and his building technologies of temperature reduction are applied to it, the total cost would still be relatively low enough to offset the indispensable expense of the architectural devices installed.⁵⁴ Similar to the design report on the Huaqiao New Village, the Soviet influence was always a crucial subtopic to the overall writing, which in this case was a Soviet architecture expert's site visit and advice he offered to Xia and other Cantonese architects for future development.⁵⁵ In the ending paragraph, Xia said humbly that he expected comrades to point out his mistakes and offer suggestions so that they could take better care of proletariats in South China in housing matters. He also advocated that there should be more new architectures suitable to South China under the policy of "quickness of completion, high quality, high quantity, and frugality."⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Xia Changshi. "Ya Re Dai Jianzhu de Jiangwen Wenti – Zheyang. Gere. Tongfeng" [Issues on Temperature Reduction for Subtropical Architecture: Sun Shading, Heat Insulation, and Ventilation]. p.39.

⁵⁵ Xia. p. 40.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

In this article, Xia ensured the authorities that he was absolutely following the state doctrines and being loyal to the socialist nation and considerate of the working population. This ideological guarantee enabled Xia to concentrate on his design experiments, whose groundbreaking results manifested in turn the suave negotiation Xia launched instead of a confrontation in distrust. As he promised in this report, Xia continued to study architectural technologies for subtropical architecture. In 1958, he set up the Institute of Subtropical Architecture at the SCUT with his cohorts which is nowadays committed to sustainable architecture in subtropical regions of China.⁵⁷

Mo Bozhi: Baiyun Hotel

The architectural accomplishments by the Cantonese architects like Lin Keming and Xia Changshi demonstrated their endeavors to experiment their novel ideas in suave mediation with the state's demands. This suaveness symbolized the designers' strategy of incorporating the architectural languages they developed out of creativity into the construction projects. The languages included styles, motifs, and technologies, although they were likely to be disfavored by the authorities, that functioned as signifiers of the architects' negotiating or mediating processes. The architects inserted some design languages of international modernism, theoretically supported by pre-1949 communications and sporadic contacts with overseas in the Maoist era. Meanwhile, nonetheless, they took into account regional, traditional, and vernacular elements, central to the negotiations in terms of economic considerations and regional suitability.

⁵⁷ Tan Jian and Tan Xiaoling, p.103.

However, the increasingly overwhelming political movements over time still made their situations difficult. The Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976 devastated Chinese societies and persecuted a large number of intellectuals in almost every realm. These purged intellectuals were forced to discontinue their work or research and subject to punishment of “reeducation.” While Mo Bozhi was fortunately unaffected by this largest wave of the political movements ever in the Maoist era, his colleague Lin Keming and Xia Changshi suffered seriously from the Cultural Revolution to be detained and tortured (Xia emigrated to Germany in 1973 with his family and never returned to his post.), so was their protector, the vice mayor Lin Xi. This was so far the heaviest blow on the efforts of these architects who were passionate about making innovations throughout their careers. Fortunately, the design opportunities during the last few years of the Maoist era shed much light on the Cantonese architects like Mo Bozhi who could, again, present a sense of creativity compatible to the state rhetoric.

In the later period of the Cultural Revolution, economic progress did not slow down much as the intellectual outputs did, because the Chinese government had been eager to establish new relations with non-socialist and even capitalist countries since the 1970s to counter the Soviet influence. This geopolitical shift in China’s diplomatic policy necessitated channels of international communications, like exhibition centers and international hotels, and the architects were called back to their posts to build such channels. In 1971, the central government approved of the Guangzhou authorities’ request to invest in the constructions of several new exhibition buildings and hotels to accommodate the Canton Fair, planned as the largest event for global trade,

exchange, and negotiation ever hosted in Guangzhou (also known as the Guangzhou Foreign Trade Project), regardless of the ongoing Cultural Revolution.⁵⁸ Lin Keming, appointed as the director of the design office, managed all these tasks and the whole group of architects, including Mo Bozhi. Mo took the mission to build the Baiyun Hotel after his proposal stood out to be adopted in 1972 due to its precise fulfilment of the principle of “appropriateness, economy, and if possible, aesthetics (Fig.31).” Here, he possessed a chance to showcase a negotiation of architectural languages, inspired by garden cultures, with a largely functional and utilitarian design of an international hotel to accommodate guests from all over the world and to convey ambitions of the state and the local authorities to show off socialist China on the international stage.

Mo Bozhi grew up in Guangdong’s countryside, residing in a two-story rural house with a beautiful garden and a folding screen, whose images exercised a far-reaching impact on his design projects many years later.⁵⁹ Aesthetics of traditional Cantonese gardens lies in a sense of utilitarianism on an everyday basis without being too entwined with forms and paradigms. Locally, many small-scale gardens, usually embedded in residential and commercial buildings, were sponsored and used by affluent merchants with a secular taste to meet the function of everyday entertainment, as opposed to literati aesthetics embraced in Suzhou gardens, and the Cantonese gardens tend to have irregular but largely flexible meandering spaces of circulation.⁶⁰ When trained in the National Sun Yat-sen University in Guangzhou, he acquired knowledge of modern

⁵⁸ Charlie Xue and Ding Guanghui. *A History of Design Institutes In China: From Mao to Market*. (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp.60-61.

⁵⁹ Zhuang Shaopang. “Mo Bozhi Jianzhu Chuangzuo Licheng Ji Sixiang Yanjiu” [Research on Architectural Creation and Thought of Mo Bozhi]. (Doctoral Thesis. Guangzhou: South China University of Technology, 2011), p.26.

⁶⁰ Zhuang Shaopang. “Mo Bozhi Jianzhu Chuangzuo Licheng Ji Sixiang Yanjiu” [Research on Architectural Creation and Thought of Mo Bozhi].p.19.

building techniques and simultaneously cultivated tastes for traditional Chinese architecture. After years of practicing in Hong Kong, Mo returned to Guangzhou in 1952 to participate in the city's postwar reconstructions. His fascination with Cantonese architectural traditions motivated him to transplant ideas from garden cultures to contemporary architectural practices because the utilitarian dimension of Cantonese gardens could be adapted well to current social demands. From 1952 to 1961, Mo cooperated with Xia Changshi, launching fieldworks on traditional gardens in Guangdong to study aesthetic features, design skills, and building techniques within the Cantonese gardens. He also consulted senior craftworkers for interpretation of vernacular expertise and terminology in garden design. Then, Xia and Mo compiled a book titled *Lingnan Tingyuan* (*Cantonese Gardens*) based on findings from the fieldwork. Because of the political climate against pre-1949 historical artifacts, it was then not accepted by the publisher due to fear of political pressure and remained unpublished until 2007.⁶¹

In the 1950s and 1960s, Mo had been practicing the transplantation of garden design to socialist architecture of Guangzhou in addition to scholarly research. His debut in the constructions of socialist Guangzhou was the 1957 renovation of the Beiyuan (North Garden) Restaurant. Central to renovation of the Beiyuan Restaurant by Mo was collection of local building materials scattering around Guangzhou and reuse of old and spoliated materials to fulfil the initiative of spending money as little as possible. To negotiate this socialist restaurant full of regional identities with the state's strict anti-waste and low-cost requirements, Mo did not choose to design from scratch, which was unrealistic, and instead took advantage of once abandoned and broken materials

⁶¹ Zeng Zhaofen. "Epilogue" in Xia Changshi, Mo Bozhi, and Zeng Zhaofen *Lingnan Tingyuan* [Cantonese Gardens].. (Beijing: Architecture and Building Press, 2008), p.259. Zeng Zhaofen is a student of Xia and Mo and has been editing their writings since the 1990s.

and ornamental accessories to offer the state-run dim sum restaurant a unique Cantonese identity without disobeying state policies (Fig.32). All reapplications of the old materials, Mo collected from the vicinity of Guangzhou, to the renovation project not just rediscovered the value of material cultures on a vernacular level, but successfully satisfied the authority.

Aside from the adaptive reuse of materials, success of the Beiyuan Restaurant lies in shrewd treatment of spaces and circulation between them in a way that breaks the boundary between the interior and the exterior for customers' interaction with extraordinary sceneries in a garden setting. The restaurant consists of several independent unit, and each takes the function of accommodating customers (either a dining hall for the mass or private rooms for groups). But neither is isolated but integrated smoothly into the whole built environment: right at the center is a water court (*shuige*) around which the independent units situate, connected by corridors and bridges (Fig.33). Each unit is by no means enclosed but spatially open to the water court in light of customers' fantastic visual experiences and ventilation.⁶² Addition of garden design leitmotifs, including hills, rocks, ponds, and trees, creates a sense of pleasure for customers, whose experiences in the restaurant are enriched by engagement with the garden landscape. Circulation between the units centered around the water court is neither intricate nor monotonous. Expression of motifs in a Cantonese garden has been transplanted utilitarianly to a contemporary program that serves Guangzhou's residents with not only food but traditional garden aesthetics.

⁶² Zhuang, p.72.

Once this state-run restaurant was opened, it became very popular with residents of this metropolis because of the charming, but not flamboyant, insertion of a traditional garden that straightforwardly contributes to such an appealing regional atmosphere. Liang Sicheng also spoke highly of the Beiyuan Restaurant when he travelled to Guangzhou in 1959.⁶³ Nevertheless, doubts and criticisms existed all the time to pressure Mo Bozhi. Local newspapers published commentaries by critics that the form was yet too “anachronistic” and wooden carving ornaments and wall surface composed of polished bricks still rather “wasteful,” so they called for demolition. Fortunately, Lin Xi protected Mo from public criticisms and politically supported Mo to complete the renovation of the restaurant.⁶⁴ For him, Cantonese garden preserved many regional cultures and identities that he could transplant to socialist design, as long as the merits of garden cultures were rationally selected for his contemporaneous civic projects to meet the functional requirements of the authorities and perform effectively. The joy of meandering in the garden to sight rocks, water, and hills, previously privileged by landlords and merchants of Guangdong before 1949, shall be accessed by the working people in Mao’s China as it was in the case of the Beiyuan Restaurant. This first-time experiment of designing gardens for a socialist restaurant enabled Mo Bozhi to formulate a design language of mediation that prepared him for the more important task of designing an international hotel for China’s publicity of its socialist image to the world.

Besides the restaurants that smoothly incorporated garden architecture, Mo was not unknown to designing hotels in Guangzhou based on his work experience in the Maoist era. During the 1960s before the Cultural Revolution, Mo had undertaken the commissions from the

⁶³ Mo Bozhi. *Mo Bozhi Wenji* [Volume of Writings by Mo Bozhi]. (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2012), p.332.

⁶⁴ Zhuang, p.42.

government of Guangzhou to design some “villas” to accommodate state officials and dignitaries. For instance, the Shuangxi (Double Creek) Villa was built inside the Baiyun Mountain in 1963 (Fig.34). He devised a balcony in projection, a hall to enjoy the sight of torrents, a flat roof, and an elevated spatial layout in connection to the staircase. The organization of spaces was unostentatious, and the constituent materials of the villa included not only modern ones like reinforced concrete but also traditional, regional ones like colored glass windows and antique wall shelves.⁶⁵ In addition, Mo already had the experience of designing skyscrapers in the Maoist era prior to the Baiyun Hotel. In the first two years of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1968), Mo and the design committee in charge of Guangzhou’s urban planning worked on the 27-story and 56-meter-tall Guangzhou Hotel to accommodate the international guests of the annual Canton Fairs (Fig.35).⁶⁶ The site of the hotel complex was so compact that the building did not incorporate any garden elements, but this informed Mo’s inchoate conception of skyscraper designs, as his design committee reflected several issues posed by the Guangzhou Hotel, such as absence of green spaces.⁶⁷ By the time Mo had finished this project, it was the most chaotic time ever in the Maoist era and his colleagues Lin Keming and Xia Changshi and their protector Lin Xi were all persecuted by radical leftists. Although Mo was comparably unaffected by the fanatics, he took considerable courage in his completion of the high-rise structure in the peak of the Cultural Revolution.

The commission of the Baiyun Hotel was coeval with increasing communications between China and the western world in the late Maoist era. Since China wished to end the state of isolation

⁶⁵ Zhuang, p.82.

⁶⁶ Guangzhou Urban Planning and Design Committee. “Guangzhou Binguan” [Guangzhou Hotel]. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.2 (1973), pp.18-19.

⁶⁷ Guangzhou Urban Planning and Design Committee. “Guangzhou Binguan” [Guangzhou Hotel]. p.22.

from the capitalist world and the hostile attitude toward it for the sake of rapprochements, China had gradually established diplomatic, political, and cultural contacts with the western nations since the 1970s. In the field of architecture, the thaw of bilateral relations fostered the communication of professionals between China and the western world. Chinese architects who returned to their posts after the surge had the opportunity to travel abroad to learn about the latest architectural movements, and vice versa, the western architects could visit China to unveil the mystery of this socialist country and see how its architecture developed under the leadership of Mao Zedong. The hotels to welcome guests worldwide significantly impressed the foreign visitors. The journalist Michael Mealey went to the Canton Fair in 1973 and observed closely the city's constructed environments. In his report to the US design magazine *Architectural Record*, he wrote "the newest buildings I saw in Canton indicate that Chinese architects are genuinely interested in designing buildings which are more attractive (than the Soviet-influenced design of the '50s) and more up-to-date technologically."⁶⁸ He was impressed most by the hotels in Guangzhou, one of which was the new addition to the Dongfang Hotel then under construction during his visit (Fig.36).⁶⁹ The 11-story addition to the preexisting building was conducted by She Junnan, Mo's colleague, from 1972 to 1974, who also incorporated the garden courtyard into the modernist hotel. Mealey said that the Dongfang Hotel was reminiscent of a western resort hotel and commented as such: "China has an increasing need for modern hotel facilities and is building these on what would seem a modest scale in the United States, but one which was unheard of in the People's Republic."⁷⁰ In 1974, the American Institute of Architects (AIA) organized a tour to Mao's China for a group of

⁶⁸ His words were recorded in Elisabeth Kendall Thompson. "Architecture in the People's Republic of China", *Architectural Record*, no.10 (1973), pp.133-134.

⁶⁹ The Dongfang Hotel was designed by Lin Keming in 1959 based on a Beaux-Arts composition and opened in 1961. The west annex with a modern appearance was designed by She Junnan and built from 1972 to 1974.

⁷⁰ Thompson. "Architecture in the People's Republic of China." p.134.

American architects including I.M. Pei. When in Guangzhou, they stayed in the Dongfang Hotel whose new addition of a very modern appearance was completed already, and they published their photos and positive remarks of the hotel at the *Architectural Record* (Fig.37).⁷¹ Guangzhou's international hotels largely impressed the foreigners with their novelty and similitude to the high-rise resort hotels in the West. The observers like Mealey and those American architects felt clear that buildings in 1970s Guangzhou, symbolized by the hotels in particular, were leading Chinese architecture to a new direction parallel to the West. Mo Bozhi's Baiyun Hotel attests to this trend through his astute negotiations in which he combined the gardens harmoniously with the modern image of this international hotel to echo a coexistence of modernity, regionality, and traditionality.

Four Kilometers from the Canton Fair's exhibition center, the 33-story Baiyun Hotel become once China's tallest skyscraper (112.45 m) and a spotlight of Guangzhou's urban landscapes after 1976 surpassing the Guangzhou Hotel. The site was chosen on a hilly ground, since the surroundings included urban green spaces plus a well-qualified topography to stably buttress a skyscraper. In addition, unlike the Guangzhou Hotel, the selection of the site on the Huanshi East Road of the Taojin Region did not necessitate demolition of civic buildings, thus making the construction start smoothly, without disturbing residents.⁷² Mo Bozhi, with the support of Lin Xi, incorporated design of the Cantonese gardens throughout the ground level of the hotel complex. Mo divided configuration into three layers by a linear sequence: the front garden (*qianting*), the central garden (*zhongting*), and the rear garden (*houting*), all surrounding the main tower: The front garden sophisticatedly combined a parking area, the hill, a manmade pool, stones,

⁷¹ Wagner, Walter. "Today in China," *Architectural Record*, no.9, (1974), p.116.

⁷² Mo Bozhi. *Mo Bozhi Wenji* [Volume of Writings by Mo Bozhi], pp. 125-126. The site is across from the Huaqiao New Village complex.

and trees, which provided a serene atmosphere to impress international guests.⁷³ Once they pass the entrance gate by walking up the hill across a bridge, they find themselves at the intersection between the west-east and south-north axes (Fig.38&39). The central garden is situated in the right of the west-east axis which extends from the staircase in the left (west) to the courtyard garden in the right (east) and finally reaches three old banyan trees. The south-north axis goes straightforwardly from the entrance into an inner garden behind the elevator hall (Fig.40&41). The banyan and other trees had naturally existed *in situ* before the design committee selected this site for the hotel. Mo adhered to utilitarian adaptability inherent in Cantonese garden designs, so he preserved the banyan trees by building gardens around them and confirming the spatial layout of not only the ground level but the complex at large. The linear but unpredictable sequence of motion inside and outside the tower presents guests rhythms, dynamics, and greenery, alternating between images of elegant Cantonese gardens and a spacious international hotel in expectation for China's future that embraces both modern ideas and preserves traditional and regional cultures. The garden elements are also present on upper levels as greeneries. For instance, the lounges are equipped with *penjing* (tray sceneries), paintings of natural landscapes, and green windscreens (Fig.42); the suite rooms even have an artificial pond with rocks and a landscape painting on the wall as a backdrop (Fig.43). So, it was the garden making by Mo Bozhi that guests would feel as if they are staying at not only a skyscraper hotel but also a traditional Cantonese garden.

