

“他们”，“我们”——从西方建筑师在中国的实践史说起

“They” and “We” — History of Western Architects’ Practice in China



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摘要

“他们”指历史上在中国从业的外国设计师，“他们”未曾变化，而“我们”却已面目全非。“他们”出现的契机恰是“我们”竭力成为“我们”的时刻。从民国时代开始，对中国建筑现代转型产生重大影响的西方建筑师在自身语境里籍籍无名，但“我们”却在失去自我的恐惧之中杯弓蛇影，进退失据。学习西方本身或许并无问题，浸润着实用主义和机会主义的中国土壤才是问题。回首西方建筑师在20世纪中国建筑史中的“得”与“失”，这样的忧虑并非刚刚发生，而是殷鉴不远。

关键词

他们；我们；跨国实践

Abstract

In this paper, “they” refers to all foreign designers who have practiced in China. “They” has never changed, but in the increasingly globalized world, “we” has become something unrecognizable. The moment “they” emerged as a concept in Chinese design culture, was the exact moment “we” needed a definition for “we”. Historically, western architects who have had significant impacts on Chinese architecture are little known in their home countries. At the same time, “we” are so afraid of losing ourselves that we have been made afraid of our own shadows. With the influx of foreign designers, we have trapped ourselves in a dilemma of identity. There is no problem with learning from the West, but the problem is that China has become soaked in pragmatism and opportunism. Looking back at western architects’ gains and losses in Chinese architecture over the 20th Century, such worries stem from lessons and experiences that could have been learned long ago.

Key words

They; We; Overseas Practices

在当代，“外国设计师在中国”是一个热门的话题。其实人们忘记了，就在这一轮“在中国设计”的大潮之前，至少已有两拨重要的外国建筑设计师光临中国——即使不算上帮助清朝皇帝营造圆明园的西方传教士——20世纪二三十年代在华开业的诸多西方建筑师和20世纪50年代的前苏联顾问都曾给中国的城市和建筑留下了触目可见的痕迹。意味深长的是现如今“他们”依然是他们，而“我们”却很难说还是我们。

“他们”和“我们”事实上是平行现象。“他们”出现的契机恰恰是“我们”竭力成为“我们”的时刻。在20世纪的中国建筑史上，曾先后发生过三次较大的关于民族风格与现代建筑风格的争议。第一次是在民国时期，以梁思成为首的留美建筑学生倡导“民族形式”，旨在由共和政体与公共生活相结合的传统建筑来确立现代中国城市的“中国性”，例如20世纪30年代梁思成设计的南京博物院、吕彦直设计的中山陵；第二次是20世纪50年代学习前苏联学院派而衍生出的“民族风格”，它或多或少地确

The role of foreign designers in China is currently a hot topic. But it is often overlooked that there were two groups of foreign architects who came to China before the current influx of contemporary designers. Even without considering the western missionaries who helped Emperor Qing build the Old Summer Palace, many western architects opened offices in China in the 1920s and 1930s, and Soviet consultants from the 1950s left notable traces on China’s cities and architecture. What is significant from this long history of foreign influence is that today “they” are still they, while it is hard to say if “we” are still we.

In fact, “they” and “we” share a parallel history. “They” emerged right when “we” became “we”. In Chinese architectural history over the 20th Century there have been three major shifts about ethnic style and modern architecture style. The first happened during the period of the Republic of China. Architecture students who had studied in the US with Shih-Cheng Liang returned to China advocating for a “national

立了集体经济体制下新政权的“纪念性”，例如以人民大会堂为代表的20世纪50年代“十大建筑”；第三次是改革开放后的20世纪八九十年代，由“夺回古都风貌”、“大规模建设下的历史保护”等议题而引起的有关“中国建筑现代化”的讨论，焦点在于如何在城市化浪潮之下保存中国传统，代表案例包括北京西客站等。回顾历史，恰恰是前两次不彻底的，甚至乏善可陈的“中国化”，使人们看清了现代情境下营造传统的不适应症，也让以近东、希腊/罗马建筑传统为核心的西方建筑最终改换了中国城市的面貌。

