

Journal  
OF THE  
Royal Asiatic Society  
China



Vol. 80, No. 1  
2020



Journal  
OF THE  
Royal Asiatic  
Society  
China

VOL 80

2020

No 1

Price 100 RMB

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The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society China is published by  
Earnshaw Books on behalf of the Royal Asiatic Society China

# Journal OF THE Royal Asiatic Society China

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Vol. 80 No. 1, 2020

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Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society China  
Vol. 80 No. 1, 2020

978-988-8552-88-7

EB 142

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17/E, Siu Ying Commercial Building, 151-155 Queen's Road Central, Hong Kong

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# BUILDING RUSSIAN SHANGHAI: THE ARCHITECTURAL LEGACY OF THE DIASPORA

BY KATYA KNYAZEVA

## ABSTRACT

*The Russian population of Shanghai during the 1930s was close to 50,000 people,<sup>1</sup> and although this large community disappeared in the 1950s, it was not without a trace. Beyond signature monuments to the presence of the Russians – the Orthodox churches and the former Sino-Soviet Friendship Hall – there are over sixty public buildings, offices, villas, apartment houses and lane compounds designed by the diaspora. Architects, engineers and general contractors from the émigré community rose to the top echelons in the city-building industry and compensated for the precariousness of their statelessness by achieving eminent professional status and economic security. The careers in construction and real estate proved an opportunity for the Russians to integrate into the treaty port society and economy. They were occupied at every level in large and small Chinese and Western firms as bosses and subordinates, independent contractors and full partners, owners, independent consultants and clerks. The 1949 Liberation tore through the treaty port's social fabric, essentially removing the foreign society from the city, but the Russians' involvement in the physical building of Shanghai ensured their tangible mark on its map.*

## FOUNDATION

The first Russian-designed building in Shanghai was the Church of the Epiphany (1903), located on Baoshan Road in the distant northern suburb, on a site surrounded by farmland, canals and railway tracks. Constructed by amateurs without any professional supervision, the two-story brick building with a bell tower was regarded as picturesque,<sup>2</sup> but it had structural flaws and its functionally left much to be desired, as the resident priests admitted.<sup>3</sup> As an outpost of the Russian Imperial Orthodox Mission, headquartered in Beijing, the Shanghai mission was intended to become a place where orphaned Chinese children would be taught the Russian language, baptised and raised in the Eastern Orthodox religion. But immediately after its completion, the Shanghai church had to become a rescue station



**Figure 1:** Church of the Epiphany on Baoshan Road. Moscow Spiritual Academy

not exceed fifty people, most of whom were associated with the tea trade centred in Hankou, or with the Jewish community from the Pale of Settlement, who were living near the port and operating inns and restaurants. Nonetheless, the Russian Empire had official representation in Shanghai. The Russo-Chinese Bank, created in 1895 to finance construction of the China East Railway, received a new purpose-built edifice on the Bund in October 1902. Designed by the German architect Heinrich Becker, the European baroque building had a striking tile-clad façade decorated with three sculpted heads – a pair of moustachioed Cossacks flanking a Chinese man in a Manchu cap. The bank dwarfed the galleried ‘colonial’ bungalows on its both sides, making them appear old-fashioned and unstable. For ten years, this building signified Russia’s imperial prestige and commitment to China, until Russia’s devastating defeat in the 1905 Russo-Japanese War nearly bankrupted the bank and curtailed Russia’s East Asian ambitions.

The Russian Consulate – initially referred to as the Russian *yamen* – moved from one address to another until 1914, when diplomats secured a waterfront lot in front of the Astor House, taking advantage of the hotel’s temporary insolvency. The building design was the work of another German architect, Hans Emil Lieb, who had previously

for the Russian refugees, who began to arrive in Shanghai in August 1904 by the hundreds, driven from China’s northern city of Port Arthur by Russia’s loss in the Russo-Japanese War (1903–1905). On May 17, 1905, one among these refugees, the officer Basile Alfater, married his fiancée Alexandra Dessino in the Church of the Epiphany, treating the curious foreign society to the spectacle of the first traditional Orthodox wedding on Shanghai soil.<sup>4</sup>

Before the Port Arthur emergency, the resident Russian community in Shanghai did

built the German school, Kaiser-Wilhelm Schule. He designed the Russian Consulate in a similar Prussian renaissance style, with distinct undulating gables and arched dormer windows dotting the roof. The Russian Post Office initially operated out of the Consulate, until in 1913 it obtained its own building, designed by Atkinson & Dallas. It was located on the northern embankment of Suzhou Creek, at the corner of Wusong Road.

In early 1918, exiles from Bolshevik Russia started to arrive in Shanghai, traveling by river routes, overland and by passenger vessels from North China. The Church of the Epiphany placed these refugees in the mission buildings, which quickly became ‘fearfully overcrowded.’ As a foreign observer noted: ‘Refugees rent these tiny little rooms for a small sum, all of them in a very ramshackle condition; the priest lives in one no better and no bigger than the rest, just the kind of room our Chinese servants live in.’<sup>5</sup> By 1920, there were between 2000 and 3000 Russian refugees in Shanghai, and the numbers were increasing.<sup>6</sup> The exiles were desperately looking for work – many without success. In January 1920, unable to find a job, a man leapt in front of a moving train that passed by the church.<sup>7</sup> This grisly and well-publicised suicide provoked the foreign society’s concern for the wellbeing of the refugees. Solicitations in local newspapers listed the professions of sixty-five job seekers, among which there were seven building engineers, one carpenter, one mechanical engineer, one stonemason and one draughtsman.<sup>8</sup>

#### PILLARS

The number of Russian exiles in Shanghai sharply increased in the autumn of 1922, when a string of salvaged cargo and military ships from Vladivostok began to anchor in the port, ‘every inch of their decks filled to capacity with the sick, starved and nervously shaken men, women and children.’<sup>9</sup> The ships brought over three thousand people. Among the passengers was Colonel **Alexander Yaron** (1874–1935), who had an impressive résumé, having already designed a number of military and civic buildings that still occupy central streets of Tallinn, Estonia. In February 1923, Yaron joined the firm of the Spanish architect Abelardo Lafuente and assisted in designing a grand ballroom and a dining room in the annex of the Majestic Hotel.<sup>10</sup> After this success, Yaron became full partner in the firm, which was renamed Lafuente & Yaron. In 1924, he designed Linda Terrace in the

western part of Avenue Joffre (now Middle Huaihai Road) – one of the earliest residential lane compounds in this area, which marked the beginning of the Russian tenancy in the French Concession. Over the next years, the Russian settlement stretched along Avenue Joffre and the adjacent streets – Route Vallon (Nanchang Road), Rue Bourgeat (Changle Road), Route Paul Henry (Xinle Road), Route Grouchy (Yanqing Road).

Yaron's entry into Lafuente's firm provoked a stylistic shift from the Moorish-inflected designs enjoyed by Lafuente's Spanish clients to Italian and German classicism and Gothic revival. In his *résumé* from April 1927, Yaron listed several churches, chapels and cloisters for provincial missions, a large Catholic cathedral for Fuzhou, two apartment buildings on Bubbling Well Road, Kincheng Bank headquarters near the Bund, several lane compounds and even a mosque – which was not realised – altogether fourteen buildings, of which four were built under his supervision.<sup>11</sup> Yaron's son John also trained as an architect and worked at Lafuente & Yaron. In early 1927, Lafuente left for the USA, taking with him the project of a beach hotel, which became Yaron's last work for the firm. From 1928, A.J. Yaron worked independently, building two residences for Chinese government officials, a warehouse and office for the firm of D.G.M. Aronovsky, and a group of villas on Rue Bourgeat – one of these was the architect's residence, until he donated it to the St. Tichon's Orphanage, operated by the Russian Orthodox church.