According to Mo Bozhi, it is suitable to build gardens in Guangdong's unpleasantly hot and humid climates, but over history they were accessible only to the rich instead of the proletariat.

⁷³ Charlie Xue and Ding Guanghui. *A History of Design Institutes In China: From Mao to Market*, p.64.

By combining gardens with public architectures, Mo claimed in an article that “garden architectures” could therefore benefit the working people in terms of their wellbeing; and that privilege of the bourgeoisie could now be available to Chinese people (and to the global guests in the case of the international hotels). Furthermore, in response to the socialist causes of the Chinese government, Mo underscored the functional aspect of what he called “organic” garden architectures to cater to the public demands effectively in terms of entertainment and pleasure. For instance, he argued that the front garden of the Baiyun Hotel preserved woods and a pool to ward off acoustic and visual disturbances, respectively. According to his rhetoric, he would like to unearth functional as well as aesthetic merits of the Cantonese gardens to facilitate socialist development in Guangzhou and simultaneously abolish any ornamental contents that are in nature remnants of “feudal, bourgeois, and reactionary” values. Mo negotiated the formal expressions of Cantonese gardens with the contemporary demands of the authorities to serve the public, in a dialectical approach to creating socialist garden architecture in Guangzhou devoid of any features inappropriate to socialist causes in Maoist-era China.

In addition to insertion of many motifs of Cantonese gardens into the hotel, Mo Bozhi smoothly accomplished this mission sponsored by the state with inclusion of the design fashion outside Mao’s China. In 1972, the local authorities organized a trip for some Cantonese architects to tour Hong Kong. This event was confirmed by Mealey, who mentioned this in his report to the *Architectural Record*.⁷⁴ Song Ke and Zhu Jianfei assume that they did visit its landmark hotels such as Hilton, Mandarin, Hyatt Regency, and Empress.⁷⁵ If so, they would have learned a lot from

⁷⁴ Elisabeth Kendall Thompson. “Architecture in the People’s Republic of China.” p. 134.

⁷⁵ Song Ke and Zhu Jianfei. “The Architectural Influence of the United States in Mao’s China (1949–1976),” p.348.

modernist hotel design. While they might ponder how they could transform the superiority of the US hegemony in the modernist skyscraper hotels into a sense of Chinese identities, they must have understood that functions remained a priority to the skyscraper international hotels and that after returning to Guangzhou they aimed to catch up with Hong Kong and the West through the Baiyun Hotel, despite budget tightness and lack of sophisticated devices. The hotel includes lobbies and halls, guestrooms, and kitchens as three primary components that serve the guests on a daily basis. For the guestrooms on the standard floor, Mo highlighted neatness and simplicity based on horizontality: A service desk is in the middle of each horizontal level on the corner next to the elevator hall, so the circulation for both the guests and the staff is much convenient. Mo took into account several issues of the kitchens: ventilation, drainage, refrigeration, and sanitation, each of which factors into details of interior design, manifest in his written report.⁷⁶ The report also suggests that Mo had been very familiar with hotel design in Hong Kong, because the design of Baiyun Hotel has the guestroom section account for 54.9 percent of the total area, and Mo explained to his colleagues in that report that this section usually takes only 50 percent in western hotels because their restaurants and conference rooms occupies more spaces.⁷⁷ Although what he observed might not be the norm, still it clearly reflects that the trip to Hong Kong made him consider what international hotels should look like based on international standards.

In terms of economic considerations, Mo discreetly controlled costs all the time when in confrontation of technical issues. To avoid using expensive lamps like chandeliers, Mo selected exposed light fixtures or other cheap alternatives; workers installed cantilevers out of the outer

⁷⁶ Mo Bozhi, *Mo Bozhi Wenji* [Volume of Writings by Mo Bozhi], pp. 127-128.

⁷⁷ Mo, p.127.

wall level by level so that it was made far more convenient to address issues regarding repairs, cleanings, rainproofs, and sun shadings; to simplify structures, the tower did not install expansion joints, and instead Mo switched to bored piles into the soil for geological concerns.⁷⁸ All these measures manifest his adherence to the principle of “appropriate, economy, and if possible, aesthetics,” given the economic situation, and laid a safe and utilitarian foundation for him to finalize the project with aesthetics derived from regional cultures. Leftists doubted that he conformed to socialist principles, because verticality reminded people of American skyscrapers as a capitalist product. Mo shrewdly replied to the suspicion by saying that verticality helped shade and keep off the rain, and therefore there was nothing wrong with his design that he claimed to be politically correct, according to his wise strategy of negotiation.⁷⁹

The Baiyun Hotel was the highest achievement of Mo Bozhi during the Maoist era. His negotiation of architectural languages in this state agenda of showcasing socialist Guangzhou’s positive images to the world provided him with flexibility. Unfortunately, however, the gardens on the ground floor have been demolished to give space to the shopping mall nowadays. Mo Bozhi’s suave mediations of the architectural languages in this international hotel’s construction brought him both reputation and experience based on which Mo was commissioned by the government after 1978 to design the White Swan Hotel, one of the most significant landmarks in reform-era Guangzhou. The *Architectural Record* commented: “China’s architects, in turning to foreign models, are as yet unaware that to achieve a higher order of art and architecture, the contemporary expression must derive from indigenous sources, based in culture, history and

⁷⁸ Mo. p.125.

⁷⁹ Song Ke. “Political Ideology and the Production of Architectural Theories in Mao’s China (1949–1976),” p.11.

tradition, and in freedoms not now theirs.”⁸⁰ This critique was untrue for the Cantonese architects. Mo was already conscious of the “indigenous sources” and took advantage of them to design the contemporary buildings. Although his freedom in design was surely restricted, he would strive for it as much as possible through negotiation of architectural languages in a reserved way. If this commentator paid a visit to the Baiyun Hotel in 1976, such feedback could not have been given.

Conclusion

This thesis focuses on the architectural practices of three Cantonese architects through respective analysis of their representative works in Maoist-era Guangzhou. Lin Keming, Xia Changshi, and Mo Bozhi contributed significantly to evolution of the constructed environments during the Maoist period, and their design projects effectively fulfilled those social demands put forward by the state and its authorities as their leaders and commissioners. Due to the scope of this thesis, it is infeasible to introduce all the architects of Maoist-era Guangzhou and their buildings in this city. Selection of Lin, Xia, and Mo for the case studies corroborates that the architects made their efforts to define a distinct urban landscape of Guangzhou with their unique buildings, as opposed to the stereotype that the architectural activities in Mao’s Guangzhou remained stagnant. More importantly, the spatial and formal analyses of the buildings by three architects can help expound the notion of negotiations or mediation as a strategy, characteristic of their careers during the Maoist era, to fulfil the state principle of “economy, appropriateness, and if possible, aesthetics.”

⁸⁰ Thompson, p.133.

In the thesis, the architectural language is defined as the assorted elements the architects needed to consider and decide throughout their designing processes. It can also be construed as products of *architecture parlante* – what architecture can “speak” to audience in terms of functions and identities. So, styles, motifs, materials, and building technologies all fall into this definition because they can be adopted to study the functions and the identities of the selected buildings and discover the motives of the designers in each case. Suave negotiation of the architectural languages means in this thesis that the architects mediated them flexibly in a way that their design could satisfy state requirements without becoming undesirable in the eye of the authorities.

Although the thesis examines Guangzhou’s architectural practices in the Maoist era, a reference to the modern movement of the Cantonese architects in the 1930s is necessary because of the link between the activities in the Republican era and those after 1949. So, the thesis has a background introduction of the 1930s movement and at some points discusses the pre-1949 activities in the case studies. The urban housing reforms and the spread of modern architectural thoughts to Guangzhou intrigued the architects to embrace modernism and foster modern architectural education in China as manifested by the *Xin Jianzhu* magazines. After 1949, when political circumstances terminated the pre-1949 civil societies, from which these architects produced modernist thoughts, and China’s connection to the western world in terms of cultural communication, the accumulation of knowledge in the 1930s had already enriched the architects’ minds and cultivated their design skills so that the architects still had recourse to theoretical support fundamental to their works. This phenomenon was the most noticeable in the case of Lin Keming,

manifested by his buildings and writings in the 1930s, although Xia and Mo were clearly in touch with the modern fashions simultaneously. They left few buildings and writings with respect to modernism before 1949, so the connections cannot be proved to be as direct as Lin's case is. The modernist movements of the International Style were absent and downgraded in Mao's China and these projects could not be regarded as products of the International Style despite utilitarianism, but the socialist buildings in Guangzhou with their diverse design languages would more or less absorb some modernist principles, reservedly linked to the 1930s movement.

Such negotiations of architectural languages with the requirements of the state or the authorities suggest that the architects normally enhanced the utilitarian functions of the state-commissioned building projects with the architectural languages they adopted as creative and innovative expressions of architecture in Guangzhou. Lin Keming designed several types of elegant but plain balconies for the single-family houses at the Huaqiao New Village so that the returning emigrant families could have more open spaces for family pleasures. The state would like to see the *guiqiao* residents enjoy their life in Guangzhou; Xia Changshi experimented the prefabricated shading panels on the facades and the arched insulation layer over the roofs. In this regard, the public facilities could be cool and comfortable to stay in, so the authorities could favor such construction of the buildings Xia devised in the hope that they could serve the public and save expenditures successfully; Mo Bozhi's fascination with Cantonese gardens brought to light his dialectical notion that the gardens as a premodern heritage could be transformed into a socialist pleasure to people in a universal sense. This enabled Mo to add the gardens to the lobby of a modernist, high-rise, and international hotel to visually strike and please the international guests.

Furthermore, the architects' negotiations of their architectural languages were always associated with the state doctrines and policies, from which they sought out flexible space of mediation without many restrictions. Rejection of the Stalinist aesthetics and the Beaux-Arts oriented national form Liang Sicheng once championed enabled Mo and Xia in mid and late 1950s to depart from the classical style and inserted some modern features into the buildings. They never endorsed the Beaux-Arts pedagogy and application to practices. Thus, the shift of state aesthetics favored their designs. The Huaqiao New Village was a product of the CCP-made propaganda to attract the overseas Chinese back to the home country and obtain financial resources, so the government would temporarily acquiesce the capitalist lifestyle of the returning emigrants within the enclave of the Huaqiao New Village during the 1950s. The fact that the residents could still maintain a bourgeois mode of life ensured Lin's adoption of the neat and plain modern style with diverse unflamboyant motifs. They refined the visual appearances of different types of residences in resemblance to the 1930s modern houses. Xia Changshi's engagement with climate-related building technologies echoed the circumstance under which the nation demanded speedy construction of infrastructures but had economic difficulties in investing high-quality ones. Xia's unique application of such building technologies gave rise to comforts of the buildings against the unpleasantly hot and humid climates in subtropical Guangzhou. In this respect, he improved the housing quality while saving a lot of money for this newly-founded underdeveloped socialist country. Mo Bozhi's smooth and shrewd negotiations of the architectural languages at the Baiyun Hotel resulted primarily from the nation's foreign relation agenda to create a friendly atmosphere with the western world. He could thus build a high-rise modern international hotel undoubtedly despite some leftist criticisms during the ongoing Cultural Revolution. Also, he enjoyed an

opportunity to visit Hong Kong to study modern architecture due to this shift in China's Cold War geopolitics. The Chinese hotels were a must-go place for foreigners exploring China in the 1970s, so the beautiful Cantonese gardens could largely impress them and the state's expectation in foreign relations could be met architecturally. In terms of patronage in a Maoist-era context, Lin Xi as an enlightened bureaucrat permitted their creativity and protected them from political and ideological entanglement with leftist criticisms. He was a key figure in the processes of negotiations. For research in the future, relationships between architects and officials or bureaucrats should be further studied, because official patronage in the sense of the socialist country should be vital to shed more light on mechanisms of negotiations and mediations.

Eventually, this thesis adds to current literatures on Maoist-era architecture in Guangzhou, highlighting the strategies of architects in this metropolis in the form of reserved negotiation. This conception could be used as a tool to assess other Cantonese architects, like She Junnan, and their building projects in Guangzhou during the Maoist period. In addition, it could be applied to people involved in constructions other than architects and the enlightened bureaucrats like Lin Xi. For instance, structural engineers in cooperation with the architects matter as well to the study of the buildings because they helped the architects realize the creative compositions with their engineering expertise to ensure structural qualification of the low-cost buildings. Moreover, the design patterns and strategies of the Cantonese architects explored by this thesis could be connected to their activities in the reform era after 1978. Some architects retired or halted their architectural practices in the post-Maoist era, whereas others still worked at the forefront of urban civic constructions until the millennium. Mo Bozhi, for instance, continued to design several landmark buildings across Guangzhou in the 1980s and the 1990s and opened his own firm in 1995

following the wave of booming markets in the turn of the last century. Thus, these Cantonese architects like Mo proceeded in the post-Maoist era their ceaseless contributions to improving the urban image with their buildings all over the city that are still in use today. It is intriguing to see how the architects, freed from political burdens and embracing diverse architectural thoughts such as postmodernism, critical regionalism, deconstructivism, etc., could display their architectural languages explicitly, when the city was on the frontier of China's economic reforms and international communications during the rest of the 20th century and well into the 21st century. In other words, it is rewarding to unearth any unique creativities camouflaged by mediations and compromises from the projects of the Maoist era and to examine how they continued to guide the architects' design principles in terms of their confluences with any fresh ideas, thoughts, and technologies that arrived in China after 1978. Moreover, this history of the Cantonese architects working in Guangzhou during different historical periods with their different architectural influences could be regarded as an example based upon which to study the architects practicing in other regions of China over the course of the last century, because the architects might cope with regional identities, architectural thoughts from abroad, and political influences from the central government over time. Such a phenomenon regarding the constructed environments of the metropolis could be analyzed in the multidimensional contexts of architectural, political, social, and cultural histories each region of China experienced in its own ways.

Bibliography

Baiyun Hotel Design Team, “Guangzhou Baiyun Binguan” [Guangzhou White Cloud Hotel], *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no. 3 (1977), pp. 18–23.

Chan, Shelly. *Diaspora's Homeland: Modern China In the Age of Global Migration*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2018.

Chan, Sylvia. “Constructing Chineseness: Translations of Architecture into Modern China From the Mid-nineteenth Century to 1949.” PhD Dissertation, Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong, 2018.

Chen, Jianyi. “Guangzhou Huaqiao xincun jianshe fazhan yanjiu” [Study on Construction and Development of the Huaqiao New Village in Guangzhou]. MA Thesis, Guangzhou: South China University of Technology, 2012

Farris, Johnathan. *Enclave to Urbanity Canton, Foreigners, and Architecture From the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016.

Guangzhou huaqiao xincun bianjizu, *Guangzhou huaqiao xincun* [Guangzhou overseas Chinese new village]. Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 1959.

Guangzhou Urban Planning and Design Committee, Guangzhou Binguan [Guangzhou Hotel]. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.2 (1973), pp.18-22.

Hu, Jinrong. *Jianzhujia Lin Keming* [Lin Keming the Architect]. Guangzhou: South China University of Technology Press, 2013.

Huo, Ran. “guoji jianzhu yu minzu xingshi – lun xin zhongguo xin jianzhu di xing de jianli” [International Architecture and National Form – On Establishment of Forms of New Architecture in New China], *Xin Jianzhu*, no.1 (1941), pp.9-11.

Huo, Yunhe. “Xiandai de dushi jihe zhuju” [Modern Urban Collective Housings], *Xin Jianzhu*, no.5&6 (1937), pp.1-16.

Kögel, Eduard. “Between Reform and Modernism: Xia Changshi and Germany,” *Nanfang Jianzhu* [South Architecture], no.2 (2010), pp.16-29.

Lai, Delin. “Renewing, Remapping, and Redefining Guangzhou, 1910s-1930s.” in Purtle, Jennifer and Hans Bjarne Thomsen. *Looking Modern: East Asian Visual Culture From Treaty Ports to World War II*. Chicago: Center for the Art of East Asia, University of Chicago, 2009, pp.140-168.

Lin, Fan. “Renmin yaoqiu jianzhushi zhankai piping he ziwo piping” [People are asking architects to start critiques and self-criticisms]. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.2 (1954), pp.122-124.

Lin, Keming. “Guanyu jianzhu fengge de jige wenti” [Some Issues on Architectural Styles]. *Jianzhu Xuebao*. no.8 (1961), pp.1-4.

Lin, Keming. “Guoji xinjianzhu huiyi shizhounian jinian ganyan 1928-1938” [Comments on the 10th Anniversary of the First CIAM Congress 1928-1938], *Xin Jianzhu*, no.7 (1938), pp.1-6.

Lin, Keming. “Shenmo Shi Modeng Jianzhu” [What Is Modern Architecture], *Guangdong Shengli Gongzhuan Xiaokan* [Journal of Guangdong Provincial School of Engineering], 1933, pp.88-92.

Lin, Keming. *Shi Ji Hui Gu: Lin Keming Hui Yi Lu* [Retrospect of the Century: Biography of Lin Keming]. Guangzhou: Guangzhou Jun Qu Si Ling Bu Yin Shua.1995.