中国传统建筑很难在当代城市中生存自有原因。它的结构是由单个小体量建筑组合而成的大规模群落模式，开发成本很高；也就是说，相对小的院落式布局，采用木结构营造出的室内低矮空间的容量相当有限，本不易容纳大型的现代公共活动，例如由传统建筑直接改建成的故宫博物院；再者，即使可采用现代材料放大古典建筑的体量和规模，也不容易营造出理想的“中国氛围”，原因是古老的建筑形式和现代“内容”也许生来就互不包容（准确地说，是我们对于西方文明的社会理念和生活方式的全面接受在前，而建筑风格不过是这种理念认同的物化形式之一）。相对于不变的“人”的尺度，采用钢筋混凝土或钢结构组成并放大的传统式样就容易形成不伦不类的“穿戴戴帽”的形象。相形之下，数千年前的近东、希腊/罗马营造体系则已非常接近现代西方文明的需求，在罗马的公寓中出现了当时条件的高层建筑，甚至有了升降机的雏形。

我曾经认真地研究过一位民国时期的美国建筑师，亨利·K·墨

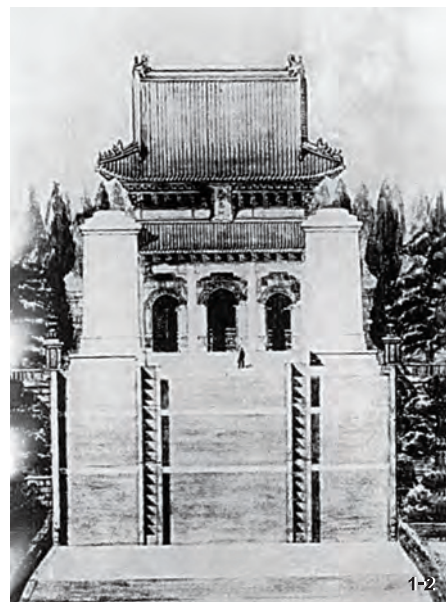
菲。可以说墨菲代表着一段被遗忘的中国建筑转型的历史。这句话包含有两层涵义，其一，在大多数人心目中建筑的社会意义依然是不动的“艺术作品”，相对于中山陵这样众所皆知的近代建筑，墨菲的实践成果大多被认为是商业项目，也即“平常建筑”而非“非常建筑”，不仅大众看不出究竟，专业人士也觉得波澜不惊；其二又是关于“华夷之辩”：一方面人们面对西方建筑依然会有自惭形秽的感觉，另一方面，又对那种不纯粹的“杂拌儿”风格嗤之以鼻——其实也就是对任何形式的“折中”将信将疑——很长的一段时间里，中国建筑史家对以墨菲为代表的外国建筑师在中国建筑发展中起到的作用绝口不提，在利用这些建筑时也流露出一种复杂的，且时而自相矛盾的态度。很大程度上，这种态度是因为人们不知道如何界定墨菲的这些作品。它们有着中国式的外表，却断然不是中国建筑传统的一部分。它们坚固、耐久，相对于当时的施工水平和功能等级而言堪称华丽，却很少让人们觉得它们在文化上达到中国传统建筑的高度。中国-西方，传统-现代，这两对关系原本并非存在非黑即白的二元论，在混乱不堪却甚为武断的建筑分类学里，逐渐成了对立的两极。人们很少拒绝“现代化”，却总是对受别人影响而失去自我充满了这样或那样的恐惧。

其实，什么才是纯粹的“自我”？从“他们”试图成为“我们”而我们却束手无策的那一刻开始，“我们”也不再是“我们”。

1911年辛亥革命后的第一代中国建筑业主已经是这样的心态。他们迫切地需要改造中国旧有的物质空间现实以证明自己的



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1-2

style". They sought to bring a "Chineseness" to modern Chinese cities through a combination of republic regime and public life. Nanjing Museum, designed by Liang, and Sun Yatsen's Mausoleum designed by Yen-Chih Lu in the 1930s are examples of this style. The second shift was a reaction to the "Chineseness" advocated in the middle of 20th Century. Concern about "ethnic style" was derived from Soviet

The first two "sinicization" helped make room for western architecture, whose core stems from Greek and Roman traditions, which has ultimately changed the face of Chinese cities.