**Figure 2:** Lafuente & Yaron studio on Bubbling Well Road. Pérez (2019)

In 1929, the sport of *hai-alai* was introduced in Shanghai, and Yaron proposed an arena in the Italian renaissance style, but his design was rejected in favour of a modernist structure designed by Spence, Robinson & Partners. Yaron never shared his contemporaries' enthusiasm for modernism. He openly despised utilitarianism and art deco. The journalist Ivan Kounin called him an 'undeniable classicist, though not a conservative.'<sup>12</sup> Yaron thought that post-1920 innovations lacked professionalism and represented a shallow understanding of the architectural vernacular. He saw the prevailing eclecticism as simplistic mechanical assembly of decorative elements devoid of any meaningful connection to the structural logic of the building. Yaron practiced a wide variety of styles, but one at a time. The Recoletos Procuration on Rue Moliere was in the Spanish mission style, the residence for the retired government official Wang Boqun, on Yu Yuen Road, was a Victorian Gothic manor, and Yaron's own residence looked like a Tudor country house.

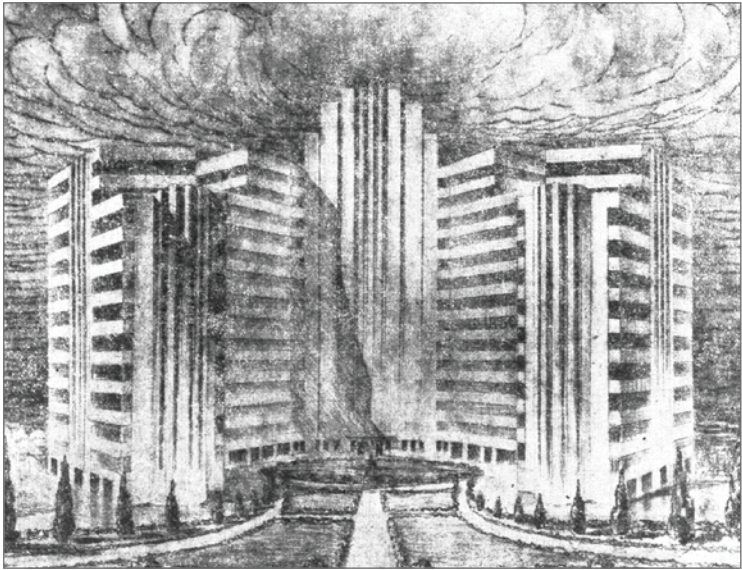
In 1932, Yaron built the Bishop Apartments for the Russian Orthodox clergy, in the national revival style, with a temporary church and a bell tower, and started the construction of St. Nicholas Church, on Rue Corneile, funded by expatriate Russian military organisations. He took charge of all the building aspects, from the design to the purchase of materials and the workers' wages. The building was modelled on the religious architecture of Russia's north, particularly the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Church of Resurrection in Kolomenskoe.<sup>13</sup> It had a repeating pattern of eight petal-shaped volumes that gradually reduced in scale, supporting a large dome covered with a turquoise mosaic. Smaller domes and the crosses were covered in gold leaf. The use of reinforced concrete made it possible to create a single vault without supporting columns. The church was decorated with carved masonry and glazed tile outside and inside. The bell tower facing the street displayed the colours of the Romanov family – white, orange and black – reinforcing the dedication of the building to the monarch Nicholas the Second. Many Russian artists in Shanghai worked on the interior: the professional icon painter A. Berezin created the altar, A. Haritonoff painted the icons in the overhead niches; the inside of the central dome had a mosaic image of Christ made by the architect himself, the Twelve Apostles by the popular portrait artist V. Zasiipkin and the Four Evangelists by A. Kichigin. The sculptor I. Karsnitsky, a rare woman in the Shanghai architectural trade, assisted V. Biliani in

the making of the plaster mouldings throughout the interior.<sup>14</sup>

Yaron's final project was the Ministry of Communications in Nanking, which took four years to build. The ornate structure with a pale green traditional Chinese roof and a 120-meter frontage – 'the largest and the most magnificent in the capital'<sup>15</sup> – was inaugurated in October 1934, to become 'a splendid addition to the Government row.'<sup>16</sup> Its destruction by the Japanese army in 1937 was lamented as an architectural tragedy.<sup>17</sup>

An architect of Yaron's generation with an equally successful career but with a more progressive stylistic approach was **Wladimir Livin-Goldenstaedt** (1878–after 1956). He earned his degree in architecture at the Institute of Civil Engineers in Saint Petersburg and then designed municipal and private buildings in Vladivostok. When the Bolsheviks took the Russian Far East, he came to Shanghai. In 1925, Livin-Goldenstaedt and his compatriot M. Zdanowitch entered the countrywide design competition for Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum. Their designs earned 5th, 6th and 7th places, but an anonymous foreign observer criticised them as 'mongrel architecture' and 'some Ivan Nevski church garbed in Chinese details with struggling Japanese phoenixes under the roof.'<sup>18</sup> Livin-Goldenstaedt never tried Chinese styles again and instead plunged into the modernist aesthetic. In 1926, he founded the Eastern Asia Architects and Engineers Corp. and publicised plans for a new shopping emporium, to be built on Nanking Road, but land prices on this commercial thoroughfare were rising so quickly that the one-million-tael deal fell through and the project was not realised. Livin's other projects, however, were successful. Among them was the small and exclusive Hotel Tiny (1928), the large residential complex King Albert Apartments (1931), the elegant building of Irene Apartments (1935) and the stunning Astrid Apartments (1934). The latter building, comprised of seventy apartments and sixteen shops on eight stories, achieved such balance of form and surface that it is now viewed as the quintessence of Shanghai's art deco era, judging by the number of book covers that feature it.<sup>19</sup>

The year 1934 was prominent for Shanghai building. Thirty-eight apartment houses, 308 foreign villas and over 600 semi-European and Chinese-style houses rose in the French Concession alone. In the International Settlement, there were eight new apartment blocks, fifteen office buildings, 221 foreign residences and almost 2,800 Chinese houses.<sup>20</sup> Riding on the success of his Astrid design, Livin-



