The Postmodern Ferment

The Reconsideration of the Modern, the Regional and the Critical in the Architectural Practice of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, c. 1980

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I, Stylianos Giamarelos, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This dissertation is a revisionist microhistory. It unfolds within a scholarly field outlined by contemporary revisits of the postmodern in architecture. Unveiling its narrow stylistic understanding as the outcome of a specific historical process, the thesis rethinks the postmodern as a proliferation of open-ended transcultural discourses on the modern, the regional, and the critical in architecture. This is turn enables it to recuperate a broader spectrum of postmodern problematic, including its socially conscious aspects that were gradually muted.

To revise this problematic understanding, the research follows two major methodological shifts: (1) a categorical displacement of the discussion from theory to history, and (2) a contextual displacement of the discussion from the 'centres' of the Western European/North American world to the 'peripheral' case of Greece. The thesis thus rethinks the postmodern in its own open-ended historical horizon that in turn allows for a reconsideration of previously overlooked material. It follows the postmodern as a ferment that unfolds on the discursive, design, and pedagogical planes of architectural practice.

The research focuses on Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, the Greek architects whose work attracted international attention as a defining example of critical regionalism in the early 1980s. Starting from the 'international' plane, chapter 1 revisits the 1980 Biennale in Venice through the lens of the two Greek architects and the curatorial debates that shaped it. The thesis thus draws a nuanced historical picture of the exhibition both as the generator of the dominant stylistic understanding of the postmodern, and the inadvertent catalyst for the subsequent articulation of critical regionalism. Following Kenneth Frampton's resignation from the exhibition, chapter 2 stresses the transcultural authorship of critical regionalism by focusing on the tripartite relations of Frampton with Tzonis & Lefaivre and the

Antonakakis. Moving to the 'regional' plane, the second part of the thesis follows the local repercussions of the inclusion of the Antonakakis in the 'international' canon of critical regionalism. Focusing on the architects' formative years, chapter 3 traces the Antonakakis' use of the modern as a critical tool to study the regional beyond traditionalism. Focusing on their design practice, chapter 4 traces their understanding of the regional as a collective endeavour that challenged modernist authorship. Focusing on Dimitris Antonakakis's pedagogical practice, chapter 5 traces its recuperation by his politically active students in articulating their own radical critical discourse, also inspired by the postmodern theorists of the 1970s.

The thesis thus juxtaposes 'critical regionalism', 'postmodernism' and other discursive formations with the work of the two architects circa 1980. In so doing, it also uncovers the historical agency, the limitations, as well as the untapped potential of these architectural discourses to inform contemporary reconsiderations of the modern, the regional, and the critical.

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Public presentations served as additional sources of feedback at various stages of my research. These included the first Society of Architectural Historians of Great

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Introduction

This dissertation is a revisionist microhistory. It unfolds within a scholarly field outlined by contemporary revisits of the postmodern in architecture. The increased interest in revisiting this period of architectural history over the last decade[1] testifies the pertinence of this study. The view of the postmodern that dominates this recent debate in architectural circles reduces it to a style of historicist eclecticism.[2] However,

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[1] The following publications indicate the rising interest in the postmodern in current architectural historiography: McMurrough (2007), Scott (2007), Vinegar (2008), Hays (2009), Martin (2010), Otero-Pailos (2010), Crinson & Zimmerman (2010), Figueira (2011), Szacka (2011a), Adamson & Pavitt (2011), Migayrou (2012), Petit (2013), Branscome (2013), Szacka (2015). In addition to these studies, recent conference sessions and other public exchanges have debated relevant issues. These include: 'Reconsidering Postmodernism' (conference: Institute of Classical Architecture & Art, New York, 11-12 November 2011), 'Post-Modernism Revisited – The Presence of the Recent Past' (session chaired by Ole W. Fischer at the 66th SAH Annual Conference: Bufallo, New York, 10-14 April 2013), 'Shaping Postmodern Architecture: The Medium is the Message' (session chaired by Véronique Patteeuw and Léa-Catherine Szacka at the 67th SAH Annual Conference: Austin, Texas, 9-13 April 2014), 'Other Postmodernisms: Alternative Genealogies of the Recent Past' (session chaired by Vladimir Kulić at the 67th SAH Annual Conference: Austin, Texas, 9-13 April 2014), 'The Medium is the Message: The Role of Exhibitions and Periodicals in Critically Shaping Postmodern Architecture' (session chaired by Véronique Patteeuw and Léa-Catherine Szacka at the 3rd EAHN international meeting: Turin, Italy, 19-21 June 2014), 'East West Central 03: Re-framing Identities; Architecture's Turn to History 1970-1990' (symposium: ETH Zurich, 10-12 September 2015), 'Italy/Australia: Postmodern in Translation' (conference: University of Canberra, 19-20 November 2015), 'The Architecture of Deregulations: Postmodernism, Politics and the Built Environment in Europe 1975-1995' (conference: KTH Sweden, 10-12 March 2016), and the Postmodernism Conference (organised by The Twentieth Century Society at the University of Westminster, London, 21 May 2016).

[2] Some of the most characteristic examples of these less open revisits of the postmodern in architecture include Adamson & Pavitt (2011), the summer-long feature on postmodernism in *Dezeen* (2015), and the Postmodernism Conference of The Twentieth Century Society (2016).

this narrow stylistic understanding is the outcome of a specific historical process. During this process, the socially conscious aspects of the architectural discourse on the postmodern were gradually muted. By revisiting the period circa 1980 in historical terms, this dissertation attempts to recuperate this broader spectrum of the postmodern problematic. It stirs up the currently reductive understanding by focusing on the postmodern as a proliferation of open-ended transcultural discourses on aspects of the modern, the regional, and the critical in architectural practice. In so doing, the thesis also uncovers the limitations, as well as the untapped potential of these discourses to inform contemporary reconsiderations of similar concerns.

To revise this problematic understanding, my research follows two major methodological shifts: (1) a categorical displacement of the discussion from theory to history, and (2) a contextual displacement of the discussion from the 'centres' of the Western European/North American world to the 'peripheral' case of Greece. The move from theory to history means that I do not rely on an existing definition of the postmodern as a given, and then organise my historical material around it. I rather attempt to understand the postmodern in its own historical horizon as an open-ended process of change. Such an open-ended understanding allows for a reconsideration of previously overlooked historical material. Throughout the thesis, I follow the postmodern as a ferment that unfolds on the discursive, design, and pedagogical planes of architectural practice. My research focuses on Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, the Greek architects whose work attracted international attention as a defining example of critical regionalism in the early 1980s. Focusing on the intertwined interactions of these 'international' and 'regional' contexts, I stress the transcultural authorship of this discourse. By juxtaposing 'critical regionalism', 'postmodernism' and other discursive formations with the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis circa 1980, I also explore the historical agency and the limitations of these discourses. This transcultural exposition of theory and practice

forms the thesis's original contribution to knowledge. My own position as a researcher writing an architectural history of 1980s Greece within a British institution is apposite for this task. It endows my work with the proximity of the Greek insider and the geographical distance from my 'site' as a postgraduate scholar. In the pages that follow, I unpack the crucial details of my research project.

0.1 Postmodern definitions

Circa 1980, discourses about cultural values in the Western world were changing. The clearest symptom of these changes was the concerted appearance of the word 'postmodern' in discourses including architectural history, theory and design. The academic usage of the term was partly fuelled by the publication of Jean-François Lyotard's *The Postmodern Condition* in 1979. In this seminal text, Lyotard associated the postmodern with an epochal shift in epistemology, owing to the pervasive capacity of the novel information technologies. His account magnified the scope of a term that was already circulating within the confined boundaries of various artistic fields for two decades.[3]

In the late 1950s, Charles Olson resorted to the term 'postmodern' to describe an anti-modernist stance in contemporary poetry. The anti-rationalist contours of his definition were inspired by the phenomenological writings of Martin Heidegger and the French school of literary criticism (*nouvelle critique*).[4] It was not long before the American literary critics, including Irving Howe (1959), Leslie Fiedler (1965, 1969),

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[3] Although the first occurrences of the term date back to the 1870s (Welsch 1987: 12), they are unrelated to the postmodern debates of the 1980s.

[4] See Olson (1967) for a collection of his most significant essays of the period.

Ihab Hassan (1971) and William V. Spanos (1972), picked up the term. They thus kept the postmodern discussion going well into the 1970s. In so doing, they also enriched it with anti-representationalist themes that were developed in similar debates in other arts disciplines after the mid-1970s. The postmodern debate was therefore enriched with the themes of anti-formalism in painting (Downes 1976), and radical self-reflexivity in cinema (Thiher 1976). In architectural circles, Charles Jencks imported the term from the field of comparative literature in 1975. His relentless propagation of the 'postmodern' after the mid-1970s rode in the aftermath of architectural and urban critiques of modernism. In the 1980s, these texts (Jacobs 1961, Venturi 1966, Rossi 1966, Stern 1969, Venturi, Scott-Brown & Izenour 1972, Blake 1974) became the first members of the early postmodern canon. In these circles, Jencks's (1978) own definition of the postmodern, as an architectural language of 'double coding' that satisfied both 'high' and 'low' taste cultures, was the most prominent.[5]

However, Lyotard's conception of the 'postmodern' went beyond stylistic pursuits to transcend modernism. His 'postmodern' crossed disciplinary boundaries to unify disparate cultural threads under a single concept. It aimed at a holistic account of a wider transformation in the Western world. In this light, the postmodern developments in architecture, literature and the other arts were not limited to their specific disciplinary histories. They were another cultural expression of the same structural shift. This is why the Venice Biennale (an exhibition devoted to the postmodern in architecture) in 1980, could instigate a backlash to Jürgen Habermas's claims (a philosopher devoted to the 'unfinished project of modernity') in 1981. This was just the tip of the iceberg in a series of cross-disciplinary theoretical

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[5] To cite just one example, Fredric Jameson (1991) consistently heralded Jencks's *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (1977a) as the most systematic expression of the novel cultural logic of late capitalism.

debates which ensued. After 1980, the fervent attempt to define the 'postmodern' expanded in the philosophical and socio-political field. From radical geographers to cultural critics, scholars of the humanities rode the postmodern bandwagon to contribute to the defining cultural debate of the decade. Among many others, Fredric Jameson (1983, and 1991), Jean Baudrillard (1983a, and 1983b), Richard Rorty (1983, 1985, and 1989), and David Harvey (1989) offered alternative theorisations of postmodernity. Their theoretical accounts attempted to tackle the novel epistemological, cultural, political, economic and social condition of post-industrial societies in late capitalism.[6]

> Three decades later, Lyotard's words from a 1985 interview still ring true:

> My work, in fact, is directed to finding out what [postmodernism] is, but I still don't know. This is a discussion really, that's only just beginning. It's the way it was for the Age of Enlightenment: the discussion will be abandoned before it ever reaches a conclusion. (Lyotard cited in Blistène 1985)

The tumultuous theoretical pursuit of the 'postmodern' accumulated a set of defining convictions. These ranged from the end of grand narratives (Lyotard 1979) to the death of the author (Barthes 1967) and the crossing of the 'great divide' between 'high' and 'low' cultures (Huyssen 1986). They also covered expressive practices, ranging from irony (Rorty 1989, Petit 2013) and 'double coding' (Jencks 1978) to historicist pastiche (Stern 1980) and hybridity (Bhabba 1994). Others emphasised the structural processes behind the rise of the postmodern condition, ranging from de-industrialisation (Bell 1973) to the flexible accumulation of capital (Harvey 1989).

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[6] For an intellectual history of the idea of the postmodern, and its cross-disciplinary and cross-cultural development, see Bertens (1995) and Anderson (1998). For an overview of the relevant developments in the architectural milieu, see McLeod (1985).

Finally, the postmodern debate was also associated with questions of gender and the political character of culture (Owens 1983). These all served as potential defining characteristics of the postmodern. However, in toto, the debate was deemed inconclusive. In the early 1990s, it had already waned considerably.

The field of architecture followed a similar trend. Whilst many Western architects 'turned postmodern' at the start of the 1980s, by the end of the same decade this debate was already dissipating. The 1980s thus ended up representing the 'postmodern moment' in the history of architecture.[7] In other words, what Lyotard had heralded as an epochal change was reduced to the dominant stylistic fad of a decade, in architectural circles.[8] Implicit in the recent accounts of the period, this outlook in turn leads to an abbreviated notion of the postmodern in architecture. It is often treated as a momentary lapse of modernist reason. However, I share the conviction that, circa 1980, the cultural discourse of the Western world underwent a profound change whose repercussions are still relevant today.[9] My dissertation aims to redress the short-sightedness of the architectural postmodern in stylistic terms, by exposing it as a product of a specific historical process.

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[7] The title of Stanley Trachtenberg's (1985) edited collection of texts concerning the postmodern in art and architecture, *The Postmodern Moment*, is characteristic here.

[8] Lyotard (1985) himself attempted to dissociate his postmodern discourse from the neoeclectic architecture that allegedly expressed it.

[9] To cite just one example, Mario Carpo (2015) recently asserted the renewed relevance of postmodern philosophy owing to the repercussions of Big Data in contemporary scientific developments. Information technology and its transformative role in the production of knowledge was indeed at the core of Lyotard's first systematic account of the postmodern condition in 1979.

Before the first appearance of the 'postmodern' in architectural circles[10] and its subsequent popularisation in the 1980s, the work of practicing architects and theorists of the period was already in turmoil. Although lacking a name that would unify them at the time, architectural attempts to respond to the post-war crises of modernism flourished. These were historically understood in successively different framings. They ranged from the debates on 'monumentality' in the mid-1940s to the 'crisis of meaning' in the early 1970s.[11] In the final instance, however, all these cases addressed a single common enemy that went by many names. By the early 1960s, and especially after the publication of Jane Jacobs's critique of modernist urban planning in 1961, the main object of architectural criticism was positivist functionalism.[12] Although the reaction to this functionalism was not concerted, architects of the period were at least united in what they opposed. This opposition to rational functionalism was the underlying common ground of all the responses to the diverse crises of modernism of the post-war years (from architects' outward-looking turns to disciplines like social and structural anthropology, philosophy, linguistics and semiology, to inward-looking pursuits of the autonomy of the architectural language).[13] All these diverging approaches shared the assumption that functionalism

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[10] Before Jencks's (1975) recuperation of the 'postmodern' from literary circles, the term had been occasionally used by Sir Nikolaus Pevsner and Philip Johnson in the late 1960s, and a circle of New York-based architects and critics (including Robert Stern, Paul Goldberger, and Douglas Davis) in 1974.

[11] See Kahn (1944), and Jencks & Baird (1969), respectively.

[12] The 1960s discussions of systems analysis, cybernetics, and the 'architecture of the great number' intensified the technocratic positivism of post-war architectural production. In the British context, this was also reflected in the technical education of young architects of the period. It was a pedagogical approach that attempted to emulate the model of 'hard' science. For an outline of Leslie Martin's characteristic attempt to establish a science of architectural form that foregrounded the optimisation of the buildings' functional performance, see Sharr (2010).

[13] For a comprehensive discussion of the linguistic turn in architectural theory and criticism of the period, see Kourkoulas (1986). Rather tellingly, Peter Eisenman (1976) framed his avant-

was to account for the dual loss of meaning and participation that was collectively attributed to modern architecture.

These diverse developments obviously shared little common ground with historicist pastiche. This is why this dissertation does not resort to an *a priori* definition of the term 'postmodern' in the field of architecture. From the outset, my thesis challenges this stylistic understanding. Chapter 1 exposes the production and subsequent establishment of this understanding as a historical artefact of the first Biennale of Architecture in Venice (1980). My use of the term 'postmodern' is therefore rather expansive, yet historically grounded. Like an umbrella term, it attempts to cover the diversity of architectural developments in the second half of the twentieth century. If such developments (a) chronologically followed, and (b) were deliberately developed in critical response to (c) what they interpreted as functionalism, I understand them as postmodern.[14] This broad definition enables me to return to this period keeping the historical open-endedness of the relevant theoretical debates in sight. Developing as the theory of the now, of the recent past and the imminent future in arts, society and culture, the postmodern could not be defined as a closed concept. Despite their insistence on divergent characteristics, the common denominator of all the attempts to define the postmodern was their

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gardist design pursuits of the period in terms of 'post-functionalism'. A decade later, Hanno-Walter Kruft (1985: 446) characteristically noted that "Post-Modernism' signifies nothing more than a series of heterogeneous attempts to break loose from the functionalist grip'.

[14] These three conditions reflect my appropriation of Noël Carroll's (1997: 90) proposed definition: 'something is postmodern only if it comes after the modern which it opposed in some significant ways in light of an adequate interpretation of the modern'. Thus, I also agree with Emmanuel Petit's (2013) inclusion of Peter Eisenman in his list of five case studies of postmodern irony, irrespectively of Eisenman's own qualms about that. Arguing that this is a very loose definition of the 'postmodern' only indicates that the interlocutor enters the discussion with a preconceived definition of the 'postmodern' in mind. It signifies applying a given definition to the historical material, when the aim of this project is precisely to stir up these settled definitions.

exploratory openness to an uncertain future. In Jameson's (1994: xii) words at the time, '[a]ll postmodernism theory is [...] a telling of the future, with an imperfect deck'. It is this diverse opening to the future that my historical research on the postmodern attempts to retrieve. In revisiting this period, I do not aim to replace a settled definition of the postmodern with another. I use my proposed broad definition only heuristically. It is the tool that enables me not to redefine, but to rethink the postmodern as a proliferation of interrelated discourses on the modern, the regional, and the critical in architecture. In this light, and as the thesis progresses from the first to the later chapters, the 'postmodern classicism' of the Biennale becomes only one strand within a more complex field of architectural theory at the time. By the end of the thesis, this approach also enables me to retrieve and reappraise the muted socially conscious aspects of the postmodern in architecture. In the pages that follow, I explain how this is gradually achieved in more detail.

0.2 Postmodern revisits

I developed my historical approach as a response to the problematic aspects of contemporary revisits of the postmodern in architecture. Some of them reappraise the postmodern nostalgically. They regard it as a significant style of the twentieth century that is also worth considering for architectural preservation.[15] In a similar vein, celebrated figures of the period, now in their late 70s, attempt to rewrite this history in their own image, and cement their place within it (see Jencks 2011). Both approaches perpetuate the limited stylistic understanding of the postmodern in

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[15] This approach is evident in Adamson & Pavitt (2011), the summer-long feature on postmodernism in *Dezeen* (2015), and the Postmodernism Conference of The Twentieth Century Society (2016).

architecture. Resting on existing definitions, they do not advance our understanding of this much more complex set of theories and ideas. This also seems to be the case for the 'militant' polemicists of the postmodern, recently exemplified in the work of Owen Hatherley (2009). Revisiting the period in an affirmative tone, I also attempted to move away from the glorifying aspects of the nostalgic and the derogatory aspects of the polemical discourses. Abandoning the given definitions of the postmodern was my way of escaping from their grip.

Another interrelated problem with these contemporary revisits of the postmodern is the overtheorisation of relevant debates.[16] I abide by Reinhold Martin's (2010) intention to reactivate the latent implications of postmodern architecture for contemporary critical thinking. However, I do not follow him in believing that this is a matter of retheorising the works of the past. I rather contend that theory has almost exhausted its potential for elucidating the question of the postmodern in architecture. After all, the postmodern debate historically coincided with the 'gilded age of theory' (Mallgrave & Goodman 2011: 123) and the unprecedented production of architectural discourse. An insistence on theoretical approaches thus risks an almost verbatim reproduction of the inconclusive debates of the 1980s. The problem with the contemporary understandings of the postmodern in architecture does not lie in its insufficient theorisation, but in its inadequate historicisation. Hence, my methodological turn to historiography.[17]

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[16] This is mainly the case for McMurrough (2007), Vinegar (2008), Hays (2009), Martin (2010).

[17] In this light, I read Magali Sarfatti-Larson (1993) as the first historian of the postmodern of this ilk. Sarfatti-Larson considered the postmodern turn in American architecture from a sociological perspective. She therefore encompassed the canonical protagonists of the intense architectural developments of the period (1965-1985) within wider structural (e.g. discursive, socio-economic, institutional) contexts.

The third common problem of recent revisits of the postmodern in architecture is their reliance on the same established figures of the Western European/North American contexts.[18] Many of them thus serve as subtle re-affirmations of the same canon. While these studies have elucidated overlooked characteristics of the postmodern phenomenon, some of its contested aspects are not retrievable by revisits of the same canon. A contextual displacement from the established Western European and North American 'centres' to the 'peripheral' sites of the postmodern in architecture offered the solution to this problem. Historical work can retrieve the regional contexts and their virtually invisible role in the 'international' accounts that have so far overlooked them. The specific case of Greece becomes an interesting case in point here.[19]

In addressing these problems of the contemporary revisits of the postmodern in architecture, my thesis is not alone. It follows a recent thread of similar historiographical studies, and most notably two other PhD theses from the Bartlett School of Architecture. In their different ways, each of them has moved beyond the settled understanding of the postmodern in architecture. Léa-Catherine Szacka's (2011a) comprehensive history of the first Venice Biennale of Architecture showed how this mythologised exhibition acted as a 'hinge' in the history of postmodernism. More recently, Eva Branscome (2013) also revisited postmodernism in historical and cultural terms. Focusing on the work and ideas of Hans Hollein in Austria, she moved the discussion away from the established North American and Italian 'centres' of the postmodern after the Biennale. Developing in the aftermath of these two studies, my

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[18] This is the case for McMurrough (2007), Vinegar (2008), Hays (2009), Martin (2010), Otero-Pailos (2010), Szacka (2011a), Adamson & Pavitt (2011), Migayrou (2012), Petit (2013), and Branscome (2013).

[19] My turn to a history of the postmodern in a regional architectural milieu aligns my study with Figueira (2011) and Szacka (2015).

thesis pushes their incipient understandings further. Like Szacka, I start from the Biennale in Venice. I tangentially build upon her work by revisiting the exhibition through the eyes of the Greek architects, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. This in turn enables me to move the discussion further away from the usual 'centres' of analysis like Branscome. The Greek architectural couple thus becomes the fulcrum of my discussion of 'postmodernism' as one strand within a conglomeration of disparate architectural discourses. As the thesis progresses, the discussion moves further away from the Biennale understanding of the postmodern that was negatively portrayed in Greece at the time. This enables me to open a richer spectrum of relevant developments and theoretical reconsiderations. Focusing on the debates around modernism, postmodernism and critical regionalism, I therefore explore their effects in architectural discourses, practices and pedagogies in 1980s Greece. This in turn leads me to a nuanced analysis of the Greek architectural profession within the web of its international relationships and influences. Thus, the thesis foregrounds the conditions of transcultural authorship of the relevant debates in the 1980s. The transcultural dimension of these discourses, especially in their overlaps and dissonances with architectural practice and education, constitutes the original contribution of this thesis to the recent historiography of this period.

0.3 Postmodern Greece

As a rule, Greece is conspicuously absent from histories and other purviews of 'international postmodernism' (see Bertens & Fokkema 1997). Perry Anderson (1998: 16), who mentions Athens as one of the first loci of 'origins of postmodernity', is a rare exception. This passing reference is only superficial, however. It only leads in to a discussion of William V. Spanos and the postmodern debates in his journal,

boundary 2, in the early 1970s. Thus, the Greek context has not yet significantly contributed to an international discussion of postmodernism (cf. Papanikolaou 2005). Architecture in Greece in the late 1960s and 1970s was no exception to this wider trend. It was also absent from the relevant developments in the Western European and North American world. This was owing to the turbulent post-war history of the country. The civil war of the late 1940s and the ensuing political turmoil that culminated in a seven-year military regime (1967-1974), were important factors for this Greek absence. Increased state censorship and oppression, alongside an imposed cultural introversion, meant that Greece practically lost contact with the relevant developments on the Western European front.[20] Rather crucially so, the rule of the colonels coincided with the 'global 1968' moment, one of the most intense periods of critique of the modern project. A history of the postmodern in Greece is therefore conditioned by the long shadow of the junta years.[21]

This historical absence has already registered in Greek architectural historiography. In his history of twentieth-century architecture in Greece, Andreas Giacumacatos (2004: 105) referred to the only 'supposed spreading of the so-called "Greek postmodernism"' (Giacumacatos 2004: 105).[22] In other words, architecture in Greece had never been postmodern. Writing in the early 1980s, in his comprehensive history of architecture in modern Greece (1830-1980), Dimitris Philippidis (1984: 44)

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[20] After the fall of the colonels, the lost ground was only partially covered by the global news pages of *Architecture in Greece*, the major annual review of architecture in the country.