influence, and more or less established the "memorability" style in line with values of the new collective economic system. An example of this style is the "Top Ten Architecture", as the Great Hall of the People is a representative. The third shift was the "modernization of Chinese architecture" since China has opened up to the outside world in the 1980s and 1990s. With the influx of foreign designers and changing attitudes towards the outside world, this period raised discussions about the ancient capital's architectural features restoration and historic preservation under large-scale construction. The focus at this time was about how to preserve Chinese traditions under huge waves of urbanization. An example of architecture at this time is the Beijing West Railway Station. Looking back, the first two "sinicization" were not thorough or special, but they helped people clearly see the maladjustments of traditional architectures in a modern context. They also helped make room for western architecture, whose core stems from Greek and Roman traditions, which has ultimately changed the face of Chinese cities.

In the context of Chinese urbanization and opening to the outside world, traditional architecture would not survive in contemporary cities. It is structured on a large-scale community model comprised of small-volume single units with a relatively small courtyard-style layout. The building cost today would be very high. Additionally, the size is too limited to accommodate large public activities. For example, the Palace Museum has been directly modified from a traditional building, but even if modern materials can be used to enlarge the volume and scale of traditional architecture, it will not be easy to reproduce the ideal "Chinese atmosphere", and ancient architectural forms are sometimes

incompatible with modern uses. The use of reinforced concrete and steel has made it possible to build larger versions of traditional architecture that would otherwise likely create awkward and paradoxical images. By contrast, ancient Greek and Roman construction was already very close to meeting the architectural demands of modern western civilization. In ancient Rome, for example, there was multi-story buildings and even a

- 1-1. 通向中山陵祭堂的石阶
- 1-2. 吕彦直1925年设计的中山陵祭堂正面效果图
2. 20世纪50年代“十大建筑”的代表——人民大会堂 © 唐戈
3. 建于1993年的北京西客站 © Kim S.
- 1-1. Stone Steps to the the hall of Sun Yat-sen's Mausoleum
- 1-2. Yen-Chih Lu's Design of the hall of Sun Yat-sen's Mausoleum, 1925
2. "Top Ten Architecture" in 1950s, as the Great Hall of the People is a representative © 唐戈
3. Beijing west train station built in 1993 © Kim S.



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4. 亨利·K·墨菲与他的妻子
4. Henry K. Murphy and his wife

“先进性”，但是他们并不了解西方建筑行业背后严密的社会和生产系统，因而在这种西方与东方的思想角力中处于下风。且不说当时相当多的现代建筑材料中国无法生产，光是西方建筑项目运转所亟需的先进管理体系就是至今大多数中国项目还不具备的。就在墨菲从业于中国的20世纪30年代，纽约仅仅用410天就建起了著名的帝国大厦。这座摩天大楼为人称道的不仅是它的高度，还有它的用工和管理制度。在寸土寸金的曼哈顿，这座建筑并没有额外的料场和后备工地，塔吊等设备被直接安装在不断增高的建筑上，打好地基之后所有原料都被直接运到建筑基地上进行快速建造，建成哪一层，哪一层就成为工作界面。由于精密的运输和施工管理，及时而准确的工种交接，施工几乎没有占用任何建筑以外的城市空间，按照雷姆·库哈斯的说法，帝国大厦就像是“自己制造了自己”。

显然，不可能有任何中国建设方可以轻易达到这样的标准。同时，20世纪30年代也没有任何一个外国工程师或者建筑师对于中国的情况了如指掌，不仅必须有资格主持大型的场地策划、构思方案和设计基本的建筑方案，还要了解本地工匠的施工水平，并协调这一过程中出现的各种“事故”。所幸的是，这些包括墨菲在内的外国建筑师大多受雇于在华外国机构，而非华人业主，当时的体制允许建筑师直接向这些机构负责而不必担心受尚未完善的建筑法规的约束，从而在客观上为西式营造在中国的“试水”提供了非常好的条件。在这一过程中通过配合中国本土的事务所和施工团队，也逐渐积累了初步的经验。“中西杂糅”的结果至少是打破了森严的界限，让二者更接近了一些。