**Figure 3:** W. Livin's design of the Magnate Apartments (unrealised).  
*Shanghai Sunday Times*, December 15, 1935.

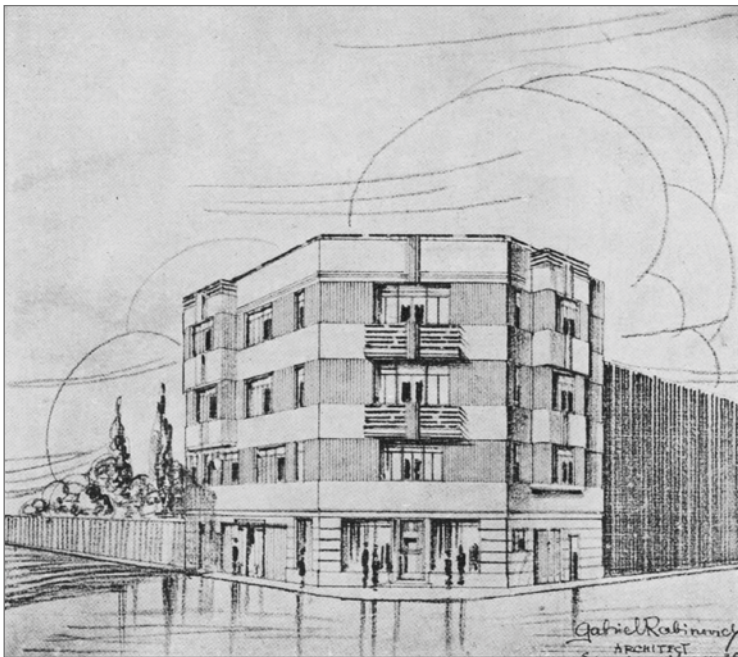
Goldenstaedt publicised several project proposals, one of which, named the Magnate Apartments, was a composite of Shanghai's greatest recent buildings – the Grosvenor (Palmer & Turner), the Medhurst (Davies, Brooke & Gran), the Picardie (Minutti & Ledreux), the Dauphine (Leonard, Veysseyre & Kruze) and the Empire Mansions (Kyetay Architects). But the boom was over. The world economic depression rippled to Shanghai and war with Japan was looming. Investors became cautious and large projects were downsized. The prices of construction materials rose in response to quotas imposed by the Republican government, who sought to reserve strategic supplies of stone, metal and wood for the defence effort. Completely unrelated, but equally damaging was the port strike in Portland, USA, which disrupted the supplies of Oregon pine, almost universally utilised in Shanghai for pile foundations.<sup>21</sup> Livin's ambitious Magnate project was not realised.

While Livin-Goldenstaedt worked independently and had his name associated with his creations, the majority of Russians in the architectural profession joined established local firms, forfeiting the right to put a signature on their works. Such was **Gabriel 'Gava' Rabinovich** (1899–after 1961), from Vitebsk, whose earliest known assignment in Shanghai was the conversion of a residential building



on Ward Road into the Ohel Moshe Synagogue, used by the Russian Jews living in the Wayside area. The rebuilding, completed in 1928, required the removal of the second floor and the addition of pillars to support the roof; a mezzanine was constructed for the women to pray separately.<sup>22</sup>

In 1933, Rabinovich joined the Chinese firm Republic Land Investment Co., which executed a massive development scheme on the north bank of Suzhou Creek. The flagship of the project – the New Asia Hotel – was designed by the company’s chief architect S.A. Sayer, while Rabinovich designed the other two – the Bridge House and Derring Apartments – both of which opened on January 15, 1935.<sup>23</sup> Rabinovich’s other known projects are several private residences and two compact multi-unit buildings in the French Concession – Koffman Apartments (1935) and Doumer Apartments (1941). Around 1939, he also built some residences in Wayside, which were rented out to European Jewish refugees. Years later, upon resettling in Tel-Aviv, Rabinovich built a synagogue for immigrants from China, on HaGolan Street.<sup>24</sup>



**Figure 4:** Rabinovich’s drawing of the Koffman Apartments, dated by March 1935. *Jianzhu Yuekan (Builder)*, 1935 Vol. 3 No. 1.

The career of **Alexander Reyer** (1895–1946) demonstrated that in Shanghai's building frenzy of the 1930s, not just an architect but also a general contractor could become a celebrity. Reyer was a refugee from Saint Petersburg, who arrived in Shanghai in 1920. By 1933, his construction firm's portfolio included the general works and plumbing service for the Astor and Majestic hotels, the design and construction of the Country Club's swimming pool, the construction of the Cavendish Court and the North End Apartments, as well as multiple factories, wharves, and warehouses. Reyer's point of pride was his engineering work on the Grand Theatre (1933), designed by L.E. Hudec, for which Reyer devised and implemented reinforced concrete beams of unprecedented length – 'the longest concrete construction in the far East.'<sup>25</sup> Reyer's was the only Russian name found in the directory *Men of Shanghai and North China*, a collection of more than 280 biographies of the 'men of all races and creeds who, in various fields of endeavour, have contributed in some substantial measure to the material and cultural advancement of Shanghai and North China.'<sup>26</sup>

Although **Boris Krivoss** (1901–1990), of Russian and Czech origin, slipped under the radar of the directories, he was the most prolific and the most versatile builder of Russian Shanghai. His father, a cryptographer in the service of the Tsarist secret police, fell afoul of Bolshevik authorities, so the family scattered and young Boris Krivoss crossed the border to China. He opened his own real estate and architecture firm in Shanghai, and by the late 1920s had become one of the richest Russians here, practicing as a realtor, land broker, landlord and builder. Enjoying the friendship and patronage of the architect L.E. Hudec, Krivoss initially specialised in rebuilding and modernising existing buildings and gradually learned to build villas, apartments and lane houses of his own design.

The firm Krivoss & Co. produced almost two dozen buildings in eclectic and adventurous styles, such as La Tour (1928), Tiny (1930), Krivoss (1930), Petain (1931), Western (1931) and Nesthouse (1932) apartment buildings, as well as faux-Chinese terrace houses, Spanish mission style compounds and English colonial bungalows. One of his most celebrated projects was a mixed-use modernist complex Joffre Arcade (1934), which arranged 27 shops and 25 apartments around a cross-shaped courtyard with a fountain in the centre.<sup>27</sup> The courtyard was accessed through a passage in the front building, whose glazed

vertical section formed ‘a pleasant break in the regularity of the endless succession of shops on the road front.’<sup>28</sup> The majority of the residents and storeowners in the Joffre Arcade were Russians; their barbershops, ateliers, clinics and cafes earned it the nickname ‘the Russian bazaar.’<sup>29</sup>

Living in the penthouse of his own Krivoss Apartments on Avenue Joffre, Boris Krivoss was a major donor to Russian charities, an honorary chairman of the Association of Yugoslavian citizens and an avid yachtsman who navigated Yangtse inland waterways on a houseboat. Once he salvaged an old Chinese cannon weighing 100 kilos from the bottom of a creek and exhibited it in his real estate office.<sup>30</sup> In 1932, having returned from a round-the-world cruise, Krivoss gave a page-long interview to the China Press, in which he shared his ideas about city planning and architecture. He found California lovely and approved of Hollywood-style homes, however ‘garish and ornate.’ New York was dirty and grimy; Chicago was clean and orderly. He was impressed with skyscrapers, finding them efficient and attractive: ‘Too bad we can’t have such things here. Shanghai soil couldn’t support them; it’s too mucky and soft.’ In conclusion, he said: ‘I’m glad to be back in Shanghai. I consider it my home. I’ve seen Shanghai grow and it has a big future. I’m sorry I missed the war. There is apparently a great deal of work for everybody in Chapei.’<sup>31</sup>



**Figure 5:** Russian resident outside his former home in Zhabei, 1932.  
Historical Photographs of China

‘The war in Chapei’ (Zhabei) was the armed conflict between the Japanese and Chinese troops in January 1932, which turned the northern areas of Shanghai into a smouldering ruin. By that time, a big part of the Russian community had already moved to the French Concession, their exodus from the city’s north driven by the armed conflict that swept through the same territory five years prior. Back in 1927, the Chinese nationalists and warlord armies engaged in an urban warfare in the streets of Zhabei, damaging hundreds of homes and the Russian Church of the Epiphany. Yet, even in 1932 there were still Russians living in Zhabei, especially the new arrivals from North China. During the January 1932 conflict, Japanese snipers mistook the bell tower of the Russian church for an observation post and fired at it nonstop, while the Chinese forces responded with fire at the same target.<sup>32</sup> The damaged building was not used again.