[21] For a historical and cultural purview of Greece in the 1980s, see Clogg (1983), and Vamvakas & Panagiotopoulos (2010).

[22] This was Giacumacatos's impression from the outset. At the end of the 1980s, Giacumacatos (1990: 19) had already described the postmodern in Greek architecture as a 'desire' for something 'that could have existed', but did not actually develop as a comprehensive design poetics. Throughout the dissertation, all translations from the Greek are by the author, unless otherwise noted.

had also noted that: '[t]ruly post-modern architecture doesn't seem to exist in Greece'.[23] At the end of the 1980s, Panayotis Tournikiotis criticised the Greek architectural scene for its theoretical deficiency. In his account, modern architecture in Greece always received its international influences 'as a spectacle, emancipated from its mode of production'. Greek architectural production thus amounted to a 'management of established images' (Tournikiotis 1990: 23). Like the Greek modernism that was not predicated on social problems and grand architectural projects, postmodern architecture in Greece was not an internal development of the local post-war scene. It was 'a successor of the previous state' that did not challenge its predecessor. The postmodern developments of architecture in Greece were just the footprint of an external influence (Tournikiotis 1989: 74-75). In this sense, Greek postmodern architects had nothing to challenge, or to abandon. They had not 'defined [their] aims, apart from the general demands for an urban aesthetics and a better quality of life' (Tournikiotis 1989: 76). In other words, Tournikiotis considered the postmodern in Greek architecture as a contentless endeavour, a critique without an object.

All these accounts shared the underlying assumption that the necessary and sufficient conditions for the development of postmodernism were simply absent from the Greek context.[24] In other words, all three accounts rested upon an idealised

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[23] Panayotis Tsakopoulos (2014) addressed the postmodern years of architecture in Greece more openly than any other regional historian so far. In his work, the Greek architects of the 1980s found their place in the wider framework of the postmodern and neorationalist problematic of the period. Tsakopoulos's turn to unbuilt projects from architectural competitions and diploma projects published in *Architecture in Greece* over the course of the 1980s, also enriched his history with architects not mentioned in other regional histories of the period.

[24] In 2004, Giacumacatos's line of reasoning continued as follows: The foreign modern architects of the 1960s had already constituted a welcome influence for their Greek peers. They inspired them in building 'a contemporary image of Greek architecture'. It would

definition of the modern and the postmodern in architecture. This was the golden

standard against which the developments in the Greek architectural milieu were

measured. This is also why they were always found lacking. Since the Western

European model of the postmodern did not fully apply to the Greek case, architecture

in Greece could not have been postmodern. Under the theoretical light of this golden

standard, the postmodern developments of architecture in Greece appear superficial.

They can only be considered as deductive inauthentic attempts to mimic the

standards set by the Western European and North American 'centres' of architectural

production.

However, these local developments were not actually lacking a regional

version of the modern to rebel against. Doing so in the terms of the local architectural

milieu was what also rendered them postmodern in regional and historical terms. My

work thus revisits this history in its own terms, i.e. without the preconceived

definition of the postmodern Greek architectural historians previously had in mind.

This settled definition only served as a blind spot for the local historiographical

scene. It was a criticism based more on foreign literature than the actual historical

and contextually defined architectural production of the country. This in turn

reproduced a peculiar sort of Eurocentrism *within* the European territory that

rendered Greek historians less sensitive to the subtle transcultural overlaps in the

regional developments of the period. In my account, I thus refrain from applying a

theoretical straitjacket to a primary material that can only be the situated product of

historical contingency. In the 1980s, Greek architects inexorably developed their

postmodern problematic in the intertwined international and regional contexts, and

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therefore be difficult for the same Greek architects to participate in the questioning of that
very style. If they did, it could only be preposterously so. Modernism had not yet exhausted its
potential trajectory of development within the Greek context.

more emphatically so in the case of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis.[25] The Greek architectural couple did not historically act as a passive recipient of the postmodern debates after the Biennale. As I show in chapter 2, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis were also active authorial agents of the critical regionalist discourse. This was in turn developed as a response to the postmodern historicism of the Biennale by Kenneth Frampton, Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre. Because critical regionalism enjoyed a special relationship with Greece from the outset, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis became an ideal case study for the development of my thesis.

0.4 Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis

In the postmodern context of the early 1980s, the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis attracted international attention through Kenneth Frampton. In 1983, their Benaki Street apartment building was heralded as an exemplar of critical regionalism (see Frampton 1983b: 162). In addition to their collaborative professional practice, Atelier 66, the Antonakakis also liaised with internationally active practitioners (like Aldo van Eyck, Herman Hertzberger, and A. James Speyer), publishers (like Orestis Doumanis and Yorgos Simeoforidis) and academics (like Alexander Tzonis and Jean-Louis Cohen) of the period. In Greece, they were also engaged on institutional fronts, like the National Technical University of Athens, the Association of Greek Architects, and the Technical Chamber. They could thus experience and cultivate the postmodern turmoil of the 1980s in a broad spectrum of architectural practice. Their activity across these diverse fronts enables me to open a

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[25] In this sense, I am closer to the approaches of Greek modernity developed in Faubion (1993) and Eisenstadt's (2002) notion of 'multiple modernities'. I revisit the postmodern debate as it historically developed in the Greek architectural milieu in chapter 4 (section 4.4).

historical discussion about the postmodern within an intertwined regional and international setting. The Greek architectural couple thus serves as an ideal case study for actualising my historiography.[26]

In Greek architectural historiography, the work of the Antonakakis has been only vaguely associated with the postmodern. For instance, it is difficult to see how the architects historically 'travers[ed] the labyrinthine parts of modern, post-modern and contemporary Greek architecture', as suggested by Elias Constantopoulos (1994: 19). In a similar vein, Nikos Kalogirou (2007: 29) further contends that '[c]hronological circumstance forces them to confront the reality of post-modernism, which inevitably exerts an influence on their work, but without actually distancing it from the idiom it originally articulated'. However, he does not clarify what that inevitable influence was, and how it was historically exerted. Dimitris Fatouros has also attempted to steer their work away from any association with postmodernism. Regarding their university campus buildings on Crete, Fatouros (1994: 49) notes they create 'a symbolic image without copying stylistic fragments'. However, the same project was

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[26] Other Greek architects whose work attracted international attention during the same period include Dimitris Porphyrios (who also favoured a return to classicism that was presented in *Architectural Design* as an alternative to Jencks's postmodern classicism in 1982), Panos Koulermos, and Elias Zengelis (whose distinct contribution to the renowned projects of the early OMA is occasionally difficult to specify). However, all three of them worked and taught primarily abroad. They were also close to the favoured architectural circles of the editor of *Architectural Design*, Andreas Papadakis. Hence, a study of their work would not contribute as well to the more nuanced interpretation of the postmodern I hope to outline by turning to Greek practitioners. In other words, while the work of Porphyrios, Koulermos, and Zengelis may have also been internationally significant, it was not regional. The work of Georges Candylis is more relevant, but his death in the mid-1980s renders him a historical figure for my discussion. Alexandros Tombazis was another possible candidate, but his architectural work attracted international attention only later in time. Rather significantly, the Antonakakis have never built a project outside Greece. It is precisely because their work is regional that it acquired an international relevance in the first place.

recently heralded as a major exemplar of an otherwise 'hysterically rejected' Greek postmodernism (Philippidis 2015).

Situating the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis within the international postmodern turmoil of the 1980s, I also shed a different light on their standard portrayal as the 'Greek Team 10'.[27] In this context, the affinities of their work with Team 10 (and most notably, Aldo van Eyck) help me recuperate the socially conscious aspects of the postmodern debate that were muted after the Biennale. To foreground this aspect, throughout the thesis I do not diverge to dwell on the details of the Antonakakis' engagement with Team 10. I only highlight some of their most striking instances in footnotes. However, the 'Greek Team 10' is another superficial cliché of Greek architectural historiography that cannot withstand deeper historical research.

The same goes for other features that have been ascribed to their work by architectural historians and critics, as in the Antonakakis' recognition of

> the contribution of [their] predecessors, at once contemplating the work of the simple craftsmen and the great masters [...] [within] a perception that identifies the architect with both the low and high aspects of his art. (Tournikiotis 2007: 55)

Their opening up of architectural design as a participatory process (that involves architects, their middle-to-low-income clients and craftsmen) is also repeatedly mentioned (from Loyer 1966 to Philippidis 1984). However, nobody so far has explored how all this worked in actual practice (the distinct contribution of each party in the design process, as well as the relation of the Antonakakis' architectural practices with their public engagement roles within institutions like the National Technical University of Athens). In the final instance, these sweeping generalisations

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[27] To cite just one example, see Philippidis (1984: 377; 402).

and their unreflective reproduction entail a danger of mythologisation.[28] There is therefore ample room for contemporary historical work to develop in the interstices of these generalisations that also define the Antonakakis' critical regionalism. This thesis is also unique in Greek architectural historiography, as the first study to undertake this task in such detail. My focused and extensive research at the private archive of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis enabled me to shed light on the gaps, misconstructions and mythologisations of their architectural practices. As I show in more detail in chapters 2, 3 and 4, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' work both gave shape to Tzonis & Lefaivre's and Frampton's critical regionalism, and was subsequently affected by its theoretical post-rationalisations.

0.5 Critical regionalisms

Positive and negative reactions to Frampton's critical regionalism have led to its development in various directions over the last three decades. To cite just one example, the recent comprehensive account of regionalist discourses in architecture by Vincent Canizaro (2007: 11), reportedly developed out of his 'disaffection for critical regionalism'. This led him to consider other regionalisms, like aspects of 'regional planning, bioregionalism, and the lost legacy of regional modernism pioneered by a number of mid-century architects' (Canizaro 2007: 10). Canizaro also stressed the conciliatory character of regionalism. In his own words, '[r]egionalism is never a singular theory or practice but is most often a means by which tensions – such as those between globalisation and localism, modernity and tradition – are resolved' (Canizaro 2007: 16). My historical research corroborates this. As I show in

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[28] I discuss other important aspects of the historiographical and critical reception of the Antonakakis' work in chapters 2 (section 2.3), 3 (section 3.2), and 4 (sections 4.1 and 4.4).

chapters 2 (section 2.3) and 3 (section 3.1), this 'third way' conciliatory aspect is constitutive of the critical regionalist discourse. It also played a significant role in the celebrated reception of critical regionalism in 1980s Greece.

In chapter 2 (section 2.1), I show that Frampton's regionalist discourse developed out of his combined interest in phenomenology and critical theory. Before Frampton, phenomenological approaches tended to insist on the experiential and essentialist aspects of regionalism.[29] These discussions tended to be more attuned to the 1970s question of the loss of meaning. In 2007, Timothy Cassidy's plea for a 'reflexive regionalism' intended to address the other aspect of the same problem, the loss of participation. Cassidy thus moved away from formal considerations of the regional architectural tradition and locally available materials. He promoted an understanding of regionalism as the outcome of the architects' lived experience of a place in the long term. In a similar vein, Barbara L. Allen (2007) critiqued the nominal interest of critical regionalism in the cultural practices through which identity is performed. Despite Frampton's Heideggerian and Habermasian rhetoric, Allen argued that critical regionalism was yet another architectural discourse mainly preoccupied with formal considerations.[30] Steven A. Moore (2007) approached Frampton's discourse in a more positive light. He updated and expanded the notion of critical regionalism to accommodate a nuanced contemporary understanding of sustainability.

Richard Ingersoll (1991a) applied Frampton's points of critical regionalism in his analysis of the Menil Collection in Houston, Texas. He did so to showcase how an

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[29] For a characteristic regionalist approach of this ilk, see Pallasmaa (1988).

[30] In so doing, she inadvertently echoed Jencks's (1984a: 152) view that critical regionalism was 'also a style like any other'. In chapter 2 (section 2.4), I discuss various other critiques of critical regionalism that have appeared over the last three decades.

architecture could practically address Frampton's various points. Canizaro (2007: 386) posits that Ingersoll's analysis confirmed the actual possibility of an architecture prescribed by the tenets of critical regionalism. However, my historical account of Frampton's gradual articulation of critical regionalism begs to differ. In chapter 2 (section 2.1), I show that Frampton extrapolated the various points of his regionalist discourse from his discussions of specific architectural examples. In other words, the buildings as actual possibilities of a critical regionalist architecture, were integral parts of Frampton's discourse. More specifically, as I argue later in chapter 2 (section 2.3), they conditioned the transcultural authorship of critical regionalism. My account of critical regionalism thus establishes a new set of relations that render Frampton's discourse an artefact of transcultural authorship. In addition, my revisit of this rare and important intersection of post-war architecture in Greece with the 'international' discourse of critical regionalism unveils its misalignments with its local origins. Finally, my historical account shows how critical regionalism acquired historical agency in the context of 1980s Greece. Chapters 3 (sections 3.1 and 3.2) and 4 (section 4.4) show how the distanced theoretical constructs of 'critical regionalism' and 'postmodernism' had serious and lasting consequences on the architectural culture they originally dealt with. After its 'critical regionalist' celebration, the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis had to re-enter the 1980s Greek architectural milieu, that first prompted it, as 'internationally renowned'. This nuanced and contrasted understanding of critical regionalism is a direct consequence of my method that rests upon the paradigm of microhistory.

0.6 Microhistoriography

In his critique of critical regionalism, Keith L. Eggener (2002) noted the colonising aspects of Frampton's discourse. He argued that critical regionalism actively pushed to the margins architectural practices that did not necessarily understand themselves as 'marginal' before Frampton's intervention. Originally intending to oppose the hierarchical 'centre-periphery' dichotomy, Frampton's discourse had inadvertently reinforced it. Such after-effects of the critical regionalist discourse extend to the present. They practically affected my own writing of this history. As a Greek historian, an insider familiar with the intricacies of the regional architectural scene, I also worked and wrote away from my historical site, from the distant confines of a British institution. This distance was constitutive of my historical hermeneutics. Enabling me to look at my case study within a wider 'international' horizon, it both modified my perspective and motivated my critical capacities.[31] However, from the perspective of an 'international' audience increasingly interested in the postmodern developments of the period, the default position of a Greek history is also marginal. Greece is not generally regarded as a focal centre of postmodern developments. My historiographical project thus had to retrieve this history from the margins, and re-establish its significant connection to the 'international centre'. Because it had to retrieve this 'lost' history from the 'international' perspective, my thesis developed as a microhistory.[32]

Seminal works of microhistory like Carlo Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (1976) were aligned with

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[31] For a related encomium of distance and estrangement in historical writing, see Ginzburg (1998).

[32] For microhistory as a method apposite for retrieving 'the lost peoples of Europe', see Muir & Ruggiero (1991).

Frampton's concerns to challenge the surviving 'aristocratic' or 'hierarchical' conceptions of culture at the time. Microhistorians opposed the idea that cultural content is exclusively produced from the upper classes to be subsequently disseminated and imposed on their subordinates. Emphasising the multiplicity of cultures of the 'dominant' and the 'subordinate' classes, they focused on their relations, dissonances and mutual exchanges. The greatest methodological hurdle for the microhistorians of the distant past was the scarcity of relevant testimonies from the subordinate classes. The hierarchical class/power relations were also reflected on the available historical documents. In their scarcity, the written sources for the subordinate classes were also mediated. The available texts were usually written by the literati who were somehow tied with the dominant culture of the upper classes. Whatever information from the past reached the microhistorians was therefore distorted by the filters of these mediators. For the 'international' audience of the late twentieth century, the case with critical regionalism was similar. Disseminated from the 'centre' of architectural theory production, Frampton's discourse on regional architectural practices like Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' was also mediated. Critical regionalism thus produced inadvertent mythologisations and distortions of the practices that constituted its 'regional' subjects.

Guided primarily by research rather than theory,[33] microhistory became the method that enabled me to develop my thesis as a focused return to the region. In 1986, Ginzburg noted the post-1968 shift in historiography from the telescope to the

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[33] In his introduction to *The Cheese and the Worms*, Ginzburg (1976) criticised Foucault's work on the confession of Pierre Riviére, the young peasant from Normandy who murdered his mother, sister and brother in 1835. He posited that Foucault was more interested in the criteria of exclusion than the excluded themselves. Foucauldian scholars' insistence on the juridical and psychiatric systems of exclusion obstructed them from analysing and interpreting their historical protagonist's complex relations to the dominant and subordinate cultures. His figure thus fades in the background of Foucault's brittle abstractions.

microscope. He foregrounded the transition from the analysis of socioeconomic structures to the study of mentalities and cultures.[34] His microhistoriography was based on 'a series of details examined close-up' (Ginzburg 1986: xvii). For his seminal work on the worldview of the sixteenth-century miller, Menocchio, Ginzburg focused on a single main source (the archives of the Inquisition) and a main protagonist (from the small regional community of the Friuli) in a dense slice of time. In my case, chapter 4 develops in a similar fashion as an architect's history, i.e. a history from the specific practitioners' viewpoint. This is why my discussion does not dwell so much on the wider social structures and processes. It focuses on the everyday architectural culture within a collaborative design practice. In so doing, it reclaims the human and personal sides of history that were distorted and mythologised by Frampton's critical regionalist accounts. To cite just one example, Frampton's generalisations over the cultivated sense of collectivity in Atelier 66 are disproved when I juxtapose them with the inner life of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' collaborative practice (see chapter 4, section 4.3). As my historiographical method, microhistory thus enables me to pinpoint the problematic aspects of the brittle abstractions of architectural discourse. Adding a sense of the specific to the study of the past, microhistory adds nuance and complements the broader picture of the specific social context. My decision to follow the case study strategy to organise my research also highlights the intertwined international and regional context in which my case is embedded. It enables me to study the complex postmodern dynamics within which the work of the Antonakakis historically developed. In other words, this intertwined context 'becomes virtually inseparable from the definition of [my] case itself' (Groat & Wang 2002: 347). My case study thus allows me to draw out and explain causal links within this context.

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[34] For this shift in historiography from the 'faceless powers of material production and demographic increase' of the Annales to different aspects of the lived experience of specific individuals, also see Stone (1979).

Like Ginzburg's Menocchio, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis are not 'typical' architects in 1980s Greece. Following the tendency of Frampton's discourse to portray 'talented individuals' as representatives of a whole region, in Greece the two architects are relatively isolated as the only internationally renowned practitioners of their generation. However, their work clearly articulated reconsiderations of the regional tradition and modernism in a critical manner. This in turn showcased the latent possibilities of the architectural languages that were available to them at the time. This is why, in the final instance, and through their diverse institutional roles as practicing architects, active citizens and educators, the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis had wider implications. In this thesis, I especially foreground the transcultural aspect of these implications. I contend that the 'international' dimension is indispensable in situating the Antonakakis' 'regional' worldview. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' design practices are not explicated through their reduction to broadly defined 'critical regionalisms', 'modernisms' or 'postmodernisms'. As I show in chapter 3, their work builds upon a transcultural lineage of regional modern architectural practice that harks back to their formative years in the late 1950s. This older strand was only reinforced by the postmodern tumult of the 1980s. The conviction of Suzana and Dmitris Antonakakis' architectural practice steered them away from passive receptions and superficial reproductions of the discourses and ideas of others.

As a method, microhistory is also especially apt in capturing incisive moments of cultural transitions. Ginzburg's (1976) Menocchio belonged to a generation of literate peasants. He was therefore able to form his peculiar worldview by combining elements from the oral tradition of his class with some of his more sophisticated readings. The explosive mix of Menocchio's paroxysmic cosmogony of 'cheese and worms' was the result of this meeting of the printed page with the oral agrarian

tradition.[35] Menocchio's case thus becomes an illustrative episode of this wider transition to literacy, and its cultural significance for the agrarian populations of the period. In chapter 4, I similarly focus on the architectural practice of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis circa 1980 through two key building projects set approximately a decade apart. This helps me put general questions in very specific ways, and explore the interplay of theory with practice through tangible historical material.[36] More specifically, it enables me to explore the Antonakakis' 'critical regionalist' work at the moment of its alleged transit to 'postmodernism'. The collision of these opposing discourses on their architectural practice in the flow of its development becomes a condensed moment of postmodern ferment. This in turn enables me to showcase the complexity of the multiple 'international' discursive and 'regional' design threads at their interplay with Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' evolving architectural practices. Another instance of Dimitris Antonakakis as an inadvertent transitive figure occurs in chapter 5. When his students appropriated his open modernist teachings, they used it as a springboard to integrate their readings of postmodern theory back to their architectural pursuits.

As a method, microhistory also intended to draw principles from diverse sources. In my attempt to produce a carefully documented and factually dense thesis, I paid special attention to the selection and organisation of my material. I was not limited to carving a direction of thinking from within a broad field of inquiry. I also

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[35] Alain Corbin's (1990) microhistory of the 'village of cannibals' in 1870s France also turns a regional episode into a symptom of a broader shift in attitudes to violence, pain and amputations of the body.

[36] In this sense, this study participates in the recent tendency to 'return to history' to overcome theory (which was the flourishing discourse of the last decades of the twentieth century). For a broad discussion of this current tendency, see Leach (2010: 127-131). My historiographical research methodology has also profited from Groat & Wang (2003: 135-171, 341-373), and Booth, Colomb & Williams (2003).

articulated a story which provides the reader with a conglomerate of facts and readings, pieced together to advance my main argument. To address the complexity of historical and architectural issues involved, I collected and combined a diversity of sources and viewpoints. I relied on multiple sources of evidence, including archives[37] and oral history.[38] My data collection thus included (published and unpublished) manuscripts, architectural histories, conference proceedings, draft annotated typescripts, books and periodicals, in-depth open ended autobiographical interviews, newspapers, unpublished records (like the official minutes and hand-written notes from various committee meetings), legislative texts (like the General Building

[37] I worked on the private archives of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, Dimitris Philippidis, Panayotis Tournikiotis, Stavros Stavridis and Yorgos Tzirtzilakis. I also retrieved historical material from institutional sources, like the Benaki Museum Neohellenic Architecture Archives, the Technical Chamber of Greece Library and Archive, the Association of Greek Architects archives, the National Technical University of Athens School of Architecture Library and Archive, the Urban Planning Agency Archives of Attica and Rhodes. In addition, I consulted informal sources like the radical bookstores in Exarchia. In Venice, I worked on the Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee (ASAC), Fondazione La Biennale di Venezia, and the IUAV Archivio Progetti in Venice.

[38] Alongside 6 in-depth interviews with Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis in 2013 and 2014, I also interviewed: architectural historian Dimitris Philippidis, activist scholar Nikos Souzas, feminist activist Sissy Vovou, another political activist who wished to remain anonymous, tutors and students of architecture at the National Technical University of Athens in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Tonia Katerini, Panayotis Tsakopoulos, Panayotis Tournikiotis, Stavros Stavridis, Kostas Moraitis, Dimitris Papalexopoulos, Nikos Kalogeras, Tassos Biris), other practicing architects of the period (Agnes Couvela, Yiannis Vikelas, Spyros Amourgis), academics teaching at the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki (Anastasios Kotsiopoulos, Dimitris Fatouros), architectural critics and publishers (Savvas Condaratos, Yorgos Tzirtzilakis, Elias Constantopoulos), an academic expert in folk studies (Kaiti Kamilaki), the Antonakakis' long-term collaborating architects and engineers (Annie Platanioti, Alekos Athanasiadis and Takis Plainis), their former peers in Atelier 66 (Antonis Noukakis, Aristide Antonas, Eleni Desylla, Zissis Kotionis, Theano Fotiou, Konstantinos Daskalakis, Kostis Gartzos, Kostis Hadjimichalis, Aleka Monemvasitou, Giorgos Antonakakis, Bouki Babalou, Dina Vaiou), the current tenants of the Benaki Street apartment building (Myrto Nezi, Patti Dolka, Vasso Hadjinikita), as well as their client and friend, Steven Farrant.