然而这种模式并非无懈可击，就外国设计师这一方面而言，项目的成功高度依赖于业主自身的素质，跨越行业和文化

导致实际的产出远远复杂于最初的想象。大多数抱着实用主义态度的西方人并没有了解中国的兴趣和耐心，就以收费高昂的墨菲为例，为了讨好潜在的中国受众，基于一个生意人的精明，墨菲比他的竞争对手更讲求文化策略——比如他选择对所谓“北方传统”的尊敬，也就是选择了以官式宫殿建筑为代表的中国营造传统，部分地认同了中国建筑体系中的等级制度。墨菲能够如此做，并非因为他对中国文化有多少深入的了解——他只是绕过了争议性的问题而把建筑形式看成了一类包装纸。对于中国建筑师而言，这是一个很坏的开头，因为他们抱着有样学样的“心态”，一方面是把建筑简化成“功能+形式”的二元构成，这是不甚高明的建筑思想；一方面又把自己掌握的造型能力和艺术修养看作是获取利润和声名的捷径，这是典型的中国实用论。除了“技术”之外，另一些现代建筑学中实实在在的东西，比如要对建筑的社会意义和管理功能充分理解后才能设定的建筑程序，被抛诸脑后。

由墨菲指导吕彦直在南京共同设计的金陵女子大学，或是墨菲指导庄俊共同设计的清华大学老图书馆等都可谓“尊贵”的项目，尽管所在学校校友对其饱含深情，但这些建筑物本身并不是十分出色的设计，然而它们却使得这位在美国并没有什么名气的建筑师立刻跻身于中国文化名流之列。外国建筑设计师对中国城市最早贡献的路径——有成绩没有成就，有学科但无学术——甚至决定了今日建筑学教育中存在的一些问题的源头，建筑学的内里被轻易地看成是一门致用之学，而它的外在形式又过早地被指认为种种不能提问只能熟习的“经典”，这使得在西方建筑中原先存在的手段（也是一种物性之“理”）和目的（启蒙时代以来的理性精神）之间的一致性被割裂了。

近年来，“国际建筑实验场”成为人们揶揄外国建筑师在中国频频获得项目的一种说法，其实问题并不出在“异国实践”，而在于接受异国设计师的国度是否具备足够的头脑与坦诚，勇于吸收与挑战外来的智慧？在世界建筑历史上不乏主动要求成为“国际建筑实验场”的情形，仅举一例：1979年的西德政府为了改造当时依然分裂的柏林市区，创造出一种“审慎的都市更新”策略和“批判性的重建”模式，主动邀请了大量国际知名建筑师，例如彼得·艾森曼、维特里奥·格雷奥蒂、汉斯·霍莱茵、矶崎新、罗布·克里尔、阿尔多·罗西和詹姆斯·斯特林，来为柏林的发展献计献策。到1987年柏林建城750年之时，这些建筑师的工作为柏林带来了显著的变化，并为这座城市未来的集中发展带来了极其珍贵的意见和经验。

显而易见的是，也许重要的不是“他们”与“我们”的分，而是“我们”是否真正能挡得住“他们”。LAF

prototypical elevator.