The near-total destruction of the northern district stimulated the building activity in all areas of the city, and young Russian architects were ‘involved in the construction of almost every building.’<sup>33</sup> With low salary expectations and good training, they found positions on the staff of virtually every large foreign firm. Elliott Hazzard almost exclusively employed Russian expatriates, as did C.H. Gonda and Corit & Co.<sup>34</sup> The studio of L.E. Hudec employed and trained dozens of Russians over the years; the firm’s senior employees Jacob Slaschov and Konstantin Egikoff were the chief draftsman and construction supervisor during the construction of the first Asian skyscraper, the Joint Savings Society Building (1934).<sup>35</sup> **Leonid Pashkoff** (1884–?) was the third important person at the studio of French architects Alexandre Leonard and Paul Veyseyre, and he played a major role in designing and erecting the spacious new French Club (1926), to which he contributed ‘many of the most decorative effects of the interior.’<sup>36</sup> Others Russians worked on the club’s interior: V. Podgoursky designed coloured glass windows in some of the rooms; M. Stupin painted modernist murals; V. Shibaëff created the sculptures above the fireplace in the library.

The émigrés’ well-developed professional network allowed them to engage each other at all stages of design, construction, interior decoration, landscaping and furnishing. In 1935, after fifteen years of China practice, A. Chibunovsky’s engineering and plumbing company claimed 300 projects, including dozens of apartments, hotels and villas that his Russian colleagues had worked on.<sup>37</sup> When Cecilia Ezra,

the daughter of the publisher N.E.B. Ezra, became a draftsman at the firm of Minutti & Co. in 1934, she was celebrated as the first young woman to enter an architect's office in Shanghai.<sup>38</sup> Unbeknownst to the journalists, already in 1926, Leonid Pashkoff's wife Nina had been employed as a draftsman at Leonard & Veysseyre, her employment reflecting the general trend amongst Russian women in Shanghai to work outside the home to support their families.

While older Russian building professionals had their Imperial Russian degrees, the younger ones were mostly educated at the Harbin Polytechnic Institute. Established in 1922, this school offered a programme modelled on the Russian imperial engineering academies, adapted to the requirements of the China Eastern Railway. The head of the architecture department was P.F. Fedorovsky, of the Saint Petersburg Arts Academy.<sup>39</sup> By 1937 the Harbin graduates in Shanghai numbered over a hundred.<sup>40</sup> In Shanghai, the main college for architecture and engineering was the Centre Technique Superieur based in the French school, Ecole Remi; architects and engineers V. Kotenev, A. Yaron, E. Gran, L. Pashkoff were lecturers there.

#### PINNACLE

No Russian rose higher in the ranks of Shanghai architects than **Emmanuel Gran** (1894–1969). Born in Samara, in central Russia, he graduated as a marine officer in 1917 and saw combat against the Bolsheviks when he was serving in the Russian Navy. Having landed in Shanghai in 1921, he instantly found a job as an architect with the largest and most prestigious architectural firm, Palmer & Turner. Gran was active in the firm during the decade Palmer & Turner completed its largest projects, such as the Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation (1923), Yokohama Specie Bank (1924), West Park Mansions (1926), Custom House (1927), Beth Aharon Synagogue (1927), the remodelling of the Palace Hotel (1927), Cathay Hotel (1929), Central Arcade (1929), Metropole Hotel (1931), Hamilton House (1932) and Embankment Building (1932).

Always listed near the top of the list of Palmer & Turner's architects, Gran's was the only name there without credentials from either the Royal Institute of British Architects or the American Institute of Architects. For most Russians the problem of certification was acute and often led to precarious professional lives. In 1929, Paul Tomashevsky, an underemployed architect from Harbin, shot himself

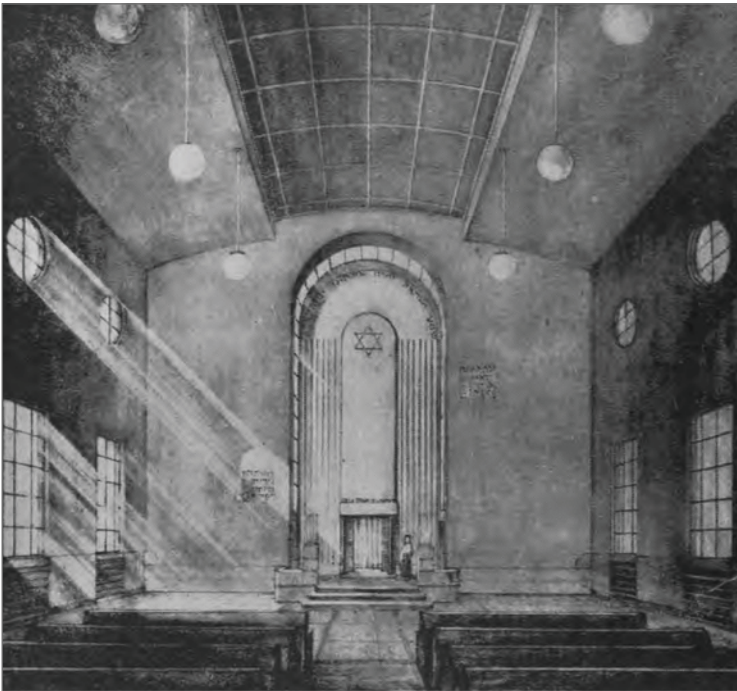
through the heart; his will included his design for a monument on his gravesite. To support the compatriots in the profession, in November 1931 Gran and his colleague Nicolay Emanoff created the Russian Engineers' Society (also known as the Russian Technical Society). It offered public lectures, job placement and financial aid to young engineers and architects. By 1935, the Society had more than two hundred members.<sup>41</sup> Among its board members were successful general contractors, architects and engineers, including A. Chibunovsky, E. Gindper, and A. Kooklin.

By the time Emmanuel Gran left Palmer & Turner, he was described in the press as the 'author of many notable buildings'<sup>42</sup> and 'an architect with an already established reputation.'<sup>43</sup> In January 1932, he joined Davies & Brooke, a firm with a history in Shanghai going back to 1897, which by the early 1930s had long exhausted its creative potential. As an 'exponent of the newer tendencies of modern architectural practice',<sup>44</sup> Gran rescued Davies & Brooke from stagnation and insolvency by steering the studio toward modernism. In his first year alone, he published eight new proposals for residences, apartment buildings and office blocks, all of which were angular, streamlined and radically different from Davies & Brooke's previous projects – the neoclassical Overseas Chinese Building (1930) and the eclectic Lyceum Theatre (1931). In early 1933, the senior partner, C. Gilbert Davies died, but his name remained in the firm's title, Davies, Brooke & Gran.

Gran expanded the staff and brought almost a dozen of his Russian colleagues – including architects and civil engineers N. Emanoff, E. Kostritsky, A. Skvortsov, C. Malinovsky – poaching mostly from Palmer & Turner. With the help of the building contractor Nan-Tsoo Loh (Lu Nanchu) of the New Shanghai Construction Co., the studio produced a number of large-scale projects, such as Lafayette Court (1933), Medhurst Apartments (1934), Victor Court (1934), Yue Tuck Apartments (1934), Commercial Bank of China (Development Building) (1935), Hanray Apartments (1937–1939) and Magnet House (1938). Gran also designed the Edgewater Hotel (1934) in Qingdao<sup>45</sup> and Bay View Mansions (1933) in Hong Kong,<sup>46</sup> traveling there to personally supervise construction.