Regulation in Greece and its modifications by the military junta regime), correspondence (private letters) and personal materials (colloquial student notebooks), preliminary plans, sketches, presentation drawings, photographs, short videos, student lectures and diploma projects from the late 1970s to the late 1980s, briefs for architectural theory and design modules, and buildings. I worked on these diverse objects mainly through the web of discourses that was historically weaved around them. This included verbal and visual analyses of their representations in various media. For my analysis, the multiple sources and forms of my historical material constituted diverse sites of discourse. I did not approach any of my objects of study as an autonomous, however sophisticated, language that is exclusive to this form of material. I was mainly concerned with discourse, i.e. the 'thinking' which organised and circulated around these objects, as their main source of meaning. This juxtaposition of (regional) objects with (international) discourses revealed the gaps and distortions that fed in to my microhistory. In my case, these in turn provided an insight to the outlook of a region in a specific period.

Unlike Ginzburg (1976) who could not converse with his sixteenth-century peasants, I had the opportunity to interview many of the key agents of my microhistory. I approached these interviews as sources of recollective evidence. The light they shed on my historical material was already filtered by the interlocutors' interpretations of past events. These were in turn contingent upon the interviewees' historical role and their structural positions in the relevant developments (Groat & Wang 2002: 159). I therefore attempted to avoid the incipient pitfall of ventriloquism by using these interviews only as starting points. Writing this history was my way to process the past that these individuals remembered. This turned my writing to a critical discourse on the past that examined, contextualised, and interpreted these memories. This is why I have also refrained from quoting individual interviewees (although I have stayed close to their original phrasing) in the parts of my work that

relied on their accounts of the inner life of a building (see chapter 4, section 4.2), a collaborative architectural practice (see chapter 4, section, 4.3), and a school of architecture (see chapter 5, section 5.1). Ensuring that my writing was driven by my own research questions was another way in which I attempted to evade similar pitfalls of oral history. Whenever possible, I triangulated my interlocutors' accounts with multiple reference points. I juxtaposed the different accounts of the same stories, and marshalled the most relevant group of primary and secondary sources, in search of evidence to corroborate them. As expected, some of the interviewees' claims were disproved by the archival material, while others offered different perspectives on the same primary sources. My interlocutors' shared memories thus became an additional site for my work as a historian. In some cases, these oral testimonies also led me to retrieve archival material that was institutionally 'invisible'. To cite just one example, after the negative outcome of his candidacy for the professorial chair in 1981, and his refusal to become a lecturer through the New Law for Higher Education in 1982, Dimitris Antonakakis practically occupied a non-existent institutional post at the National Technical University of Athens. Because he could not officially appear as the supervisor of diploma projects, or the leader of elective modules, a considerable part of his teaching is thus 'invisible' in the official archive of the School. My interviews with the peers that served as the institutional decoys for his modules, and some of his former students led me to document Antonakakis's teaching through archival material that could not have been retrieved otherwise.

I attempted to understand and retain the meaning of the retrieved evidence in historical context. Through a rigorous analysis of my evidence, I tried to witness the postmodern through the situated eyes of a Greek architectural practice circa 1980.[39] As a whole, my thesis thus moves from the particular to the general (from the first

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[39] This is also a key feature of Carlo Ginzburg's microhistories (1976; 1986; 1993).

Venice Biennale of Architecture exhibition to the establishment of the postmodernist style and the transcultural authorship of critical regionalism, from the Antonakakis' Benaki Street apartment building to its Athenian context, and from Dimitris Antonakakis's teaching practice to the work of his later students). I worked out from the specific into the more general, rather than starting with the general and drilling down into the specific. Although the constitution of my archival material supported a discussion focused on specific figures (from Paolo Portoghesi to Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis), by the end of the thesis I read these figures as indices of the different sites and discourses of the postmodern in architecture. This enabled my account to retain the nuances of an insider's perspective within the structural changes of the period.[40] My microhistory thus enabled me to shed light on something greater than itself. This does not necessarily mean that my thesis now becomes a given 'testimony' that can be subsequently added to a larger generalising edifice gradually constructed by an accumulation of similar cases. However, this is also not precluded in principle. Reading my microhistory in conjunction with Szacka's (2011a), Branscome's (2013) and other similar historical revisits of the same period starts outlining a more sophisticated revisionist understanding of the postmodern in architecture.

0.7 Ferment

The Oxford English Dictionary defines ferment, the transitive verb, as 'incit[ing] or stir[ring] up (trouble or disorder)'. This Late Middle English word comes from the

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[40] Sarfatti-Larson's (1993) sociological methodology also highlights the structural shifts that actualised the revision of the modernist canon and the rise of the postmodern in the United States. However, her structural account misses the significant nuances of the historical agents' insider perspective. This is why I opted for Ginzburg's microhistorical approach.

Old French (*fermenter*), which was in turn based on the Latin *fervere*, 'to boil'. As a mass noun, ferment thus denotes 'agitation and excitement among a group of people, typically concerning major change'. In its archaic sense, it refers to 'a fermenting agent or enzyme'. It is these characteristics that have driven me to adopt the 'ferment' as a technical term for my historiography. I am especially interested in the suggestive open-endedness and the collective aspects of the process denoted by these definitions. After all, architectural developments are the historical products of contested negotiations, adaptations and resistances. They thus involve a wide range of agents, communities and institutions.

The postmodern ferment is therefore a conceptual term I adopt to denote this multifarious process of historical change. It is my way to reconcile an understanding of concepts with the interests of my microhistorical narrative. In the field of architectural history, the term has so far been used only in passing in colloquial turns of speech like the following: 'Along with much that is fermenting on the Italian scene, it should be appreciated as a historical symptom' (Tafuri 1986: 193). The 'postmodern ferment' has also been used in passing in other contexts and phrasings like: '[p]ostmodern ideas and the ferment of debate generated by them' (Walker 2001: 29), 'the postmodern ferment has also cultivated an ethics of otherness, one that argues for the very primacy of moral responsibility' (Wade 2008: 292), or 'the weak force of global-cultural postmodern ferment' (Buell 1994: 296). These colloquial uses of the term rest upon an intuitive understanding of turmoil. What I am proposing here is a systematic use of the term. It denotes my historiographical project to rethink the postmodern as a transcultural proliferation of discourses.

In chapter 1, the first Venice Biennale of Architecture exhibition is interpreted as the locus of an institutional ferment. This is owing to the aspired transatlantic institutional alignment of Stern and Portoghesi. The exhibition brought together the

Italian and the American developments of the period. After the exhibition, Jencks allied with Stern to establish the stylistic understanding of the postmodern through his architectural publications. In addition, the exhibition inadvertently acted as a catalyst for a discursive ferment. It offered Frampton the opportunity to open a novel discursive space for the development of his critical regionalism. In chapters 2 and 3, Tzonis and Lefaivre's 'The Grid and the Pathway' (1981a) emerges as an agent of transcultural and subsequently historiographical ferment. Its recuperation by Frampton (1983a) indirectly enriches his regionalist discourse with Tzonis's agenda and Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' architectural concerns. Its celebrated reception in Greece as a sign of international attention to the regional architectural milieu alters the historiographical reception of Konstantinidis, Pikionis and the Antonakakis' work. Meanwhile, the specific terminology shared by Frampton's, Jencks's, and others' postmodern writings, render critical regionalism as an intervention within the international discursive ferment of the period (see chapter 2, section 2.2). Chapter 4 discusses the anti-hierarchical structure of Atelier 66 as an instance of a design ferment. The Antonakakis' attempt to open up the design process to the parties involved and affected by it was their response to the mythopoetic single authorship of the 'modernist masters'. Finally, in chapter 5, the National Technical University of Athens becomes the locus of an intergenerational postmodern ferment that combines architectural pedagogies and politics. More specifically, it was the 1979 student squats that ignited this ferment. They enabled Dimitris Antonakakis's politically active students to converse with the 'new anarchists' of the emerging antagonistic movement in 1980s Greece. Their meeting enabled these students to develop Antonakakis's teaching through their postmodern readings; for example, their exchange which was ignited at the squats was subsequently developed in the short-lived architectural journal, *Efimeri Poli*. Giving shape to my historical material as it also emerges from it, by the end of the thesis the ferment becomes a plea for a more open-ended and tolerant future for architectural discourse.

Used as a technical term, the 'ferment' thus summarises my response to the problems I traced in the contemporary revisits of the postmodern in architecture. Three decades after the fervent debates of the 1980s, the time is ripe to revisit the postmodern not as a predefined theoretical concept, but as a set of historical events.[41] Historians act as agitators. They debunk the stability of preconceived concepts by exposing them in the light of their open-ended historical contingency. Writing about the postmodern ferment today serves as a constant reminder that none of the conceptual-theoretical understandings of the modern, the postmodern, the regional, and the critical are stable.[42] They are themselves fermentable, i.e. they should be reconsidered in each individual case and context. It is these underlying contextual conditions that stir up the disorderly aspects of history writing even more.

0.8 Chapter outlines

When it first appeared in the 1960s, microhistory developed as a response to the Annales school of history writing. Their historiographical focus on the analysis of structural changes had pushed narrative aside. With the microhistorians' renewed emphasis on the lived experience of specific individuals, narrative also returned to the fore of history writing. The act of narrating reacquires its significance, because it offers a systematic organisation of the important details that do not survive the

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[41] The recent call for papers for the 'Theory's History 196X-199X: Challenges in the historiography of architectural knowledge' international conference (organised by KU Leuven in Brussels, 9-10 February 2017) corroborates this. For a relevant discussion of this recent tendency to 'return to history' after the age of theory, see Leach (2010: 127-131).

[42] That the understanding of the modern movement in the plural framework of a discontinuous agglomeration of multiple modernisms surfaced at this historical moment is not a mere coincidence. It is precisely the postmodern ferment that gave rise to these critical interpretations of modernisms. See also McLeod (2014).

process of abstraction. Following the microhistorians' emphasis, narrative also plays a central role in my history. My dissertation is structured in a way that leads my readers from debates that may be known within an international setting of the postmodern, to events that may be less well known, or have certainly been less well documented both inside and outside Greek architectural historiography. My narrative begins with a globally celebrated exhibition and ends with a globally unknown and marginalised journal of the 'new anarchists' of 1980s Greece. It is this narrative thread that enables me to clarify the recuperation of the socially conscious aspects of the postmodern carried out by this thesis. If chapter 1 serves as the preamble, then chapter 5 is the coda to the thesis. With Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis at their epicentre, chapters 2, 3, and 4 in turn form its hard core.

In chapter 1, I revisit the first Biennale of Architecture in Venice through the eyes of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. This enables me both to build upon and differentiate my discussion from Szacka's (2011a) comprehensive history of the exhibition. I start from this show as the key historical event that condensed and conditioned the subsequent developments that form the core of my thesis circa 1980. The exhibition thus serves as the historical setting for my discussion. I am more interested to expose the different curatorial intentions at play behind the show that were unbeknown to the Antonakakis at the time. I therefore stress more sharply the dual outcome of the curatorial negotiations: (1) the establishment of the stylistic historicist understanding of the postmodern, mainly owing to the dominance of Robert Stern's agenda for the show, and (2) the inadvertent subsequent development of Frampton's critical regionalism that also encompassed the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. This leads me to chapters 2, 3, and 4, where I examine the tripartite relations of Frampton, Tzonis & Lefaivre, and the Antonakakis to stress the transcultural authorship of critical regionalism. I also show how this discourse acquired significant historical agency in the Greek architectural milieu at the time.

My historical investigation exposes the inadvertent mythologisations, the limits and the practical ramifications of this discourse on Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis and their collaborative architectural practice, Atelier 66. By the end of chapter 4, critical regionalism has been exposed as another rigid discourse that cannot follow the transitions of the couple's architectural practice. By this point, it also seems as if Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' practice cannot be renewed from within. With the architectural couple as the leading figures, it is caught up in a vicious circle of falling back from a reconsideration of the modern to the reconsideration of the regional, and vice versa. This is why, as an exodus and coda to the thesis, chapter 5 starts from Dimitris Antonakakis's teaching at the National Technical University of Athens to move to the work of his politically active and socially conscious students. Although this is by no means the self-evident legacy of the couple's architectural practice, Antonakakis's teaching is another inadvertent catalyst for the development of another postmodern critical architectural discourse. It is another moment when a settled and established approach becomes the inadvertent catalyst for the development of an alternative postmodern approach that is again open to the future. After this summary of the thesis and the logic underlying its narrative structure, in the pages that follow I outline each chapter in more detail.

In chapter 1, I revisit the first Biennale in Venice (1980) as a missed opportunity for igniting a discursive ferment around the postmodern in architecture. I do so through Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' appalled response to the show. This negative reaction prompted the Greek architects to reconsider the postmodern question of re-appreciating the past beyond the recycling of form. The exhibition reduced the understanding of the postmodern to a style of historicist eclecticism. The show arrived at a tumultuous moment in architectural discourse. In their relevant writings of the 1970s, the critics involved in the exhibition (Stern, Jencks, Norberg-Schulz, Scully, and Frampton) had developed distinct interpretations of the

international architectural developments after modernism. Their readings of architecture ranged from the stylistic to the phenomenological, and from the historicist to the political. However, this theoretical polyphony did not register in the show. The minutes from the international committee meetings serve as evidence of Stern's curatorial dominance. Through my close reading of these documents, I show how his agenda of 'traditional post-modernism' eventually defined the exhibition. I argue that this was owing to: (1) the capacity of his historicism to solve Portoghesi's 'bilingualist' problem of addressing both the Italian and the international audiences, and (2) Stern's selection of architects that prevailed in the iconic centrepiece of the exhibition, the Strada Novissima. Stern's historicism enabled the recuperation of the Italian Neo-Rationalists within the camp of the American postmodernists. After the Biennale, Jencks allied with Stern to propagate this historicist agenda further through his theorisations of postmodern classicism in the pages of *Architectural Design*. The historiographical reception of 'The Presence of the Past' in the mid-1980s confirms both this settled understanding, and the establishment of 1980 as a caesura year in the history of the postmodern in architecture. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' regional architectural pursuits and their recuperation by Frampton thus intended to offer a way out of the stylistic understanding of the postmodern after the Biennale.

In chapter 2, I read Frampton's resignation from the Biennale in April 1980 as the starting point of an alternative discursive turmoil around the postmodern. In so doing, I set up an account of critical regionalism as a historical artefact of transcultural authorship. The chapter thus provides a solid ground for the subsequent analysis of the Greek context. It also starts unravelling a nuanced critique of critical regionalism that is further developed in chapters 3 and 4. I start by tracing the evolution of Frampton's regionalist discourse through a close reading of three key texts he published after the Biennale (1981, 1982d, 1983a). Frampton's intention was

to dissociate his discourse from the camp of the Venetian postmodernists. Situating his texts in their original historical context, however, I show that he shared the postmodern terminology of his time. Critical regionalism was therefore a crucial intervention in the postmodern debates of the period. It recovered socially conscious themes that had played an important role in the postmodern architectural developments, but had been effectively silenced after the Biennale. In addition, I argue that it was the transcultural authorship of critical regionalism that reinforced its significance in the international milieu. Frampton borrowed the term 'critical regionalism' from Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre's (1981a) seminal article on the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. Critical regionalism is the discursive product of this tripartite relation between the Greek architects, the British historian, and the Greek and French-Canadian theorists. Frampton's discourse thus bears the footprints of Tzonis's participatory design agenda and the Antonakakis' appreciation of the work of Team 10. This is how critical regionalism historically recuperated the socially conscious postmodern themes that were muted at the Biennale. However, Frampton's own structural position in the international milieu did not serve his intention to turn the attention from the 'centres' to the 'periphery' of cultural production. Critiques of critical regionalism (including Jameson 1994, Eggener 2002, and Fraser 2013) showed how this discourse produced inadvertent mythologisations and multiple ramifications in regional architectural circles. However, my emphasis on the transcultural reading of critical regionalism allows my history to recover the latent potential of Frampton's discourse.

The second part of the dissertation thus focuses on the Greek architectural milieu. The chapters included therein attempt to go beyond Frampton's, Tzonis and Lefaivre's theoretical generalisations and inadvertent mythologisations. To do so, I resort to a historical grounding of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' architectural practices. My discussion is thematically organised around (a) the Antonakakis'

reconsideration of the regional (in chapter 3), (b) their reconsideration of the modern (in chapter 4), and (c) the limits of their reconsideration of the critical (in chapter 5). The international critical regionalist discourse forms the implicit background and the counterpoint of my discussions of the Antonakakis' regional architectural practices.

In chapter 3, I explore the tumultuous repercussions of critical regionalism in Greece. This enables me to open a focused discussion of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' reconsideration of the regional. This reconsideration is in turn interrelated with the questions concerning the multiple appropriations of the modern and regional traditions by architectural practices of the period. The first histories of architecture in modern Greece (Doumanis 1964, Loyer 1966, Fatouros 1967, Antoniadis 1979) document the historiographical/theoretical reasons behind the celebrated reception of 'The Grid and the Pathway' by the local architectural milieu. Tzonis and Lefaivre's (1981a) article presented the work of the Antonakakis as a successful combination of their lessons from Pikionis and Konstantinidis. In so doing, it offered: (a) a reconciliation for the Pikionis-Konstantinidis opposition concerning the reconsideration of the regional in the light of the modern; (b) a renewed understanding of the work of Pikionis at the moment when its significance for the Greek architectural scene was at a nadir, and a reinforced relevance in the international postmodern context of the period; (c) a modernist haven for the Greek architects who reconnected with the regional architectural tradition in the essentialist terms of the revered generation of the 1960s. Moving on from the Greek architectural milieu, I then concentrate on the specific impact of the critical regionalist discourse on Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. Tzonis and Lefaivre's (1981a) account: (a) still holds the architectural historians' imagination captive in an inward-looking discussion (as in Philippidis 1984, Kotionis 2004, Kalogirou 2007, Kizis 2015); (b) affected the Antonakakis' personal relations with other Greek architects, including Konstantinidis himself, and accelerated the dissolution of their collaborative practice,

Atelier 66, in 1986; (c) clouded the actual genealogical relations of the Antonakakis'

work. The biographical details of the architectural couple show that their outlook was

shaped from a different set of influences. My interview with the architects

(Antonakakis 2014b), their published writings, as well as their mature (lecture and

diploma) projects from their student years highlight the significance of their

architectural education at the National Technical University of Athens in the late

1950s. It was the Antonakakis' lessons from Michelis, Hadjikyriakos-Ghika, Pikionis,

and Speyer that conditioned their understanding of the regional tradition. My

historical account thus draws out the elements in their education that allowed the

two architects to think of the regional in terms of the modern, and vice versa.

Through my focus on 'The Grid and the Pathway' and the formative years of Suzana

and Dimitris Antonakakis, I explore the appropriation of multiple traditions and

modernities in 1980s Greece.

In chapter 4, I focus on two building projects by Suzana and Dimitris

Antonakakis, the Benaki Street apartment building (1973-1975), and the Rhodes

branch of the Ionian Bank (1983-1986). The buildings represent two instances of the

two architects' reconsideration of the Athenian modern building typology within a

decade of postmodern architectural developments. My historical account thus traces

a transition from the mid-1970s emphasis on spatial articulations to the mid-1980s

consideration of the material artefact almost as a rhetorical device. The chapter also

focuses on the human protagonists (architects, engineers, and tenants) to trace the

evolution of the specific design culture that was consciously cultivated by the

Antonakakis. The two buildings exemplify the Antonakakis' reaction to the

commodification of the built environment. The architectural couple responded by

opening up the design process to the parties involved and affected by it. I first situate

the two buildings within their regional mode of production that prescribes the

Athenian apartment building typology. This is in turn conditioned by the General

Building Regulation (1955), its modifications by the military junta regime (1968), and the small-scale private construction sector of land owners, contractors and developers. I then turn to the architects' critical response to this. I trace their own design intentions through their preliminary plans, sketches, diagrams and drawings, and in-house video recordings. I then explore the limits of their attempt to open up the design process. The Benaki Street project emerges as the product of a household economy, founded on strong familial and friendly bonds. In their collaborative practice, Atelier 66, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis also attempted to establish an anti-hierarchical structure of architectural design. Through my interviews with (1) Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, (2) the tenants, (3) the engineers and craftsmen involved, and (4) the other architects of Atelier 66, however, I show how Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis remained the clear leaders of a design process that could not open further beyond their own control. This became increasingly apparent in their architectural design practice. For their Ionian Bank project, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis had to refurbish an existing modernist building within the historic environment of Rhodes. They effectively turned the building inside out, focusing on its interior function as a public space, and its exterior form as an inward-looking fortress. Their attention to the minute design details instigated a discussion about a possible postmodernist turn in their architectural work. In the context of the postmodern debate in late 1980s Greece, this characterisation meant stigmatisation. This could only be shaken off by an eventual return to the question of relating the modern with the regional. However, this intertwined reconsideration of the modern and the regional had already become a vicious design circle that limited the potential criticality of the Antonakakis' work.

In chapter 5, I turn to Dimitris Antonakakis's teaching practice at the National Technical University of Athens. I show how his students built upon it to reconsider the critical in architecture. I thus draw from (1) student lectures and diploma projects

from the late 1970s to the late 1980s; (2) my interviews with students and tutors of architecture at the National Technical University of Athens in the same period; (3) notes, sketches, and briefs for architectural theory and design modules retrieved from Dimitris Antonakakis's private archive; (4) the 8 issues of the short-lived architectural journal, *Efimeri Poli* (1983-1986). I read this material in relation to the student movements during and after the fall of the military junta regime. Dimitris Antonakakis's architectural pedagogy developed within a School that pledged allegiance to its modernist tradition. His open approach to modernism, as well as his professional and friendly ties with the Leftist hub of tutors in the School, led to a facile association of his teaching with the postmodern trends of the period. Although modernism was the undisputed basis of Antonakakis's teaching, the interdisciplinary approach he encouraged allowed students to cultivate their own criticality around it. Antonakakis's understanding of tradition as a subversive force, opened his modernism up to different paths of development that could assimilate postmodern themes. Politically active students managed to combine Antonakakis's social concerns with their first readings of postmodern theory after the squats of 1979. Anti-commodification and anti-hierarchy, two major aims of Antonakakis's design practice, were translated into wider political goals by the emerging antagonistic youth movement of the period. A.X.A., the New Critical Left political organisation at the National Technical University of Athens, attempted to subvert the bureaucratic organisation of the official parties through horizontal anti-hierarchical forms of organisation. After their graduation, these former students produced the short-lived architectural journal *Efimeri Poli* [Ephemeral City] (1983-1986). The journal offered the most consistent expression of the postmodern problematic on the production of the built environment in Greek architectural discourse. Its experimental, performative approach to architectural writing encouraged interdisciplinary meetings that insisted on the anti-functionalist multifarious nature of space. The journal thus contributed to a reconsideration of the critical in architecture that moved away from

the cyclical returns to the modern and the regional still conducted in the terms of the 1960s. For *Efimeri Poli*, the right for leisure time, the major demand of the youth movement, was also a right to the city.

Working on the interplay of the postmodern discourses with the actual architectural practices they supposedly explained, I do not only reveal the inadvertent mythologisations and gaps between practised and projected theory. I also explore the effects of theoretical discourses as historical agents and their after-effects on both the theoretical and the practical planes of the regions they covered. By retrieving these discourses as historical agents, I also expose their complementary relations. The critical discourses of modernisms, regionalisms and postmodernisms of the 1980s were all addressed to the same questions and problems. It is the conglomeration of these discourses that constitutes a fuller picture of the postmodern in architecture. However, as my historical research shows, these discourses developed within their separate silos. This is why they soon became stale, and unable to cover architectural practices in transition. In an era that supposedly celebrated multiculturalism and pluralism, the proliferation of these discourses only led to their development as parallel monologues. The stylistic, the regional, the modern, and the socially conscious critical aspects of the postmodern were artificially divided in separate discourses, addressed to insular audiences. At the end of this microhistorical trajectory, realising the postmodern as an open-ended proliferation of discourses can reignite their transcultural ferment in the present. Owing to the polemical opposition established after the Biennale, this discursive ferment within the postmodern did not take place in the 1980s. Because many of the present concerns of the Western European and Northern American worlds originated in the 1980s, my revisit of the postmodern tumult enables me to reposit its relevance for the contemporary architectural debates.