Lin, Keming. “Tantan dushi jihua wenti” [On Urban Planning Issues]. *Gongcheng Jikan* [Engineering Quarterly], no.3 (1932), pp.45-48.

Lin, Keming. “Wo dui zhankai baijia zhengming de jidian yijian” [My Suggestions on the Hundred Flowers Campaign]. *Jianzhu Xuebao* no.6 (1956), pp.50-51.

Lin, Zhaozhang. *Lin Zhaozhang jianzhu chuanguo shougao* [Manuscripts of Architectural Works by Lin Zhaozhang], Beijing: China International Culture Press, 1997.

Peng, Changxin. “Diyu Zhuyi yu Xianshi Zhuyi: Xia Changshi de Xiandai Jianzhu Gouxiang,” [Regionalism and Realism: Xia Changshi’s Ideas on Modern Architecture in China]. *Nanfang Jianzhu* [South Architecture], no.2 (2010), pp.36-41.

Peng, Changxin. *Xiandai Xing Difang Xing—Lingnan Chengshi yu Jianzhu de Difang Zhuanxing* [Modernity and Regionality – Modern Transformation of Cantonese Cities and Architectures]. Shanghai: Tongji University Press, 2012.

Roskam, Cole. *Designing Reform: Architecture In the People's Republic of China, 1970-1992*. Princeton, New Jersey: Yale University Press, 2021.

Shao, Song and Qiao, Jiansong. *Lingnan Jin Xiandai Jianshu 1949-1979* [Modern Cantonese Architecture, 1949-1979]. Guangzhou: South China University of Technology Press. 2013.

Song, Ke and Zhu Jianfei. "The Architectural Influence of the United States in Mao's China (1949–1976)," *Fabrications*, vol 26, no. 3 (2016), DOI: 10.1080/10331867.2016.1245126, pp.337-356.

Song, Ke. "Political Ideology and the Production of Architectural Theories in Mao's China (1949–1976)," *Architectural Histories*, vol 6, no.1 (2018), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5334/ah.307>, pp.1-15.

Tan, Jian and Tan, Xiaoling. *Jianshu jia Xia Changshi* [The Architect Xia Changshi]. Guangzhou: South China University of Technology Press, 2012.

Tang, Guohua. "Xia shi zheyang yu lingnan jianshu fangre" [Xia Changshi's Sunshades and Lingnan Architectural Heat proofness] *Xin Jianshu* [New Architecture]. no.6 (2005), pp.17-20.

Thompson, Elisabeth Kendall, "Architecture in the People's Republic of China", *Architectural Record*. no.10 (1973), pp.127-134.

Tsin, Michael. "Canton Remapped" in. *Remaking the Chinese City: Modernity and National Identity, 1900-1950*, ed. Esherick, Joseph. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000. pp.19-29.

Vogel, Ezra F.. *Canton Under Communism: Programs and Politics In a Provincial Capital, 1949-1968*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969.

Wagner, Walter. "Today in China," *Architectural Record*, no.9 (1974), pp.111-124.

Wu, Yujiang and Mo, Xu. *Mo Bozhi Dashi Jianzhu Chuangzuo Shijian Yu Linian* [Mo Bozhi: Architectural Creation, Practice, and Philosophy]. Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2014

Xia, Changshi, Mo, Bozhi, and Zeng, Zhaofen. *Lingnan Tingyuan* [Cantonese Gardens], Beijing: Architecture and Building Press, 2008.

Xia, Changshi. "Ya Re Dai Jianzhu de Jiangwen Wenti – Zheyang. Gere. Tongfeng" [Issues on Temperature Reduction for Subtropical Architecture: Sun Shading, Heat Insulation, and Ventilation]. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.10 (1958), pp.36-40.

Xue, Charlie Q. L. and Guanghui Ding. *A History of Design Institutes In China: From Mao to Market*. New York: Routledge, 2018.

Zeng, Zhaofen. “Epilogue” in Xia, Changshi, Mo, Bozhi, and Zeng Zhaofen, *Lingnan Tingyuan* [Cantonese Gardens], Beijing: Architecture and Building Press, 2008. pp.259-262.

Zhai, Lilin. “Lun jianzhu yishu yu mei ji minzu xingshi” [On Art and Beauty of Architecture and National Form]. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.1 (1955), pp.46-68.

Zhao, Pingyuan. “Jianzhu yu jianzhujia: chuncui zhuyi zhe Le Corbusier zhi jieshao” [Architecture and Architects: Introduction of Le Corbusier the Purist]. *Xin Jianzhu*, no.1 (1936), pp.20-23.

Zhu, Jianfei. “Opening the Concept of Critical Architecture: The Case of Modern China and the Issue of the State,” in *Non West Modernist Past: On Architecture & Modernities*, ed. William S. W. Lim and Jiat-Hwee Chang. Singapore: World Scientific Publications, 2012, pp.105-116.

Zhu, Pu. “Guangzhou Huaqiao Xincun” (Guangzhou’s Huaqiao New Village), *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.2 (1957), pp.17-37.

Zhuang, Shaopang. “Mo Bozhi Jianzhu Chuangzuo Licheng Ji Sixiang Yanjiu” [Research on Architectural Creation and Thought of Mo Bozhi]. PhD Dissertation. Guangzhou: South China University of Technology, 2011.

Illustrations



Fig. 1 *Dr Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall, designed by Lyu Yanzhi in 1929. Political and National Icon of Guangzhou*

Guangzhou Dr.Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall. Xinhua Net. Accessed February 17, 2022.
http://www.xinhuanet.com/travel/2017-08/10/c_1121461292.htm.



Fig. 2 *Pingmin Gong (Civilian Palace)* designed by *Lin Keming* from 1929 to 1931

Photo Collected by the Sun-Yat Sen Library of Guangdong Province, Guangzhou, China



Fig. 3 *Engineering Building of the Xiangqin University by Lin Keming in 1935*

Xiangqin University 廣東省立勸勤大學教務處, *Overview*

of Guangdong Provincial Xiangqin University 廣東省立勸勤大學概覽, 1937.

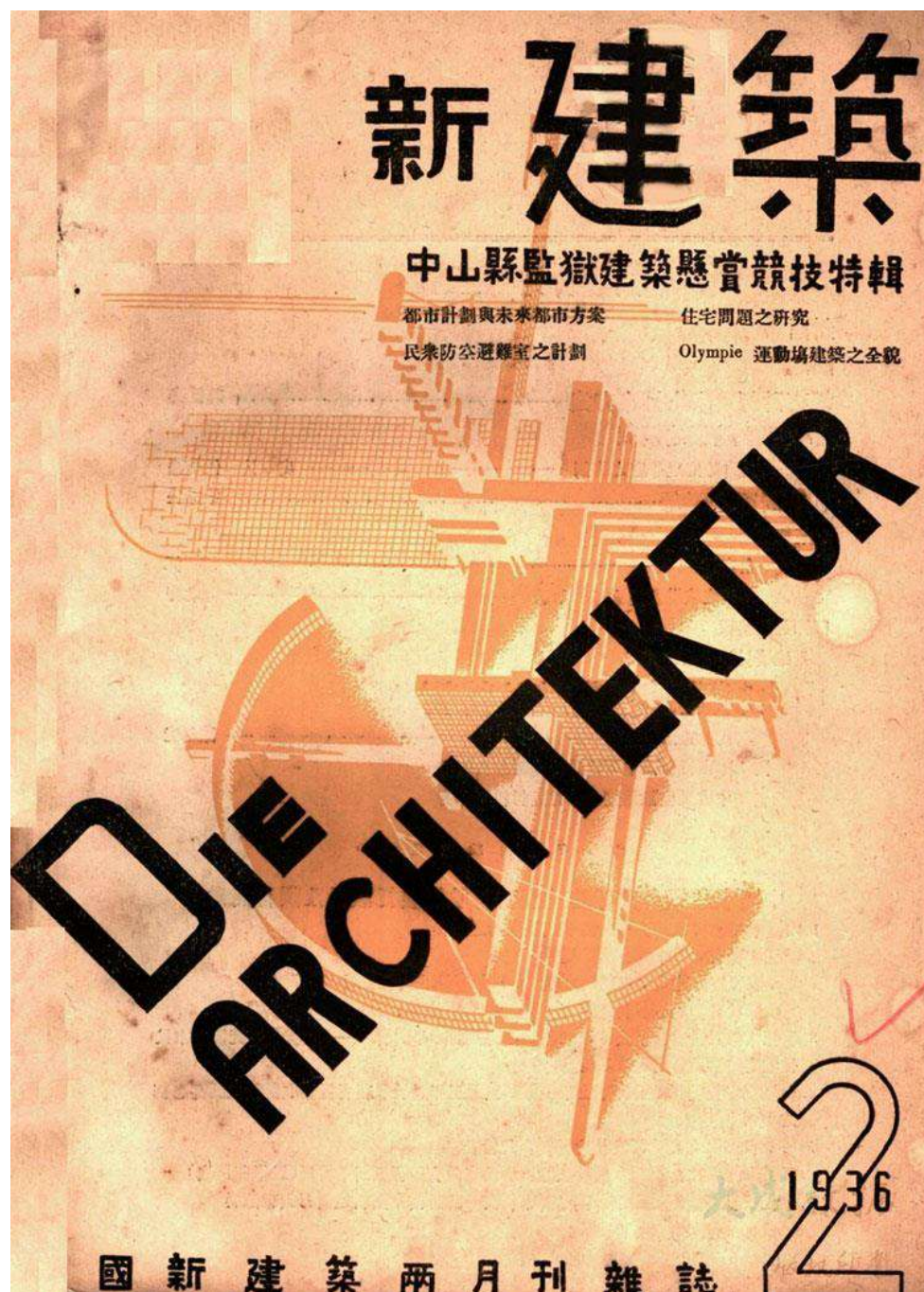
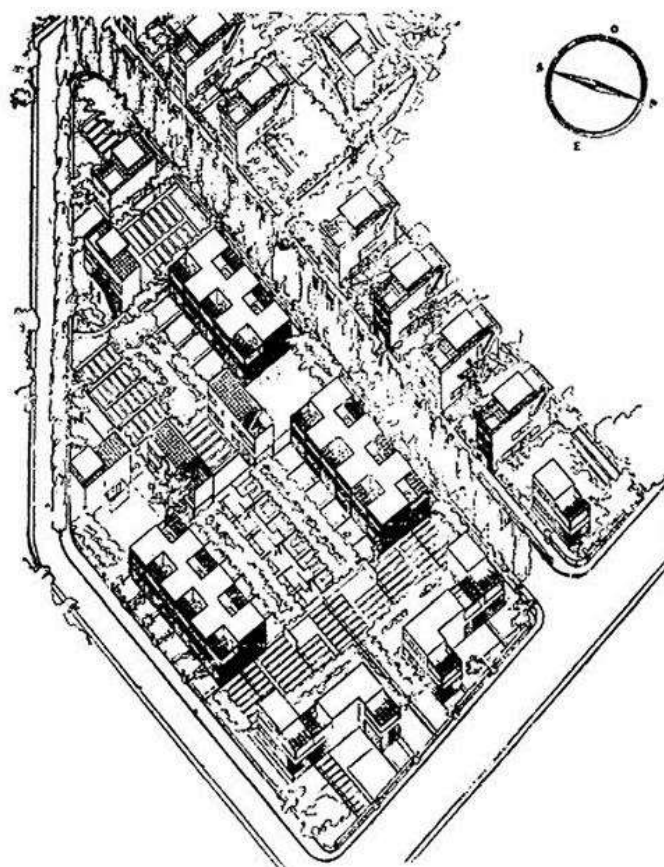


Fig. 4 Cover Page of the Xin Jianzhu Magazine, Issue No. 2, 1936.

Archive Collected by the Sun-Yat Sen Library of Guangdong Province, Guangzhou, China

各國對於都市住宅地的整理計劃和實例



(1) 法國 Pe-sac 住宅區計劃。

建築家 Le Corbusier B. Pierre Jeannerat 氏計劃，此計劃的住宅本身和住宅地環境有同樣重視，採用蜂巢式住宅，每幢 100 方碼有 50 方碼的懸式花園，全部為雙三層樓(即六層)，住宅路寬 400 碼。

(2) 德國 Leinhausen 停車場附近的集團小住區。

建築家 Paul Wolf, Hannover. 氏計劃。

(黑色部份)是已着手建設的平房住宅。

(黑線部份)是現在計劃中的。

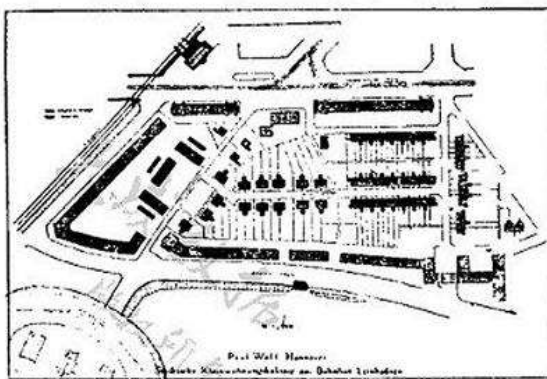


Fig. 5: Xin Jianzhu introducing Le Corbusier's community planning project in France

Xin Jianzhu Magazine, Issues 5 and 6, 1937, p.3. Archive Collected by the by the Sun Yat-Sen Library of Guangdong Province, Guangzhou, China

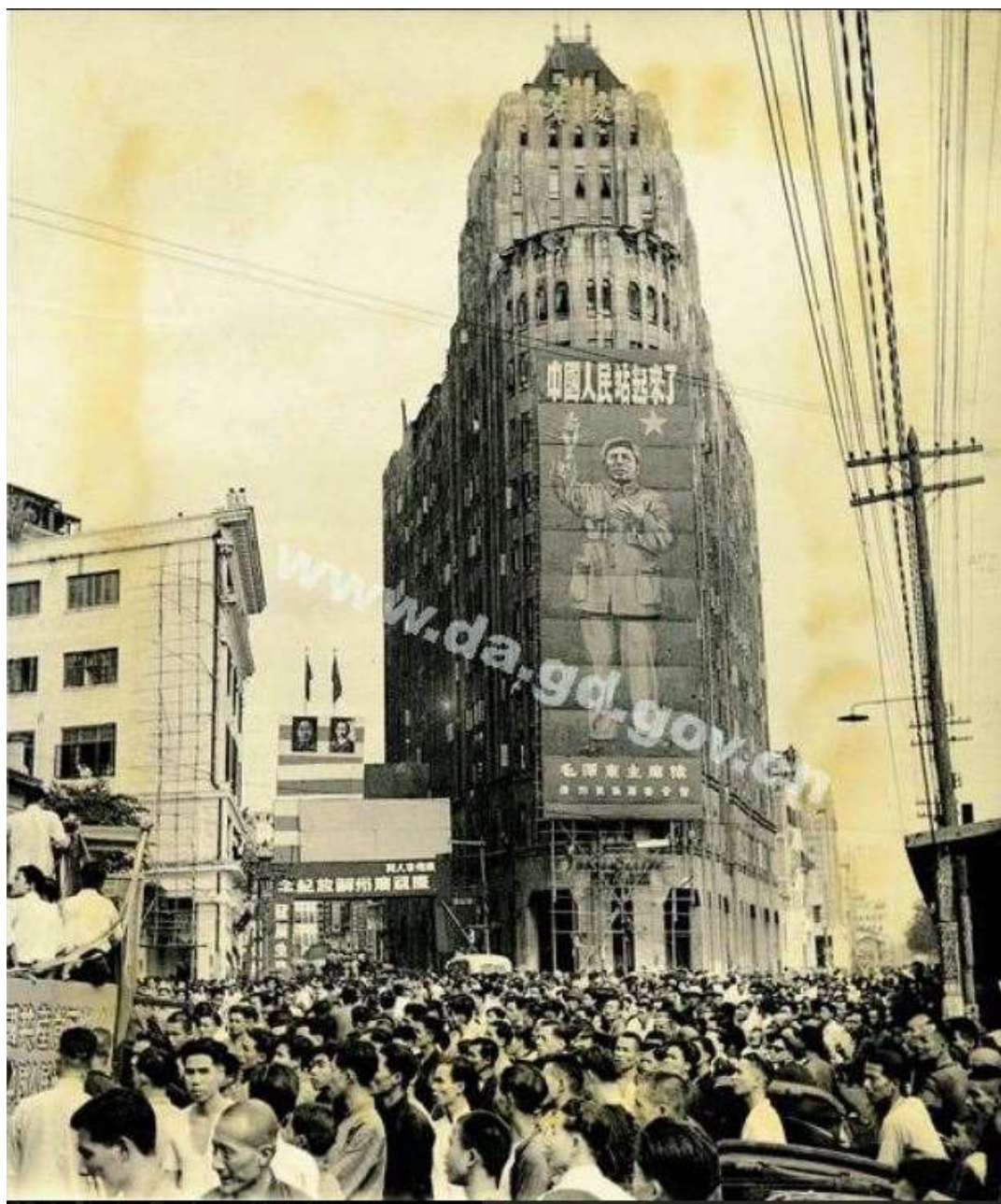


Fig.6 Liberation of Guangzhou: Crowd in Front of the Aiqun Hotel with a Full-length Portrait of Mao Zedong, Oct 1949

