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Modern to Contemporary A Historiography of Global in Architecture

Keywords: historiography, global, architecture, postcolonial studies

The writing of architectural history shifted with the turn of the century. By 1999, there is an urge to understand architecture from a global perspective, under the lens of postcolonial theories. Sibel Bozdoğan set the task: to write an ‘intertwined history,’ which shows that the western canon and the cultural production of societies outside of Europe and North America are not separate and independent, nor is the latter to replace the former. Subsequent literature failed to look into subtle instances of cross-cultural exchanges and universally shared values, thus neglecting to revise the notion of universalism. This paper analyses the resulting literature on global architecture published between 1999 and 2014, and more recent scholarly discussions to understand what remains for historians to do today. Though it may be that ‘global’ has lost its criticality as category to comprehend the present, the historiography of global architecture is yet to be written.

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The writing of architectural history expanded across new horizons since the early 1980s and shifted with the turn of the century. By 1999, there was a certain urge to reassess the discipline of architectural history from different points of view. As John Macarthur and Andrew Leach point out, “disciplines speak of customs, institutions, and genres – a whole set of conditions” – in this case, conditions that sit anterior to architectural practices, which constrain the architect’s creativity, and, I would add, the historian’s creativity (Macarthur and Leach 2009: 11). It is within these conditions, customs, institutions and genres that these reassessments took place.

From the early 1980s onwards, there was a growing interest in, and rigorous analysis

of, the writing of architectural history, coinciding with yet another reassessment of modern architecture. David Watkin proposed one of the first itineraries through architectural history in his book *The Rise of Architectural History* (1980), a general overview of the field, by giving an account of documents published from 1700 to 1980 and classifying them geographically. In 1981, Demetri Porphyrios edited a special issue of *Architectural Design* ‘On the Methodology of Architectural History’ asking scholars to reflect on the work of preminent architectural historians (figure 1). In Italy, Maria Luisa Scalvini and Maria Grazia Sandri, analysed various histories in *L’immagine storiografica dell’architettura contemporanea da Platzen a Giedion* (1984), from Gustav Platzen’s *Die Baukunst der neuesten Zeit* to Sigfried Giedion’s *Space, Time and Architecture*, finishing their overview in 1941. In Spain, Emilia Hernández Pezzi’s doctoral dissertation, *Historiografía de la arquitectura moderna* (1988), focussed on examples of even earlier historiography, from Adolf Behne’s *Der Moderne Zweckbau* to Walter Curt Behrendt’s *Modern Building*.

The Historiography of Modern Architecture (1999) is the main example of this reassessment of the writing of architectural history. Tournikiotis’ book is the result of a doctoral dissertation defended in 1988, and informed by the structuralism of his methodological approach (figure 2). In the introduction to his book, he includes the etymological definition of “HISTORIOGRAPHY: the writing of history, written history” (Tournikiotis 1999: viii). In the epilogue to *Architecture’s Historical Turn* (2010), Jorge Otero-Pailos still defends that

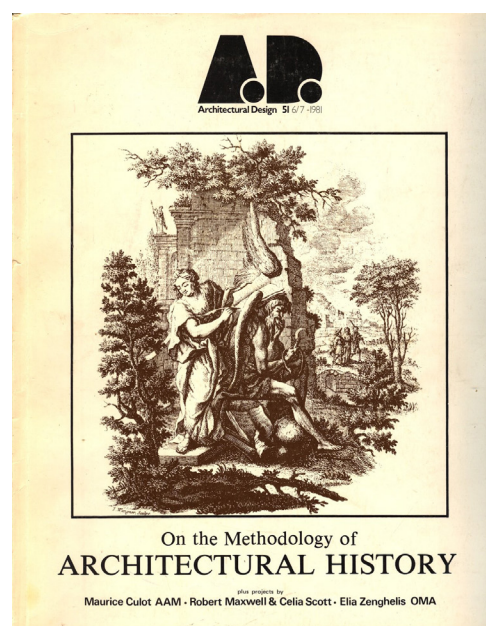


Figure 1. Cover of the Demetri Porphyrios’ edited volume ‘On the Methodology of Architectural History,’ 1981.

“the question is to properly account historically that those claims were made, and to grasp the manner in which they were put forth” (2010: 251). Hence, historiographical research reflects on the writing of history to propose a contemporary theoretical framework for discussing histories and historians, as well as the discipline more broadly.