Part I
Postmodern World

Chapter 1

A Strada Novissima for the postmodern ferment

Introduction

The first Biennale of Architecture in Venice opened its doors to the general public on 27 July 1980. Curated by Paolo Portoghesi (b. 1931) under the general title 'The Presence of the Past', the exhibition arrived at a key moment in the development of postmodernism in architecture. In her recent historical account, Léa-Catherine Szacka (2011a) interpreted the show as a hinge in the history of postmodernism.[1] The exhibition marked 'the end of the beginning' by offering a specific way out of the prolonged impasse of modern architecture after the 1960s (Szacka 2011a: 223-225, 242-255).

Starting from this show, this chapter sets the historical scene for my discussion. The exhibition reduced the understanding of the postmodern in architecture to a style of historicist eclecticism. Focusing on architectural discourse, my research shows how this was historically carried out. In the pages that follow, I do not discuss the exhibition and its contents as artefacts of architectural design. I work

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[1] Szacka (2011a) situated the exhibition within three interwoven narratives. According to her account, the first Venice Biennale of Architecture served as a hinge: (a) in the development of exhibitions as manifestations of architectural culture, (b) in the institutional history of the Biennale, and (c) in the history of postmodernism. My research is mainly concerned with this last narrative thread. At the time of writing, Szacka's thesis was being edited to be published by Marsilio under the provisional title, *Exhibiting the Postmodern: The 1980 Venice Architecture Biennale*. This is why I could only rely on her PhD dissertation for the purposes of my research.

around the curatorial negotiations behind their production, their subsequent representations and mediations in relevant publications, as well as their reception by visitors. This allows me to bring in qualities that shed light on the story from differing viewpoints. These range from the curators' intentions to the visitors' experiences of the exhibition. The constitution of my archival material supports a discussion focused on specific figures (from Paolo Portoghesi to Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis). In what follows, I read these figures as indices of the different sites and discourses of the postmodern in architecture circa 1980.

Architecture in Greece was not on the radar of Western European and North American architectural theorists. It was conspicuously absent both from the 1980 Venice Biennale and from the first histories and theories of the postmodern in the late 1970s. This was a reflection of the cultural insularity of the Greek architectural community. Emerging out of the introversion imposed by the 7-year military regime (1967-1974), Greek architects were eager to catch up with the prevailing trends in their field. In their eyes, the Biennale offered a comprehensive purview of these recent international developments. Hence, many of them, including Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, travelled to Venice to witness the exhibition for themselves. I enter the exhibition through the eyes of Suzana Antonakaki (b. 1935) and Dimitris Antonakakis (b. 1933). The Greek architects' reaction to the show serves as a first step in charting an alternative historical understanding of the postmodern.

The Antonakakis' appalled reaction to the Strada Novissima acts as a leverage in my historical account. It enables me to discern and unpack the diverse understandings of the postmodern in architecture before the show. For reasons of coherence, I focus on relevant writings by the architects and critics involved in the Biennale (Robert Stern, Charles Jencks, Christian Norberg-Schulz, Vincent Scully, and Kenneth Frampton). I thus show how the understanding of the postmodern was

in ferment in the late 1970s. It ranged from stylistic to phenomenological, and from historicist to political, readings of architecture. These specific readings in turn proposed different groupings of heterogeneous practitioners. I then turn to the official minutes and hand-written notes from the preliminary committee meetings retrieved from the Biennale archives. These documents allow me to trace how Stern's (b. 1939) agenda of 'traditional post-modernism' prevailed to define the show. Amid the theoretical polyphony of the critics, I argue that Stern's eventual dominance was due to: (1) the capacity of his historicist agenda to solve Portoghesi's 'bilingualist' problem of addressing both the Italian and the international audiences, and (2) Stern's selection of architects that dominated the iconic centrepiece of the exhibition, the Strada Novissima. Stern's historicist agenda served as a platform for the recuperation of the Italian Neo-Rationalists within the camp of the American postmodernists. In turn, this offered Jencks (b. 1939) an alibi for the great postmodern synthesis he had been looking for in his earlier writings. Turning to his publications after the Biennale, I show how Jencks allied with Stern to propagate this agenda further through his theorisations of postmodern classicism. His propaganda during and after the show proved historically successful. The works of Bruno Zevi (1981), William Curtis (1982), Hanno-Walter Kruft (1985), Kenneth Frampton (1985a) and Manfredo Tafuri (1986), are used here as evidence of the reductive historiographical reception of the postmodern. Defining postmodernism as a new style of historicist eclecticism, the exhibition had already found its place in history. Owing to the Biennale, 1980 was already treated as a caesura year in the historiographical works of the mid-1980s. Returning to Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' regional architectural pursuits after the Biennale, and their relations to relevant postmodern developments of the period, enables me to open up this settled understanding in the chapters that follow.

1.1 Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis in Venice

According to the official numbers, the first Biennale of Architecture attracted 36,325 visitors.[2] Among them were two Greek architects, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. The 10-minute video I retrieved from their private archive recorded their experience from the visit. In Venice, Dimitris Antonakakis used his Super-8 camera as an architectural notebook. Whenever something attracted his architectural attention, he turned the camera on to record it. The resulting 10-minute video (in colour) is a patchwork of disparate scenes. These range from the streets and lagoons of Venice to the entry to the exhibition, and other public spaces and buildings of note (like Palladio's Villa Foscari "La Malcontenta" in Mira). In other words, the video is partly architectural pilgrimage, and partly a personal exploration of Venice through the lens of Dimitris Antonakakis.

Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' trip to Venice in 1980 quickly attracted public interest back in their home country. Less than a year later, in June 1981, a screening of the aforementioned 10-minute video was included in a special event on postmodern architecture organised by the Association of Greek Architects in Athens (Fig. 1.1).[3] During this event, the couple shared their first-hand impressions of the 'Presence of the Past' exhibition with an Athenian audience of students and practitioners. However, Dimitris Antonakakis's short film reveals that it was the act

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[2] See the Biennale di Venezia, Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, fondo storico, busta n. 787/9.

[3] The event was organised by Eleni Portaliou, Yorgos Simeoforidis (1955-2002) and other members of the editorial board of the *Journal of the Association of Greek Architects*. Before that, discussion about the postmodern tendencies of architecture was practically non-existent in Greece, apart from two texts by Antonis Antoniadis (1977) and Demetri Porphyrios (1978). Soon after the event, the postmodern trends were also discussed in the first seminar organised by Dimitris Fatouros and Roy Landau on Hydra in 1981 (see Simeoforidis 1981a).
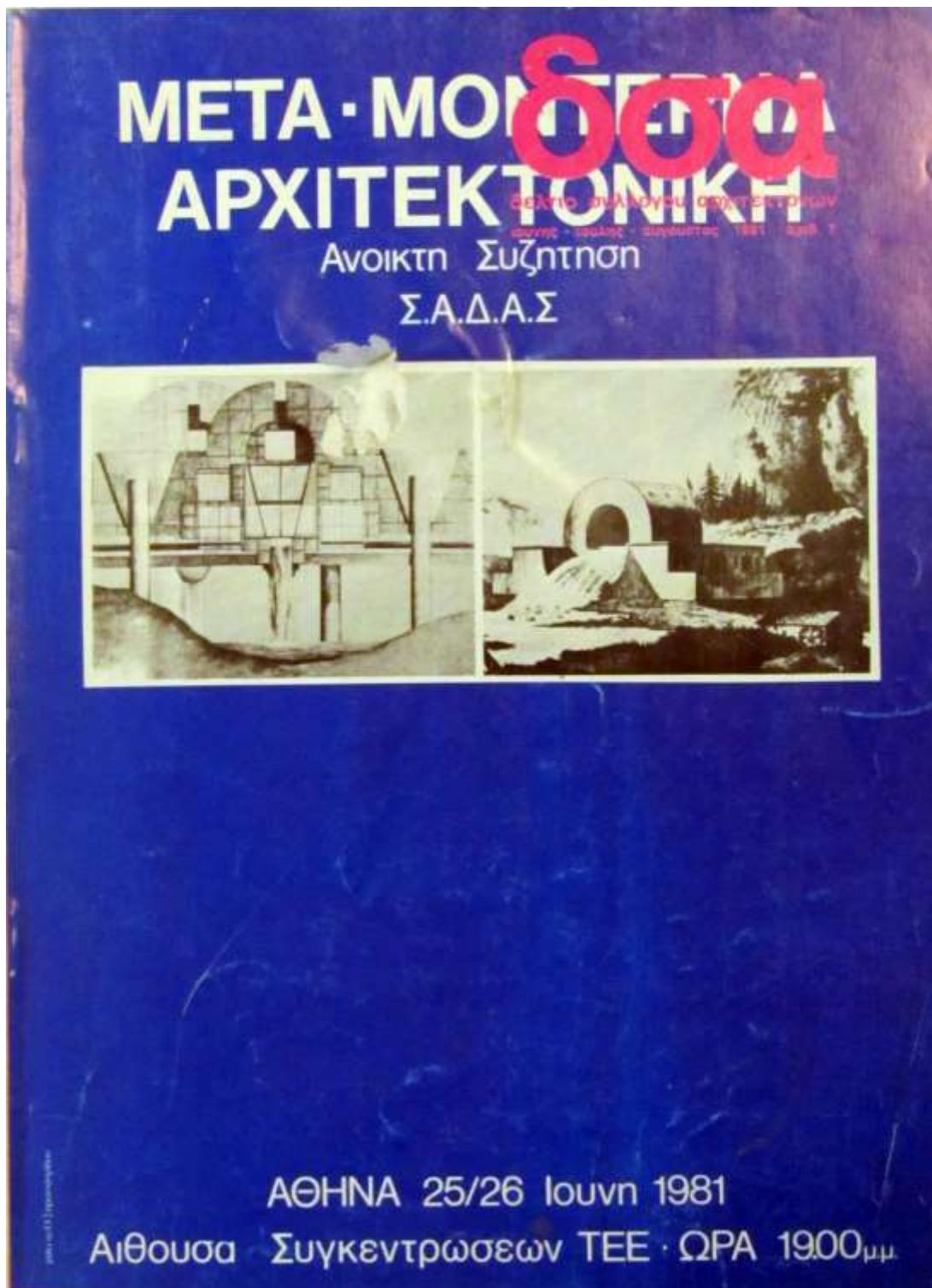
Figure 1.1 Poster for the open debate on postmodern architecture, organised by the Association of Greek Architects in Athens (25-26 June 1981). During these two days, two generations of Greek architects shared their views on the most recent developments in the international scene.
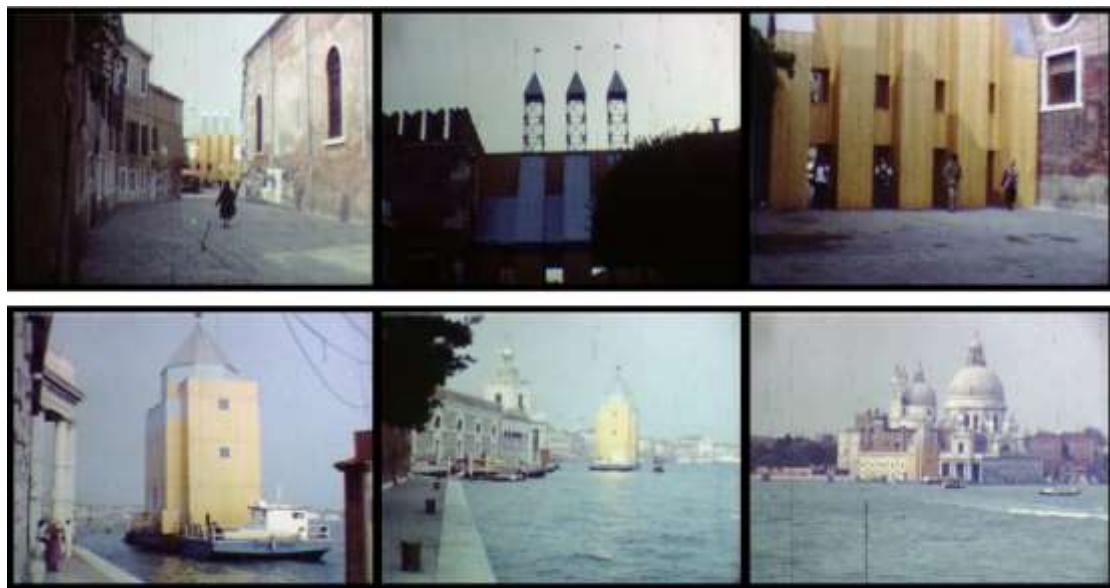
Figure 1.2 Selected stills from Dimitris Antonakakis's 1980 Super-8 video recording of Aldo Rossi's portal to the exhibition and his Teatro del Mondo around the Venetian canals (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

of travelling, rather than the celebrated exhibition, that fed in to their architectural concerns. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis were as eager to explore the architectural environment in which they found themselves as they were to view the Biennale itself.

In his video recording, however, Dimitris Antonakakis pays little attention to the exhibition that brought him and his wife to Venice in the first place. Apart from random sightings of Aldo Rossi's Teatro del Mondo around the Venetian lagoon and his portal to the Arsenale exhibition, no other Biennale-related material appears in his Super-8 film cassette (Fig. 1.2). This was not because filming was not allowed in the Arsenale. Dimitris Antonakakis's intervention at the open debate on postmodern architecture that took place in Athens in 1981 registered his disappointment with the

exhibition.[4] Although he attempted to 'suspend his judgement' and share 'images and information' on the exhibition 'in the most charitable light possible', Antonakakis (1981a: 82) was appalled to witness Jencks's lighthearted rejection of the interwar modern movement. He was also disappointed by Jencks's indifference to the contribution of Team 10, especially in regards to the architects' social role. Even more disheartening was Jencks's juxtaposition of the classical orders. In the eyes of Antonakakis (1981a: 83), they had nothing to do with 'life, human activity, [and] the laws of sun and nature'. Antonakakis thus found himself siding with Gaetano Pesce's intense public reaction to this 'most reactionary conception of architecture'. The Greek architect concluded that 'it is not the modern movement that is to blame for the poverty of the present city and its architecture; it is our own inadequacy to understand, and elaborate upon its main positions towards their evolution' (Antonakakis 1981a: 83).

This reconsideration of the modern aligned Antonakakis with similar critical reactions expressed by Greek architects of his age (like Dimitris Diamantopoulos and Michalis Souvatzidis) who also intervened in the same Athenian debate in 1981. None of them was willing to abandon the modernist project and what they still considered its unfulfilled potential.[5] The Greek architects' reaction effectively echoed Aldo van Eyck's plea 'to evolve a transformed language to express what is being analogously transformed' in civilisation (Van Eyck cited in Smithson 1960: 178). Approximately

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[4] His intervention, alongside the opinions of another eight Greek architects who took part in the debate, were later published in *The Journal of the Association of Greek Architects* 8 (September-October 1981): 69-83. The other architects were: Antouanetta Angelidi, Dimitra Hondrogianni, Dimitris Diamantopoulos, Michalis Souvatzidis, Yiannis Karanikas, Pavlos Kremos, Kostas Goutis, and Theofanis Mpompotis.

[5] Younger architects (like Antouanetta Angelidi and Dimitra Hondrogianni) who also intervened in the same discussion were more favourable to these postmodern trends. They stressed their potential for expressive emancipation. In chapter 4 (section 4.4), I discuss the modern/postmodern debate in Greece in more detail.

three decades later, Van Eyck's early post-war critique to a modernist rationalism that excluded imagination in CIAM 6 (1947) was still deemed as relevant by this generation of modern Greek architects.

Such a reaction was consistent with Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' formative history. When they visited the 'Presence of the Past' exhibition in Venice, they were already experienced practitioners. After graduating from the National Technical University of Athens in the late 1950s, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis immediately began working together, along with some close friends and colleagues from their student years, as freelance architects.[6] After a few small-scale private housing commissions, the project that first brought them to the spotlight was the Archaeological Museum on Chios in 1965 (Fig. 1.3). Like their late student projects, their design bore the mark of their mentor, and former student of Mies van der Rohe, A. James Speyer (1913-1986).[7] Speyer had offered the young Greek architects an 'open interpretation' of the modernist tenets and a disciplined method for staying in control of their architectural designs (Antonakakis 2013a). This was practically achieved through the systematic use of an organising grid. Two decades later, in 1980, his influence was still evident in the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis.

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[6] Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis worked together with Kostis Gartzos until 1962. In the early 1960s, they also collaborated with a group of friends and fellow architects, including Antonis Tritsis, in Greek architectural competitions. Along with Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, these individuals (Efi Tsarmakli-Vrontisi, Georgios Aidonopoulos, Eleni Desylla, Denys Potiris) became the first members of the collaborative practice, Atelier 66, in 1965. The inner life of this collaborative practice and its evolution over time is discussed in more detail in chapter 4 (section 4.3).

[7] Speyer was teaching in Athens for three consecutive academic years (1957-1960) under a Fulbright programme. For his retrospective account of this teaching experience, see Speyer (2001: 95-103). The formative years of the Antonakakis are discussed in greater detail in chapter 3 (see section 3.3).
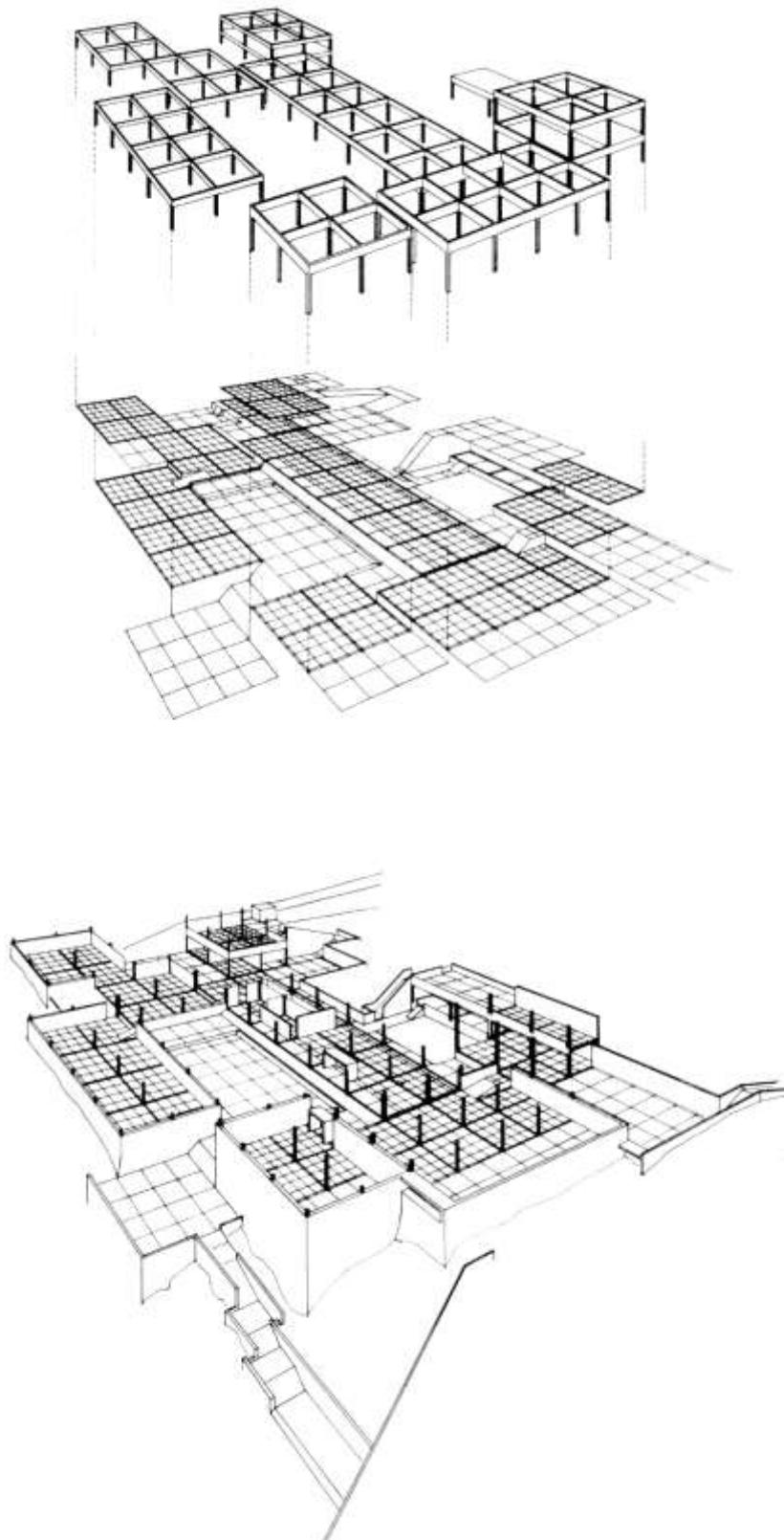
Figure 1.3 Presentation drawings for the Archaeological Museum on Chios by Suzana and

Dimitris Antonakakis and Eleni Goussi-Dessyla (1965) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis'

private archive). The design bore the modernist stamp of their mentor, A. James Speyer.

By then, the well-established methods underpinning their design could not easily be challenged by a single architectural exhibition, no matter how major an event 'The Presence of the Past' was heralded to be.

In a recent interview, Dimitris Antonakakis recalled 'rejecting the postmodern' after visiting the Strada Novissima. He added that he and Suzana 'never ascribed to the postmodern eclecticist logic of a "return of forms"' (Antonakakis 2013a). While the two architects thought that certain critiques of architectural modernism were at least partially legitimate, they did not intend to give up on its fundamental humanist aspirations and aesthetic tenets. However, they did consider the question of the re-appreciation of tradition valid for their architectural practice. In other words, the question raised by the postmodern critics persisted. However, the Antonakakis intended to re-evaluate the past in a way that would not degenerate into a formal eclecticism. In their eyes, it was specifically this historicist approach that threatened to render the modern project obsolete. Hence, they had to grapple with the postmodern question of re-evaluating the past themselves.

Dimitris Antonakakis's footage from Venice in 1980 can therefore be reinterpreted as evidence of this attempt to re-evaluate the architectural past beyond its formal characteristics. Although he never considered this video important (as he says in the recent interview; see Antonakakis 2013a), Dimitris Antonakakis's random record of their travel to Venice reveals his personal architectural concerns. Wherever he turns the lens of his camera, from buildings and public spaces to random scenes of everyday life (Fig. 1.4), his architectural gaze is both modern and personal. It is modern because it ignores the superficial characteristics of his subject matter. Whether he is recording Italian vernacular architecture, a Palladian villa, a Renaissance palace, a Baroque or a modern building, his interest lies not in their specific formal features but in their abstract spatial relations. It is these typological

Figure 1.4 Selected stills from Dimitris Antonakakis's 1980 Super-8 video recording of everyday life in Venice and its surroundings (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

observations that in turn reflect Antonakakis's personal architectural concerns.[8] He constantly focuses on details that render architecture as the setting of everyday life. These details allow for varying degrees of privacy from the public urban realm. His interest is especially attracted by minute architectural elements that form inhabited thresholds. He also focuses on the gradual transitions from one surface to the other,

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[8] As documented by the video footage, Suzana Antonakaki was taking photographs rather than making videos. Was she also 'ventur[ing] beyond her husband's typological perspective' (Bruno 2002: 373)? Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate her photographs from Venice in the architects' private archive yet.

from the public space of everyday life to the increased privacy of the interior. Staircases, landings, galleries, windows, tight alleys, balconies, semi-open air spaces, and roofed terraces feature prominently in the video. Their multiple combinations reveal Antonakakis's interest in liminal, transitional surfaces (Fig. 1.5). The inhabitation of these intermediate spaces is usually triggered by subtle architectural gestures. In one instance, a strategically positioned piece of mantel forms a seating space for stopping and resting at the intersection of multiple public trajectories across a building. Antonakakis is also eager to document the quality of indoor space. He witnesses it in features such as cross-ventilation and lighting, controlled openings to the public, and open-air settings that celebrate the mild Mediterranean climate. On a larger scale, he documents buildings framing and relating to adjacent public spaces. His recordings portray public space as a playground for both children and adults.