Photo Collected by Guangzhou Archives Bureau

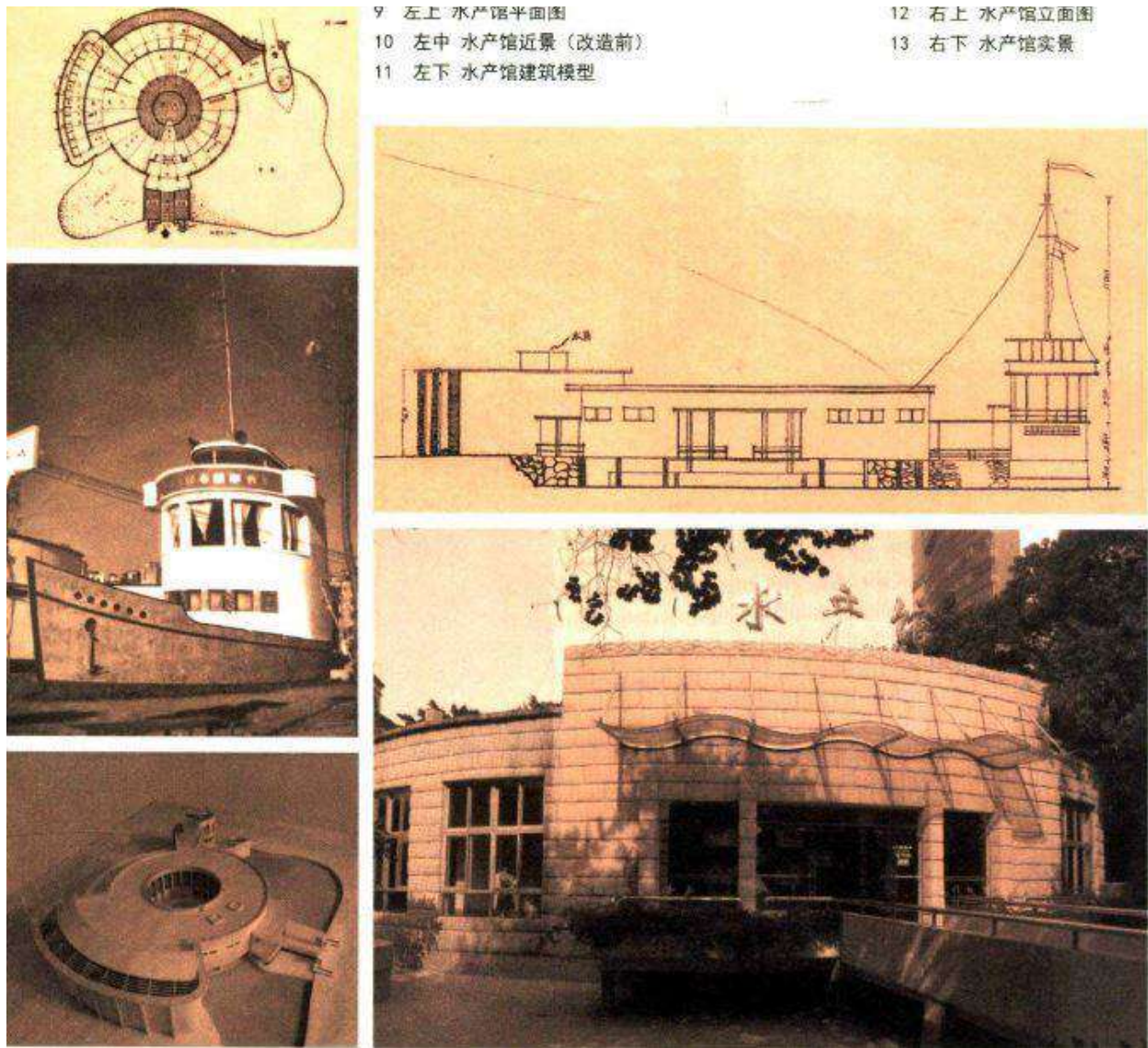


Fig. 7: Aquarium by Xia Changshi in 1951 (From Upper Left Counterclockwise: Plan, Original Appearance, Model, Facade, and Current Appearance)

Plan, Façade, and Model of the Controversial Aquarium for the Specialty Fair by Xia Changshi

Shao, Song and Qiao, Jiansong. *Lingnan Jin Xiandai Jianzhu 1949-1979* [Modern Cantonese Architecture, 1949-1979]. Guangzhou: South China University of Technology Press. 2013. p.36.

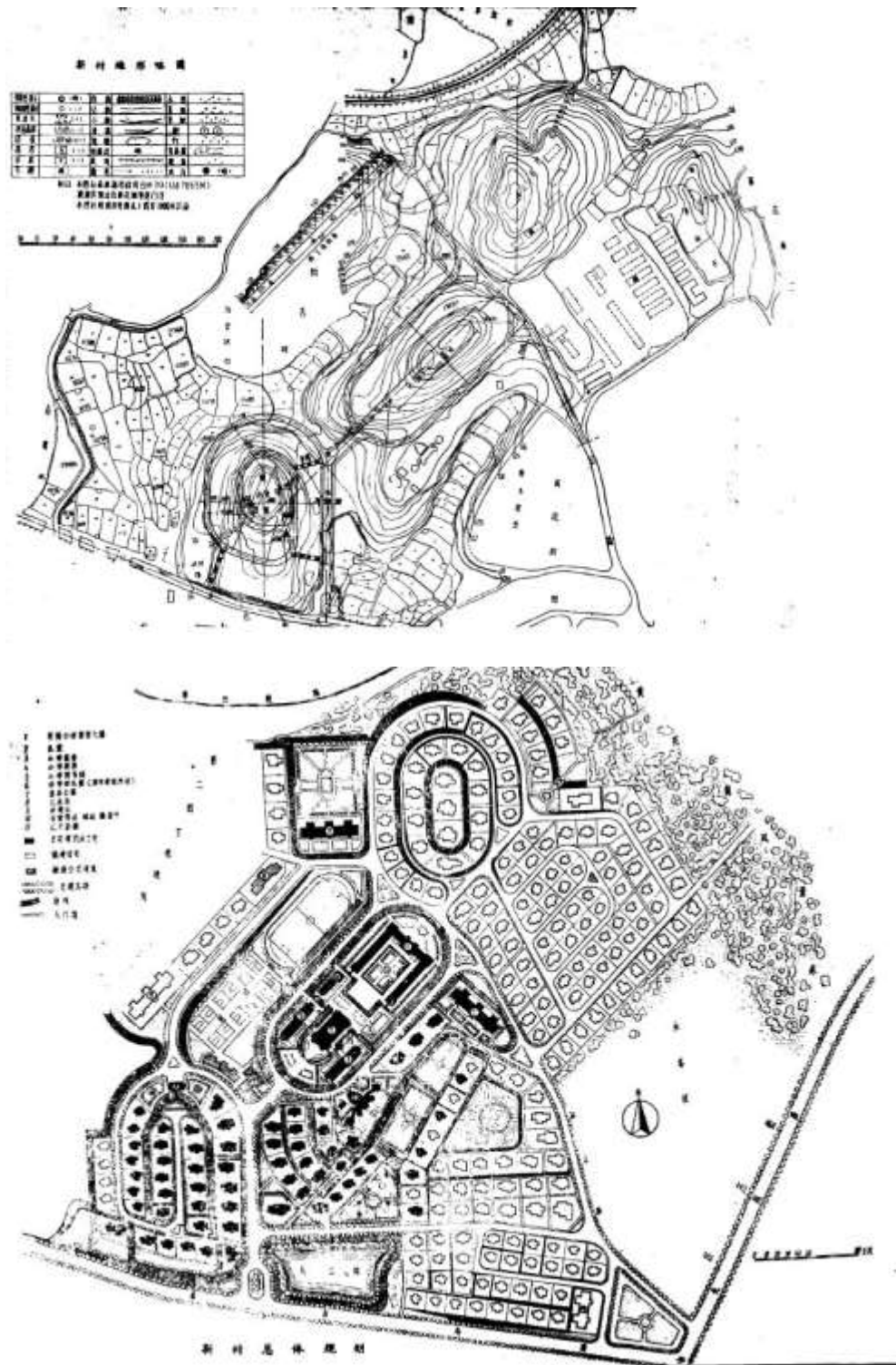


Fig.8 Terrain Map (Top) and Plan (Bottom) of the Huaqiao New Village, Designed and Built in 1954 and completed in 1958 by Lin Keming and his Design Committee.

Zhu, Pu. "Guangzhou Huaqiao Xincun" [Guangzhou's Huaqiao New Village], *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.2 (1957), pp.20-21.

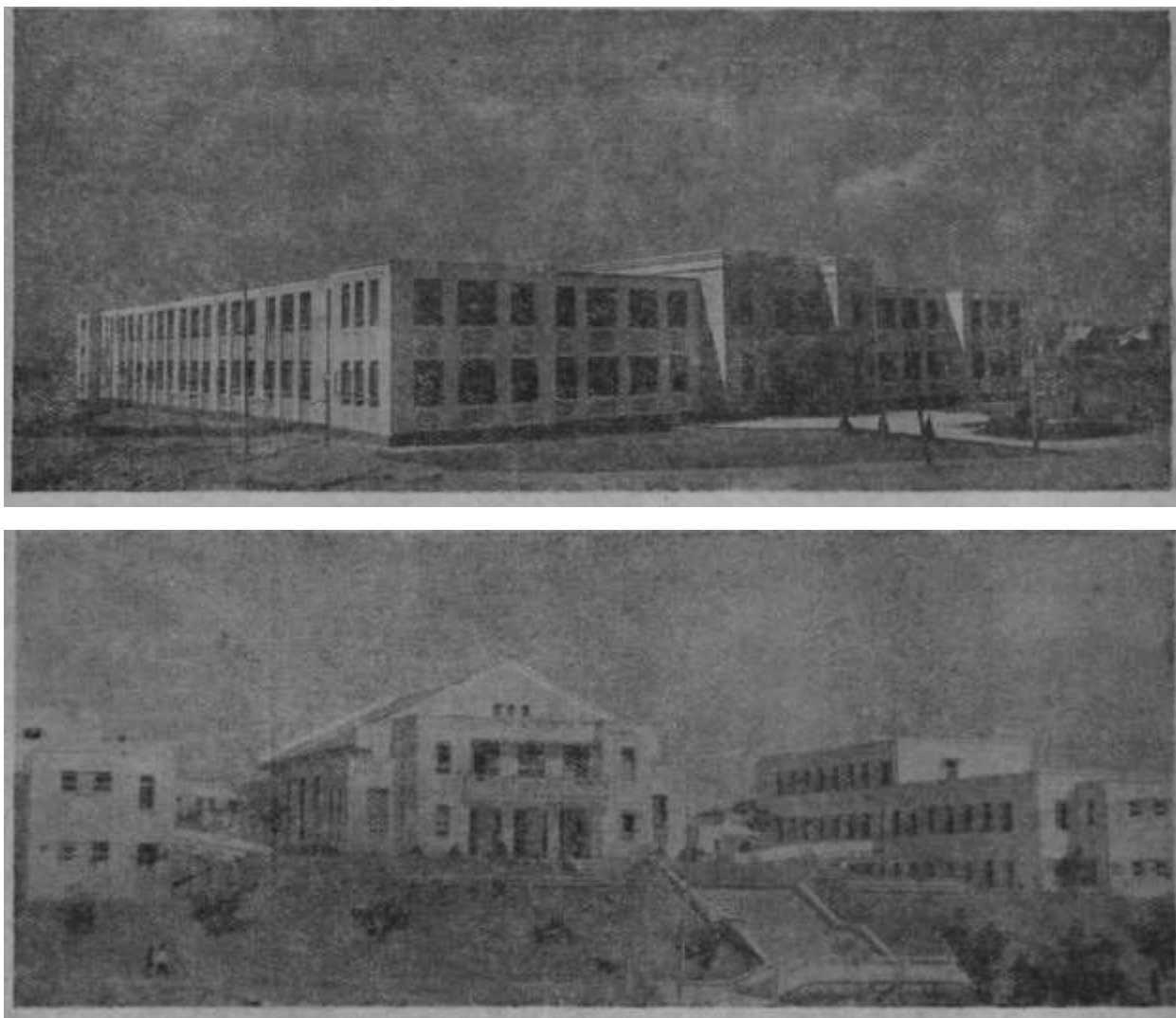


Fig.9: *Elementary School: The Main Building for Classes (Top); the Auditorium and the Dormitories (Bottom)*

Zhu, Pu. "Guangzhou Huaqiao Xincun" [Guangzhou's Huaqiao New Village], *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.2 (1957), p.37.



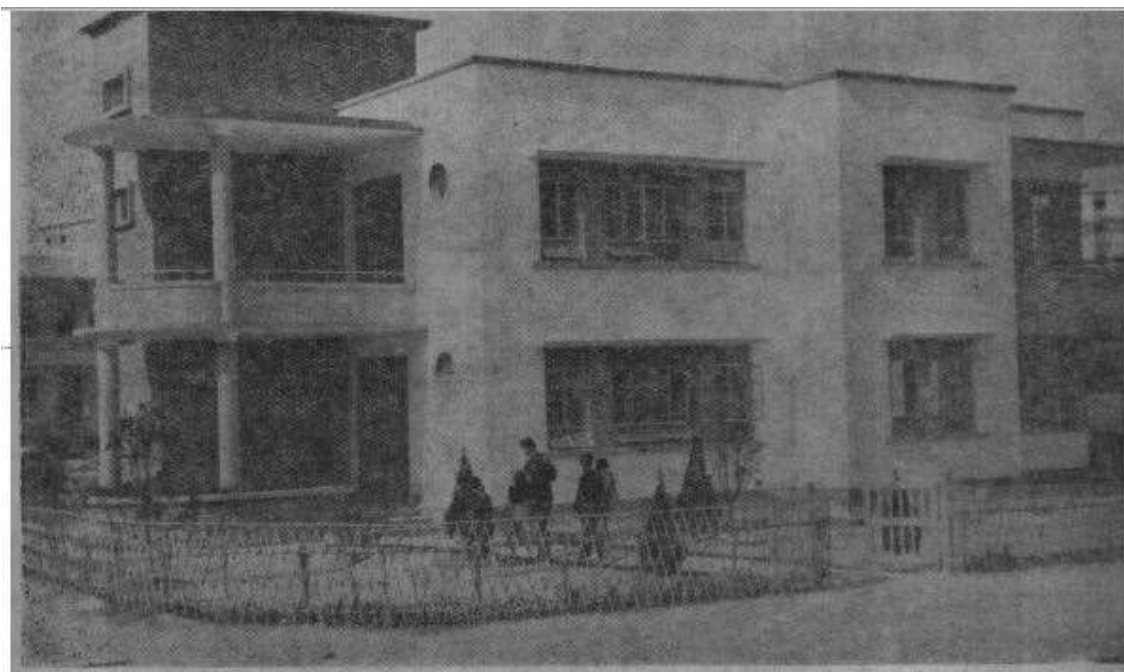
Fig 10: *Community Dining Hall at the Huaqiao New Village*

Guangzhou huaqiao xincun bianjizu, *Guangzhou huaqiao xincun* [Guangzhou overseas Chinese new village]. Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 1959. pp.84-85.

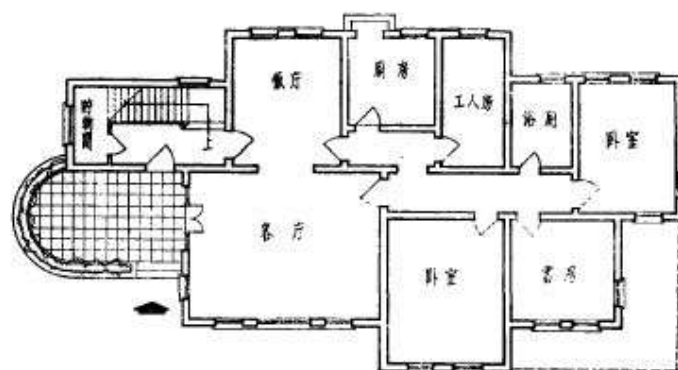


Fig.11 *Meandering Roads for Pedestrians (Left) and Vehicles (Right)*

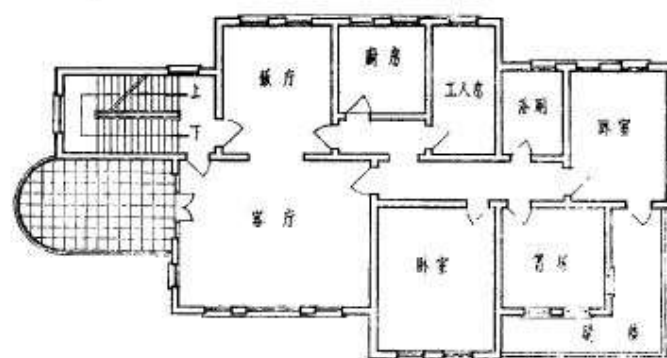
Guangzhou huaqiao xincun bianjizu, *Guangzhou huaqiao xincun* [Guangzhou overseas Chinese new village]. Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 1959. pp.19-20.