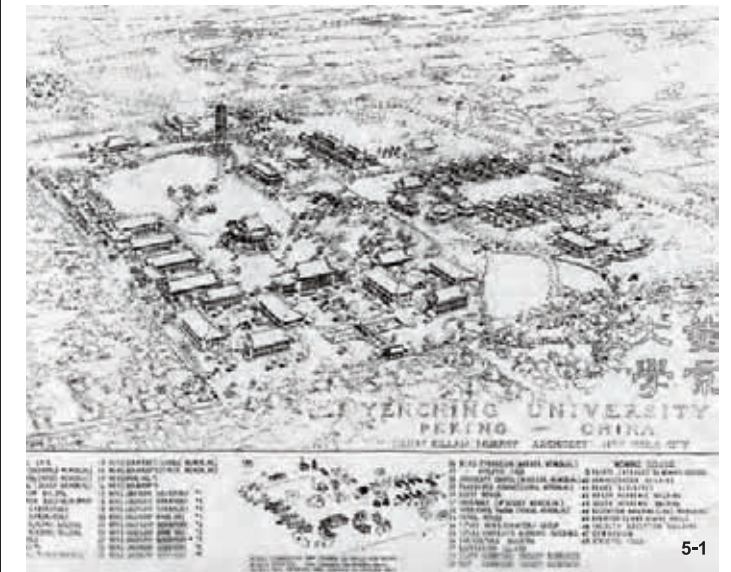
I have carefully studied the American architect, Henry K. Murphy, who was active during the Republic of China. Murphy represents a forgotten history of Chinese architectural transformation. Until Murphy, the social meaning of architecture in China was just an extension of “art work”. Compared to well-known modern buildings, such as Sun Yatsen’s Mausoleum, Murphy’s achievements were commercial projects, without any special social meaning. They are “normal buildings” rather than “unusual buildings”. The second influence is again about “the debate between Chinese and Non-Chinese”. Chinese designers are still embarrassed about how to deal with the influx of western architecture, and the hybrid style is often looked down on as a form of compromise. Chinese architecture historians have never confirmed the impact of foreign architects such as Murphy on the development of Chinese architecture, but there is a complex and sometimes contradictory attitude to the use of these buildings. To a large extent, this attitude is because people do not know how to define Murphy’s works. His built work often has the look of traditional Chinese style, but they are definitely not part of the Chinese architectural tradition. His buildings are strong and durable and can be called magnificent, considering their construction and functions. But, very few people think they can reach the level of traditional Chinese architecture from a cultural perspective. The dualism of Chinese / Western or traditional / modern did not start with a clearly opposed black and white relationship. However, in the confusing and often arbitrary spectrum of architectural typologies, they have gradually become two seemingly opposite styles. People rarely refuse practices of modernization, but they always fear losing themselves to the influence of others.

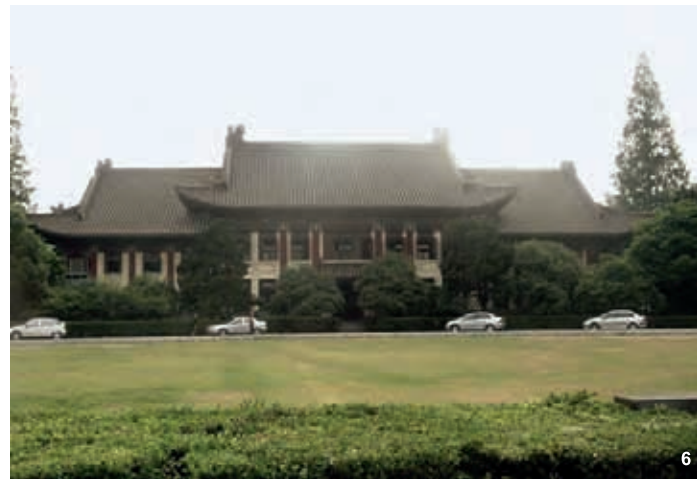
As a matter of fact, what is pure “self”? “We” are no longer “we” since the moment that “they” tried to become “we”, yet we did nothing.

After the Xinhai Revolution in 1911, the first generation of Chinese real estate developers were full of fears. They rushed to transform China’s old urban fabric to prove their own advancement, but they did not understand the social system that had been supporting the industry of western architecture. This is why Chinese developers were at a disadvantage during struggles of western philosophy versus eastern philosophy. Additionally, a considerable amount of modern building materials could not be made in China at that time, and the management of western construction projects was so advanced that is still beyond

the reach of most Chinese projects today. In the 1930s when Murphy was just starting his practice in China, in New York the famous Empire State Building was being built, a project that took just a little more than one year to complete. It is not only the height of this skyscraper that is appreciated by people, but also its model of construction and employment. With the high cost of land in Manhattan, the Empire State Building did not use any extra stockyard, backup fields, cranes or other equipments. The building was installed directly on itself to grow taller

5-1. 燕京大学校园规划图
5-2. 如今的北京大学校园
5-1. Campus plan of Yanjing University
5-2. The campus of Peking University (former Yanjing University)





6. 由墨菲设计的金陵女子大学100号楼
6. No. 100 Building of Nanjing Ginling Women's College

and taller. After building the foundation, all raw materials were shipped to the building site for rapid construction. Whichever story was under construction, that story became the required working interface. Due to sophisticated transportation and construction, and timely and accurate work shifts, the construction required very little urban space other than the building itself. In Rem Koolhaas's words, it was like the Empire State Building "built itself".