Dimitris Antonakakis's interest in transitions, thresholds, liminal spaces, and the various ways in which people appropriate ambiguous pieces of public furniture, is also reminiscent of Aldo van Eyck's (1918-1999) and Herman Hertzberger's (b. 1932) similar approaches (Fig. 1.4). By 1980, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis were certainly influenced by the work of these Dutch architects. However, such architectural concerns had their own long history in the two architects' regional architectural formation in late 1950s Greece.[9]

Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis thus return to the architectural past as it was expressed and materialised in the present of the city itself. The architectural past is there in the multiple historical layers of its integration in the urban fabric. From royal palaces to vernacular huts, the Venetian buildings that surrounded the two

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[9] Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' approach to the regional vernacular is discussed in more detail in chapter 3 (section 3.3).

Figure 1.5 Selected stills from Dimitris Antonakakis's 1980 Super-8 video recordings of architectural details and spaces of note in Venice and its surroundings, including Andrea Palladio's Villa Foscari "La Malcontenta" in Mira (bottom) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

travellers thus served as legitimate sources of architectural knowledge, especially in the context of the severe critique of modernism of the period. If they were to offer a way out of the prolonged impasse of modern architecture, however, these buildings, and especially their relations with the quotidian public spaces, still needed to be interpreted through the lens of a modernist outlook. The past should certainly be revisited, not in the historicist terms of the Biennale, but with the modern eyes that could overcome superficial formal characteristics in favour of typological observations. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis thus aspired to a 'presence of the past' for a modern architecture that could evolve beyond the Strada Novissima. They suggested that architectural qualities of historical precedents missing from the then prevailing international style needed to be retained and rephrased accordingly in the modern idiom. Their critical reaction to the Biennale thus reinforced their conviction in their personal architectural itinerary. They travelled to Venice to witness the most recent trends, only to reaffirm what they were already pursuing: a regionally informed variant of the modern.[10] In this pursuit, they were not alone. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis effectively shared the concerns of the early Team 10 critiques of modernism, and especially the anthropological concerns of Aldo van Eyck.

Some of Portoghesi's invited critics to the Biennale also favoured this regional and socially conscious response to the prevalent crisis of modernism. However, this approach to the postmodern debate in architecture was effectively muted at the exhibition. In the pages that follow, I revisit the postmodern discourses that flourished before, coalesced during, and were effectively established after the Biennale. This enables me to uncover the now prevalent stylistic understanding of the

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[10] In visiting Venice, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis were also participating in the centuries-old historical tradition of the Grand Tour. As a historical setting, Venice had contributed both to classical conceptions of the modern, and modern conceptions of history. Ruskin (1873-1874) and Wölfflin (1888) offer the most notable examples here.

postmodern as a historical artefact, and retrace the reductive effect of the exhibition in architectural culture. This detailed account will in turn enable me to reposition Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis as a historical case study that can reinsert nuance to the contemporary discussions of the postmodern in architecture.

1.2 The postmodern before the Biennale

From the late 1950s onwards, a series of practitioners had addressed the impasse of modern architecture in multifarious ways.[11] They had done so in different contexts, ranging from Western Europe to Japan. More than a decade later, in the 1970s, architectural historians and critics attempted to attribute retrospective coherence to this variegated set of regional developments. However, no global consensus on a viable alternative to modernism had yet emerged in 1979. This was the moment when Portoghesi started planning his first Biennale of Architecture in Venice. Seeking to associate the exhibition with the flourishing postmodern discourses of the period, he invited four prominent architectural historians and critics (Scully, Norberg-Schulz, Jencks, and Frampton) to participate in two preparatory committee meetings in Venice (on 23-24 November 1979 and 1-2 February 1980). Their expertise in the variegated architectural developments after modernism could offer a plurality of critical viewpoints on the main theme of the exhibition. Moreover, their participation could reinforce the legitimacy of a show that intended to promote positive ways out of the crises of modernism.[12] However, each critic came with his own curatorial agenda.

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[11] Ernesto Rogers's (1957) discussion of 'continuity or crisis' in modern architecture offers a characteristic summary of the issues at hand at this juncture.

[12] For Portoghesi's additional personal and institutional reasons for inviting the international critics, see Szacka (2011a: 233, 284).

At the time, the 'postmodern' was a term only recently introduced in architectural debate. Its most systematic accounts of the period were Charles Jencks's (1975) and Robert Stern's (1975). Their first brief essays on 'postmodern architecture' associated it with: (a) groupings of North American practitioners like Robert Venturi & Denise Scott-Brown, Charles Moore, Aldo Giurgola, and Michael Graves (Stern 1975), and (b) 'movements' counter to modernism, ranging from the North American 'social realism' of Jane Jacobs (1961) to the mid-1970s rise of historical preservation policies in Western Europe (Jencks 1975).[13] From the outset, Jencks (1975: 3) admitted that this disparate set of 'movements' could not yet offer a viable substitute to modernism. Thus, he soon undertook postmodernism as his personal project in architectural historiography. Approximately a year later, the editor of *Architectural Design*, Haig Beck, prompted him to elaborate on his article on Arata Isozaki's 'radical eclecticism' (see Jencks 1977b) at book length. For Jencks, this served as an occasion to develop his preliminary ideas further.[14] *The Language of Post-Modern[15] Architecture* (1977a) was the end result.

In the concluding section of his book, Jencks provided concrete examples of his aspired novel architectural paradigm. Alongside the North American architects

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[13] The other six 'counter-movements' included 'Ersatz cities', improvised 'adhocism', advocacy planning, 'radical eclecticism', 'radical traditionalism', and 'political reorganisation'. For a detailed account of adhocism, see Jencks & Silver (1972).

[14] For a comparative reading of 'radical eclecticism' from Jencks's (1977b) original article on Arata Isozaki to *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (1977a), see Steen (2015).

[15] Many architectural thinkers of the period used the hyphenated version of the term 'Post-Modern'. For Charles Jencks, this hyphenation carried theoretical significance. It represented his understanding of the postmodern as a language of 'double coding' for an architecture that was 'half modern and half something else'. It could therefore address the distinct taste cultures of both the specialists and the general public. Not following Jencks's esoteric reading, I only use the hyphenation in my verbatim quotes from the original sources.

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Figure 1.6 Examples of postmodern architecture in the first edition of *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (Jencks 1977a: 87-101). This disparate grouping, including works by Kikunoru Kikutake, Charles Moore (top), Lucien Kroll (middle left), Ralph Erskine and Antonio Gaudí (bottom), was more indicative of anticipated future developments.

already celebrated by Stern (1975), Jencks discussed the recent works of Japanese architects, Kiyonori Kikutake and Kisho Kurokawa, and the participatory design pursuits of Ralph Erskine and Lucien Kroll (Fig. 1.6). Once again, he admitted that this disparate grouping did 'not yet constitute a single coherent tradition' (Jencks 1977a: 96). However, he did have a clear direction in mind for this novel tradition he pursued. He could see postmodern architecture moving towards a radical variant of eclecticism, already anticipated in the controversial work of Antonio Gaudí (Jencks 1977a: 87-101). With this project of radical eclecticism in mind, it took Jencks less than a year to revise *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* after its first celebrated publication in 1977. In the second edition of the book, Jencks (1978: 80-126) offered a systematic account of postmodern architecture in six discontinuous strands (Fig. 1.7). These now included approximately 100 Western European, North American and Japanese architects (Fig. 1.8):

> Indeed, the seven aspects of Post-Modernism I have out-lined do constitute such an amalgam [of radical eclecticism], even if it isn't yet an interrelated whole. […] We aren't there yet, but a tradition is growing which dares make this demand for the future. (Jencks 1978: 128, 132)

Jencks's phrasing of 'the growth of a new tradition' was not incidental. It was a direct nod to the canonical history of the modern movement by Siegfried Giedion (1941). Despite his rhetoric against it, Jencks was still enmeshed in the *Zeitgeist* school of architectural historiography. Underneath his propagation of pluralism, Jencks shared the underlying assumption of his modernist forebears like Sir Nikolaus Pevsner (1936). For them, architectural history was written in terms of a succession of 'reigning styles'. These styles were in turn coherent expressions of the value systems that prevailed in each period. For Jencks, these modernist historians also

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Figure 1.7 'Evolutionary tree' of postmodern architecture in the second edition of *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (Jencks 1978: 80). Before the Biennale, this was the most systematic account of postmodern architecture. Approximately 100 international architectural practices were included in Jencks's six strands that developed and occasionally coalesced over a period of 25 years.

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Figure 1.8 Examples of postmodern architecture in the second edition of *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (Jencks 1978: 80-126). Jencks's revised groupings now included works by James Stirling (top left), Rem Koolhaas, Aldo Rossi and Léon Krier (bottom).

served as role model propagandists of a new architectural movement. As the self-appointed operative historian of postmodernism, he needed to employ similar tactics. In 1978, he still lacked the coherent value system that Giedion had been able to discern in modernism thirty years earlier. Jencks needed something as wide-ranging as Giedion's modernist 'space-time' concept to hold the plural architectural languages of postmodernism together. To achieve this, he needed to theorise a novel radical variant of eclecticism. This was Jencks's main hunch at the time. When architects could systematically express these sought-after values through their work, 'the Michelangelo' of postmodernism was bound to arrive. It was only then that postmodernism could supplant modernism as the 'reigning style' of the period. When Portoghesi's invitation arrived in 1979, Jencks's stylistic understanding of postmodernism was one step away from culminating in radical eclecticism.

Around the same time, Stern had crystallised his alternative theorisation of postmodernism as the novel architectural style.[16] In 1975, he understood the postmodern as an 'institutionalised counterculture' to the modern movement. His definition of the new style relied on a loose attitude of 'cultural and historical inclusiveness' inspired by the work of the Venturis (Stern 1975: 33). By 1980, his account had become more systematic. In his influential article, 'The Doubles of Post-Modern', Stern (1980: 136-138) explored two types of 'traditional' and two types of 'schismatic post-modernism'. He concluded that a variant of 'traditional post-modernism' was the only viable option left for architects of his generation (Stern 1980: 140). In his words,

> traditional post-modernism [...] argues for a break with modernism and a reintegration with the broader condition of Western humanism, especially

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[16] Stern (1969) had already published his views (and reservations) on the historical development and directions of modern architecture in North America.

with the Romantic tradition. [...] [It is] characterised by a struggle to use traditional languages without falling into the presumed trap of revivalism. (Stern 1980: 138, 144)

Portoghesi's other invited critics (Scully, Norberg-Schulz, and Frampton) did not aim to define 'postmodernism' as the 'reigning style' of their time. All three had developed critical outlooks to architectural developments after modernism. Norberg-Schulz, and especially Frampton, also attempted to veer away from the stylistic understandings of Jencks and Stern. In so doing, they inserted phenomenological and political strands to the discursive ferment of the period.

By 1980, Norberg-Schulz (1926-2000) had contributed to the development of postmodernism only obliquely. His studies of intentions and meaning in architecture (see Norberg-Schulz 1963 and 1975) had informed the early thinking of Jencks on these subjects (1970: 26-27, 1973: 319-320). However, Norberg-Schulz did not follow Jencks (1977a: 9-10) in his notorious declaration of 'the death of modern architecture'. Although he also opposed functionalism, the Norwegian critic did not equate it with modern architecture in general. Returning to the founding texts of the modern movement, he argued that they aimed at reconstructing human integrity. As he characteristically remarked in his text for the Biennale exhibition catalogue, 'Modern architecture is alive. Its basic aim has always been to heal the split between thought and feeling, which implies the creation of places which allow for human orientation' (Norberg-Schulz 1980b: 29). Inspired by the phenomenological writings of Martin Heidegger, Norberg-Schulz proposed his own way out of the crisis of modernism. He concluded that architecture needed to return to its authentic roots of place-creation. His phenomenological approach was systematised in the rather essentialist terms of the *genius loci* (see Norberg-Schulz 1980).

Partly inspired by Heidegger, Frampton (b. 1930) was also interested in architecture as a form of place-creation. He was more influenced by the development of Heidegger's phenomenological teaching in Hannah Arendt's *The Human Condition* (1958). It was her ideas that Frampton adapted to his critical architectural writings of the period, starting from his essay on 'Labour, Work & Architecture' (1969a).[17] Arendt's thought gave a stronger political twist to Frampton's readings of architecture. This dimension was missing from Norberg-Schulz's similar phenomenological analyses. Like Norberg-Schulz, Frampton also disagreed with the wholesale repudiation of modernism. In 1975, he highlighted the polyphonic legacy of Team 10 as a model for responding to the contemporaneous challenges of pluralism in architecture (Frampton 1975: 65). In the years that followed, the British historian's thinking retained strong affinities with the Team 10 critique of 'tabula rasa' modernism, and their consideration of the existing urban context.[18] By the time he was invited by Portoghesi, Frampton had just finished writing his critical history of modern architecture (1980b). In its concluding section, he advocated 'a balanced critique of the modern tradition' and its 'tabula rasa reductivism' that was responsible for 'the wholesale destruction of urban culture'. Echoing Team 10, he conceded that 'the emphasis that the "Post-Modernist" critique has placed on respecting the existing urban context can hardly be discredited' (Frampton 1980b: 288-289). However, he was also critical of 'the recent ideologues of Post-Modernism such as the historian Charles Jencks' and the work of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott-Brown. Frampton deplored the 'aesthecising intent' of the Venturis' approach

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[17] Approximately four decades later, Frampton (2002b: 22) admitted 'the seminal influence of Arendt's thought on all [his] writing after 1965'. In his teaching, he had also resorted to her thought to develop 'the spatial categories employed in the analytical method' of his seminar on the 'Comparative Critical Analysis of Built Form' from the early 1970s onwards (Frampton 2015: 7).

[18] For this contextual turn in understanding architecture and the modern city in the post-war CIAM debates (1947-1959), see Lathouri (2006) and Mumford (2002: 159-274).

(Frampton 1980b: 289-290). In his eyes, the work of Venturi and Scott-Brown had sacrificed its critical dimension to wit and irony. Hence, it could not address the contradictions inherent in the architectural production of the time. It could only 'degenerate into total acquiescence', rendered 'indistinguishable from the environmental consequences of the market economy' (Frampton 1980b: 290).

However, it was precisely 'the Venturi experience' that Portoghesi was 'more interested in' for his exhibition, as he confirmed in a recent interview (Levy & Menking 2010: 38).[19] Partly to ensure the Venturis' participation, Portoghesi invited Scully (b. 1920), a well-known advocate of their 'inclusivist' contextualist approach. 25 years earlier, Scully (1955) had reinserted historical precedent in the discussions of modern architecture. Looking back at the nineteenth century domestic architecture of North America, he had identified the 'shingle style'. He then traced its influence in the later residential projects of Frank Lloyd Wright. It was this historically and contextually sensitive approach that enabled Scully to appreciate Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* a decade later. In his introduction to the book, Scully (1966: 9) heralded Venturi's 'gentle manifesto' as the most important architectural text after Le Corbusier's *Towards an Architecture*. In 1974, he argued for the relevance of a revival of *The Shingle Style Today* (with the polemical subtitle *The Historian's Revenge*). In this essay-like book, Scully (1974) further promoted North American architects like Venturi and Moore as the true heirs

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[19] The minutes of the committee meetings that took place on 23 and 24 November 1979 in Venice confirm this. In this meeting, Portoghesi intervened to ensure the Venturis' participation to the show (Biennale 1979b: 2).

of the Corbusian legacy.[20] By the late 1970s, it was clear that, for Scully, the way out of the crisis of modernism was an 'eclectic' and 'inclusive' turn to history.[21]

These different agendas formed the background of the critics' discussions in Venice. They ranged from a return to a 'culture of the place' (Norberg-Schulz, Frampton) and 'the rediscovery of history' (Portoghesi, Stern, Scully) to 'the urban form of the street' (Porotoghesi) and the 'communicative aspect of architecture' (Jencks). Each agenda represented a different theoretical undercurrent of the exhibition. Taken together, these manifold approaches to modernism and postmodernism seemed capable to diversify the content of the show. They were only nominally united in their opposition to functionalism. Each suggested a distinctly open-ended trajectory for architecture in the advent of the crisis of the modern movement. In other words, the Biennale was organised at a tumultuous moment in architectural discourse. This had significant implications for the character of the exhibition. Would it serve as a publicity stand for a specific interpretation of the postmodern in architecture, or offer a wider purview of the possible ways out of the crisis of the modern movement?

The international critics sat around the same table to discuss this question only once, for the second committee meeting of 23 and 24 November 1979. As I will show in the pages that follow, however, the groundwork for the exhibition had already been set up by Stern and Portoghesi in the first committee meeting of 14 and 15 September 1979. The decisions of this first meeting had set the exhibition on rails

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[20] In the context of the North American architectural debates of the early 1970s, Scully was thus the standard-bearer for the "Grays". Colin Rowe was the public advocate of the "White" architects (Peter Eisenman, Michael Graves, Charles Gwathmey, John Hedjuk, and Richard Meier). Also known as the "New York Five", these architects neglected the eclecticism of the "Grays", favouring a return to Le Corbusier's purism (see Eisenman et al. 1972).

[21] For a comprehensive overview of Scully's formative history, see Levine (2003).

that left little room for manoeuver to the international critics. Effectively offering no space for negotiations and possible coagulations of the different approaches, the Biennale turned out to be a missed opportunity for igniting a discursive ferment.

1.3 Stern's dominance

The two committee meetings of the Architectural Sector of the Biennale (on 14-15 September and 23-24 November 1979) have left their material traces in the Archivio Storico di Arte Contemporanea (ASAC) in Marghera. Apart from the official minutes of these meetings (Fig. 1.9), the relevant archival boxes (b. 630 and b. 658) also include some of the participants' hand-written notes (Fig. 1.10), summaries and diagrams relating to the discussions. Of particular interest to my research is a document entitled 'documento Stern' (Fig. 1.11). It includes a detailed description of Stern's proposal for the show. In the pages that follow, I argue that this document was practically the backbone of the exhibition from the outset. Through a close reading of the 10-page minutes of the first committee meeting of 14-15 September 1979, I trace Stern's eventual dominance in the curatorial debates.

The first committee meeting minutes show that the discussion concentrated on: (1) the format of the exhibition, (2) its main message, and (3) the selection of specific Western European and North American architects and critics to be invited. The exhibition aimed to 'identify the tendencies to abandon the modern movement' in light of 'the problem of historical memory' (Biennale 1979a: 4, 2). These concerns also formed the core of Stern's interests (1980).

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Figure 1.9 Official minutes of the first committee meetings of the Architectural Sector of the Biennale in Venice, 14 and 15 September 1979 (Biennale di Venezia, Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, fondo storico, b. 658). The decisions of this first committee meeting served as the groundwork for the show.

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Figure 1.10 Hand-written notes from the first committee meetings of the Architectural Sector of the Biennale in Venice, 14 and 15 September 1979 (Biennale di Venezia, Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, fondo storico, b. 658). The diagrammatic sketch (top) summarises the general idea of the Italian-American meeting serving as the main axis of the exhibition. The notes at the bottom document the negotiations during the selection process of the specific architectural practices to be invited to the show.

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Figure 1.11 The 'Documento Stern' was presented and discussed in the first committee

meeting of the Architectural Sector of the Biennale in Venice, 14 and 15 September 1979

(Biennale di Venezia, Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, fondo storico, b. 658).

Eventually serving as the backbone for the exhibition, it confirms Stern's curatorial

dominance.

Portoghesi's curatorial intention was to use the exhibition as a transatlantic meeting point. The new North American tendencies would be brought together with their contemporaneous Italian Tendenza on the grounds of historical memory. However, while the turn to history was understood in terms of a postmodernist rupture with functionalism by the North American architects, the Italian architects understood it in terms of continuity.[22] To meet the demands of both audiences, the exhibition had to adopt a bilingualism. By emphasising rupture, the North American architects favoured an understanding of the postmodern as a novel style. By emphasising continuity, the Italian architects encouraged a processual understanding of the postmodern as a reworking of the modern. This unavoidable tension was at the core of Portoghesi's hesitant association of the exhibition with the 'postmodern' label. This is why Stern's agenda of 'traditional postmodernism' eventually dominated the curatorial debate. It solved Portoghesi's problem of bilingualism. Stern's emphasis on continuity over rupture with the humanist tradition of the modern period provided the middle ground needed for the North Americans to meet the Italians.

The Strada Novissima, now unanimously heralded as a curatorial masterstroke, was the main carrier of Portoghesi's and Stern's shared message.[23] For this artificial 'street' inside La Corderia of the old Venetian Arsenale, Portoghesi divided the space available in twenty equal allotments, one for each invited architect (Fig. 1.12). The architects were instructed to use the allocated space to mount a short exhibition of their work. They were also encouraged to design the façade of their allocated space as a self-portrait. In other words, the façade was intended to serve as

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[22] Cf. Paolo Portoghesi's and Aldo Rossi's relevant discussion with Antonio de Bonis (1982: 13-14), as well as Portoghesi & Zevi (1982: 21).

[23] Without exception, the subsequent curators of the Biennale in Venice from the 1990s onwards felt their projects had to measure up to the Strada Novissima (see Levy & Menking: 2010).

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Figure 1.12 Instructive sketches sent to the architects who were invited to be part of the Strada Novissima (Biennale di Venezia, Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, fondo storico, b. 610). They effectively prescribed the Strada Novissima as the main installation.

the public image of the interior spaces and the architects themselves (Portoghesi 1980: 12). The centrepiece of the Biennale had such a communicative power of its own that it set the tone of the exhibition. Stern's prevalence over the selections of the twenty Strada Novissima architects in turn rendered the main exhibit a material expression of his agenda of 'traditional post-modernism'. The facades on show resorted to historicism and story-telling to symbolically, and rather superficially, address architecture's diverse social and political concerns (Figs 1.13-1.14).[24]

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[24] This approach was already prescribed in Stern (1976: 42), and remained constant throughout his subsequent theorisations of 'traditional postmodernism'.

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Figure 1.13 Poster for 'The Presence of the Past' exhibition (Biennale di Venezia, Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, fondo storico). The poster features the Strada Novissima façades designed by the twenty invited architects (top), as well as a photograph of the installation in the Arsenale (bottom).

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Figure 1.14 View of the Strada Novissima inside 'The Presence of the Past' exhibition (Photo: Francesco Dal Co, IUAV Diateca). In Portoghesi's words (1980: 12), a 'temporary architecture made for play, [and] animated by the crowd, […] for rediscovering the very serious game of architecture'.

The 'documento Stern' shows that the North American architect had come to the first committee meeting very well prepared. He had already selected the 'seven positions of postmodern architects' to be included in the show.[25] Virtually undisputed throughout the successive committee meetings, his selections were all included in the Strada Novissima. With six of his 'European' counterpart selections also making the final cut, two thirds of the Strada Novissima already bore Stern's stamp by the end of the first committee meeting.[26] The four new entries[27] after the second committee meeting on 23-24 November 1979 represent the other critics' meagre contribution to the Strada Novissima.

The 8-page minutes of this second meeting (Fig. 1.15) show that Portoghesi's task was to set the tone amid the theoretical polyphony of his invited critics. In theory, the international critics' section of the exhibition was intended to form an "intellectual polemic" (Biennale 1979b: 3). However, the critics' diverging agendas threatened to obfuscate the main message of the exhibition, already defined and shared by Portoghesi and Stern in the first meeting. To avoid this, the exhibition catalogue was eventually proposed as a conciliatory medium. It would 'attempt to represent not so much specific postmodern movements, but different positions of

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[25] Stern's proposal included: Frank Gehry, Michael Graves, Allan Greenberg, Charles Moore, Robert Stern, Stanley Tigerman, Venturi & Rauch.