1999

Also in 1999, at the turn of the century, an insightful inventory of new perspectives and themes in architectural history was presented in special issues of the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* and the *Journal of Architectural Education*. The scholarly editorial work contained in the two special issues of these major architectural journals can be understood as the culmination of the theoretical reassessment process initiated with the preparation and publication of the architectural theory anthologies of the 1990s. In the special issue of the *Journal of Architectural Education*, Sibel Bozdoğan reflects on the need to apply postcolonial theories to the study and education of architecture and its history. She writes:

The point in architectural history is not to incorporate Indian, Chinese, Islamic and other architecture into the Western canon in some form of benign tokenism, nor to discard the Western canon and replace it with works of the non-Western other. Rather, the point is to show what [Edward] Said calls “intertwined histories,” that is, to show that contrary to the basic assumption of traditional Eurocentric historiography, the Western canon and the cultural production of societies outside Europe and North America are not separate and independent. For one thing, the Western canon has been too deeply imprinted in the culture of the non-Western world for so long as to become as much their property as that of the West. At the same time, other cultures have been essential to the very definition of the Western canon: rational versus sensual qualities, tectonic versus decorative, evolutionary versus stagnant, among others. (1999: 210-211)

Bozdoğan refers to Edward Said’s seminal text *Orientalism* (1978), a book that appeared just as architectural historians were becoming increasingly fascinated with critical theory and philosophy. In reconsidering *Orientalism* after forty years of its publication, Nasser Rabat argues that “architectural and urban historians, and not only those working on ‘non-Western’ topics, nevertheless found

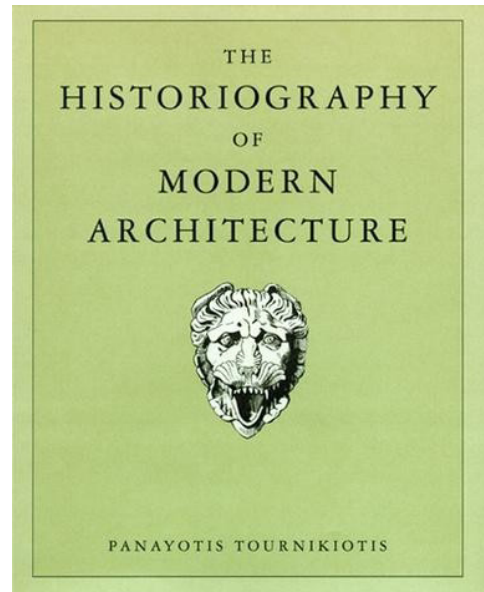
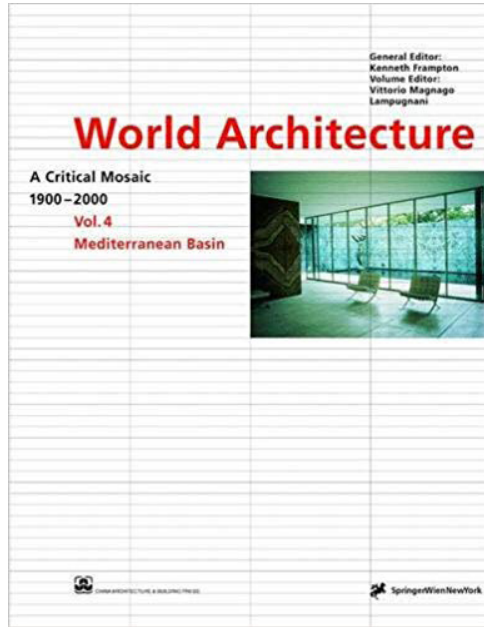


Figure 2. Cover of Panayotis Tournikiotis’ *The Historiography of Modern Architecture*, 1999. Source: MIT Press.

a fertile field of inspiration in Said’s work” (2018: 388). It seems to Bozdoğan, and it is highlighted later on by Esra Ackan, that “an emphasis on *both* difference and diversity is necessary – an emphasis as much on what can be shared across cultures as on what is different,” in order to avoid discourses of identity and nationalism (1999: 209). Bozdoğan argues that it is “in subtler instances of cross-cultural exchange through travel, trade and diplomacy as well that such intertwined histories unfold,” enabling us to understand the boundaries without homogenising the differences between cultures (1999: 214).