Throughout the 1930s, Russians continued to migrate from China's north to Shanghai, populating the French Concession and making a thriving commercial centre out of Avenue Joffre.<sup>47</sup> Among

this population, there were about 4,000 Russian Jews, and they needed a synagogue closer to the home than the one in Wayside.<sup>48</sup> Gran was an activist in the Jewish community, and he personally designed a new synagogue to stand on a small lot on the corner of today's Nanchang and Xiangyang Roads. Gran's design was described as extremely modern and simple in style, with the 'severe lines of the interior [...] broken and softened effectively by an imposing altar designed in the ancient Hebrew style.' The architect also included a hidden choir, ensuring that 'the voices of the young choristers are clearly heard, but they are not visible to the members of the congregation.'<sup>49</sup> The seating for men was on the ground floor; women sat in the balcony. The Japanese attack, in the autumn 1937, delayed the work, but the inexplicable sympathy of Japanese marine commander Inuzuka Koreshige ensured the much-needed supply of cement to finish the construction. On April 6, 1941, the opening of the New Ashkenazi Synagogue was celebrated by a mass wedding of twelve couples.



**Figure 6:** Interior of the new Ashkenazi Synagogue, by Emmanuel Gran. *Shanghai Sunday Times*, December 12, 1937

## DECORATION

On May 17, 1925, the local daily China Press published the shortlist of the finalists for its cover design competition; among the seven names two were Chinese and five were Russian. The winner of the 100-dollar first prize and the right to design the cover of the October special issue was Benjamin Mamysh, an architectural assistant at Palmer & Turner, who came to Shanghai in 1921. His drawing portrayed the industrial waterfront and the port, with cranes and smokestacks against the silhouettes of Palmer & Turner creations – the HSBC building, the Custom House and the Chartered Bank – all contained in a large suspended lantern and placed under a stone arch with Chinese upturned eaves. Subsequently, Mamysh worked as an architectural draftsman at the Public Works Department of the Shanghai Municipal Council until 1938.

Russian artists and sculptors were plentiful among the diaspora. They competed relentlessly to fill the ranks of advertising, publishing and architecture firms, designing theatre sets, exhibition stands, store windows and even costumes for cabaret dancers. Although he lost the China Press cover design competition to Mamysh, **Victor Podgoursky** (1893–1969) rose to become the most famous émigré artist and decorator in Shanghai. One of four sons of a Polish aristocrat exiled in Siberia, Podgoursky grew up in Vladivostok and studied in the Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture in 1914–1918, under the tutelage of the painters Arkhipov and Vasnetsov.<sup>50</sup> Having arrived in Shanghai in 1920, he worked as a press cartoonist and a teacher of painting and figure drawing, eventually becoming a mainstay of Shanghai art exhibitions. Arthur Sowerby, of the China Journal, found his art to be ‘of high caliber,’ and expressed amazement that such a talented artist should price his pastels as low as \$50.<sup>51</sup> A member of the Shanghai Art Club since 1929, Podgoursky became the resident art critic and instructor in anatomy, life drawing and still life. The Club admitted owing much to his presence, as ‘the guide and the philosopher of the art classes’ and ‘an always attractive exhibitor at the annual displays.’<sup>52</sup>

Podgoursky’s interior décor commissions were not many, but they were significant. For the French Club (1926), he designed the coloured glass windows in some of the rooms.<sup>53</sup> In 1928, a large painting of his was installed in the foyer of the Capitol Theatre. For the Cathay Hotel (1929), he created the playful bacchanalian murals in the Bund-side



entrance hall, the tearoom and the bar.<sup>54</sup> In February 1935, the artist departed for Italy to supervise the assembly of the ceiling mosaic, commissioned for the HSBC building in Hong Kong (1935). The mosaic, that covered 4,000 square feet, was executed in bright colours without halftones and depicted 50 life-size figures as well as animals, machines, ships and contraptions. The centrepiece, in the shape of an inverted half-cylinder, evoked the theme of progress and depicted human endeavour from prehistoric to modern, 'with emphasis on industry and transport, the occidental and oriental contrasted on opposing sectors.'<sup>55</sup> There were also images of the sun, Greek gods, the signs of the Zodiac, the Chinese gods of fortune and Buddhist deities.

Podgoursky was the author of the bronze bust of the poet Alexander Pushkin, for a monument jointly executed by the architects W. Livin-Goldenstaedt and E. Gran. Sponsored by the Shanghai Russian community, the monument was installed in a quiet square in the French Concession, and its unveiling on February 11, 1937, was widely celebrated by the whole community.

Among the few female decorators and interior designers, the sculptor **Isabella Karsnitsky** (1902–?) was notable for her productivity and early success. She arrived in Shanghai in 1923 with her officer husband Victor Karsnitsky and joined the city's largest interior design company Arts & Crafts. In her first year there, she created bronze ornaments – symbolical trophies and the Roll of Honour – for the base of the War Memorial on the Bund, which opened in February 1924.<sup>56</sup> She also worked alongside the firm's chief sculptor W.W. Wagstaff to make statues of Hermes, Eros and Aphrodite, which were cast in bronze and mounted on the clock tower of the General Post Office. In the following years, Karsnitsky and Wagstaff exhibited their sculptures together at local art shows.<sup>57</sup>

After Karsnitsky left Arts & Crafts, she taught drawing at the French Municipal School and worked on private commissions, creating over a hundred bronze busts and reliefs.<sup>58</sup> Among them was a memorial to ten Russian traders, murdered by the bandits near Jianguyin, which was inaugurated at the Pahsienjao Cemetery in October 1928. The statue depicted a stooping figure of a peddler with a bundle on his back, holding a stick in one hand and clutching a cap in his other hand resting on his knee.<sup>59</sup> Karsnitsky's other work included a bust of the world chess champion Alexander Alekhine – perhaps, as a conciliatory tribute, after she actually won a chess game against him in January 1933.<sup>60</sup>

In 1935, the writer Vladimir Jiganoff complained that the quality of painting in Shanghai had declined due to the artists' excessive interest in decorative and applied arts, and their infatuation with 'modern' style.<sup>61</sup> The commercial career of **Jacob Lehonos** (1891–1942), however, does not seem to have detracted him from his painterly production; he was a fixture at Shanghai art shows. Lehonos was from Taganrog, in southwestern Russia, and graduated from the Painting Department of the Imperial Society of the Encouragement for Arts in Saint Petersburg, where he was a favourite student of Nicholas Roerich, an authority on landscape painting and ancient architecture. In 1923, having fought in the First World War and the Russian Civil War, Lehonos landed in Shanghai. The local press took notice of the artist's paintings and sculptures after a 1925 exhibition, where Karsnitsky and Podgoursky were present. Advertising as a 'mural painting and sculpture specialist,'<sup>62</sup> Lehonos received many commissions, including the lion relief for the Chinese Naval Military Department and a pair of cast-iron griffins mounted on cement pillars in front of the Majestic Hotel.<sup>63</sup>

In 1927, working with architect Robert Fan on the renovation of the Isis Theatre, Lehonos produced 'some of the most unusual decorations yet seen in Shanghai,'<sup>64</sup> combining painted murals, imitation stained glass windows in vivid colours and pillars, made to resemble onyx capped in bronze. The windows depicted Romeo and Juliet, Marguerite and Don Quixote 'assiduously tilting at a windmill.'<sup>65</sup> The décor was considered the best in any theatre in town, and included a variety of classical subjects, depicted 'in a manner vivid and restrained.'<sup>66</sup> Isis, the patron goddess of the theatre, was the central figure of a mural devoted to music; in another panel, the muse