[26] Portoghesi put names like 'Rossi, Dardi, Purini, GRAU, Bofill, Moneo, Portzamparc, Huigueras, Porro, Grumbach, Krier, Hollein, Boehm, Stirling, Matthew, Erskine, Reichlin, Barragan, Gabetti, Price' (Biennale 1979a: 5) on the table. Van Eyck and Boehm were added to the same list later (Biennale 1979a: 7). Stern's notes from the first meeting (1979: 3) also cite Van Eyck, Portzamparc, Grumbach, Matthew, Boehm, Erskine, as cases 'to [be] take[n] into account'. The committee eventually settled for 'Dardi, Rossi, Bofill, Stirling, Hollein', whilst asking for 'a base of documentation for the other nominees (particularly for Krier, Porro, GRAU)' (Biennale 1979a: 8).

[27] The new entries were Arata Isozaki, Thomas Gordon Smith, Paul Kleihues, and Rem Koolhaas.

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Figure 1.15 Official minutes of the second committee meetings of the Architectural Sector of the Biennale in Venice, 23 and 24 November 1979 (Biennale di Venezia, Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, fondo storico, b. 630). It was the only meeting attended by all the invited international critics (Norberg-Schulz, Jencks, Frampton, and Scully).

Figure 1.16 Cover of 'The Presence of the Past' exhibition catalogue (Portoghesi 1980).

Although the cover featured an inaccurate representation of the Strada Novissima, the image

reinforced the historicist tone of the exhibition.

architecture after the modern movement' (Biennale 1979b: 3).[28] However, this could only translate into a series of parallel monologues. The understanding promoted by the show was more directly communicated to the general public by the artefacts on show rather than the texts in the catalogue (Fig. 1.16).

With the Strada Novissima effectively embodying Stern's 'traditional postmodernism', the final word of the exhibition belonged to him. The discursive disparities of the critics were hardly discernible in a show that promoted postmodernism as a novel style of historicist eclecticism. The exhibition practically distorted an open-ended process of diverse architectural enquiry. Instead of serving as the catalyst that would render the critics' discursive differences manifest, the Biennale offered a one-sided association of the postmodern with a variant of eclectic classicism. Established in the exhibition, this reductive understanding silenced the non-stylistic aspects of the postmodern that had formed part of its early histories. To cite just two examples, the rejection of Aldo van Eyck meant that Frampton's favoured promotion of Team 10 as an alternative collaborative model for architectural pluralism was muted. In addition, the rejection of Ralph Erskine led to an understanding of the postmodern that missed his forays into participatory design practices.[29] The socially conscious aspects in the work of these architects were absent from the understanding of the postmodern that was promoted by the Biennale.

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[28] Chapter 2 (section 2.1) shows that this proposal was meant to address Frampton's objections.

[29] Jencks resorted to Ralph Erskine's and Lucien Kroll's work when arguing against the limited understanding of Post-Modernism as related to historicism, or the past, in favour of their broader desire to communicate. Portoghesi replies that 'Kroll's work was excluded because he [didn't] agree with [Jencks's] ideas. I don't agree with his ideas about industrialism, but I consider his work very interesting' (Jencks et al. 1982: 8, 9). See also Van Eyck (1981) for his scathing critique of the postmodernism on show at the Biennale.

This impoverished understanding in turn clouded the debates that took place before, during, and after the exhibition. Portoghesi's historically sensitive discourse was inexorably associated with Stern's postmodernism. Norberg-Schulz's and Scully's works were also understood in these terms after the exhibition. Stern's dominance meant he was the only one who did not compromise his original agenda. Frampton, who disagreed with the selection process and wanted to retain his critical agenda, resigned from the show in April 1980 (Fig. 1.17).[30] Jencks's reaction was diametrically opposed to Frampton's.

1.4 The historiographical mark of the Biennale

The Strada Novissima presented postmodernism as a global phenomenon, pursued by European, American and Japanese architects, when the spotlights of international publicity were falling on Venice (Fig. 1.18).[31] As an operative critic writing 'from the centre of th[e] battlefield', Jencks (1984a: 6) immediately adapted his postmodernist labels accordingly. Although the Strada Novissima did not cover the full spectrum of

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[30] Frampton's approach is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

[31] See the special issue of *Controspazio* (1/6, 1980) dedicated to the exhibition, as well as the articles in Italian architectural journals and daily newspapers like *Casa Vogue* (see Radice 1980), *L'architetto* (see Costa 1981), *Bolaffi Arte* (see Greenberg 1981), *L'Europeo* (see Chessa 1980), *La Repubblica* (see Gregotti 1980), *Il Tempo* (see Salvataggio 1980), *La Stampa* (see Barbaro 1980), *L'Espresso* (see Pasti 1980). See also relevant articles in Japanese, North American and Western European architectural journals and daily newspapers like *GA Document* (see Fujii 1980), *Architecture and Urbanism A+U* (see Kulterman 1981), *The Architectural Review* (see Davey 1980), *Architectural Record* (see Gandee 1981), *Domus* (see Jencks 1980d), *Arquitectura Bis* (see Croset 1980), *The Wall Street Journal* (see Hoelterhoff 1980), *Herald Tribune* (see Archer 1980), *The Times* (3 June 1980), *Le Monde* (see Edelmann 1980), *Matin de Paris* (see Mazzolini 1980), and *El Pais* (see Seraller 1980).

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Figure 1.17 Frampton's telegram to Portoghesi, dated 28 April 1980 (Biennale di Venezia, Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, fondo storico, b. 658). Frampton announced his resignation from the international critics' section three months before the opening.

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Figure 1.18 Articles related to 'The Presence of the Past' exhibition in Venice in *El Pais* (20 September 1980: 3) (top), *Bauwelt* (15 August 1980: 1344) (bottom left), and *International Daily News* (13 August 1980) (bottom right). The show enjoyed international coverage in the mainstream and specialised architectural press of the period.

his postmodernist agenda of 'heightened communication' (Jencks 1982a: 5), Jencks embraced Stern's historicism. He used the show as evidence of the overall synthesis he had already been pursuing in his earlier writings. After the Biennale, it was already clear that his radical eclecticism was out, and Stern's postmodern classicism was in:

> [W]e are today undergoing a classical revival of a kind. [...] [T]he classicism is Post-*Modern*, a hybrid style relating more to the free style classicisms of 1900 than the purist approach of 1800 [...] Post-Modern Classicism [is] the synthesis whose commonalty was confirmed in the 1980 Venice Biennale. (Jencks 1981a: 5)

His subsequent promotion of postmodern classicism through the pages of *Architectural Design* kept the echo of the Biennale reverberating.

Less than a year after the Biennale, the editor of *Architectural Design,* Andreas Papadakis, organised the first major retrospective exhibition for Robert Stern's work in London (12 June – 31 July 1981) (Fig. 1.19). In the exhibition catalogue, he republished Stern's defining text of postmodern classicism, 'The Doubles of Post-Modern' (1980). The 'alliance between Jencks and Stern' was already obvious for Scully, who noted it in his introduction to the catalogue (Scully 1981: 19). This alliance registered in the shifting tone of Jencks's rhetoric. His earlier definition of postmodern architecture as 'one-half Modern and one-half something else' still held. However, by 1982 Western Classicism had replaced the regional vernacular as 'one-half of the style toward which Post-Modernists turn' (Jencks 1982b: 12-13). In
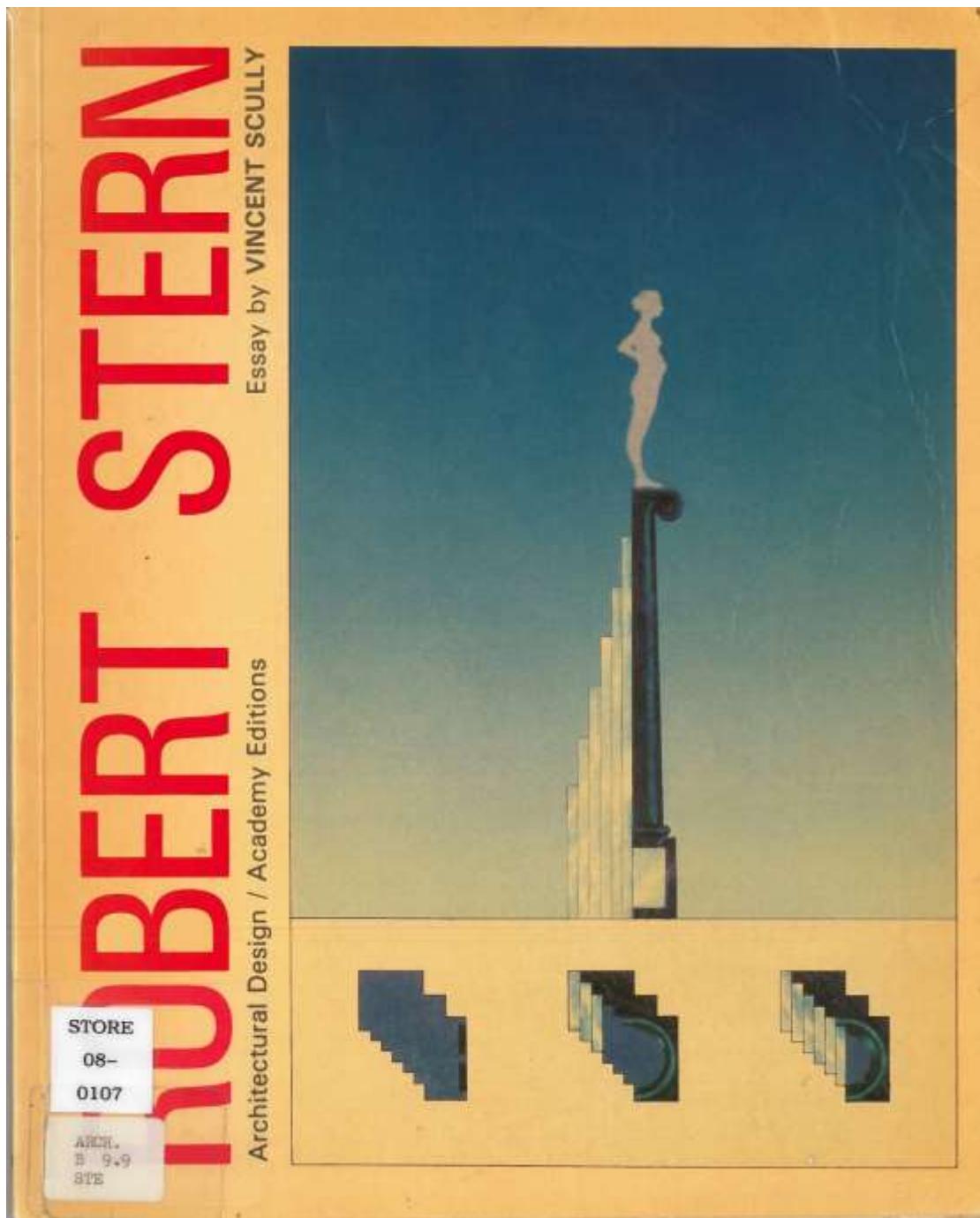
Figure 1.19 Cover of the Robert Stern exhibition catalague after the Biennale (12 June – 31 July 1981). Another sign of the Stern-Jencks alliance, this exhibition in London was part of the postmodern propaganda undertaken by Andreas Papadakis's *Architectural Design* and Academy Editions in the early 1980s.

the fourth edition of his *Language of Post-Modern Architecture*, he elaborated on this 'new consensus' after the Biennale (Jencks 1984a: 147-154).[32]

> As you can read in the introduction to th[e] first edition [of *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*], I said I hope the situation remains plural and that it doesn't coalesce too quickly into a single approach which it has now done: 'Postmodern Classicism'. [...] We *do* have a shared language which both the public and profession know about and can enjoy. Soon we may begin creating important distinctions in that language. So the first phase of Post-Modernism is complete. (Jencks 1984b: 62-63)

This intense propagation of the Biennale in subsequent architectural publications rendered the exhibition a noteworthy event in architectural history. It took less than two years for the Biennale to find its place in historical surveys of twentieth century architecture. In the second edition of his history of modern architecture, William J. R. Curtis (1982: 380) heralded the exhibition as one of the 'two events in the Western architectural world of 1980' that registered the development of the new eclecticism from American to European grounds.[33] Another three years later, in his comprehensive history of architectural theory, Hanno-Walter Kruft also noted that '[t]he term 'Post-Modern' has since become a catchword [...] and is applied indiscriminately to Neo-Rationalists such as Aldo Rossi as well as to others like the 'New York Five'' (Kruft 1985: 443). In other words, the immediate historiographical reception of the exhibition confirmed the success of Portoghesi's

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[32] Jencks's recontextualisation of the postmodern architectural developments within the Western classical tradition culminated in his 1987 book, *Post-Modernism, The New Classicism in Art and Architecture*.

[33] The second major event in this direction was the re-run of the 1922 Chicago Tribune competition.

and Stern's curatorial emphasis. The transatlantic convergence of Western European and North American postmodernism had been historically established.[34]

By the mid-1980s, the stylistic alliance of Jencks with Stern had also established its historiographical mark. For Manfredo Tafuri (1986: 189), the Biennale had clearly 'launched a style'. For Bruno Zevi (1981: 198), the postmodernism on show was a merely 'decorative, arbitrary, bizzare evasion in façade design'. In the revised edition of his critical history of modern architecture, Frampton (1985a) also picked out the reliance on formalism and a 'dematerialised' historicism as the distinguishing characteristics of postmodernism. Another measure of the success of the exhibition in defining a new architectural style was the number of 'more recent converts to the Post-Modernist position' (Frampton 1985a: 308). Frampton could already discern them only a few years after the show.

This impression of the Biennale as a turning point in the history of postmodernism still holds. In his recent writing, Frampton (2015: 9) is adamant that the post-war period of the Modern Movement 'comes to an end in the early 1980s with the *de facto* acknowledgement of the postmodern condition, both aesthetically and politically'. It is thanks to the first Biennale of Architecture that 1980 has become the caesura year in the history of postmodernism. It is this exhibition that leads Frampton (2015: 17) to assert that 'in 1980, postmodern architecture would come into its own as the inescapable ethos of the moment'. This is why he also uses 1980 as the year that bookends his recent comparative analysis of modern architectural projects. The Hegelian *Zeitgeist* tone in Frampton's '*de facto*' references to the 'inescapable ethos of the moment' is a subtle reaffirmation of the success of the

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[34] This impression still holds. In the words of Ole W. Fischer (2012: 63), '[s]een from a European perspective, [Rossi] is a left intellectual [...] and father figure of neo-classical postmodernism'.

curatorial and editorial stratagems of Portoghesi, Jencks, and Stern. It leads back to a reductive understanding of architectural history as an inevitably teleological succession of styles.

Since the early 1980s, the stylistic understanding, the formalist historicism, and the transatlantic convergence of Italian and American tendencies constitute the defining characteristics of postmodernism as a distinct episode in architectural history. This familiar image was established by the Biennale. After this exhibition, what had originally been proposed as a post-hoc label for disparate architectural developments was now turned into a single style. This also promoted the establishment of a dividing line between the modernists and the postmodernists. After the Biennale, the manifold non-historicist approaches to the crises of meaning and participation in modernism were no longer considered part of the postmodern discussion.[35] In other words, the approaches eventually omitted from the Strada Novissima, like Aldo van Eyck's and Ralph Erskine's, were also registered as absences in the subsequent discussions of the postmodern in architecture. However, all these approaches had historically stemmed from the same problems. As alternative replies to the same questions, they all formed part of the same discussion. To cite just one historical example, although Aldo van Eyck (1981) famously repudiated Jencks's Venetian postmodernists, Jencks's key theoretical resort to 'multivalence' also derived from Van Eyck's earlier thematisations of 'multi-meaning' (see Strauven 1998: 473). Adopting the perspective of the Biennale on the architectural postmodern thus equals reducing the scope of the historical understanding of a diverse period.

[35] Vittorio Gregotti's (1982: 24) response to the Biennale as a show that intended to tear 'the whole [modern movement] thing down' is characteristic here. Gregotti defended the manifold Italian responses to the crisis of the modern movement that dated back to the late 1950s. In so doing, he spoke for a generation of architects who understood themselves as the critical antecedents of their modernist predecessors. These were now threatened by the Strada Novissima postmodernists.

Abolishing the artificial boundaries established by these prevailing discourses is the task of the contemporary architectural historian. The postmodern of the Biennale needs to be considered along with what ended up missing from the accounts of the postmodern after the exhibition. The spectrum of the postmodern in architecture needs to be opened up again by its complementary discourses in the same period.

Some architectural historians had already made a few steps in this direction. Heinrich Klotz's (1984: 420) clarification that the '[u]se of the historical vocabulary is not the primary criterion of this new architecture, which we call postmodern' is rather telling here. Moving beyond historicism, his definition opted to foreground fiction and the poetic imagination (Klotz 1984: 421). However, the historiographical legacy of the exhibition still registered unquestioned in Klotz's history. The assimilation of Italian Rationalism and other European trends in the history of North American postmodern architecture were still presented as undeniable historical facts.[36] Kruft (1985: 445-446) kept his distance from this curatorial attempt to 'make the alliance between Post-Modernism and Rationalism a fact, heedless of what is actually built'. His emphasis on the actual historical facts below the curatorial and editorial surface shows the way to open up this static understanding of the postmodern in architecture. This is the historiographical baton this dissertation intends to pick up. It will attempt to open up the settled understanding of the postmodern in architecture on the actual historical grounds that enabled the proliferation of discourses around it.

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[36] Exhibitions of this scale tended to construct 'historical facts'. The International Style exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art (1932) is an obvious precedent here. Architectural historians of the same generation could not easily escape from the forceful curatorial narratives that used to surround these 'facts'. This in turn enabled them to find their uncontested place in architectural history for decades.

Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' travel to Venice to visit the exhibition serves as a starting point for my own alternative historical account. By disagreeing with the direction of the Strada Novissima, the Greek architects reaffirmed their conviction to follow their own path. Through their work, they remained committed to their long-standing architectural outlook towards an alternative response to the legitimate critiques of modernism. The exhibition reinforced the Antonakakis' self-understanding as practitioners whose critical approach to modernism didn't degenerate into historical eclecticism. Their understanding was therefore much more in line with the preceding responses of Team 10 to the crisis of modernism. Perhaps more importantly, however, similar critical concerns were shared by Kenneth Frampton who was also alienated by the historicist formalist tone of the exhibition. After his resignation from the Biennale, Frampton went on to articulate a novel architectural discourse. This was an inadvertent side effect of the exhibition. While the Strada Novissima was leading to a reductive understanding, it was also providing a new way forward for an alternative discursive ferment. Focusing on regional difference, Frampton's discourse challenged the transatlantic pretensions, the antimodern tone, and the superficial historicism promoted by the Biennale.

Chapter 2

The transcultural authorship of critical regionalism

Introduction

In Szacka's account, the Biennale also marked 'the beginning of the end' for postmodernism in architecture. After his disagreement with the exhibition selection process, Frampton resigned from Portoghesi's international committee of invited critics. This incident represented the first schism within a loose group of critics who were only united by their shared interest in architectural developments after modernism (Szacka 2011a: 270–273). Owing to the focus of her research, Szacka stops short of following this 'schismatic' trajectory beyond the Biennale. In this chapter, I pick up this discussion to examine it as an instance of discursive ferment. In so doing, the chapter sets up a more interesting account of critical regionalism as the outcome of a process of transcultural authorship.

I start by tracing the evolution of Frampton's regionalist discourse after his resignation from the Biennale through a close reading of three key texts ('From Neo-Productivism to Post-Modernism' (1981a), 'The Isms of Contemporary Architecture' (1982d), 'Modern Architecture and Critical Regionalism' (1983a)). I argue that Frampton attempted to open a novel discursive space, delimited by the opposing extremes of technocratic functionalism and scenographic historicism. I then read the same texts, alongside Frampton's seminal formulation of critical regionalism (1983c), in their specific historical context (their respective publications in *L'Architecture*

d'aujourd'hui, *Architectural Design*, the RIBA 1982/1983 lecture series, and Hal Foster's anthology of essays on postmodern culture). Frampton's intention was to dissociate his discourse from the camp of the Venetian postmodernists. Focusing on the context and the terminology he shared with critics like Jencks, however, I argue that Frampton's critical regionalism was a crucial intervention in the postmodern debates of the period. His discourse reinserted socially conscious themes, approaches and projects that had been an important part of the postmodern architectural developments, but had been effectively silenced after the Biennale. The significance of critical regionalism's intervention in the international milieu owed to the transcultural process of its writing.

For the definitive formulation of his discourse, Frampton borrowed the term 'critical regionalism' from 'The Grid and the Pathway', Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre's (1981a) seminal article on the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. Considering this tripartite relation between the Greek architects, the British historian, and the Greek and French-Canadian theorists, I argue that critical regionalism is a historical artefact of transcultural authorship. To corroborate this, I trace: (1) Frampton's contact with the Greek architectural field and the recuperation of 'The Grid and the Pathway' in his regionalist discourse, (2) the development of Tzonis and Lefaivre's own regionalist discourse from their first text on the subject (written in collaboration with Anthony Alofsin earlier in 1981) to 'The Grid and the Pathway', (3) the contribution of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis to 'The Grid and the Pathway' through their correspondence with Tzonis and Lefaivre on the basis of an annotated draft typescript in 1980, (4) the contingent meetings of Frampton with the Antonakakis in Athens (1977), and their intellectual exchanges at the 1983 symposium on Hydra. Frampton's critical regionalism thus bears the discursive footprints of Tzonis's participatory design agenda and the Antonakakis' appreciation of the work of Team 10. In other words, it was this transcultural exchange that

reinforced the contribution of critical regionalism to the international postmodern debate of the period.

Frampton's intention to turn the attention of the global architectural community from the 'centres' to the 'periphery' of cultural production endowed his project with a crucial transcultural dimension. However, his own structural position in the international discursive field did not serve the purpose of critical regionalism. This did not go unnoticed by Frampton's critics over the decades that followed (see Eggener 2002). It is only through a focused return to the region itself that the architectural historian can overcome the inadvertent colonisations and mythologisations of Frampton's discourse. This is a main objective of this thesis.

2.1 Frampton's critical regionalism

Kenneth Frampton was ambivalent in his relation both to the legacy of a redundant modernism and the historicist scenography of the Biennale. Voicing his ambivalence to the 'postmodern pluralist' interpretation of the show, Frampton eventually resigned (Figs. 2.1 and 2.2):

> I entertained the illusion that it would be possible for me to keep my distance from the overall ideology of the show by simply writing a critical article and allowing this to go forward in the exhibition catalogue. I have indeed finished this text. But the critical position it adopts is so extremely opposed to all that could be summed under the category 'post-modernism', that I have realised it would be absurd for me to advance the essay in this context. […] Indeed it has recently become clear to me that I could only make a public spectacle of myself, by being the so-called critic from within. […] It is one thing to mount

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Figure 2.1 First page of Frampton's letter of resignment from the Biennale, dated 25 April 1980 (Biennale di Venezia, Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, fondo storico, b. 658).

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Figure 2.2 Second page of Frampton's letter of resignment from the Biennale, dated 25 April

1980 (Biennale di Venezia, Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, fondo storico, b. 658).

an international exhibition whose theme is to demonstrate the present reaction against the reduced categories of modern architecture. It is another thing to manifest the triumph of an unstructured pluralism through a curiously partisan approach to the apparent procedure of selection and display. (Frampton 1980a: 1-3)

In other words, Frampton withdrew to retain his own critical position in the discursive field.[1] The possible commodification of his discourse by its association with the Strada Novissima would render its criticality inadequate to the task at hand. The Biennale had inadvertently offered him the occasion to reconsider the critical in architecture. In his recent interview with Szacka, Frampton described his resignation in terms that prefigured critical regionalism:

I withdrew because I felt that this was not so much a postmodern, as an antimodern polemic. […] I felt [the architects'] stance was cynical rather than critical. I also didn't like the transatlantic exclusivity that was being implicitly emphasised. (Frampton cited in Szacka 2011a: 272)

In other words, Frampton associated with aspects of the postmodern critique. What he resisted was the total opposition to modernism suggested by the Strada Novissima. In addition, the exclusive transatlantic character of the exhibition did not enable it to open the critical space Frampton envisioned.