Writing just after the turn of the century, Ackan, reflects on this idea of diversity and defines the term “*global* neither as the antonym of geographical/regional difference, nor as the synonym of ‘generic (architecture)’” (2002: 37). She frames global as a result of a complex condition and process of globalisation that produces both sameness and difference, both cross-cultural dialogues and hegemonic monologues, and an increased emphasis on local values (2002: 37). As a result of this complex process, Ackan believes that scholars need to develop new categories and strategies, to “produce useful explanatory devices that would help us refine our knowledge about these countries” (2002: 51), and, I would add, incorporate them into a broad narrative of the development of architecture in general, and of the twentieth century in particular. For Ackan, one of the challenges for future scholarship in the twenty-first century is to construct a new understanding of universality, one that rightly includes everyone and everything worldwide, making them feel

Figure 3. Cover of Kenneth Frampton's edited volume *World Architecture: A Critical Mosaic, 1900-2000*, 1999.



represented by universally shared values that are not necessarily Eurocentric (2002: 54).

Edited and authored

These calls for a reconsideration of the writing and teaching of architectural history under the lens of postcolonial theories and the emergence of 'global' contributed to generating an increasing number of publications, some edited volumes and some authored books, as well as a growing literature on diverse countries, as parts of what was then referred to as the 'Other.' Apart from this literature on non-Western subfields, "it [Edward

Said' *Orientalism* 1978] has also affected the study of global architecture, a label and an approach that owe much to the rigorous criticism and expansive perspective that Said and other like-minded historians and critics enabled" (Rabbat 2018: 388). At this point, it is worth bringing up Spiro Kostof's *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals* (1985), not only as a precedent given his effort of inclusiveness, but also because some of the global histories discussed further on were written as a reaction against his work. According to Rabbat, "the methodological corrective in surveying global architecture guardedly explored by Kostof went through several stages of inconclusive refinement in the subsequent three decades, with new editions and revisions of the standard survey in the field as well as new surveys of what began to be named 'world architecture'" (Rabbat 2018: 389).

Kenneth Frampton and Luis Fernández-Galiano edited two large and comprehensive volumes of collected essays written by specialists on localised regions, the fragmented *Mosaic* and *Atlas*, respectively. *World Architecture. A Critical Mosaic* (1999), edited by Frampton is an encyclopaedic survey organised in ten volumes for ten world regions, covered by ten expert panels, resulting in one thousand canonical buildings in total, one hundred buildings per decade (figure 3). In a recent talk on global architectural history, which I further refer to below, Frampton complained that the volumes are not well distributed. Also in Fernández-Galiano's *Atlas Global Architecture circa 2000*, 2008 (fig. 4),

Figure 4. Content page of Luis Fernández-Galiano's edited volume *Atlas Global Architecture circa 2000*, 2008. Source: Fundación BBVA.

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Atlas: Global Architecture circa 2000

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Atlas
 Global Architecture
 circa 2000

Spain in the World
 14 Frank Gehry: *Guggenheim Museum, Bilbao*
 20 Juan Nouzeil & b720: *Aghar Tower, Barcelona*
 26 Santiago Calatrava: *City of Arts and Sciences, Valencia*

1. Western Europe
 34 Dominique Perrault: *National Library, Paris, France*
 50 Peter Eisenman: *Monument to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin, Germany*
 54 Mijaíllez & Tagliabue: *Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh, United Kingdom*

2. Russia and Eastern Europe
 62 Ján Pávek: *Cherkez Monastery, Novy Dvur, Czech Republic*
 76 Srdar & Vojak: *Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Ljubljana, Slovenia*
 82 Gold & Szendrői: *Life Science Building, Debrecen, Hungary*

3. United States and Canada
 88 OMA & Rem Koolhaas: *Public Library, Seattle, Washington*
 104 Rafael Moneo: *Cathedral of Our Lady of the Angels, Los Angeles, California*
 110 Steven Hall: *MIT Simmons Hall, Cambridge, Massachusetts*

4. Latin America
 126 Oscar Niemeyer: *Contemporary Art Museum, Niterói, Brazil*
 130 Álvaro Siza: *Iberé Camargo Foundation, Porto Alegre, Brazil*
 136 César Pelli & Del Sol: *Hotel Estelar, Valparaíso, Chile*

5. The Islamic World
 154 Suheyla Bibi: *Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Alexandria, Egypt*
 161 César Pelli: *Petronas Towers, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia*
 164 Raouf Bishara: *Great Mosque, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia*