甲种住宅外景



甲种住宅底层平面

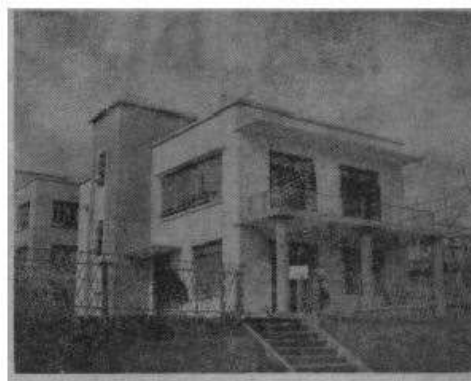
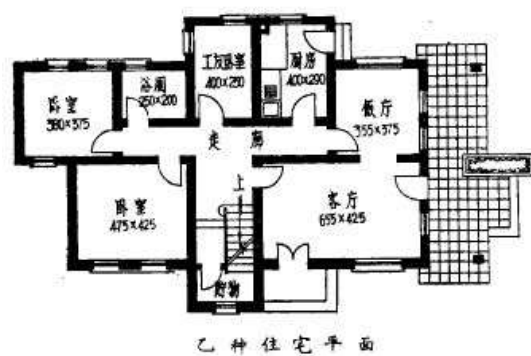


甲种住宅上层平面



Fig.12: Plans and Facades of Standard Type-I House (Top Page) and its Variants (Bottom Page)

Zhu, Pu. "Guangzhou Huaqiao Xincun" [Guangzhou's Huaqiao New Village], *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.2 (1957), pp. 25-27.



乙种住宅外景



Fig.13 Type-II Houses at the Huaqiao New Village

Zhu, Pu. "Guangzhou Huaqiao Xincun" [Guangzhou's Huaqiao New Village], *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.2 (1957), p.29.

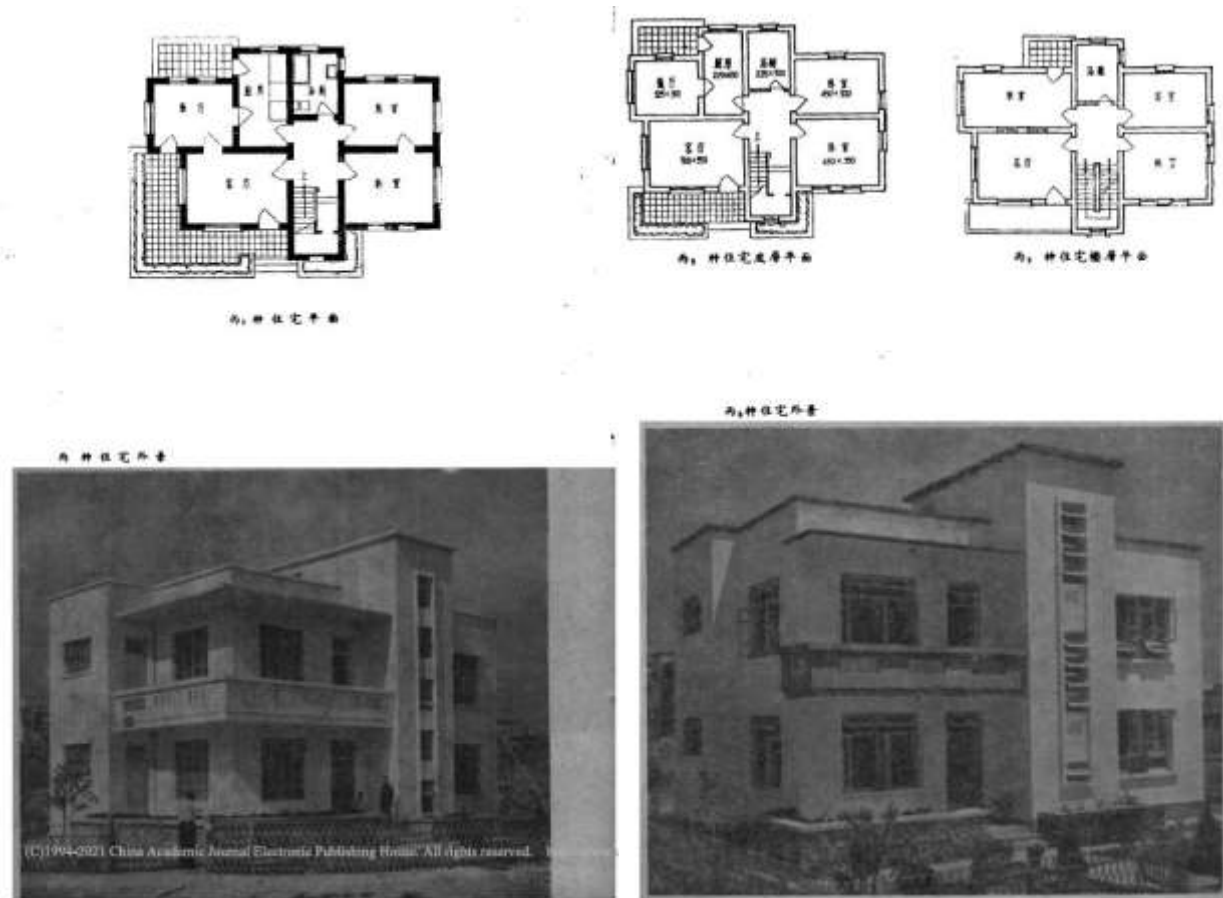


Fig.14 Type III Houses (Left) and Its Variant (Right)

Zhu, Pu. "Guangzhou Huaqiao Xincun" [Guangzhou's Huaqiao New Village], *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.2 (1957), pp.28-29.

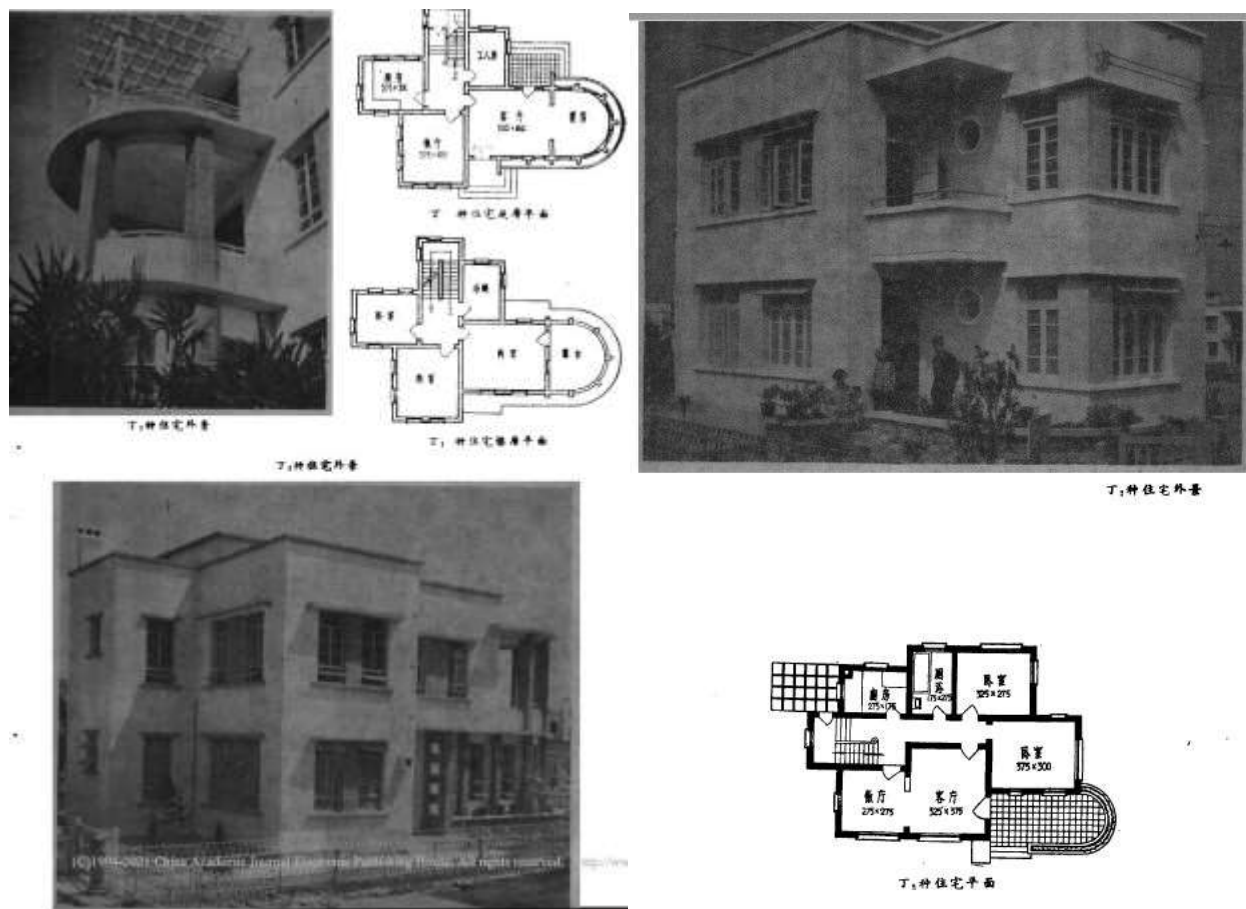
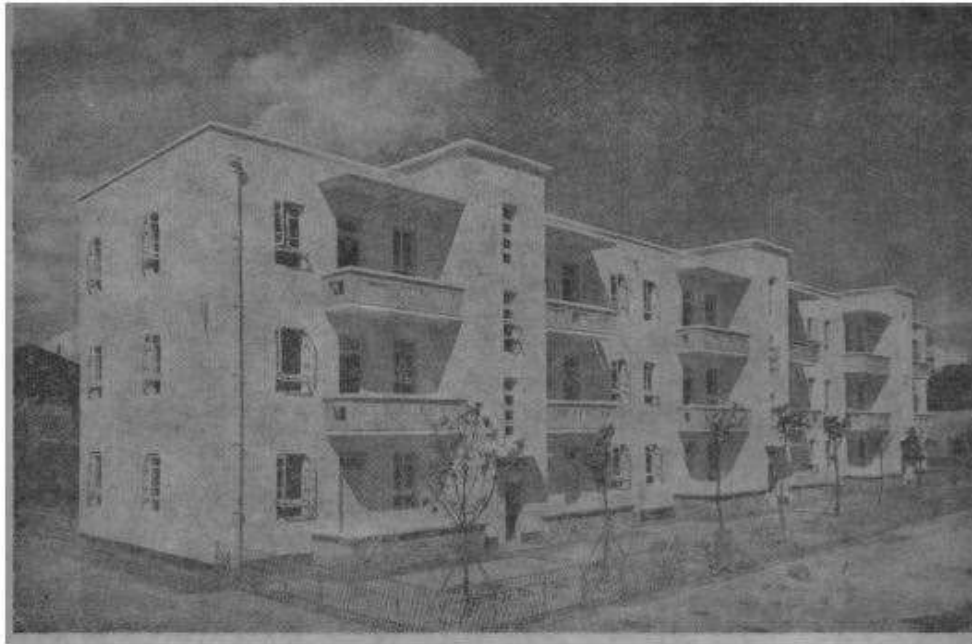
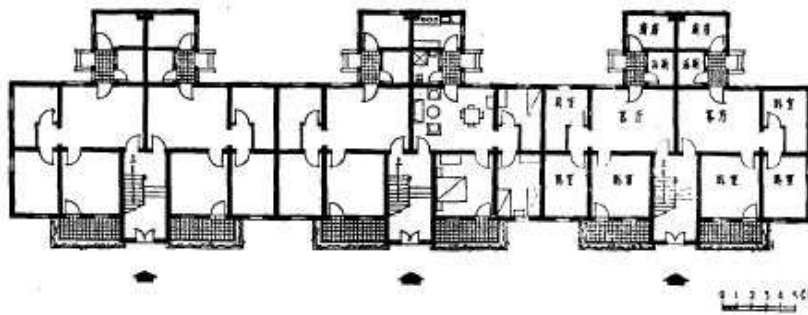


Fig.15 Type-IV Houses (left) and its variant (right)

Zhu, Pu. "Guangzhou Huaqiao Xincun" [Guangzhou's Huaqiao New Village], *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.2 (1957), pp. 30-32.



集体公寓外景



集体公寓平面



集体公寓正立面

Fig.16 Plan and Façade of the Dormitory at the Huaqiao New Village for Less Affluent Returning Chinese Emigrants.

Zhu, Pu. "Guangzhou Huaqiao Xincun" [Guangzhou's Huaqiao New Village], *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.2 (1957)

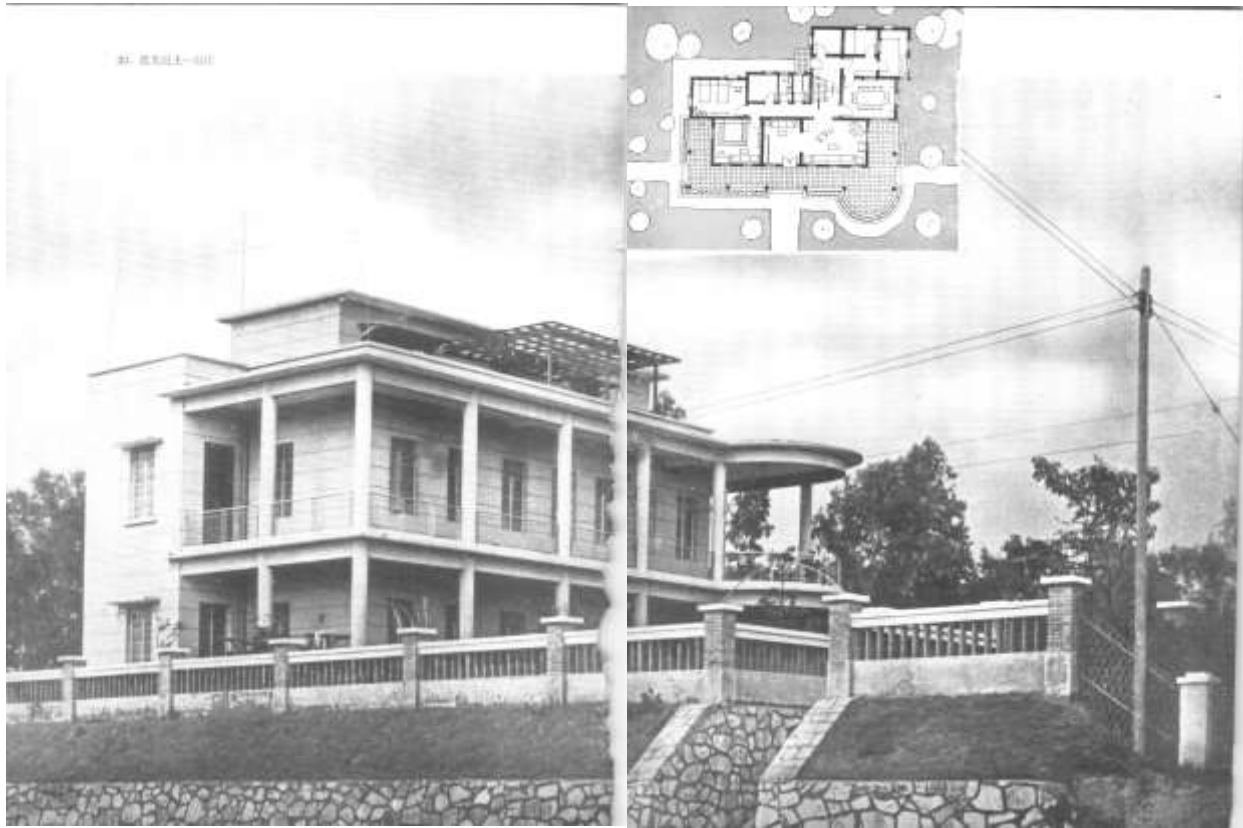


Fig.17 A Two-story House with Loggias and its Plan

Guangzhou huaqiao xincun bianjizu, *Guangzhou huaqiao xincun* [Guangzhou overseas Chinese new village]. Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 1959., pp.29-30.



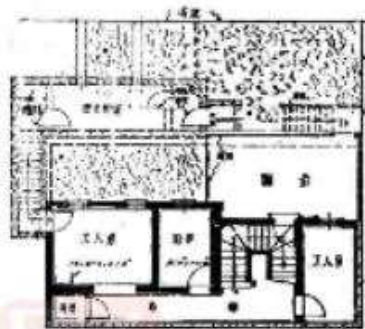
現代住宅特輯

外觀圖

建築家之家

Prof 林沛德計劃

(具有現代最新防盜設備之新形住宅)



第一層平面圖



第二層平面圖



第三層平面圖

Fig.18 Façade and Plans of Lin Keming's Residence he designed for himself in 1936, Published in *Xin Jianzhu*. Note here Lin used a pseudonym "Lin Peide(林沛德)" without showing who the designer really was.

Xin Jianzhu, no.2 (1936), p.25.