After the Biennale, Frampton pursued a discourse to articulate a way out of his ambivalence. He did not deny that there was a problem with modern architecture. On the contrary, he believed in its serious consideration. Addressing this problem would foster a critical understanding of the historical predicament of the profession.

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[1] In his reflections on the Biennale, Charles Jencks (1982a: 4) also admitted that Frampton's inclusion in the advisory committee was an 'anomaly'.

Frampton intended to consider the latent possibilities for future developments that

critical understanding might open. This is why he refused to succumb to matters of

'personal patronage' in a selection process that underplayed alternative contributions

to the theme of the Biennale, such as the work of Gino Valle (1923-2003) (Frampton

1980a: 2).

In his writings of the period, Frampton was partly inspired by the

Heideggerian notions of place and dwelling (1951). He was also influenced by the

political twist endowed on these phenomenological notions by Hannah Arendt,

especially through her definition of the space of appearance (1958: 198-199).[2] For

Frampton, place and dwelling were also politically loaded terms. In his case, place

creation inherently implied a political gathering in pursuit of common projects. In his

own words, Frampton was aspiring to 'a critical theory of building' concerned with

the 'creation of place' (see Frampton 1980b: 280–97). A few years earlier, he had

thematised both the ontological and the political implications of the production of

place as that of sustaining an active public sphere (see Frampton 1974). His intention

to open a discussion about modes of architectural production differentiated him from

his North American colleagues. For Frampton, this opposition between place and

production was key for the architectural predicament of the 1970s. In this light, he

argued that '[t]he current architectural debate as to the finer stylistic points of

Modernism versus Post-Modernism appears to be somewhat irrelevant' (Frampton

1980b: 296). Before the Biennale, Frampton was looking for the right words to

articulate his project. These words had to register the problems of the modern

project, without giving up on its progressive legacy (Frampton 1974).

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[2] For another discussion of Arendt's 'space of appearance' in architectural terms, see Baird
(1995).

As Frampton put it later, he intended his discourse to encompass architectural practices that addressed the 'total division between the aesthetic and the political avant-gardes' (Frampton 1982c: 24). In other words, Frampton attempted to displace architectural discourse from Jencks's stylistic 'battle of the labels' (1981b) to the broader existential, cultural and socio-political field.[3] Opposing the transatlantic exclusivity of the Biennale, Frampton also intended to recalibrate international architectural interest to the 'periphery' of Western cultural production. In the pages that follow, I trace the genealogy of his nascent critical regionalism from 1980 to 1983, focusing especially on his articles 'From Neo-Productivism to Post-Modernism' (1981a), 'The isms of contemporary architecture' (1982d), and 'Modern architecture and critical regionalism' (1983a). In doing so, I argue that his reportedly 'finished' text for the Biennale catalogue was his first essay on this matter.[4] My historical investigation therefore supports and further explores Szacka's speculation that Frampton's seminal articles of 1983 'developed out of [his] unpublished essay for the Biennale's catalogue' (Szacka 2011a: 273). Foregrounding the gradual development of Frampton's regionalist discourse, in this section I focus on the intellectual content of his texts. I use the next section of the chapter to resituate each of these texts in their historical context. This enables me to highlight the repercussions of Frampton's critical regionalism in the postmodern debate of the period.

As an active historian and theorist of the time, Frampton had many venues for publishing his work at his disposal. These ranged from the journal of the Institute for

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[3] This feature of Frampton's work was immediately perceptible by his audience at the time. See, for instance, Colquhoun (1982: 49).

[4] An interview with Kenneth Frampton could have served as an additional source of information about the fate of this unpublished essay for the Biennale catalogue. However, the British architectural historian did not even 'recall having written' it in the first place, when Szacka interviewed him on 22 April 2009 (Frampton cited in Szacka 2011a: 271, n668). Another interview would not therefore add anything significant to the results already yielded by archival research.

Architecture and Urban Studies, *Oppositions*, in the United States, to *Architectural Design* in the United Kingdom. The possibility of him leaving an already finished text of his in the shadows thus seems rather slim. I therefore argue that Frampton's article 'From Neo-Productivism to Post-Modernism' (published in *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, approximately six months after the show in Venice) is the text missing from the 1980 exhibition catalogue.[5] To begin with, the article provides an overview of the most important architectural developments after the 1960s, and classifies them in four major trends (Fig. 2.3). This is in line with Frampton's preferred interpretation of the exhibition's theme, as he had stated it in his letter of resignment. Frampton's article does document 'the present reaction against the reduced categories of modern architecture' (Frampton 1980a: 2). The appearance in the title of the word 'post-modernism' is another significant clue (Fig. 2.4). In his other texts of the same period, Frampton normally avoided the term.[6] He preferred to refer to architectural work in the vein of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott-Brown under the rubric of 'Populism'. In a text for the catalogue of an exhibition dedicated to the postmodern, however, he could not avoid resorting to that term. Employing the term 'postmodern' in order to challenge it also highlighted the difference of his own theoretical position. Finally, the context in which the article appears is equally significant. Historically, *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* was one of the major international beacons of modernism. Frampton's decision to publish his article in those symbolically loaded pages functioned as a statement of his intended dissociation from the postmodernists of the Biennale.

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[5] For his concise reaction to the exhibition after it took place in Venice, see Frampton (1981b; 1985a: 293, 305).

[6] In Frampton's texts of the period, 'Post-Modernism' appears only twice in the first edition of Frampton's critical history of modern architecture (1980b: 289, 290). Its first occurrence in scare quotes further emphasises Frampton's reluctance to employ the term in his discourse at the time.

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Figure 2.3 The English summary of Frampton's 'From Neo-Productivism to Post-

modernism' article in *L' Architecture d' aujourd'hui* 213 (February 1981: xlvi).

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Figure 2.4 Opening spread of Frampton's 'From Neo-Productivism to Post-modernism' article in *L' Architecture d' aujourd'hui* 213 (February 1981: 2-3).

The article marks the first articulation of Frampton's regionalist alternative to the four ideologically defined '-isms' of architectural practice: 'neo-productivism' (with its emphasis on technology and autonomy from its immediate context), 'neo-rationalism' (with its emphasis on morphology), 'structuralism' (with its emphasis on anthropology) and 'participationism/populism' (with its emphasis on contextualism). In the final instance, his taxonomy breaks down to the polar dichotomy of universal productivism and kitsch populism.[7] However, these two opposites are also united in their incapacity for the creation of place. To challenge them, Frampton presents regionalist works as an alternative to universal productivism that also avoids the 'trap

[7] For an elaborate development of his approach to these matters, see Frampton (1982b: 13; 1982c: 21).

of folklorism'. He calls this regionalism both 'realist' and 'neo-constructivist' (Frampton 1981a: 5-6). Alluding to Oriol Bohigas's Catalan manifesto, 'realism' is a shorthand for the cultural and socio-political aspirations of Frampton's discourse.[8] 'Neo-constructivism' points towards an aesthetic sensibility rooted in the modernist tradition.[9] Frampton thus promotes the industrialisation of a construction that remains 'in direct response to the needs of the society [architects] live in' (Frampton 1981a: 6). To lend credibility to his project, he evokes the work of Jean Prouvé.[10] This historical precedent shows that his architectural discourse is not limited to wishful thinking. It reveals an already existing, yet latent, direction that requires further development (Frampton 1981a: 3, 5). His conclusion offers an unsystematic mix of features that are crucial for his later articulations of critical regionalism. In Frampton's words, these features comprise 'an authentic if restricted regional movement'. To 'reestablish critical precepts', this regional movement 'retranscribes elements of the vernacular without recourse to pastiche'. Its priorities consist of 'restor[ing] the urban structure in those places where it is still intact'; 'identify[ing] those buildings which give form to the shapeless metropolis'; 'emphasis[ing] the

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[8] 'Realism' was a focal term in architectural debates from the late 1950s onwards. The various discourses that developed around this term attempted to move away from the individual project, and towards the collective. More relevant to Frampton's discourse of the period were the debates around the Ticino School in the late 1970s. In 1976, Bruno Reichlin and Martin Steinmann edited a feature on 'Realismus in der Architektur' for *Archithese* 19, with contributions by Aldo Rossi and Fransesco Dal Co, among others. Steinmann (1976) started from the School of Ticino to reflect on the broader question of reality in architecture. A year later, Bernard Huet explored these themes further in his feature on 'Formalisme-Realisme' for *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* 190 (September 1977). He discerned similarities among the variants of 'realism' in architecture, as these were developed in Ticino, Italy and Spain. Frampton's (1978) own discussion of the Ticino School was therefore framed by this debate.

[9] For his approach of constructivism as an 'elusive sensibility', see Frampton (1976). For the aesthetics of constructivism as a strong undercurrent in Frampton's phenomenological approach, also see Otero-Pailos (2011: 183-249).

[10] Frampton was an expert on the work of Jean Prouvé. He had already studied his Maison de Verre in detail (1969b).

threshold, [and] making it the most [monumental and] significant element of construction'. Frampton's regionalism thus promotes a synthesis of '[r]ational modes of construction and traditional artisan forms [...] in an intelligent syntax' that allows for 'gradients' in expression, a densification of micro-environments, and the development of the tactile alongside the visual. Accepting 'that architecture is of necessity the culture of the arrière-garde', it also resists 'the cult of the star', 'the self-destructing potential of so-called paper architecture', 'the insidious cult of the image' and 'the media themselves' with their 'capacities to undermine architecture' (Frampton 1981a: xlvi, 5).[11]

'From Neo-Productivism to Post-Modernism' thus set the foundations for Frampton's critical regionalism. In the months that followed, the British architectural historian revised this original text to carry his regionalist discourse forward. In a reworked version that was published as 'The Isms of Contemporary Architecture' in *Architectural Design* a year later, Frampton (1982d) developed his discourse further and enriched his anthology of regionalist architects.[12] The major theoretical input came from Paul Ricoeur (1961). Frampton echoed the French philosopher's plea for a hybrid 'world culture' that would reconcile the needs of 'rooted culture' with the demands of 'universal civilisation'.[13] In architecture, this could only be carried out by 'deconstruct[ing] universal Modernism' through a procedure of 'synthetic

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[11] The main elements of Frampton's early formulation of regionalism have been drawn both from the original summary in English and the full text in French.

[12] Frampton's first grouping of regionalist architects comprised Alvaro Siza, Jørn Utzon, Mario Botta, Luis Barragán, and Tadao Ando. Rather tellingly, none of them had been invited to participate in the 1980 Biennale in Venice. His 1982 additions included Oriol Bohigas, José Antonio Coderch, Amancio Williams, Gino Valle, Ernst Gisel, Peter Celsing, Mathias Ungers, Aris Konstantinidis, Paolo Soleri, Ludwig Leo, Carlo Scarpa, Louis Kahn, Dolf Schnebli, Aurelio Galfetti, and Tita Carloni.

[13] The Ricoeur reference was initially brought to Frampton's attention by Dalibor Vesely (see Frampton 2002a: 59-60).

contradiction'. In other words, this regionalism was not another architectural style, but a two-way process. In Frampton's 'dialectical synthesis', 'values and images which are quintessentially rooted' in local cultures of building would be employed to 'adulterate' modernism. At the same time 'these basic references' would be 'adulterated' in return 'with paradigms drawn from alien sources' (Frampton 1982d: 77).

Ricoeur's writing enabled Frampton to stress the transcultural dimension of this regionalism. Although the French philosopher's discourse discussed universal civilisation and national cultures as general categories, Frampton insisted on centring his regionalism on individual figures. He argued that these figures 'condense[d] the artistic potential' of their regional culture, 'while reinterpreting cultural influences coming from the outside' (Frampton 1982d: 82). A few months later, in his RIBA Annual Discourse on 7 December 1982 (see Frampton 1983a), Frampton clarified these ideas further. 'Talented individual' figures work simultaneously 'in tune with the emerging thought of the time [...] with commitment towards some form of rooted expression'. This distinct way of working allows these individual figures to produce the expression of a regionalism 'not yet emerged elsewhere'. Due to this uniqueness, their regionalist expression bears wider 'significance for the world outside itself' (Frampton 1983a: 20–21). Unlike the nationalist regionalisms of the recent past, Frampton's aspirations were therefore far from static and introvert. The displacement of interest to 'marginal' 'architectures of resistance'[14] challenged the dominant understanding of cultural transformation. This was no longer a one-way

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[14] The term 'resistance' is loaded in this historical context. It marks the post-war transition of Left thinking from global revolution to a situated resistance. After 1968, this critique is addressed both to Western capitalism and Soviet Marxism. In this sense, it is also characteristically postmodern. Since 'resistance has occupied the centre of [post-war] regionalist discourse' from Mumford to Frampton (Canizaro 2007: 22), critical regionalism is a child of postmodern times. Later in the chapter (see section 2.2), I discuss the postmodern terminology of Frampton's discourse in more detail.

dissemination of ideas from the hegemonic centre to the dependent periphery. This was another reason why the historicism of the Strada Novissima was problematic. It circumvented the dialectic nature of this relationship. Furthermore, the transatlantic exclusivity of the Biennale perpetuated a distorted understanding of cultural transformation (Frampton 1983a: 18).

The title of Frampton's talk at the RIBA was 'Modern Architecture and Critical Regionalism'. It was the first public presentation of his discourse under the rubric of 'critical regionalism'.[15] The term served as a condensed expression of Frampton's discourse. He borrowed it from Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre who had first used it in their seminal article on the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, 'The Grid and the Pathway' (1981a). This is also why the Greek architectural couple found its place in Frampton's list of critical regionalists. Their Benaki Street apartment building in Athens became one of the flagship projects of critical regionalism (Fig. 2.5). As I argue later in the chapter (see section 2.3), this link with Tzonis (b. 1937), Lefaivre, and the Antonakakis renders Frampton's critical regionalism as a historical artefact of transcultural authorship.

Before exploring this tripartite relation between the British historian, the theorists of critical regionalism, and the Greek architects, Frampton's discourse needs to be examined in its own context. His critical regionalism intended to offer a practical opening to a future for modern architecture in contradistinction with the

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[15] A few months later, the same text was published as 'Prospects for a Critical Regionalism' in *Perspecta* (see Frampton 1983b). Alongside 'Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance' (1983c), it became the standard reference for Frampton's critical regionalism in the years that followed.

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Figure 2.5 Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' 118 Benaki Street apartment building (top right), alongside Dimitris Pikionis's landscaping project around the Acropolis (top left), illustrate the culmination of the first presentation of critical regionalism in Frampton (1983a: 24-25). In his critical regionalist account of the Greek architects, Frampton followed the interpretation offered by Tzonis and Lefaivre's 'The Grid and the Pathway' (1981a).

historicism of the Biennale.[16] Five years after the show, the revised edition of Frampton's critical history of modern architecture concluded with a chapter that summarised the main features of critical regionalism:[17] (1) its marginality as a practice that 'favours the small rather than the big plan'; (2) its 'consciously bounded' attitude that moves away from the conception of the building as a free-standing object, and understands its capacities to define a specific territory as a 'place-form' structure; (3) its rejection of scenography in favour of tectonics; (4) its sensitivity to 'the specific conditions imposed by the site, the climate and the light' through a treatment of 'all openings as delicate transitional zones' against the 'optimising thrust' of ubiquitous air-conditioning; (5) its foregrounding of the tactile sides of human experience over the visual, to resist 'the replacement of experience by information'; (6) its assimilation of formal, technological and other elements from the regional vernacular as 'disjunctive episodes' within the main structure. A development of modern architecture in this direction would also challenge preconceived assumptions regarding dominant centre and dominated periphery (Frampton 1985a: 327). The preceding analysis of the projects included in this new final chapter (Fig. 2.6) showcased practical applications of these theoretical points. Despite his interest in 'marginal' practices of the 'periphery', however, Frampton's discourse was still a cultural product of the 'hegemonic centre'.[18] In this context, critical regionalism was an intervention in the international postmodern debate of the period.

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[16] For Canizaro (2007: 24), the Strada Novissima represented the worst variant of historicism characterised by 'vacuous, poorly built, sometimes insulting' references. These precluded the establishment of any sort of meaningful bond of this architecture with its place.

[17] The chapter was the product of a fusion of Frampton's most important formulations of critical regionalism to date (see Frampton: 1983b, 1983c).

[18] Frampton's interest in the margins grows along the Team 10 critique of modernism and the 1960s debates on the new historiography 'from below' in the British journal, *Past and Present*. From Thompson (1963) to Wolf (1982), the 'ordinary people without history', their cultures and identities increasingly attracted the attention of a new generation of historians.

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Figure 2.6 In 1985, Frampton's anthology of critical regionalism included (from top to bottom and left to right) works by Jørn Utzon (Bagsvaerd Church), Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis (118 Benaki Street apartment building), Mario Botta (House at Riva San Vitale), Tadao Ando (Koshino House), José Antonio Coderch (ISM apartment block), Carlo Scarpa (Querini Stampalia), and Alvaro Siza (Beires House). See Frampton (1985a: 313-327).
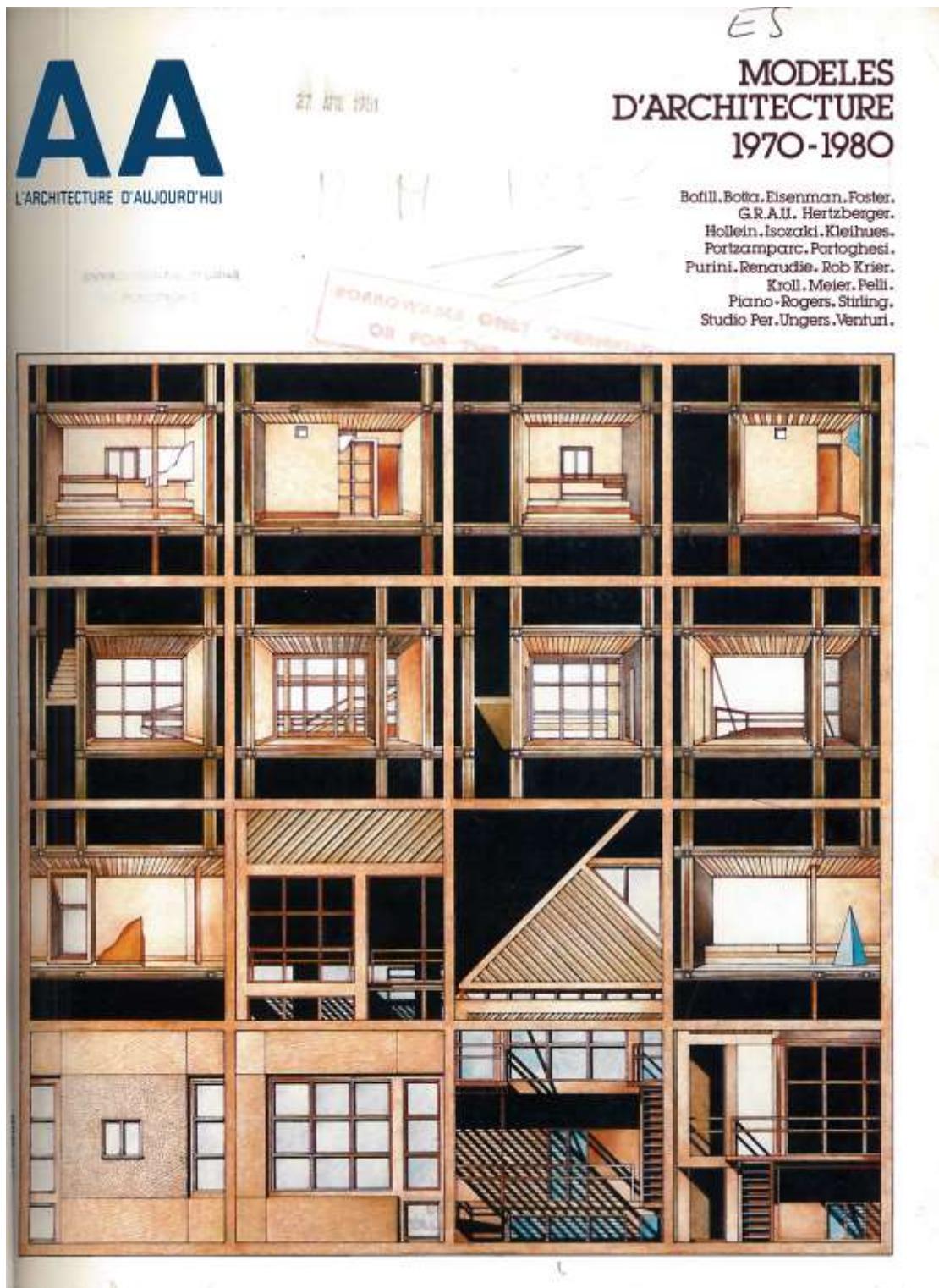
Figure 2.7 Cover of *L' Architecture d' aujourd'hui* 213 (February 1981). The main feature of

the issue that included Frampton's 'From Neo-Productivism to Post-modernism' article

concerned the variegated directions of architecture from 1970 to 1980.

2.2 Postmodern terminology

The publication of Frampton's 'From Neo-Productivism to Post-Modernism' (1981a) in *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* coincided with the agreement between the Biennale and the Festival d'Automne to transfer 'The Presence of the Past' to Paris.[19] Confirming the success of the exhibition in Venice, this agreement signified a growing interest in the postmodern developments in architecture.[20] The architectural press of the period registered this.

The February 1981 issue of *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* concentrated on the diverse orientations of architecture in the 1970s through the work of 22 practitioners (Fig. 2.7).[21] In addition to the issue's main feature, Frampton's (1981a) article provided a possible classification of the general trends. Alongside Frampton, the issue also featured Vittorio Magnano Lampugnani's (1981) proffered classification of the same developments in seven directions that partially overlapped with Frampton's five '-isms'.[22] However, the coexistence of these alternative classifications alongside the main feature of the issue encouraged the conflation of diverging trends. By 1981, it seemed like critics were only adding to the proliferation of postmodern categorisations of architecture. This tendency went back to the appearance of

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[19] The institutional agreement was confirmed on 20 November 1980. For an overview of the Parisian iteration of the exhibition, see Genet & Deroy (1981), and Szacka (2011a: 51-54).

[20] The modified title of the Parisian iteration of the exhibition, 'The Presence of History: After Modernism', served as an additional reinforcement of the historicist understanding of the postmodern.

[21] The 22 featured architects were Stirling, Bofill, Meier, Kleihues, GRAU, Per, SITE, de Portzamparc, Venturi, Eisenman, Ungers, Portoghesi, Purini, Renaudie, Foster, Isozaki, Krier, Kroll, Hollein, Piano & Rogers, Hertzberger, and Botta.

[22] Lampugnani's seven directions were: neo-expressionism, regionalism, empiricism, neo-mannerism, structuralism, rationalism, and hi-tech. Compare with Frampton's neo-productivism, neo-rationalism, structuralism, participationism/populism, and regionalism.

Jencks's first 'evolutionary tree' of the six major traditions of modern architecture (1973: 28). The tendency of the critics to offer alternative groupings was not only an expression of the pluralist architectural experimentation of the times. It was also the discursive footprint of their understanding of the diversity of architectural developments in different contexts. These developments could only be understood in the plural. With the 'postmodern' gradually becoming the cultural catchword of the times, however, all these different directions were subsumed to this single umbrella term. The discussion of architectural developments in different categories thus seemed only nominal. At best, it was an exercise of the critics' ingenuity that remained largely irrelevant to the concerns of architectural practitioners of the period. Hence, when the competing narratives of Jencks and Frampton c. 1980 each included architects like Mario Botta, the differences of their approaches were harder to discern. Their audiences did not necessarily follow the minutiae of their overlapping categorisations.[23] In this context, Frampton's gradual articulation of critical regionalism was only adding to this postmodern ferment in architectural discourse.