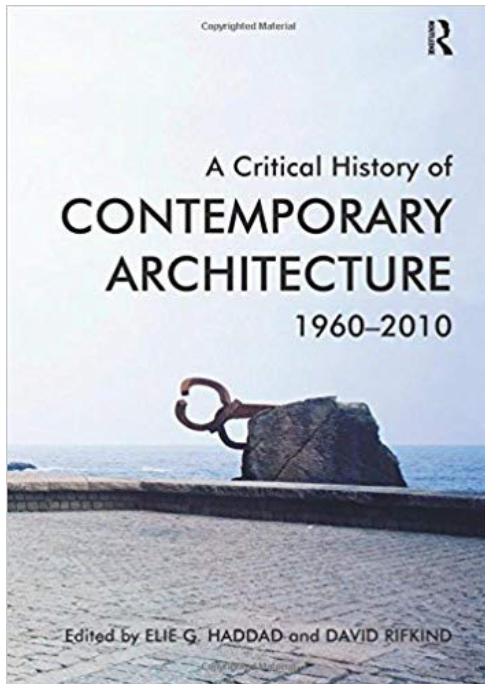
6. Sub-Saharan Africa
 170 Névoa & Wolff: *Red Location Museum of Struggle, Port Elizabeth, South Africa*
 182 De Architectuur: *Buck Embassy, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*
 192 Diebedo Francis Kéré: *Primary School, Gando, Burkina Faso*

7. India
 200 Geoffrey Bawa: *Nandambam Hotel, Darshinoli, Sri Lanka*
 216 Charles Correa: *Center for Astronomy and Astrophysics, Pune, India*
 216 Jensen & Brynildsen: *Lepers Hospital, Lasir, India*

8. China and East Asia
 222 Norman Foster: *Bank of China Tower, Hong Kong, China*
 242 Herzog & de Meuron: *National Stadium for the Olympic Games, Beijing, China*
 248 Lu Weng: *Wood Museum, Tianjin, China*

9. Japan
 254 Hajime Yanai: *Municipal Mediatheque, Sendai, Japan*
 272 SANAA: *Museum of Contemporary Art, Kanazawa, Japan*
 278 F.O.A.: *International Port Terminal, Yokohama, Japan*

10. Australia and the Pacific
 286 Glenn Murcutt: *Riverdale Art Center, Camberwara, Australia*
 300 L.A.P. Architecture Studio: *Federation Square, Melbourne, Australia*
 304 Renato Piano: *Jean-Marie Tjibou Cultural Center, Nouméa, New Caledonia*



regional editors were in charge of the selection of buildings, as well as the preparation of an essay about the recent developments in each region. According to Frampton, these global overviews were in striking contrast with the Eurocentric operative histories of the modern movement initiated by Otto Wagner in 1898. However, I argue that the geographical and regional divisions these edited volumes propose are still Eurocentrically loaded in nature.

Elie Haddad and David Rifkind admit to the unavoidable unbalance in the scope of their edited volume *A Critical History of Contemporary Architecture* (2014, figure 5): the first part presents the major theoretical developments after modernism and over fifty years – namely, postmodernism, deconstructivism, and postcolonial criticism in architecture, and high-tech and sustainable architecture; the second part unfolds architectural developments in different regions and countries around the world, each chapter written by a specialist scholar. To devote only a chapter to Africa, or to Latin America, does not avoid what Ackan calls the homogenisation of the ‘Other.’ Despite the fact that some of the geographical essays can work as “strong stand-alone” texts, and “go-to resources for non-specialists” (Hirsch 2017: 242), the result lacks cross-references between regions and some essays suffer from the repetition of basic themes such as the impact of imported modernism on traditional styles in different regions.

Broader approaches to ‘global,’ covering longer periods of time, appear in Mark Jarzombek, Vikramaditya Prakash, and Francis Ching’s *A Global History of Architecture* (2006, second edition 2011) and Kathleen James-Chakraborty’s *Architecture Since 1400* (2014). Very recently, Kenneth Frampton referred to these two volumes as “mega-academic” books (2017). Jarzombek, Prakash and Ching established a periodisation that begins in 3500 BCE, featuring different intervals, discussing architectural examples from each period across the world until the end of the twentieth century. For example, from 1400 to 1600, the Renaissance in Italy is discussed alongside architectural movements in China, Korea, Japan, Thailand and Pakistan, the production of the Ottoman Empire, and architectural production in New England and by the Incas. Their inclusive global perspective is grounded in a neutral chronological periodization, “and notwithstanding the huge imbalance inherent in the quality and quantity of architectural data available for the various cultures and time frames covered, the authors try hard to treat all places and periods with the same level of analysis without constantly referring to a modern or a core index in the form of Western architectural succession,” thus somewhat leveling the playing field (Rabbat 2018: 390).