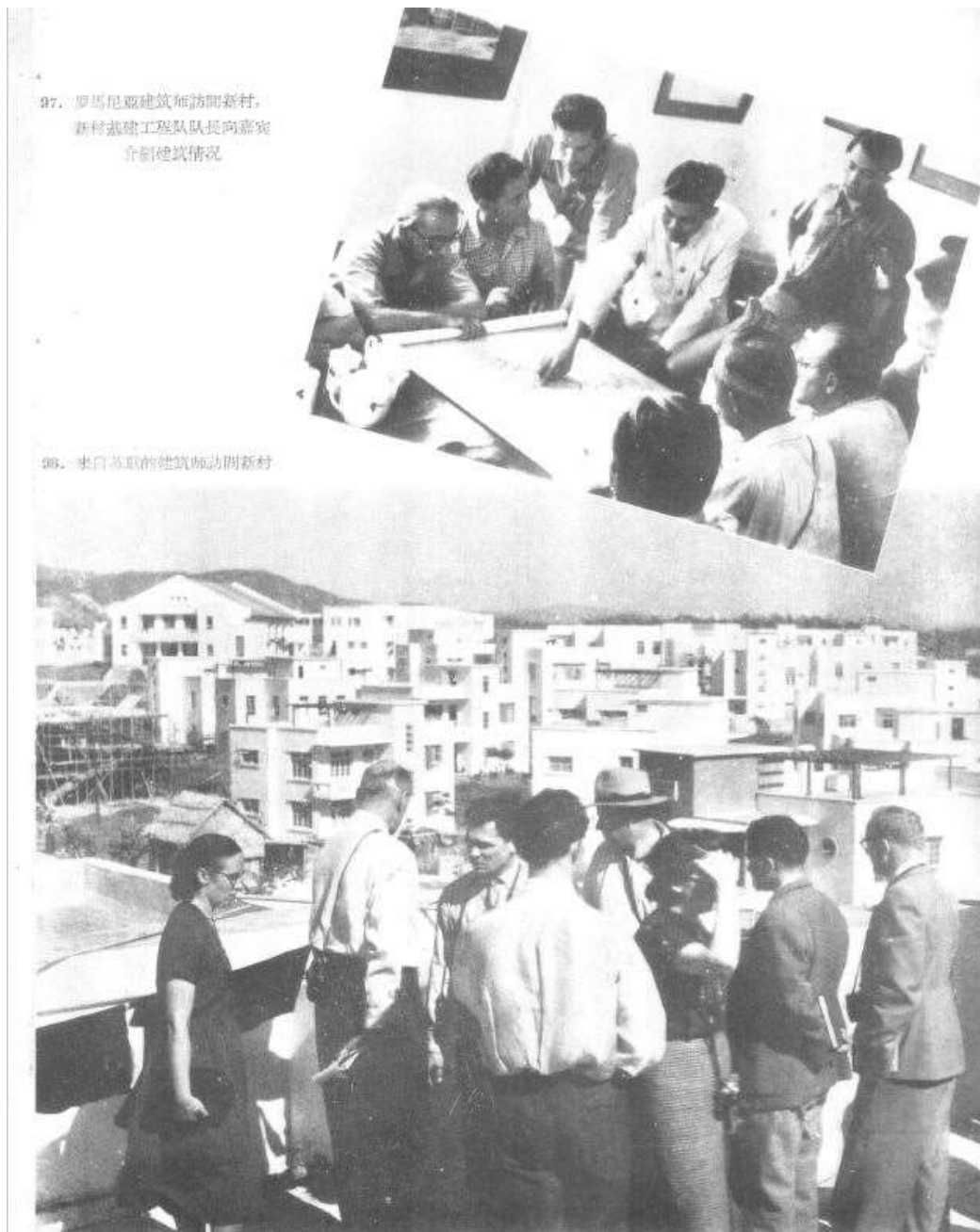
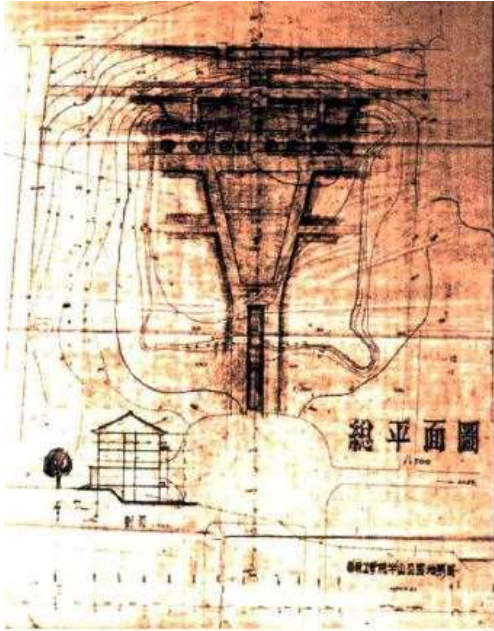


Fig.19 Romanian (Top) and Soviet (Bottom) Architects Visiting the Huaqiao New Village

Guangzhou huaqiao xincun bianjizu, *Guangzhou huaqiao xincun* [Guangzhou overseas Chinese new village]. Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 1959., p.84.



1 华南工学院 2 号楼规划总平面图



2 华南工学院 2 号楼实景



3 华南工学院 2 号楼模型

Fig.20 Clockwise: *General Plan (with a section drawing)*; *Longitudinal Façade*; *Model of the No.2 Building at the SCUT campus, 1952*

Shao, Song and Qiao, Jiansong. *Lingnan Jin Xiandai Jianzhu 1949-1979* [Modern Cantonese Architecture, 1949-1979]. Guangzhou: South China University of Technology Press. 2013. p.46.

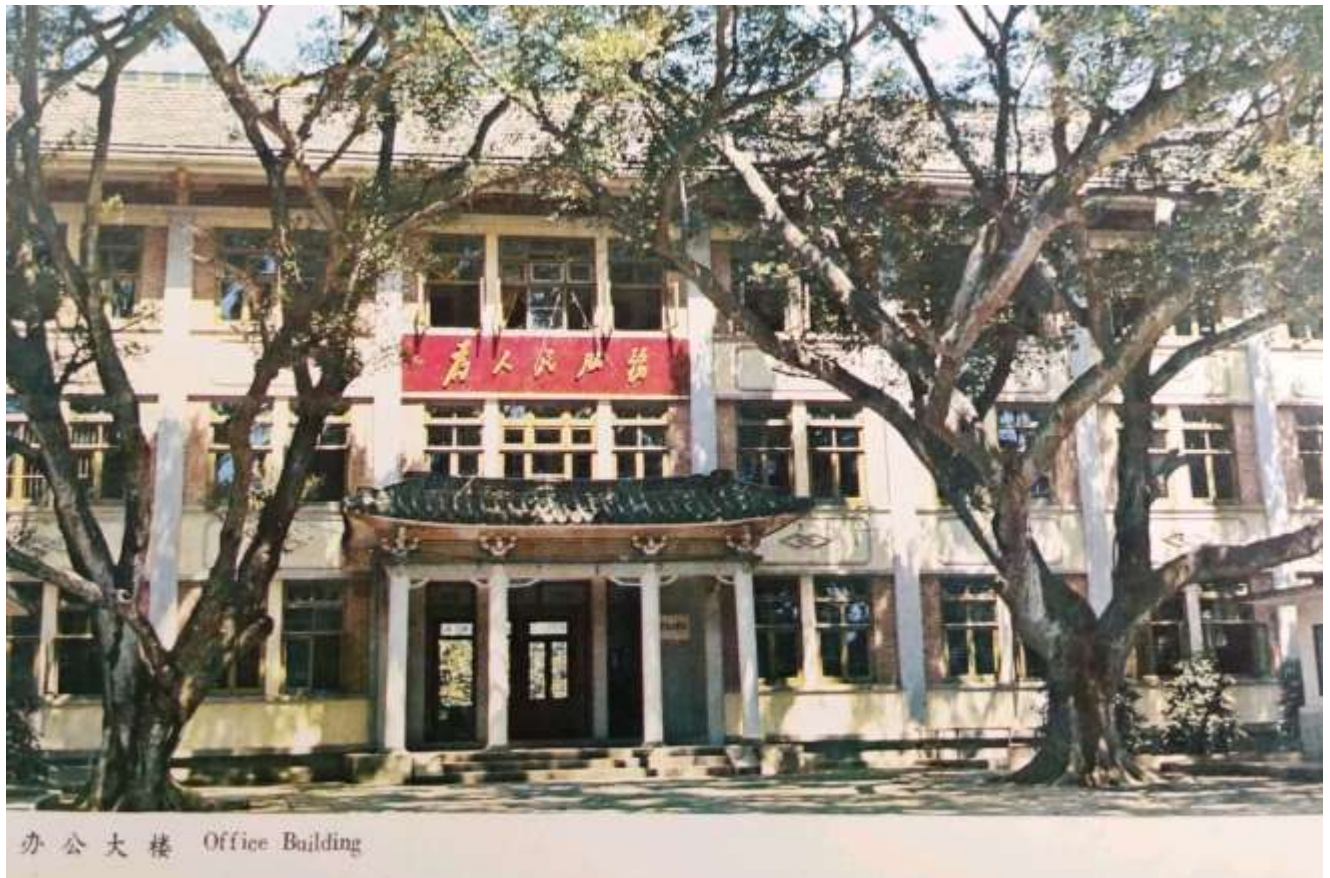


Fig.21 *Ornamental details at the porch entrance and the wall Xia composed in a neat manner*

Postcard Collected by Author



Fig.22 *Biochemistry Building at the Sun Yat-sen Medical School with Shading Panels Across the Façade, 1956*

Xia, Changshi. “Ya Re Dai Jianzhu de Jiangwen Wenti – Zheyang. Gere. Tongfeng.” [Issues on Temperature Reduction for Subtropical Architecture: Sun Shading, Heat Insulation, and Ventilation]. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.10 (1958), p.36.

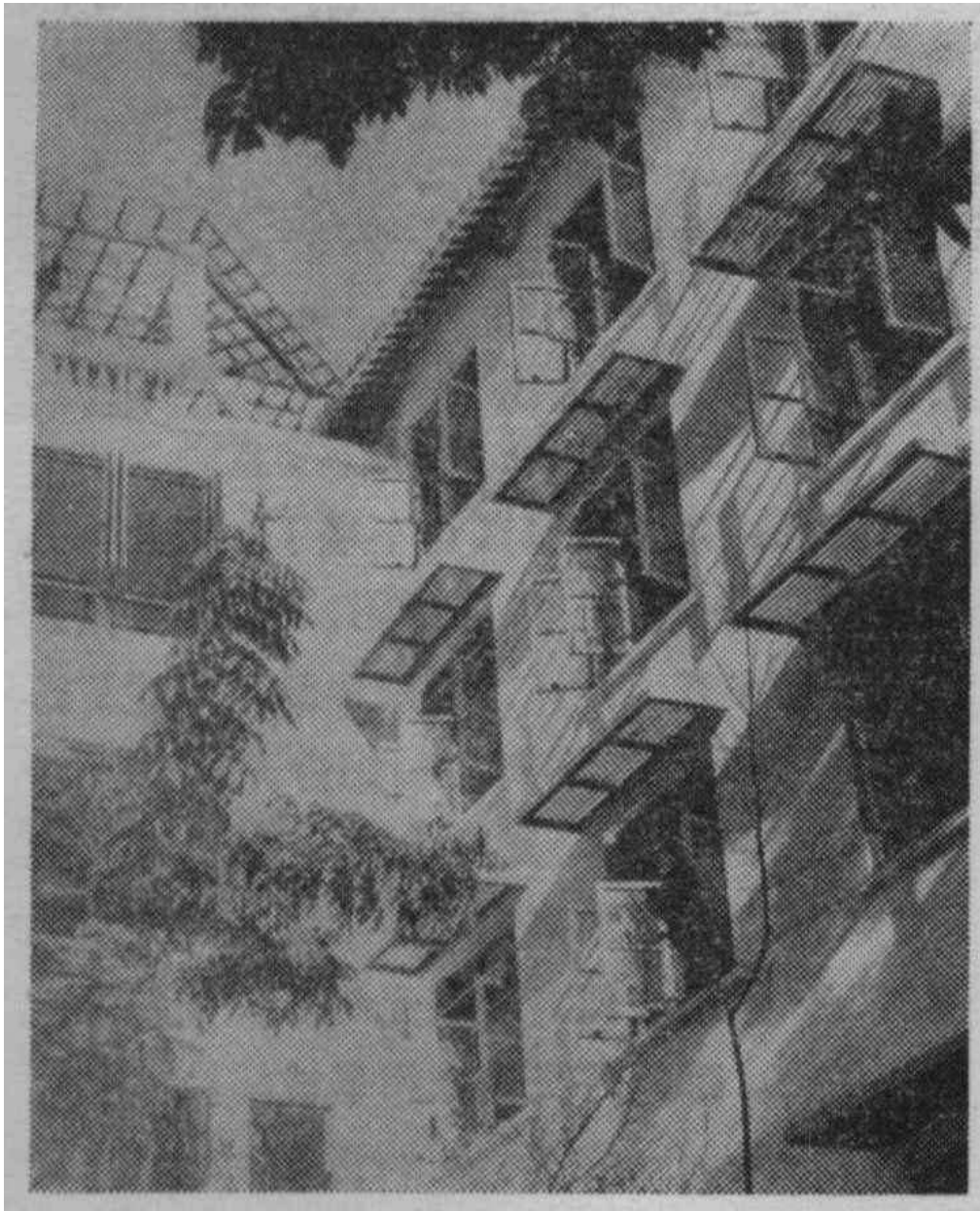


Fig.23 *Prefabricated Shading Panels for Each Window at the Dinghushan Sanatorium, Zhaoqing, Guangdong Province, 1954*

Xia, Changshi. "Ya Re Dai Jianzhu de Jiangwen Wenti – Zheyang. Gere. Tongfeng." [Issues on Temperature Reduction for Subtropical Architecture: Sun Shading, Heat Insulation, and Ventilation]. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.10 (1958), p.37.

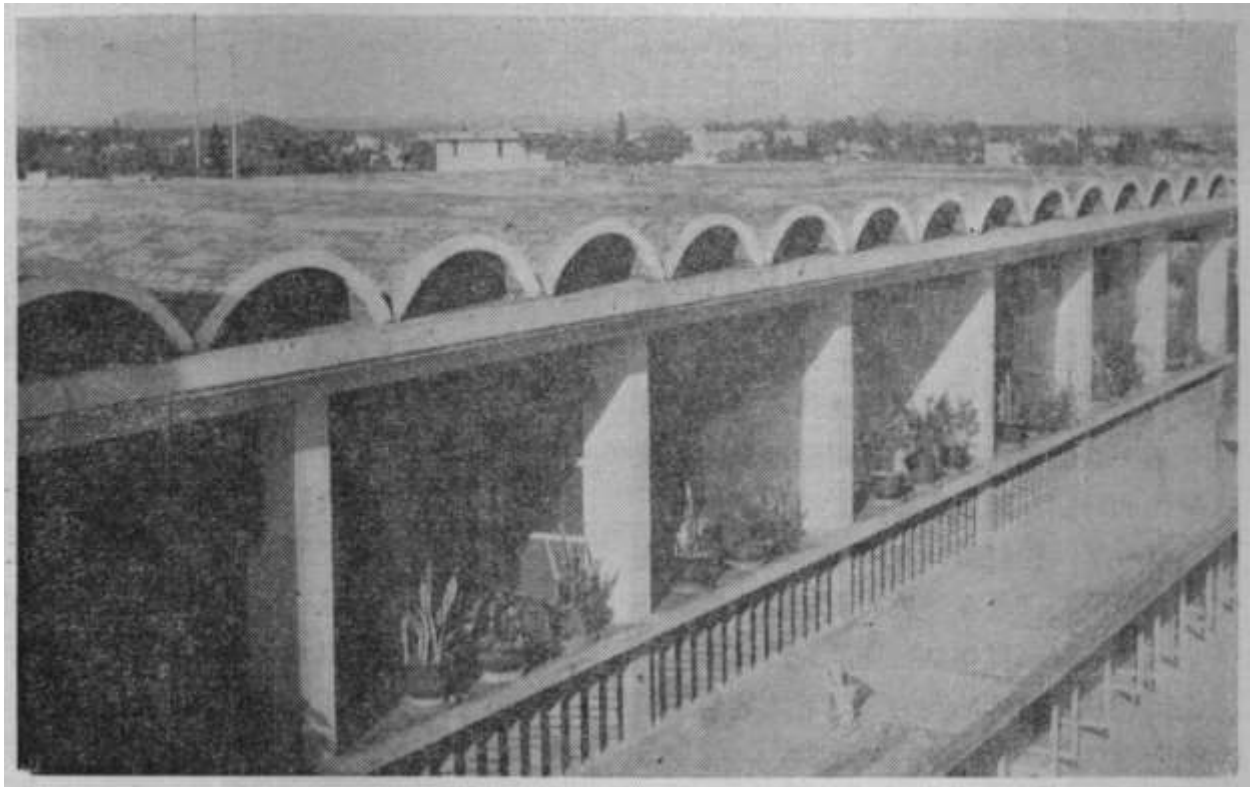


Fig.24 *Arched Roof Layer for Heat Insulation of the Hospital Building at the Sun Yat-sen Medical School, 1956*

Xia, Changshi. "Ya Re Dai Jianzhu de Jiangwen Wenti – Zheyang. Gere. Tongfeng." [Issues on Temperature Reduction for Subtropical Architecture: Sun Shading, Heat Insulation, and Ventilation]. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.10 (1958), p.37.



Fig.25 *Installation of the Arched Roof as an Insulation Layer*

Xia, Changshi. "Ya Re Dai Jianzhu de Jiangwen Wenti – Zheyang. Gere. Tongfeng." [Issues on Temperature Reduction for Subtropical Architecture: Sun Shading, Heat Insulation, and Ventilation]. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.10 (1958) p.38.