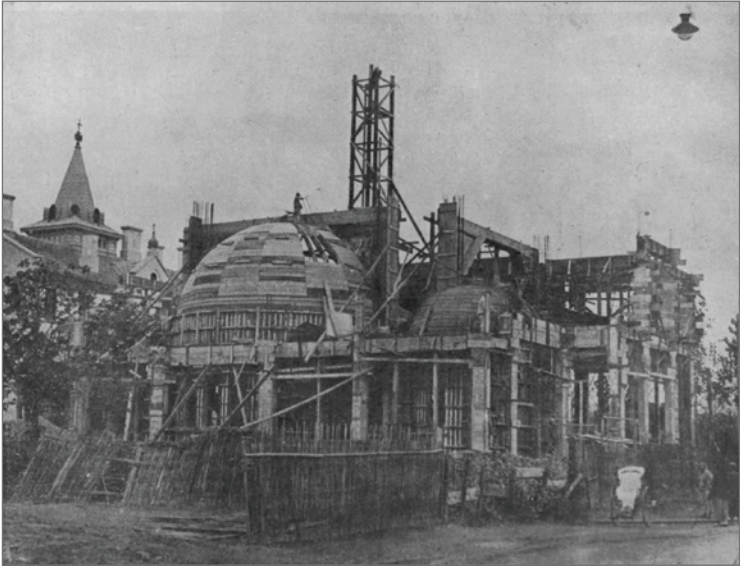
**Figure 7:** War Memorial on the Bund, erected in 1924. AGSL

of dance, Terpsichore, was featured; Bacchus and his court, 'in the midst of typical revels,' formed the subject of another panel. That year, Lehonos also created the décor for the ballroom of the Moon Palace – the 'aristocrat of Hongkew cabarets'<sup>67</sup> – which opened in December.

Lehonos' work on the interior of the Hotel Tiny, designed by Livin-Goldenstaedt, was praised for artistic touches in the dining room and the den, and the stained glass windows.<sup>68</sup> He also created murals and a relief frieze above the proscenium in the Grand Theatre, installed by C.H. Gonda in the old Carlton building. The artist treated the walls and staircases with a filigree flat-oil stain in old gold – a new technique for China.<sup>69</sup> Lehonos also produced four 2.5-meter allegorical sculptures – Progress, Commerce, Economy and Industry – in a distinctive modernist style, situated in niches on the Denis Apartments (1929). He created relief medallions for the Cathay Hotel and murals in the Clements Apartments and a number of private residences. Always in demand, Lehonos was one of the wealthiest Russian artists in Shanghai. He travelled around China, sketching and painting the countryside, city streets and Buddhist sites.

Lehonos' only work in the realm of architecture, the Russian Orthodox Cathedral (1937), was the largest and most conspicuous monument of Shanghai's diaspora. Its construction, initiated in 1927, was continuously delayed by changes in the building site's dimensions, shortages of funds and continuous turnover in the church administration.<sup>70</sup> Lehonos submitted his plan for the project in June 1933, and it replaced earlier approved designs by L. Pashkoff and B. Petroff. 'It is not a direct reference to any particular old Russian church,' Lehonos explained, 'but rather an amalgamation and an expression of the character of ancient religious buildings and construction methods. One of the prototypes was St. George's Cathedral [part of the eponymous monastery in Veliky Novgorod]. The outline also resembles the Church of Christ the Saviour in Moscow. I was not thinking about a specific province in Russia, but rather about our whole country – grand, majestic and dear to the Russian heart.'<sup>71</sup>

The construction of the Cathedral lasted from August 1933 to April 1937 and, as in the case of Yaron's St. Nicholas Church, it proved an opportunity to bring together a host of Russian architects, engineers, artists and decorators, all of whom voluntarily contributed expertise, labour, material supplies and artworks. The contractor A. Reyer designed and financed the foundation; N. Belanovsky, F.



**Figure 8:** Orthodox Cathedral under construction; Yaron-built Bishop Apartments is on the left. *Jianzhu Yuekan (Builder)*, Vol 2. No. 3, 1934

Zaharoff, P. Unterberger, A. Kooklin and G. Yourieff took charge of the engineering; the interior was executed by V. Podgoursky, M. Kichigin, B. Krenov and A. Yaron. In August 1942, as a result of the privation of the occupation regime, Lehonos contracted typhus and died; he was buried in Lokawei cemetery.

#### FINAL TOUCHES

In autumn 1937, the poorest Russians still residing in the northern districts beyond Suzhou Creek, fled to the foreign settlements to escape Japanese attacks on the city – only to be further distressed by the escalating rents. By 1938, they were moving en masse back into Hongkou and Yangpu, taking any space they could find – houses, garages, even ruins.<sup>72</sup> ‘Russians are deterred neither by seclusion, absence of street lighting nor bad communication;<sup>73</sup> marvelled the China Press columnist. ‘Even in houses lacking lighting, glass for windows and half their original structure they manage to create tolerable living conditions.’ Old buses taken off their wheels were seen with ‘For rent’ signs on their windshields in Russian and Chinese.<sup>74</sup> A temporary Orthodox church was set up in a rented building on Wayside Road, while the restaurant in front of it began to function as a second Russian Club.

The artist and interior decorator **Vasily Zasiipkin** (1886–1941) – who had worked as an architectural draftsman for L.E. Hudec – moved his studio from Avenue Joffre to the cheaper Wayside just before the bombardments began. His workspace was pulverised, together with all of his paintings.<sup>75</sup> Zasiipkin left for Singapore, working as a teacher and running an arts society for western expats. His largest commission in Singapore was the interior design of the Cathay Cinema, Café and Roof Garden, on Handy Road. Many other Russians emigrated to the west; every week, Shanghai newspapers announced another notable member of the community moving abroad and promising not to sever ties with the remaining compatriots.

For some, war created opportunities. The architect **Nicolas Sokolovsky** (1897–1958) received a commission from the French Mission du Kiangnan to restore a block of Chinese shops and residences on East Seward Road (now Dongchangzhi Road), gutted by the Japanese bombs; he transformed the site into a three-story shopping mall with residences in the top floors. In the 1920s, Sokolovsky worked as a construction supervisor for Leonard & Veysseyre and had his own studio on Route Grouchy. His architectural credentials came by mail. Back in Saint Petersburg, the 1914 draft had interrupted his studies at the Architecture Academy, so he completed the architecture course in Shanghai, at the International Correspondence School. Sokolovsky was attracted to the philosophic aspects of architecture and art; he published theoretical essays in two languages, gave public lectures on design and perspective, and taught architectural drawing well into the 1950s.

The Russians' return to Wayside coincided with the arrival of about 15,000 European Jewish refugees. By the end of 1938, German signage prevailed over the Russian, announcing new shops, bars, restaurants, cabarets, pharmacies as well as shoemakers, electricians, and carpenters workshops. 'Should we call it Little Vienna, Little Berlin, Little Germany or Little Palestine?' asked the readership of the North-China Herald.<sup>76</sup> Some enterprising Russians took advantage of the acute demand for housing. In July 1939, the architect William A. Kirk was brought to court for defrauding 50 Jewish refugee families of \$10,000 in advanced rentals and deposits, promising to refit and furnish war-damaged houses on Tangshan Road. Luckily for Kirk, his former employer, the renowned architect C.H. Gonda, testified the houses were nearing completion, so Kirk was only found guilty of

intimidation.<sup>77</sup>

This was not Kirk's first criminal conviction – nor was Kirk his real name. **Vsevolod Kirkor** (1901–after 1952), from Harbin, a pharmacist's son and a scout instructor with unknown qualifications, practiced architecture in Shanghai under an assumed name Wm. A. Kirk and achieved surprising success. In 1934, he completed the Belmont Apartments, a six-story reinforced concrete building with 18 units and separate garages, which stands to this day. He also publicised designs for a 23-story office tower, an apartment house for the French Concession, a railway reception hall for the Peiping-Liaoning Railway and a large hospital for Tianjin; the latter was built and functions to this day.