A Global History of Architecture (figure 6) is considered “timely” by Diane Ghirardo, as just in 2004, the history requirements for all accredited architecture programs in the United States were altered to increase “the

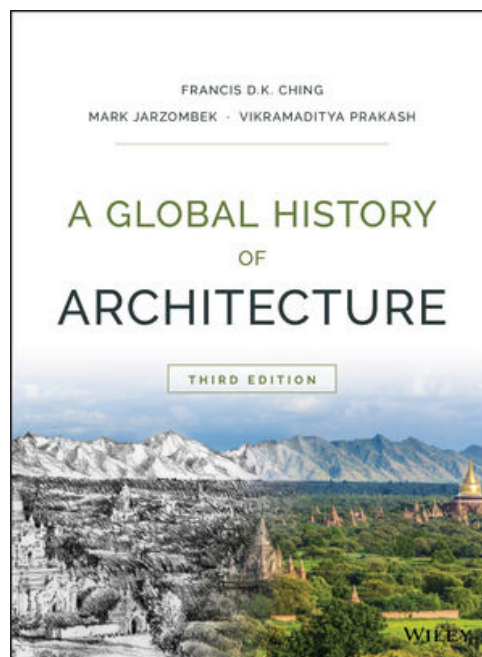


Figure 5. Cover of Elie Haddad and David Rifkind’s edited volume *A Critical History of Contemporary Architecture*, 2014.

Figure 6. Cover of Mark Jarzombek, Vikramaditya Prakash, and Francis Ching’s *A Global History of Architecture*, third edition, 2017. Source: Wiley.

Figure 7. Cover of Kathleen James-Chakraborty's *Architecture Since 1400*, 2014. Source: University of Minnesota Press.

standard of comprehension of non-Western architecture to a level comparable to that of Western architectural traditions,” thus “reconfiguring the traditional survey course to integrate architectural developments throughout the world in ways that appropriately recognize the accomplishments of many different cultures” (2008: 134). *A Global History of Architecture* “represents a tremendous effort to say more about architecture in diverse places throughout the world” (Stubbs 2007: 74), one that places the buildings within their cultures addressing issues such as patronage, use, and meaning and giving significant attention to a discussion of their formal and technological features (Ghirardo 2008: 134). However, I would argue that it is an encyclopediac volume rather than a survey with a grounded narrative; namely “the book is better described as a reference guide to the study of world architecture rather than its more promising title, *A Global History of Architecture*” (Stubbs 2007: 77).

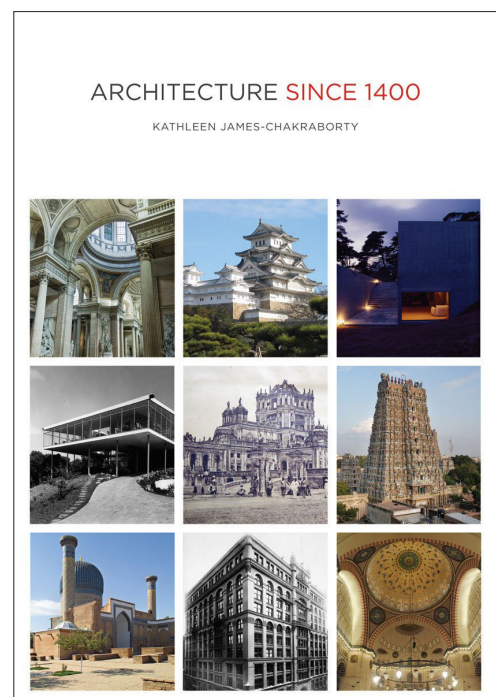
Acknowledging the difficulty of doing justice to the complexity and variety of architecture since 1400, James-Chakraborty claims to present in her book “targeted discussions of environments around the world, not privileging one continent over another as the locus of modernity or of modernism, the aesthetic expression of modernity, at any particular time” (2014: xviii). As Max Hirsch emphasizes in his review of *Architecture Since 1400* (figure 7), James-Chakraborty’s approach is a thematic one, investigating three main concerns –innovation, transfers and connections– through cross-cultural dialogues that she establishes between a relatively small number of examples. Despite its integrated inclusiveness, this survey presents the absences of the continent of Africa (a brief twelve pages) and the region of Australia and New Zealand. During the course of our communication, James-Chakraborty shared the reasons that prompted her to write the book:

I wrote Architecture Since 1400 very consciously in opposition to Kostof, the text I was using for my own survey course, and to the other texts that I was being approached by publishers to use or being asked to review in manuscript. Architecture Since 1400 arose as well out of a very particular class that covered that material, rather than my Modern Architecture survey, which I construct very differently. In particular, I was furious about the coverage (or lack thereof) of work by women in all of these books and manuscripts and by the sense

that, even when the so-called Global South was covered that they were still seen as in some way less modern. (Email June 8, 2017)

Architecture Since 1400 is intelligible and readable; it has even been considered “a joy to read,” (Fraser 2016: 2) and it synthesizes previous scholarship, as is the case with any survey. It is not, however, a comprehensive overview of the global development of architecture, of its modernization, during six hundred years. Rather, by setting the starting point of her narrative around the 1400s, James-Chakraborty redefines what modernization even means from a global, not Eurocentric-Enlightenment, perspective. Moreover, and in spite of the aforementioned limitations and absences, James-Chakraborty’s narrative emphasizes, as Rixt Hoekstra has put it, the role of all “agents of the built environment,” including important women patrons of the arts as well as women architects –rather than “genius-architects” (2014: 1) By effectively considering the other half of the human race –that is, the often under-represented work of women as stakeholders of the built environment– as part of a wider cultural context, *Architecture Since 1400* broadens our understanding of *global* in architecture, in a way worthy of further study beyond the scope of this paper.

These explorations on the writing and education of a global history have resulted in not only literature, but online platforms and resources which allow to break free from the



canon and its categories. The Aggregate Architectural History Collaborative is a platform dedicated to advancing research and education in the history and theory of architecture, by generating, presenting, and publishing innovative scholarship from multidisciplinary perspectives. Since its beginning in 2006, Aggregate has held annual or semi-annual workshops and symposia, where participants (aggregators) share their work in progress (Abramson 2019). They have also published a collected volume *Governing by Design* (2012) where they exercise what Daniel M. Abramson, member of the board of directors, refers to as “corporate editorship” or “writing as a collective name” (2019). Another example of platform, The Global Architectural History Teaching Collaborative (GAHTC), had its origins in informal conversations between Jarzombek and Prakash, while they were at work on the second edition of *A Global History of Architecture* (2011). It is a free, online resource of global architectural history teaching materials created and curated by a collaborative of teachers. Its mission, as stated in the website, is to provide cross-disciplinary, teacher-to-teacher exchanges of ideas and material, in order to energize and promote the teaching of all periods of global architectural history, especially at the survey level. The platform continues to develop, as has the book, with a third edition released in 2017.

Reassessed

The latest re-assessment of the contributions to ‘global architectural history’ undertaken by Ackan and Jarzombek, among others, engages with two debates: on the one hand, the methodological and disciplinary (meta)debate regarding architectural history, and, on the other, the debate on the appropriate content of architectural education at both the undergraduate and postgraduate level. While accepting that challenging the Western canon is not an easy task, Ackan reviews the growing scholarly interest in re-reading the history of architecture in the past twenty years, namely from 1984 to 2014, and finds that most attempts have been unsuccessful. To reshape the architectural canon in schools, and in literature, scholarship needs to go beyond the inclusion of a “few token examples from ‘non-Western’ architecture” (Ackan 2014: 120). She still advocates for an improvement of the notion of universality, for “an architecture better equipped for a global future, so that globalisation does not

unfold as a new form of imperial imagination” (2014: 119).

Reviewing the literature on global that took shape roughly between 2005 and 2015, Jarzombek points out that it “has thereby become a history through and across ‘localities,’ when it should be something completely different” (2015: 114). Jarzombek advocates for a more elastic use of ‘global,’ a concept already being reopened and rethought “precisely because we have to face the challenge of what *global* means or could mean in the future” (2015: 121). A global history is more than global practice, global travel and globally-scaled education, and a first step towards it needs to be the challenge of “the false duality between tradition and modernism,” being tradition and modernism “two sides of the *same* phenomenon” (2015: 117), a fact of which, according to Jarzombek, scholars are well aware – a fact which still contributes to legitimate Eurocentrism, and I would add, same as the geographical categorisation.