Fig.26 *Cantonese vernacular water dwellings that might have intrigued Xia's design*

Tang, Guohua. "Xia shi zheyang yu lingnan jianzhu fangre" [Xia Changshi's Sunshades and Lingnan Architectural Heat proofness] *Xin Jianzhu* [New Architecture]. no.6 (2015), p.18.



Fig.27 Façade (North) of the Chemical Engineering Building at the SCUT

广州市城市规划设计有限公司(Guangzhou City Planning Design Institute). Accessed February 17, 2022. http://www.gzlarc.com/city_d.aspx?Parent=119&newsid=205.

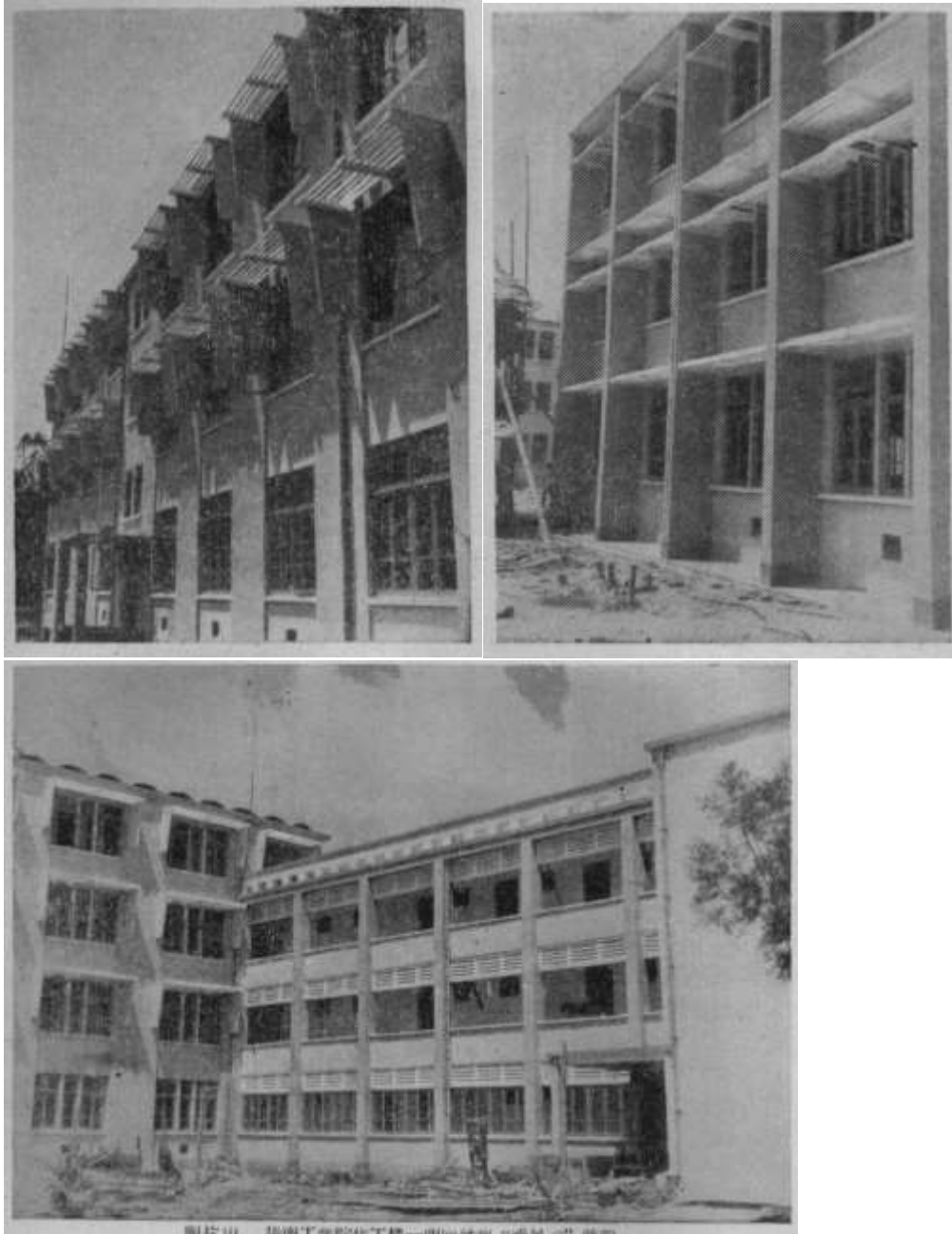


Fig.28 *Upper Left: The Prefabricated Shading Panel on the South side*

Upper Right: A Comprehensive Shading Panel on the East Side

Bottom: A Pendant Panel on the Corridors of the West Side

Xia, Changshi. "Ya Re Dai Jianzhu de Jiangwen Wenti – Zheyang. Gere. Tongfeng." [Issues on Temperature Reduction for Subtropical Architecture: Sun Shading, Heat Insulation, and Ventilation]. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.10 (1958), p.39.

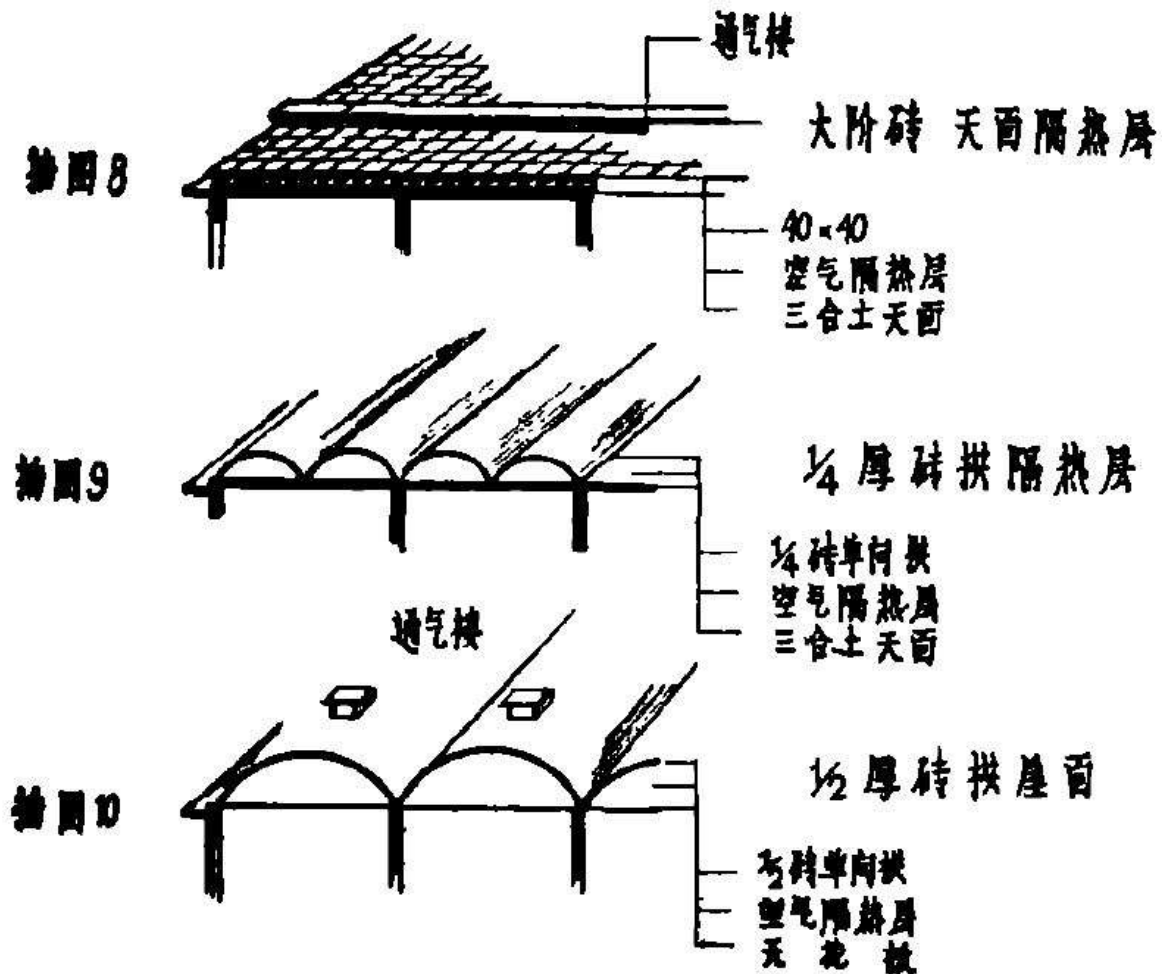


Fig.29 Xia's *Comparative Drawings on Insulation Layers on the Roof*. Note the difference between the quarter cut bricks (1/4 thickness of a standard brick size in Mao's China) and half cut bricks (1/2 thickness) in terms of the space each insulation layer unit covers.

Xia, Changshi. "Ya Re Dai Jianzhu de Jiangwen Wenti – Zheyang. Gere. Tongfeng." [Issues on Temperature Reduction for Subtropical Architecture: Sun Shading, Heat Insulation, and Ventilation]. *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no.10 (1958), p.38.

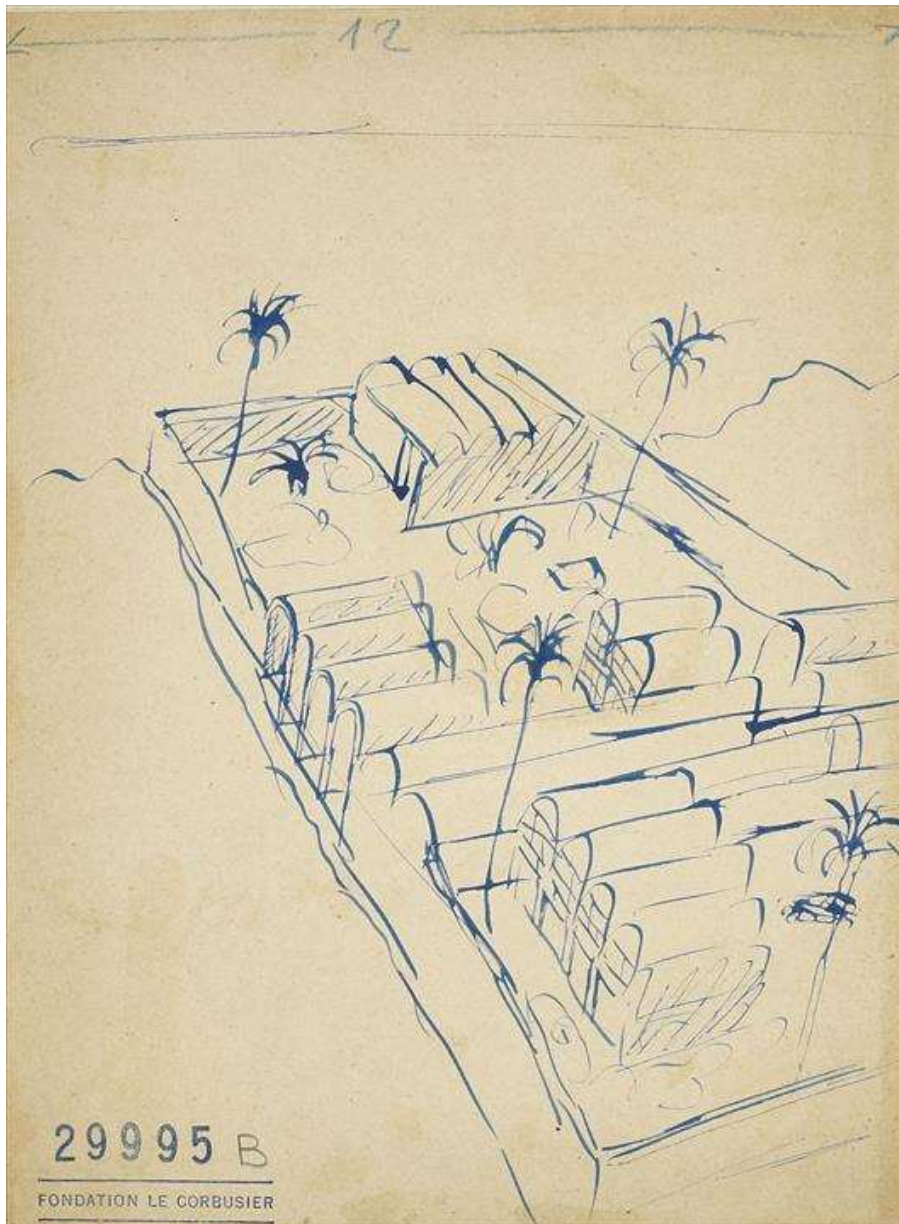


Fig.30 *A Bird's Eye's View Drawing of Residence Peyrissac, Cherchell, Algeria by Le Corbusier, 1942, possibly having an influence on Xia's design*

Fondation Le Corbusier. Accessed February 17, 2022.

http://fondationlecorbusier.fr/corbuweb/morpheus.aspx?sysId=13&IrisObjectId=6182&sysLanguage=fr-fr&itemPos=156&itemSort=fr-fr_sort_string1+&itemCount=216&sysParentName=&sysParentId=65.



Fig.31. *Baiyun Hotel in 1976*

Photograph reproduced from Editorial Committee, ed. *Jianzhu Shilu: Baiyun Binguan* (Architecture Illustrated: White Cloud Hotel) (Beijing: Technical Information Institute, 1976).



Fig.32. *Recollected and Reused Blue Bricks Above the Gate, Beiyuan Restaurant*

Wu, Yujiang and Mo, Xu. *Mo Bozhi Dashi Jianzhu Chuangzuo Shijian Yu Linian* [Mo Bozhi: Architectural Creation, Practice, and Philosophy]. Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2014, p.3.



Fig.33 *Interior Cantonese Garden of the Beiyuan Restaurant*

Zhuang Shaopang. "Mo Bozhi Jianzhu Chuangzuo Licheng Ji Sixiang Yanjiu" [Research on Architectural Creation and Thought of Mo Bozhi]. Doctoral Thesis. Guangzhou: South China University of Technology, 2011, p.73.



Fig.34 *Shuangxi Villa by Mo Bozhi in 1963*

Photo Credit to Zhuang Shaopang



Fig.35 *Guangzhou Hotel designed by Mo Bozhi from 1966 to 1968*

Guangzhou Hotel, Wikipedia, Accessed Feb 17 2022, <https://zh-yue.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E5%BB%A3%E5%B7%9E%E8%B3%93%E9%A4%A8#/media/File:GZHotel.jpg>

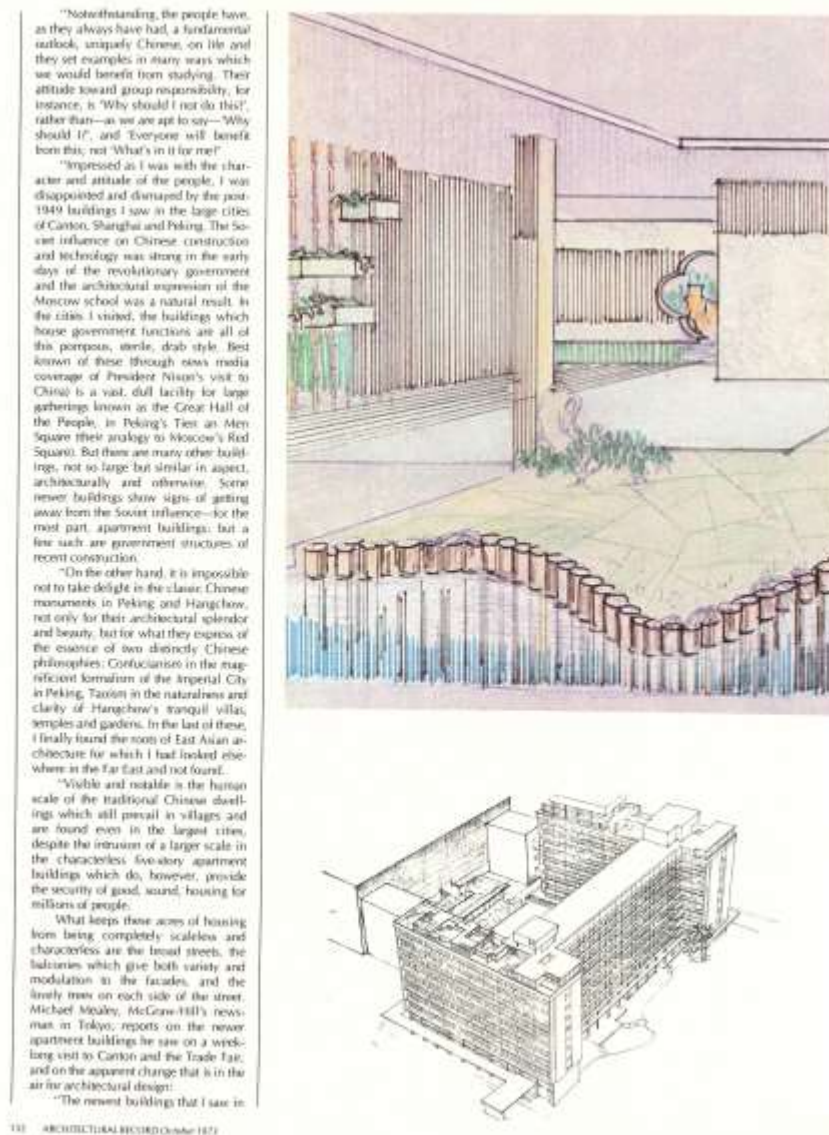


Fig.36 *Architectural Record* depicting the addition to the Dongfang (Tung Fang) Hotel in Guangzhou designed by She Junnan from 1972 to 1974 through a drawing of the inner court as well as an axonometric drawing. In 1973, the addition was still under construction.