At the time, such a project would have been impossible in China, and there were no Chinese developers who could meet such demands. Additionally, there were no foreign engineers or architects who knew China's situation well. When Murphy started working in China, he not only had to be capable of large-scale site planning, concept design and proposing basic plans, but also had to know the construction skills of local workers and coordinate solutions for all kinds of "accidents" that occur during the construction process. Most foreign architects working in China in the 1930s, including Murphy, were not hired by Chinese developers, but by foreign companies. The regime of that time allowed foreign architects to directly represent foreign interests and companies, which meant they did not have to worry about not so well established building regulations. Frankly, it provided very good conditions for western construction in China. They gained preliminary experience through cooperation with local Chinese firms during construction, and the "hybrid of China and the West" helped break strict boundaries and

brought the two sides a little closer.

However, this model is not without serious problems. From the perspective of foreign designers, a project's success is highly dependent on the quality of the developer, and the actual output is far more complicated than originally imagined. Most Westerners who hold a pragmatic attitude do not understand China's interests and patience. For example, Murphy charged extremely high fees, but he was a successful because he catered to potential Chinese costumers by emphasizing cultural strategy more than his competitors. He respected the so-called "northern tradition", meaning he choose traditional construction methods represented by official palace style buildings and partly agreed to the hierarchies in Chinese architecture system. Murphy could do so because he had a deep understanding to Chinese culture and was able to skip controversial problems. Unfortunately, Chinese architects have often modeled their practices on Murphy. On the one hand they simplified architecture into a simple idea of "function + form", which

What is important is not the difference between "they" and "we", but if "we" can neutralize the need for "they".

is not a very sophisticated perspective on architecture. On the other hand, it is a classic Chinese perspective that allows Chinese architects to see modeling ability and artistic accomplishments as a shortcut to get profits and reputation. Apart from technology, Chinese designers have thrown aside other important aspects of modern architecture, rendering them unable to fully understand the social significance of architecture. Many of Murphy's designs are not outstanding, but they often hold historical significance. For example, alumni feel deeply attached to Nanjing Ginling Women's College, designed by Yen-Chih Lu with Murphy as the advisor, and the old library of Tsinghua University, designed by Jun Zhuang with guidance from Murphy. But the design of both these examples is not remarkable on their own. However, these buildings made a little known architect in the US a celebrity in Chinese culture. The earliest way that foreign architects contributed to Chinese cities — there is score but no achievement; there is discipline but no academy — even determined the origin of some problems of current architecture education. The interior of architecture discipline is easily

considered as a practical learning, but its exterior forms are considered as "classics" too long ago that architects are discouraged to question but to get more familiar with. This breaks up the consistency between pre-existing methods (which are also the "truth" of physical properties) and purposes (rationalism since the Age of Enlightenment) of western architecture.

In recent years, "international architecture playground" has become a common saying to tease foreign architects who frequently work in China. The presence of international designers is not about the role of international practice in China, but whether our country has the intelligence and sincerity to accept foreign designers, and is brave enough to absorb and challenge foreign wisdom. Throughout architectural history it is not unusual to see the influence of foreign designers. For example, in 1979 the West German government wanted to transform the city of Berlin, which was still divided at the time. They created a strategy of "cautious urban renewal" through "critical reconstruction". They invited many world-famous architects, such as Peter Eisenman, Vittorio Gregotti, Hans Hollein, Arata Isozaki, Rob

Collier, Aldo Rossi and James Stirling, to contribute ideas for the redevelopment of Berlin. By 1987, when Berlin had already been an established city for more than 750 years, the work of these architects brought significant transformations to the city, contributing valuable advice and experience to the redevelopment of the city's future.

Perhaps what is important is not the difference between "they" and "we", but if "we" can neutralize the need for "they". **LAF**

7. 由墨菲指导设计的清华大学校园广场及大礼堂 © 冯成
7. The grounds of the Tsinghua University, with the "Grand Auditorium", directed by Murphy. © 冯成