2017

2017 seems to have been yet another key year in the thinking about a global architectural history. It began with the International Conference, ‘Theory’s History 196x – 199x: Challenges in the Historiography of Architectural Knowledge’ organised by KU Leuven in Belgium, between February 8 and 10. The aim was to discuss the methodological challenges that come along with the historical gaze towards theory, by focusing on the concrete processes in which knowledge is involved. The relationship between the rise of a ‘new’ architectural theory after 1968 (a short-lived one) and the way it was historicised (and institutionalised) through subsequent anthologies has been since then subject matter of other conferences. Though the debate ‘theory versus history’ is beyond (and precedes) the scope of this paper, it could be further developed in a future paper looking at the specific and antipodean case of Australia and New Zealand.

2017 continued with the exhibition ‘Educating Architects: Four Courses by Kenneth Frampton’ (figure 8), organised by the CCA from May 31 to September 24; an exhibition that highlighted how Frampton’s pedagogical methods and concerns were since the 1970s instrumental in shaping the discipline and profession of architecture internationally. Before the launch of the exhibition on April 21, the CCA organised for Kenneth Frampton,

Figure 8. *Educating Architects: Four Courses by Kenneth Frampton*, installation view, Canadian Centre for Architecture, 2017. Photograph: ©CCA



Figure 9. Image from the event *A Conversation with Kenneth Frampton: Can There Be a Global Architectural History Today?* at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, 2017. Photograph: ©CCA



Esra Ackan, and Mark Jarzombek to offer their perspectives, as developed through their publications and teaching, in answering the question: Can there be a Global Architectural History Today? (figure 9). In his address, Frampton cites Derrida and his reference to 'global' as a "loaded term" (2017). As in any critically selective account, Frampton recognises the difficulty "to maintain some consistent principle of inclusion and exclusion," in addition to the limitation of the size of a book, which makes any attempt only "quasi-global" (2017).

Ackan reassessed the recent writing of global history and agreed with Frampton in that classificatory categories should go beyond geographical entities. She turns to translation theory to proclaim the need to re-write the past in a more intertwined way, while developing a new theory and a new vocabulary. It is important to note that translation is not dissemination. Jarzombek concluded his talk with a powerful statement, that "to think global is not to pronounce it as a method or as a result of some prerequisite of some liberal phantasy of inclusion, it is rather to see first more its actual absence... We need a word to stand in as a sign of what is not there, also to point to the possibility of the signification of something to come. A promise that it is yet to be fulfilled... if ever" (Frampton 2017).

On November 14, 2017 e-flux Architecture in collaboration with the Institute for the History and Theory of Architecture (gta), which

celebrated its 50 Jubilee, and ETH Zürich presented 'History/Theory,' a series of presentations and conversations on the past, present, and future of architectural history and theory. Samia Henni, Reinhold Martin, Spyros Papapetros, Philip Ursprung, Mark Jarzombek, Meredith TenHoor and Anthony Vidler participated in a lived streamed panel discussion with the aim to learn from the mistakes of the past, map out new horizons, and work towards more inclusive, global futures. In this conversation, Mark Jarzombek tries to answer what global means today. For him, global is a reality, it is the need to recalibrate disciplinary theoretical thinking outside of the Eurocentric canon, finding universal questions to address.

From 29 November to 1 December 2017, a workshop entitled 'World Histories of Architecture: The Emergence of a New Genre in the Nineteenth Century' (figure 10), was chaired by Christopher Drew Armstrong, Martin Bressani and Petra Brouwer and was held at the NIAS- Lorentz Centre Leiden, The Netherlands. The aims were twofold: firstly, to contribute to contemporary scholarship of global architectural history by enhancing historical and theoretical understanding of global architectural narratives; and secondly, to recover the reflections of the original authors on the original survey texts, and shed a new light on the origins of the genre. Both James-Chakraborty and Jarzombek contributed to offering new perspectives on world architectural history today by reflecting and

Figure 10. Poster of 'World Histories of Architecture: The Emergence of a New Genre in the Nineteenth Century,' 2017. Source: Lorentz Center.



commenting on issues raised at the preceding sessions. During the course of our communication, she recalls:

The focus was on nineteenth century surveys and more particularly on those written in English, French, German and Dutch. The authors discussed included Louisa Tuthill and Banister Fletcher, Choisy and a number of Germans, including Lübke and Kugler. Issues discussed included the print technology of the time (Mari Hvattum gave a paper on popular journals) and exhibitions (Barry Bergdoll), but it was largely on how the world was covered (or not), on the approach taken and on who the audiences were. I was asked, along with Mark Jarzombek and Dell Upton, to contribute our perspective on the state of these surveys today, as, since the appearance of Kostof, there has been a revival of more inclusive texts. (Email December 3, 2017)

This gathering shed light on the precedents and predecessors in the writing of architectural history in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: world architectural histories, of which Banister Fletcher's book is undoubtedly exemplary. First published in 1896 with the title *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method for the Student, Craftsman and Amateur*, the book will have its new 21st edition released soon by Bloomsbury entitled *Global History of Architecture*, for the first time in full colour, and entirely rewritten throughout by over a hundred leading international architectural historians. In relation to this publication, the Bartlett School of Architecture hosted the 4th annual conference of the Architectural Research in Europe Network Association, entitled 'A World of Architectural History,' on 2-4 November 2018, with the participation of most of the aforementioned key scholars among many others from throughout the world. There was a certain consensus that the word *global* in architecture, which still today is being framed and formulated, needs to be used carefully.

In conclusion, this paper has illustrated how the results of *globalising* efforts in the production of architectural survey literature have been appropriately defined as "mixed" (Hirsh 2017: 242). Some of the differences between the volumes and, in some cases, collections that have been briefly studied have to do with the anatomy of the architectural book: the work of constructing it being very different in the case of an edited or authored book. While an edited book or collection of books allows for regional specialists to fill a gap in

the knowledge of the discipline, the result is fragmented rather than intertwined. Conversely, an authored cohesive book, as is the case with James-Chakraborty's *Architecture Since 1400*, with its "decentering," "global approach that allows for multiple perspectives in a multipolar world" (Hoekstra 2014: 1), can explore cross-cultural architectural exchanges and connections between cases (as well as chapters) (Hirsh 2017: 244). It is precisely in the subtlety of these exchanges that Bozdoğan, in her seminal 1999 essay, claimed that intertwined histories –what global histories should be– unfold.

Moreover, a vast majority of the papers presented at the aforementioned conference 'A World of Architectural History,' explored from different points of view and through diverse examples the architectural results of trade, travel and migration, of cross-cultural and trans-national exchanges, as was the case with James-Chakraborty's three main thematic concerns. It seems relevant and timely to understand how architecture, as a discipline, relates to critical positions of universalism and translation and against nationalism, even geographically labelling. Swati Chattopadhyay has pointed at the seemingly interchangeability of labels in her reflection on the globality of architectural history. She writes:

Rather, the paradox, I suggest, resides in a methodological problem: only some fields, such as urban history and colonial architectural history, and projects, such as surveys of architecture, as seen as conducive to 'global' approaches. It is time we parse the 'globality' of global histories of architecture. I am not privileging the notion of global history as opposed to world history, or transnational history. Indeed, the distinctions among international, transnational, global, and world histories are not settled –the labels are sometimes used interchangeably– even among historians who profess to practice these forms of history. (Chattopadhyay 2015: 412)

Despite the 'mixed' nature of these globalising/inclusive efforts in the writing of recent architectural history, the earlier attempts focussed on filling the gaps, on acknowledging the previously neglected, in a way that can be considered more encyclopedic than historic. Indeed, that was a necessary, practical first step. Once a more complete catalogue of architects and buildings across the world is made available and accessible to researchers, then the more subtle relationships can unear-

then and globally inclusive narratives can be built, reconsidered and rebuilt. Interestingly, what started as righting previous historians' wrongs, breaking with the dominant current of the privileged West, has resulted in a new understanding of the architectural historians writers of the surveys of the nineteenth century, also Western, also privileged. This does not mean that the discipline is back to square one, or that history is repeating itself, but that it is recalibrating the starting point for its next steps. Just as disciplinary dialogues and literature finally seem to illustrate the initial aims of the translation of postcolonial theory into architectural culture, it may be that global is losing its criticality as category to comprehend the present. More timely categories such as boundaries and borders, migration, and cultural memory demonstrate their scholarly potential today (James-Chakraborty 2014b: 5-6). However, there are still lessons to learn from what could be called, and should be studied as, the historiography of global in architecture.

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