In 1935, Kirk formed a partnership with the Dutch architect G.Th. Ubink and convinced the Russian Orthodox Confraternity to finance the construction of a new hospital. The Confraternity signed a 25-year lease on a lot at the corner of Route Pershing (Wuxing Road) and Avenue Joffre, and in November 1935, ground was broken and Bishop John blessed the project.<sup>78</sup> The five-story hospital – blocky and additive in shape like all Kirk's designs – was to have three wings 'equipped with all the latest in the field of medicine and surgery.'<sup>79</sup> Before the construction could progress, however, the project was rescheduled, revised and scaled down to three floors. Then the architect disappeared. In June 1937, he was arrested in the USA and extradited to face the court in Shanghai on multiple charges of fraud. Several contractors and suppliers accused Kirk of taking advances and commissioning materials without payment.<sup>80</sup> Kirk was found guilty and sentenced to an 8-month imprisonment; the Russian hospital was never built.

The Japanese occupation triggered a dramatic halt to city building. The removal of China's capital from Nanjing to Chongqing and the dismantlement of the Land Bureau convoluted the procedure for land deals. A new Japanese-controlled Land Bureau introduced different building regulations and demanded that British firms comply with them; many projects in the Japanese-controlled areas were halted.<sup>81</sup> The Japanese-led Special Municipality prohibited foreigners from owning and buying property in Chinese territories and threatened to void earlier deals going back decades. The shortage of imported and provincially sourced materials crashed the construction market. There was little work for architects, and the Shanghai Municipal

Council slashed most architectural positions from its Public Works Department,<sup>82</sup> while private firms began to relocate their business abroad.

Stateless Russians had nowhere to go from Shanghai, but this bleak period saw an unexpected flowering of their architectural practices in the West French Concession. That zone, to the west of today's Xiangyang Road, had thus far remained only partially developed, except for standalone apartment buildings and a scattering of private villas. At the end of 1938, the French Municipal Council designated this area for the residential use, and the subsequent years saw an emergence of a number of small and stylish apartment buildings, authored by the Russians. One of the most prolific builders was **Alexander Kooklin** (1903–1977), who aside from designing several apartment buildings in Shanghai, supervised the construction of water reservoirs in Lushan and was chief consultant at the Chinese commission for the preservation of ancient architecture.<sup>83</sup> Prominent on the board of the Russian Engineers' Society, he received a medal of St. Vladimir from the Peking Orthodox Mission for his technical consultation during the construction of the Orthodox Cathedral.

In 1942, Kooklin's four-story Pershing Apartments were built on Avenue Joffre. He was the general contractor for the Hanray Mansions (1939), designed by Davies, Brooke & Gran. He also built a five-



**Figure 9:** A. V. Kooklin (left) and workers on the roof of Hanray Mansions; the Orthodox Cathedral is on the right. Kooklin family archive

# Russian Architect Helps To Alter City's Skyline

## Midget Tenements Are Favoured

**D**uring the past two years a number of interesting and well-planned buildings have been added to Shanghai's skyline and varied the city's architectural landscape. These are the result of a new type of apartment building, the "midget tenement," and the new architectural "midget" type of apartment house.

All the first class apartment houses, the most modern in Shanghai, are of the midget type. In the center of the city, the apartment houses are of the midget type. In the center of the city, the apartment houses are of the midget type. In the center of the city, the apartment houses are of the midget type.

These are the first class apartment houses, the most modern in Shanghai, are of the midget type. In the center of the city, the apartment houses are of the midget type. In the center of the city, the apartment houses are of the midget type.

A midget tenement is a small apartment building with a large open-air terrace. It is a new type of apartment building, the "midget tenement," and the new architectural "midget" type of apartment house.

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**THE TOWER**  
This modern apartment house is one of the first class apartment houses in Shanghai. It is a midget tenement, a small apartment building with a large open-air terrace.



**APARTMENT HOUSE DESIGN**  
Architectural drawing of a modern apartment building, showing the facade and structural details.



**NEW APARTMENT HOUSE**  
This is a new type of apartment building, the "midget tenement," and the new architectural "midget" type of apartment house.



**APARTMENT HOUSE**  
This is a new type of apartment building, the "midget tenement," and the new architectural "midget" type of apartment house.

### Tramways Have Busy Year In 1941

PLAYING THE vital role in the city's transportation system, the Shanghai Tramway Co. Ltd. during the year just ended has carried out a number of important projects.

The year just ended was marked by a number of important projects, including the completion of the new tramway line.

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**APARTMENT HOUSE**  
This is a new type of apartment building, the "midget tenement," and the new architectural "midget" type of apartment house.

### Japanese Work Four Tobacco Plants

**F**OUR Japanese-owned tobacco factories are now operating in Shanghai, and the Japanese are working to increase their production.

The Japanese are working to increase their production of tobacco in Shanghai, and they are investing heavily in the industry.

Figure 10: "Russian Architect Helps to Alter City's Skyline." Page-long feature on Ilarion Tomashevsky. Shanghai Times, December 17, 1941



story apartment building on Route Mercier designed by Leonard, Veysseyre & Kruze (1941), the Delastre Tenement by his colleague I. Tomashevsky (1941) and the Doumer Apartments by G. Rabinovich (1941). In 1941, a *troika* of Russian buildings rose on Route Pere Huc (today's Yongfu Road): the Friendship Apartments designed by Nicolay Emanoff at No. 68, an apartment house of Kooklin's design at No. 70 and a building designed by I. Tomashevsky at No. 72.

The designs of **Ilarion Tomashevsky** (1909–1970) were at the base of many Kooklin's projects. Tomashevsky's architect-father had killed himself because of lack of career success, but the son did better, working for Palmer & Turner for more than a decade and then practicing independently. In his designs he realised his favourite concept of 'midget apartments' – compact multi-family buildings fitted into small irregular lots, characteristic of the West French Concession, where many streets intersected at sharp angles.<sup>84</sup> Among his works are the Delastre Apartments (1939), Delastre Tenement (1941) and Georgette Apartments (1941). For his own house, he designed an elegant two-family townhouse on Kangping Road, managing to fit five rooms and a small garden on a confined lot. The functionalist exterior of a villa on Wukang Road that Tomashevsky designed in 1941 concealed multiple secret luxuries – Japanese peach parquet, wood panelling, cosy English-style library with tall bookcases, beige and black marble fireplaces and murals specially painted by V. Podgoursky.

**Nicolay Emanoff**, another architect from the same circle, also began his career in the architecture firms of C.H. Gonda and Palmer & Turner. Having joined Davies, Brooke & Gran, he was closely involved with the design of the Development Building (1935). Parallel to his architectural career, he practiced furniture design and interior decoration, collaborating with his wife who operated Cathay Handicrafts. In 1940, he formed the firm Associated Architects, together with Ernst Gindper, which authored several buildings, among them, a Mediterranean-style villa at 1917 West Nanjing Road, a strikingly asymmetrical residence at 370 Wukang Road and the Friendship Apartments – one of the Russian *troika* – at 68 Yongfu Road.

#### MOVING HOUSE

The war, the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution caused grievous damage to architectural legacy and public art in Shanghai.

The occupying Japanese forces hunted the city streets and buildings for scrap metal; after one such raid in 1944, the bust of the poet Pushkin disappeared from its pedestal. The scrap metal was never shipped to Japanese factories because of the American naval blockade. In autumn 1945, a Russian schoolgirl Nusia Boormistroff searched the Wayside scrapyard dumps trying to find the stolen bust. Among the ripped out radiators, garden fences and street lamps, she found pieces of the bronze statue of the Victory Angel, pulled down from the War Memorial on the Bund in 1943 – but no Pushkin.<sup>85</sup> In 1947, a new bust was made in Moscow by the Soviet sculptors, and E. Gran participated in its reinstallation.