Thompson, Elisabeth Kendall, "Architecture in the People's Republic of China", *Architectural Record*, no.10 (1973), p.133.

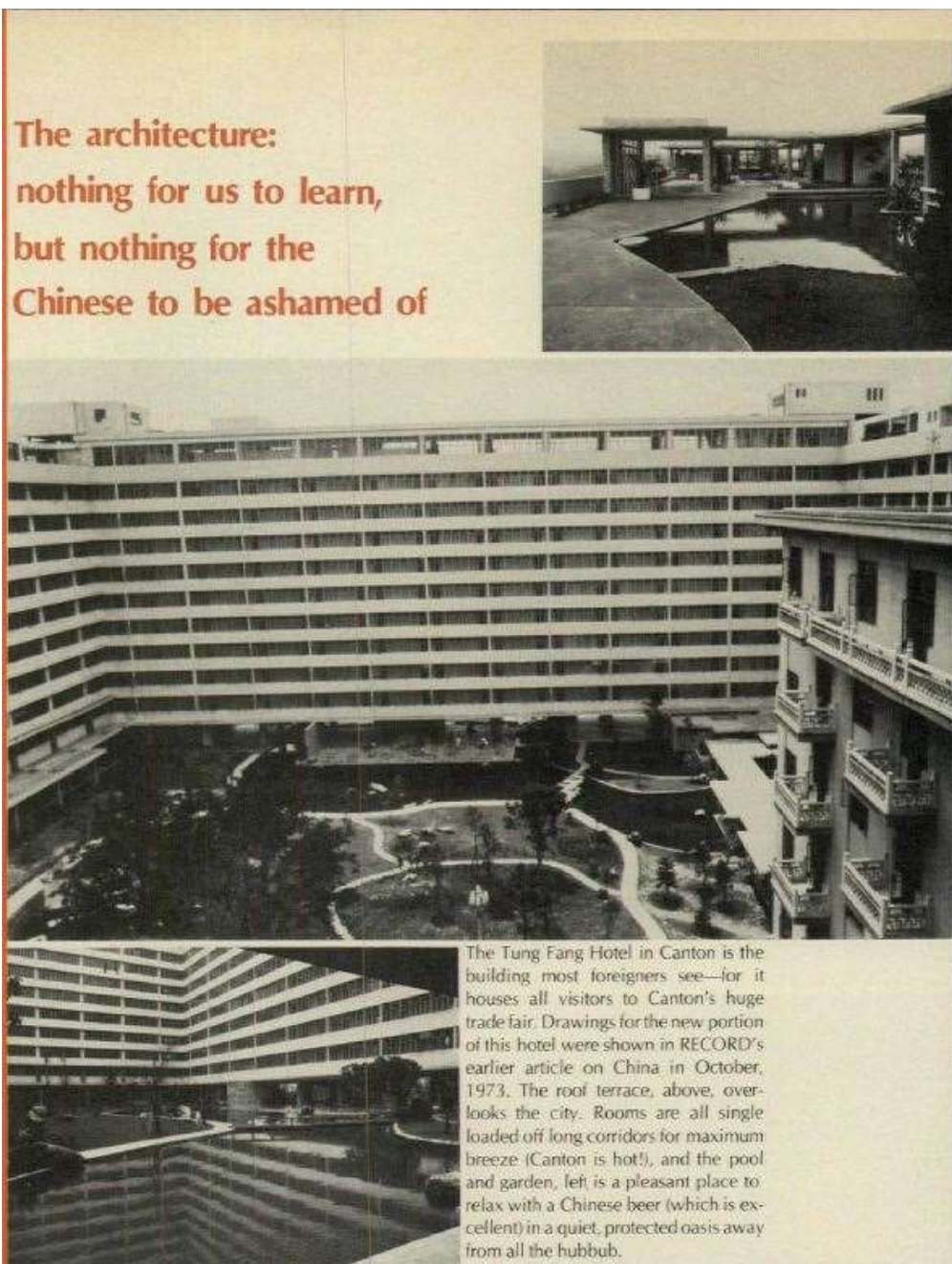


Fig.37 Photos plus a description of the newly-constructed addition to the Dongfang (Tung Fang) Hotel in 1974 published in the *Architectural Record*.

Wagner, Walter. "Today in China" in *Architectural Record*, no.9 (1974), p.116.

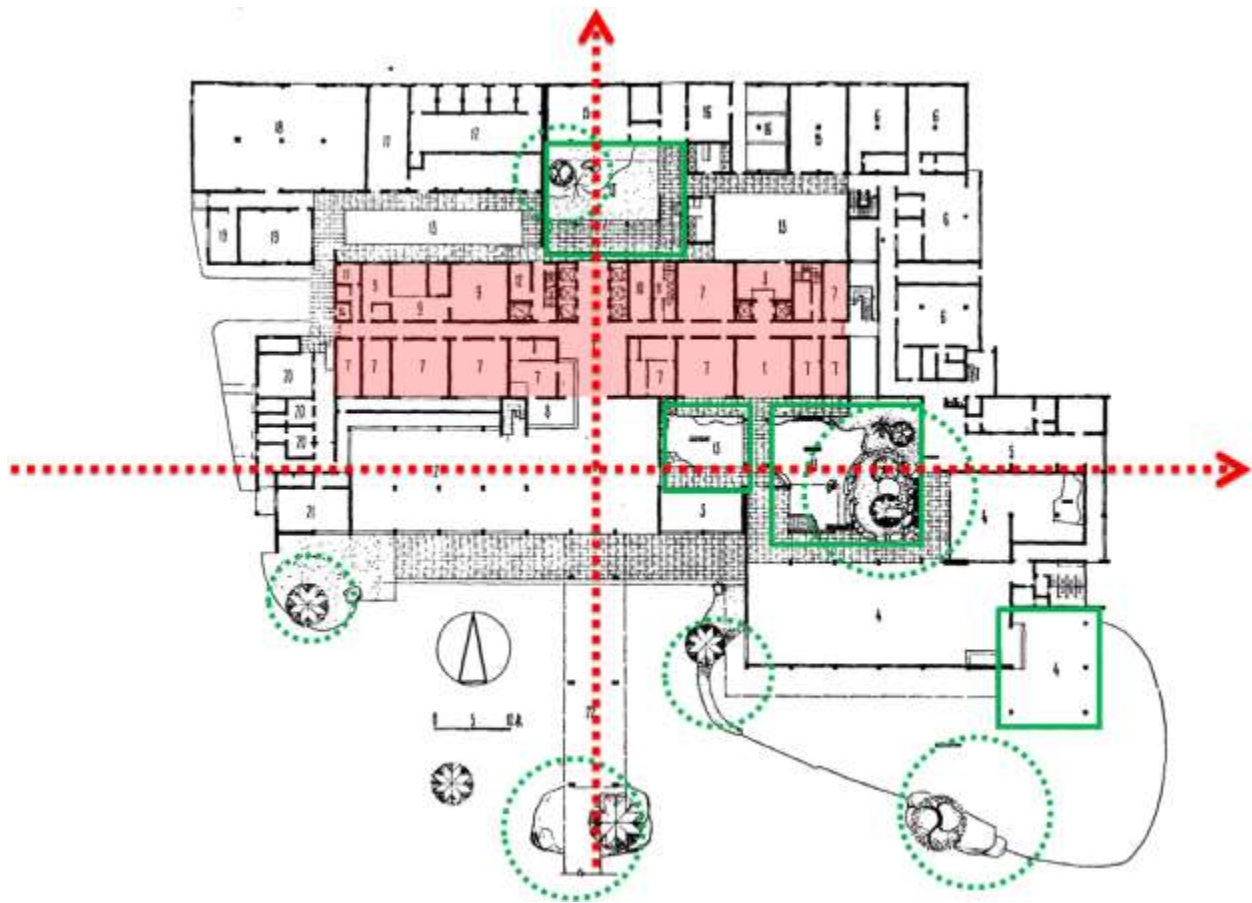


Fig.38 *Ground Level Plan: Axes, gardens, and trees marked on the plan as an analysis diagram*
Analysis on the main tower, axis, trees and courtyards of Baiyun Hotel.

Baiyun Hotel Design Team, “Guangzhou Baiyun Binguan” [Guangzhou White Cloud Hotel], *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no. 3 (1977), p.19. Diagram by Zhu Jianfei and Song Ke on the Original Illustration, in Song, Ke & Zhu, Jianfei. “The Architectural Influence of the United States in Mao’s China (1949–1976),” p.351.



图 9 进口前院透视

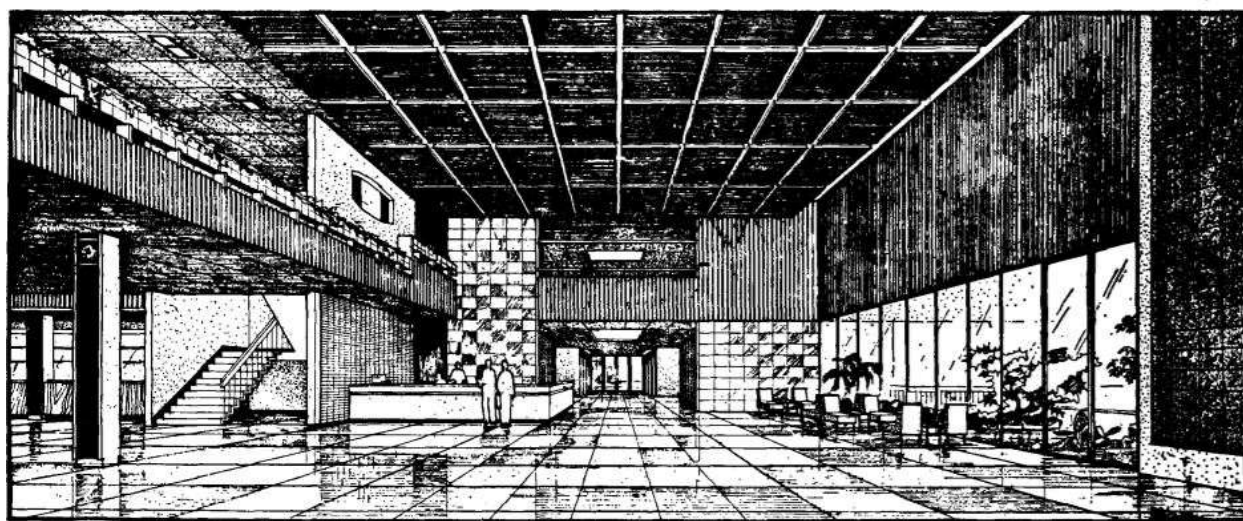


图 10 大厅透视

Fig.39 Perspective Drawings of the Entrance Front and the Lobby

Baiyun Hotel Design Team, "Guangzhou Baiyun Binguan" [Guangzhou Baiyun Hotel], *Jianzhu Xuebao*, no. 3 (1977), pp. 18–23. p.21.

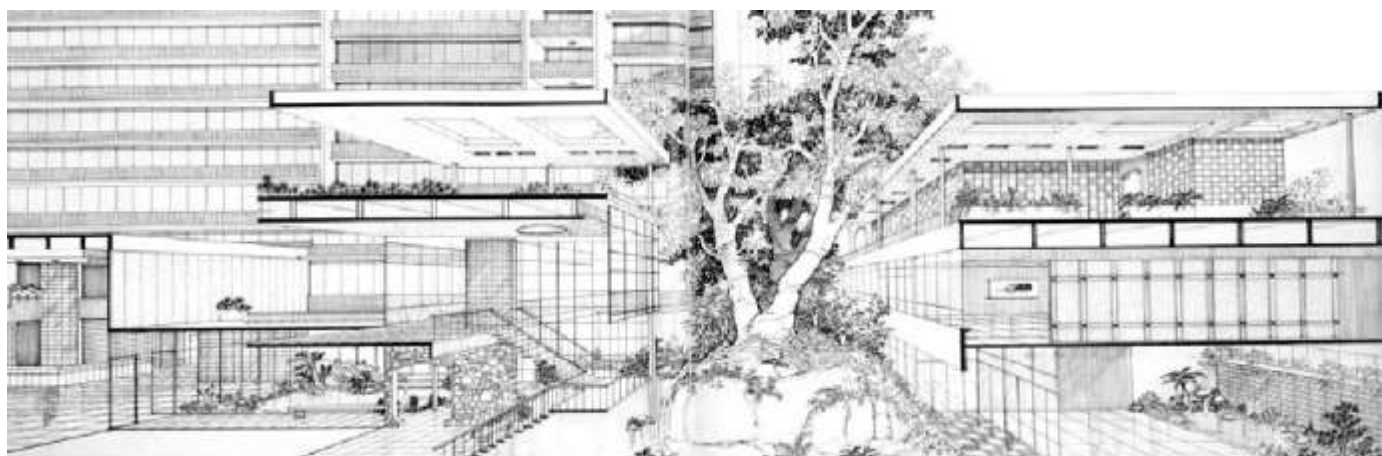


Fig.40 A Section Drawing of the Central Garden (Zhongting) around the Old Banyan Trees.

Drawn by Lin Zhaozhang, a colleague of Mo Bozhi

Lin, Zhaozhang. *Lin Zhaozhang jianzhu chuanguo shougao* [Manuscripts of Architectural Works by Lin Zhaozhang], Beijing: China International Culture Press, 1997. pp.12-13.

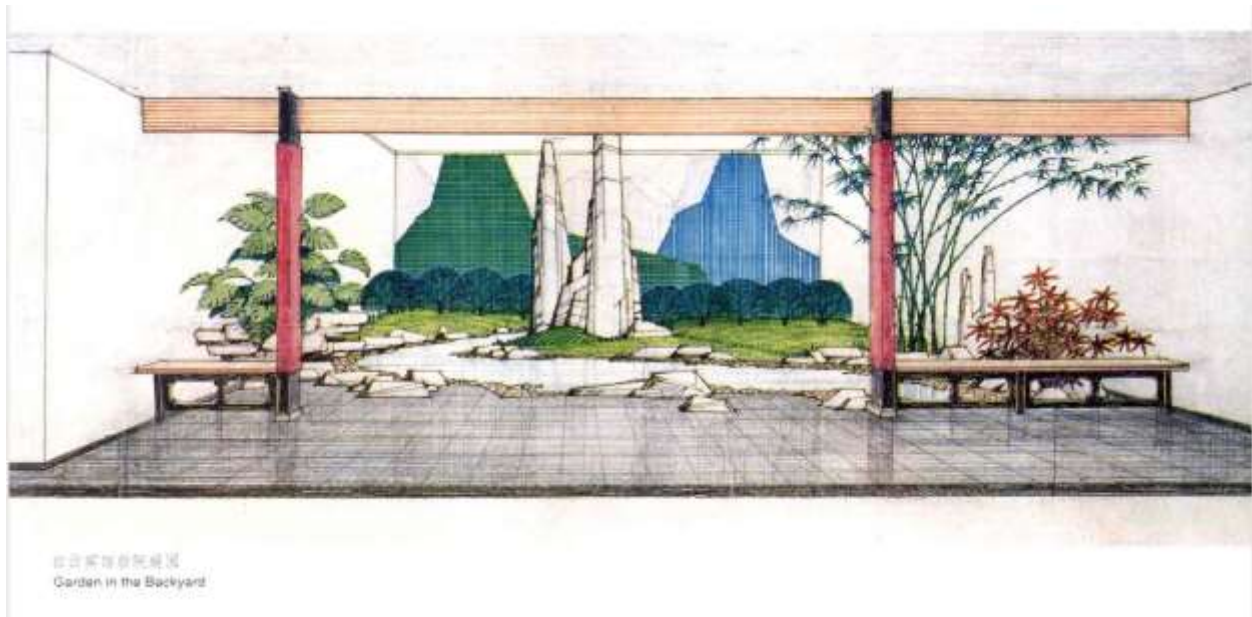


Fig.41. *Drawing of the Rear Garden (Houting) at the Baiyun Hotel by Lin Zhaozhang*

Lin, Zhaozhang. *Lin Zhaozhang jianzhu chuangzuo shougao* [Manuscripts of Architectural Works by Lin Zhaozhang], Beijing: China International Culture Press, 1997.p.9.



白云宾馆28楼休息厅
The Lounge on the 28th floor of Baiyun Hotel

Fig.42. *Perspective Drawing of the Lounge on the 28th Floor of the Baiyun Hotel by Lin Zhaozhang*

Lin, Zhaozhang. *Lin Zhaozhang jianzhu chuangzuo shougao* [Manuscripts of Architectural Works by Lin Zhaozhang], Beijing: China International Culture Press, 1997, p.9.



Fig.43. *Perspective Drawing of the Suite Room on the 28th Floor of the Baiyun Hotel by Lin Zhaozhang*

Lin, Zhaozhang. *Lin Zhaozhang jianzhu chuangzuo shougao* [Manuscripts of Architectural Works by Lin Zhaozhang], Beijing: China International Culture Press, 1997, p.8