By the time the second Pushkin's monument was vandalised by the Red Guards, Emmanuel Gran was already in New York. Having left China in 1948, he joined the Hilton International as head of the department of architecture and built forty-five hotels around the world. He admitted: 'I may not be the best architect in the world, but I am the fastest. Hardly a day passes that I don't get a set of plans proposing another hotel in another country.'<sup>86</sup> Boris Krivoss moved to Chile and settled in Santiago in 1947, running a bohemian hotel and building low cost housing.<sup>87</sup> Nicolay Emanoff went to Brazil in 1948; Wladimir Livin-Goldenstaedt moved to New York in 1956.

Those who chose to repatriate to the USSR – out of conviction or for lack of other options – had far less prestigious careers. Ilarion Tomashevsky no longer designed boutique apartments or worked with expensive materials. He built factory dorms and bus depots in the industrial towns of East Siberia until his death in 1970. Victor Podgoursky with wife and son also returned to the USSR, where his son was arrested and given a lengthy prison sentence. Podgoursky taught art at the Kazan Art School and his legacy was only rediscovered after his death in 1969. He was remembered fondly by his students, whom he introduced to the works of Van Gogh, Gauguin and Matisse, sharing his large collection of art books from Shanghai.<sup>88</sup> Fate caught up with the entrepreneurial Vsevolod Kirkor (William A. Kirk) in 1951. He was employed as a designer at a copper mill in Sverdlovsk, when he was arrested and sentenced to ten years in the labour camps.<sup>89</sup>

The establishment of Communist rule in Shanghai saw the bulldozing of nearly all foreign cemeteries and the subsequent destruction of their monuments.<sup>90</sup> Gone is the solemn memorial to the Russian merchants, created by Isabella Karsnitsky, as well as the

rest of her works; only the collaborative sculpture on the General Post Office remains. During the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), mosaics, frescoes, icons, murals and stained glass were systematically gouged out, broken, painted over and smeared with concrete; carved mouldings and sculptures were hacked and smashed. The Red Guards destroyed Commerce, Economy, Industry and Progress – the four Lehonos-designed sculptures on the Denis Apartments. The only remainder of his twenty years as a decorator is a pair of stained glass panels on the fourth floor of the Hotel Tiny (1928), cracked and sooty. The Orthodox Cathedral is an empty shell, whose interior has been gutted save for a ring of small icons under the dome, which proved too difficult to pry off.

The rebuilding of the recent era made an unrecognisable stump from the New Ashkenazi Synagogue, and now only exterior walls and the buttresses remain. After many permutations, St. Nicholas Church hosts a bookstore styled like an animal cage, with plaster mouldings and faux-renaissance paintings installed in the 1990s by a restaurant.

There are still questions regarding Russian architectural output in Shanghai. Alexandre Hrenov, the chief architect of St Isaac's Cathedral and the author of more than forty buildings in Saint Petersburg, spent six years in Shanghai practicing architecture, yet next to nothing is known about his works. It is only in broad strokes that we know the



**Figure 11:** Stained glass window designed by J. Lehonos, at the fourth floor of the former Hotel Tiny. Sam Braybon

careers of W. A. Fedoroff, Vladimir Dronnikoff, Boris Petroff, Trofim Scryll and dozens of others. Yet almost seventy extant buildings by more than twenty Russian architects and builders have been identified. Below is a selection of surviving buildings, in order of construction. The full list and architects' biographies can be found on the website Building Russian Shanghai: <https://sites.google.com/view/russianshanghai>

**COMMERCIAL AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS:**

Kincheng Bank (Yaron, 1925; 220 Middle Jiangxi Road)  
Ohel Moshe Synagogue (Rabinovich, 1928; 62 Changyang Road)  
Hotel Tiny (Livin, 1928; 741 Yuyuan Road)  
D.G.M. Aronovsky's Godown (Yaron, 1929; 687 Dongdaming Road)  
Blue Hospital (Krivoss, 1930; 157 South Wulumuqi Road)  
Recoletos Procuration (Yaron, 1932; 6 Xiangshan Road)  
Joffre Arcade (Krivoss, 1934; 542 Middle Huaihai Road)  
St. Nicholas Orthodox Church (Yaron, 1934; 16 Gaolan Road)  
Development Building (Davies, Brooke & Gran, 1935; 181 Middle Jiangxi Road)  
Russian Orthodox Cathedral (Lehonos; 1937; 55 Xinle Road)  
Pushkin's Monument (Podgoursky, Pavlovsky, Kichigin, Gran, Livin; 1937; 1947; corner of Yueyang Road and Taojiang Road)  
Magnet House (Gran, 1939; 49 Middle Sichuan Road)  
New Ashkenazi Synagogue (Gran, 1940; 102 South Xiangyang Road)  
Sino-Soviet Friendship Center (Soviet and Chinese architects, 1955; 1000 West Yan'an Road)

**APARTMENT HOUSES:**

King Albert Apartments (Livin, 1931; 151–187 South Shaanxi Road)  
Bishop Apartments (1932, Yaron; 55A Xinle Road)  
Nesthouse Apartments (Krivoss, 1932; 30 Nanyang Road)  
Lafayette Court (Davies, Brooke & Gran, 1933; 1248 Middle Fuxing Road)  
Astrid Apartments (1933, Livin; 294–316 South Maoming Road)  
Yue Tuck Apartments (Davies, Brooke & Gran, 1934; 69 North Wulumuqi Road)  
Victor Court (Davies, Brooke and Gran, 1934; 56 Shaoxing Road)  
Belmont Apartments (Kirk, 1934; 240 South Xiangyang Road)  
Dufour Apartments (Fedoroff, 1934; 176 South Wulumuqi Road)

Bridge House (Rabinovich, 1935; 85 North Sichuan Road)  
Derring Apartments (Rabinovich, 1935; 82 Chongming Road)  
Koffman Apartments (Rabinovich, 1935; 230–232 Hunan Road)  
Irene Apartments (Livin, 1935; 182 Kangping Road)  
Hanray Apartments (Davies, Brooke & Gran, 1939; 1154–1170 Middle  
Huaihai Road)  
Delastre Apartments (Tomashevsky and Dronnikoff, 1939; 238  
Taiyuan Road)  
Friendship Apartments (Emanoff and Gindper, 1941; 68 Yongfu Road,  
91, 93 West Fuxing Road)  
Georgette Apartments (Tomashevsky, 1941; 32 West Fuxing Road)  
Apartments on Route Pere Huc (Kooklin, 1941; 72 Yongfu Road)  
Doumer Apartments (Rabinovich, 1941; No. 43 Lane 56 Donghu  
Road)  
Persing Apartments (Kooklin, 1942; 1706 Middle Huaihai Road)

**LANE COMPOUNDS, VILLAS AND RESIDENCES:**

Linda Terrace (Yaron, 1924; 833 Middle Huaihai Road)  
Wang Boqun's residence (Yaron, 1931; No. 31 Lane 1186 Yuyuan Road)  
Residence for Z. Y. Woo (Davies, Brooke & Gran, 1933; 618 Wanhangu  
Road)  
Architect's residence (Tomashevsky, 1940; 103 and 105, Kangping  
Road)  
Residence (Tomashevsky, 1941; 274 Wukang Road)  
Residence (Emanoff and Gindper, 1941; 370 Wukang Road)  
Residence (Emanoff and Gindper, 1941; 1917 West Nanjing Road)

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ISBN 978-988-8552-88-7