In the early 1980s, however, Frampton wanted to dissociate his discourse from the postmodern. When he edited the feature on 'Modern Architecture and the Critical Present' for *Architectural Design* in 1982, he intended to offer a counterpoint to Porphyrios's and Jencks's edited features on classicism (Fig. 2.8). It is in this context that he published the reworked version of his article under the title 'The Isms of Contemporary Architecture' in 1982. However, he admitted the potential overlaps of his own critical categories when he noted:

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[23] For the regionalist reading of the architecture of Mario Botta, see Frampton (1978). Compare with Jencks (1984a: 151-152).
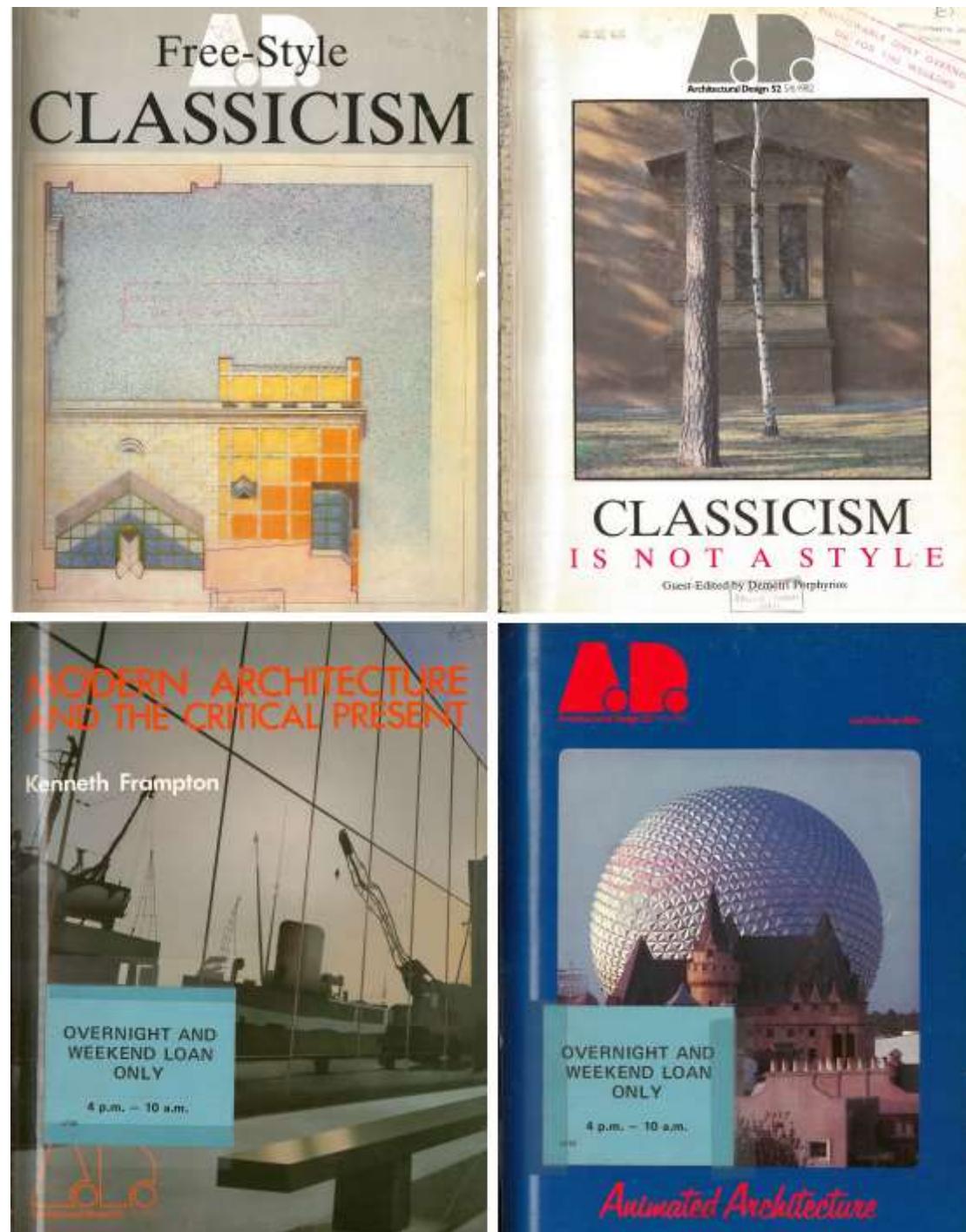
Figure 2.8 Selected covers from the 1982 issues of *Architectural Design* that preceded (top) and followed (bottom right) Frampton's discussion of 'Modern Architecture and the Critical Present' in *Architectural Design* 52 (7/8) highlight its postmodern contextualisation at the time. See especially Jencks's 'Free-Style Classicism' and Porphyrios's 'Classicism is not a Style' in *Architectural Design* 52 (1/2) and (5/6). The extensive discussions of Disneyland included in *Architectural Design* 52 (9/10) was also characteristic of the postmodern concerns of the period.

Clearly Regionalism intersects with the other isms of this 'taxonomy' so as to remain potentially open to all of them, but only on the condition that they are subordinate to the culture of the region itself (Frampton 1982d: 82)

His discussion of Bofill and Taller de Arquitectura's Walden 7 is characteristic here. For Frampton (1982d: 78), this was a project that denoted 'that delicate boundary where an initially sound impulse can unexpectedly degenerate into vulgar Populism'. If Bofill's original impulse was 'initially sound', his reported diversion from Frampton's regionalism practically meant selling off (to Populist scenography and consumerism). Frampton's analysis nonetheless recognised the common regionalist concerns at the origins of Bofill's impulse. It is these shared concerns along with the possibility for slippage from one category to the other that render Frampton's critical regionalism an integral part of the discursive ferment of the period.

Frampton's recourse to the same media also used by Jencks and Stern, like Papadakis's *Architectural Design* and the IAUS *Oppositions*, did not help in rendering the subtleties of his own cause explicit. In the final instance, however, Frampton's alternative (tectonic to the Biennale's formal) critical route originated from the same concerns. It was the polarisation of the debate between modernists and postmodernists after the Biennale that gave rise to confusion. Whenever Frampton asserted 'that architects should acknowledge the fundamental importance of the continuing tradition of the Modern Movement' as in his guest edited feature in *Architectural Design* (1982), Stern (1981) interpreted it as a plea for a purified modernism coming from the opposing camp. However, Frampton was clearly in favour of 'a balanced critique of the modern tradition' (Frampton 1980b: 288). His emphasis on the significance of 'the cultural continuity of building', 'maintaining a respect for certain levels of cultural status, rather than [...] perpetuating an

anachronistic notion of the avant-garde' and 'evoking the memory of a collective, public culture' were further signs of his critical stance to modernism (Frampton 1982c: 26). His emphasis on difference and impureness (Frampton 1982f: 85), not to mention his specific critical regionalist terminology, clarified that he was not an advocate of purified modernism. Other reviewers of Frampton's history, who kept their distance from the Biennale polemics, also understood his historiographical concerns and tactics as postmodern (see Colquhoun 1982: 48; Dunster 1982: 50; Moneo 1982: 54).

Apart from establishing the deceptive dichotomy between a modernist and a postmodernist front, however, the reduced understanding of the postmodern after the Biennale had also turned the tables of the discussion. This was apparent in the 1982/1983 series of RIBA lectures devoted to 'The Great Debate' between modernism and postmodernism. It was in this context that Frampton delivered his RIBA Annual Discourse on 'Modern Architecture and Critical Regionalism' in 1982. Jencks used his lecture in the same series to launch his counterattack to Frampton (Fig. 2.9). He accused the polemicists of postmodernism of lacking an overarching commitment to a shared goal. Critical regionalism in particular was critiqued for falling short of 'fully social, religious and political goals' (Jencks 1983: 29). In other words, the postmodern classicism of the Biennale had offered Jencks the unifying substitute he now demanded from his modernist adversaries. Stern's historicist agenda allowed Jencks to present postmodernism in positive terms. It was a comprehensive proposition for future architectural developments that his 'polemicists' now lacked. This is also why Frampton had to systematically present his critical regionalism as a third way out of a dilemma. Again, it was only the reductive historicist conception of the postmodern after the Biennale that enabled Frampton to assume his difference from Stern, Jencks and Portoghesi. However, the terms of their discourses were not that different.

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Figure 2.9 Poster for Charles Jencks's talk in the 1982/1983 series of RIBA lectures devoted to 'The Great Debate' between modernism and postmodernism (30 November 1982).

This shared terminology made it occasionally difficult to spot differences in the rhetoric of Jencks and Frampton. The rejection of 'any kind of totalising purity', the insistence on 'the very idea of difference' and 'resistance to a mono-valent propensity' (Frampton 1982f: 85) were all figures of speech that would not sound alien in the context of Jencks's polemics. These terms formed the two critics' shared cultural ground that surpassed the domain of architecture. At the time, Frampton's critical regionalism did not sound that different from Jencks's own treatment of the postmodern as 'one half Modern and one half something else (usually traditional building)' (Jencks 1983: 40). Although Jencks was more interested in the establishment of a new style, while Frampton discussed the historical predicament of the profession, on the surface the terminology of their discourses was the same. This had not escaped Jencks at the time. As he concluded, 'Frampton is no other character than myself, except in a grey flannel, or black, suit' (Jencks 1983: 30).

The association of critical regionalism with the postmodern was also encouraged by other cultural discourses that shared affinities with Frampton's. Hal Foster discerned this when he included Frampton's summative 'points' on critical regionalism (1983c) in his anthology of *Essays on Postmodern Culture* (Fig. 2.10). In doing so, Foster's stated intention was to promote a resistant, rather than a merely reactionary, postmodernism (Foster 1983: xii).[24] Foster grouped these essays under the umbrella of 'postmodern culture' on the grounds of their shared assumptions and their 'postmodernist strategy'. Because the authors of the essays believed that 'the project of modernity is now deeply problematic', their intention was 'to deconstruct modernism [...] in order to open it, to rewrite it' (Foster 1983: ix, xi). The criticality that formed the core of this postmodern discourse was the centrepiece of Foster's

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[24] This 'resistant' strand of postmodern thinking was expressed in the works of Jürgen Habermas (1981), Rosalind Krauss (1979), Douglas Crimp (1980), Craig Owens (1983), Gregory L. Ulmer (1983), Fredric Jameson (1983), Jean Baudrillard (1983a) and Edward W. Said (1982).
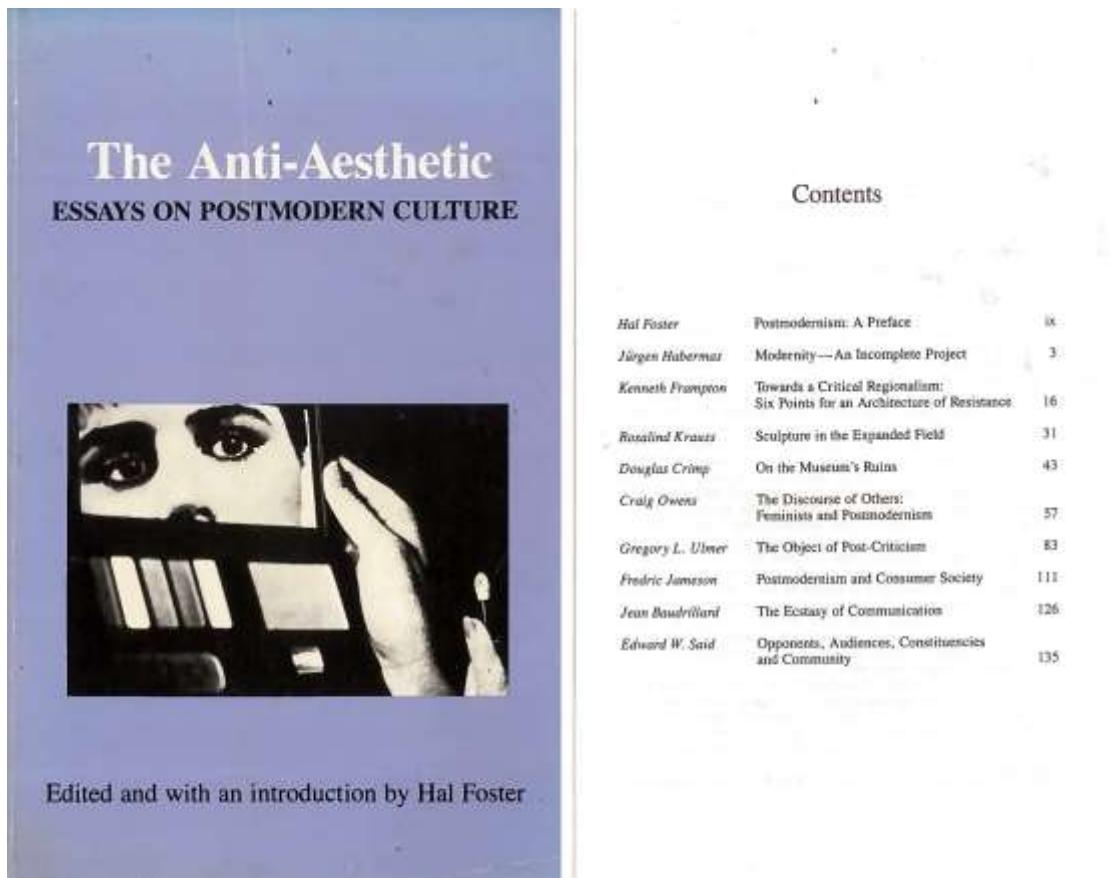
Contents

Figure 2.10 Cover and contents page of *The Anti-Aesthetic*, the anthology of essays on postmodern culture edited by Hal Foster (1983). Frampton's 'Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance' featured alongside contributions by Jürgen Habermas, Rosalind Krauss, Douglas Crimp, Craig Owens, Gregory L. Ulmer, Fredric Jameson, Jean Baudrillard, and Edward W. Said.

anthology. His editorial choice to anthologise Frampton affirmed the position of his discourse in the postmodern debate.[25] At the same time, it certainly added to the confusion around the exact meaning of the postmodern in the early 1980s.[26]

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[25] In the decades that followed, this inexorable relation of critical regionalism with the postmodern was also noted by Fredric Jameson (1994: 189-205) and Keith L. Eggener (2002: 229). More recently, Petra Bernitsa (2012: 32) argued that Portoghesi's discourse shared closer affinities with Frampton's critical regionalism than Jencks's postmodernism.

In hindsight, there is no doubt that Frampton's discourse promoted a sort of critical or regional *modernism*. Yet, the drives behind it were characteristic of his postmodern times. Like other critics of the period, Frampton aimed at a reconciliation of productive economy with socio-cultural accessibility. Critical regionalism was his way out of the excesses and exigencies of his contemporaneous architectural culture, i.e. technological reductivism and kitsch. Rather tellingly, however, he did not condemn these excesses and exigencies *per se*. It was his different diagnosis of the same crisis that led him to disagree with other postmodern theorists. His discourse revolved around the modernist tenets that needed to be conserved and the reductive elements that needed to be eliminated. Educated as a modernist, Frampton regarded the modern language of architecture as superior to the others. He therefore resisted its postmodern treatment as one among other possible languages of design (Frampton 1985a: 306-308). However, it was only his insistence to discuss the postmodern in the stylistic terms of the Biennale that allowed him to consider his critical regionalism as separate from the wider discursive ferment of the period.[27] His recent writing confirms his retrospective understanding

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[26] In their review of Foster's anthology, Tzonis & Lefaivre (1985: 64) noted that the book redefined the 'cultural phenomenon' that 'set the tone of the debate in the 1980s'. They portrayed the authors as the new generation of postmodern discourse. This 'new generation' moved away from the pluralist relativism of the 1960s and the 1970s to take a more progressive direction. They saluted their historically informed intention to reconnect with emancipatory movements as a sign of maturity.

[27] In the 1980s, Frampton (1987b: 27) situated his critical regionalism in 'the potential, interstitial middle ground between [the] two irreconcilable "Post-Modern" positions', the Neo-Historicists and the Neo-Avant-Gardists. In other words, he was still reading postmodernism in the terms of Stern's schismatic/traditional agenda (1980), and the 'exclusivist Greys'/ 'inclusivist Whites' opposition. For a more comprehensive account of the development of his critical regionalist ideas in the context of the postmodern architectural debates, see Frampton (1989).

of critical regionalism as a child of its own postmodern times:[28]

> [W]e may still assume an ideologically progressive approach to postmodern
> architectonic form via a sensitive response to context, climate, topography,
> and material, combined with the self-conscious generation of a place-form as
> a political-cum-cultural space of appearance. (Frampton 2015: 17)

2.3 Transcultural authorship

The terms of Frampton's critical regionalism revealed the postmodern concerns that underlay it. Critical regionalism was not only a child of its postmodern times. It was also the discursive footprint of ideas travelling through cultures. The transcultural authorship of Frampton's critical regionalism embodied its main assertion that the relation of the 'periphery' to the 'centre' is not merely assimilative, but also productive and generative.[29] The British historian's link with Tzonis & Lefaivre, and the Antonakakis was crucial for the definitive enunciation of his discourse. In the pages that follow, I establish the historical terms of this tripartite relation which goes back to my protagonists' formative years. I thus set up a new set of relations regarding the production of critical regionalism by examining (a) Frampton's contact with the Greek architectural field that explains the immediate assimilation of Tzonis and Lefaivre's work in his own regionalist discourse, (b) Tzonis and Lefaivre's own regionalist agenda and its implicit contribution to the discursive ferment of the period, (c) the Antonakakis' contribution to Tzonis and Lefaivre's critical regionalist

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[28] Canizaro (2007: 420) also understands critical regionalism as 'the dominant mode of postmodern regional theory'.

[29] It is this aspect of critical regionalist discourse that showcases its potential affinity with postcolonial studies like Chakrabarty (2000).

formulations in 'The Grid and the Pathway', and (d) the contingent meetings of Frampton with the Antonakakis and their architectural exchanges. I then use this tripartite relation as a vehicle for exploring the limits of this transcultural authorship, owing to Frampton's mediated relation with the Greek 'periphery'.

In his introductory text to the 'Modern Architecture and the Critical Present' feature in *Architectural Design*, Frampton (1982a) surveyed his formative history. He associated his experience from his years of service as a technical editor for *Architectural Design* (1962-1965) with his early 1980s appraisals of architects neglected by the contemporaneous star system. By pulling disparate threads of his historical trajectory together, Frampton signalled their coagulation into a novel discursive whole. Many of his 1982 additions to his list of 'figures […] hidden […] in the interstices' had already featured in *Architectural Design* from 1962 to 1965. The Greek architect, Aris Konstantinidis (1913-1993), was among them (Frampton 1982d: 82).

The architecture of modern Greece was not a novel discovery for Frampton in the early 1980s. As the technical editor of *Architectural Design*,[30] by the mid-1960s Frampton had already hosted a monographic feature on the work of Aris Konstantinidis (in volume five of *Architectural Design* in 1964).[31] Orestis Doumanis (1929-2013), the soon-to-be publisher of the country's annual review *Architecture in Greece* (1967-2013) was also enlisted as the magazine's Greek correspondent (from

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[30] For Frampton's editorial activity at *Architectural Design* from July 1962 to January 1965, see Parnell (2011: 159-187).

[31] It was Panos Koulermos (1933-1999) who originally brought Frampton in contact with Konstantinidis (Frampton 1986: 120). A Greek-Cypriot migrant, Koulermos (who also served as the magazine's correspondent for Italy) also worked with Frampton at Douglas Stephen & Partners. See Frampton (1983d) for his subsequent reading of his former collaborator's work. Frampton considered Douglas Stephen's and Thomas Stevens's influence as crucial for his 'return to the values of the "heroic period"' of the modern movement (Frampton 1986: 118).

Figure 2.11 Covers of the 31 issues of *Architectural Design* edited by Kenneth Frampton

from July 1962 to January 1965.

the first volume of *Architectural Design* in 1965 and onwards). Established in the 1960s, Frampton's link with the region continued to grow thereafter. In his work as an editor, Frampton was primarily influenced by Alberto Sartoris's *Elements of Functional Architecture* (1932). In this early survey of modern architecture, Sartoris had attempted to provide an atlas of the novel architectural developments. Thirty years later, Frampton's generation of British historians intended to undertake a similar task. By the early 1960s, they were additionally inspired by Brutalism's 'attempt to find its way in the pursuit of this "lost" continuity of the pre-war modern movement' (Frampton 1986: 118). Frampton's 'encyclopaedic' editorial aspiration resulted in thirty-one issues of *Architectural Design* that covered the globe-spanning development of modern architecture (Fig. 2.11). He deliberately moved away from the dominant centres of cultural production, including extensive features on non-European territories (like Chile, Brazil and Mexico), and less celebrated architectural practices (from Mangiarotti and Morassuti to Gino and Nani Valle):

> It seemed very important that at the early 1960s it was possible — for some architects, at least — to have a direct relation with the city-state or […] the region they lived in. […] [W]hen I looked around me as an editor of an architectural magazine, I noticed that a certain level of activity and authenticity was apparent in the work carried out in several provincial cities. […] [F]or the last 20 years already […] I had this probably strange interest for cultural work you couldn't find in the so called Anglo-Saxon centres. I then borrowed this unfortunate expression 'critical regionalism' to refer to this sort of work. The expression comes from the extremely interesting article 'The Grid and the Pathway' by Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre. (Frampton 1986: 120)

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Figure 2.12 Opening spread of Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre's 'The Grid and the Pathway: An Introduction to the Work of Dimitris and Suzana Antonakakis, with Prolegomena to a History of the Culture of Modern Greek Architecture' in 1981 (*Architecture in Greece* 15: 164-165).

Frampton's recuperation of 'The Grid and the Pathway' did not happen in the vacuum of the abstract plane of ideas. An overlap of architectural concerns is not historically sufficient to account for Frampton's acquaintance with an article that is still characterised as 'hiding away in an obscure journal' even from the digitally networked international viewpoint of Vincent Canizaro (2007: 11). It is the long-standing interest and long-term relationship with Greece that helps to explain how Frampton in the early 1980s was quick to locate and assimilate an article first published in *Architecture in Greece* (Fig. 2.12). The Greek publisher Orestis Doumanis stayed in contact with Frampton over the years that followed their mid-1960s collaboration in *Architectural Design*. From the mid-1970s to the early 1980s,

[Third party copyright material]

Figure 2.13 Opening spread of Frampton's 'Production, Place and Reality' article translated in Greek in 1977 (*Architecture in Greece* 11: 102-103).

many of Frampton's articles of note were translated and published in Greek (Fig. 2.13).[32] During all these years, the British historian must have been receiving complimentary copies of the magazine. But even if he did not actually come across 'The Grid and the Pathway' through his established connection with the major figure of architectural publishing in Greece in the 1980s, he could still have come across it obliquely through his London-based network. From 4 to 27 February 1982, the Architectural Association hosted an exhibition on the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis (Fig. 2.14). Under the title 'Traces of an Itinerary', the exhibition featured selected excerpts from Tzonis and Lefaivre's seminal article (Fig. 2.15),

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[32] See, for instance, *Architecture in Greece* 8/1974: 115-119; 10/1976: 58-64; 11/1977: 102-110; 17/1983: 58-69, as well as *Design + Art in Greece* 7/1976: 16-31; 10/1979: 45-55; 14/1983: 27-32.

[Third party copyright material]

Figure 2.14 First page of the leaflet that accompanied the 'Traces of an Itinerary' exhibition on the architectural work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis at the Architectural Association in London (4-27 February 1982), featuring the 118 Benaki Street apartment building (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

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[Third party copyright material]

Figure 2.15 Second page of the leaflet that accompanied the 'Traces of an Itinerary' exhibition on the architectural work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis at the Architectural Association in London (4-27 February 1982), featuring selected extracts from Tzonis and Lefaivre's 'The Grid and the Pathway' (1981a) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

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Figure 2.16 Third page of the leaflet that accompanied the 'Traces of an Itinerary' exhibition on the architectural work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis at the Architectural Association in London (4-27 February 1982), featuring explicit references to critical regionalism in selected extracts from Tzonis and Lefaivre's 'The Grid and the Pathway' (1981a) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).
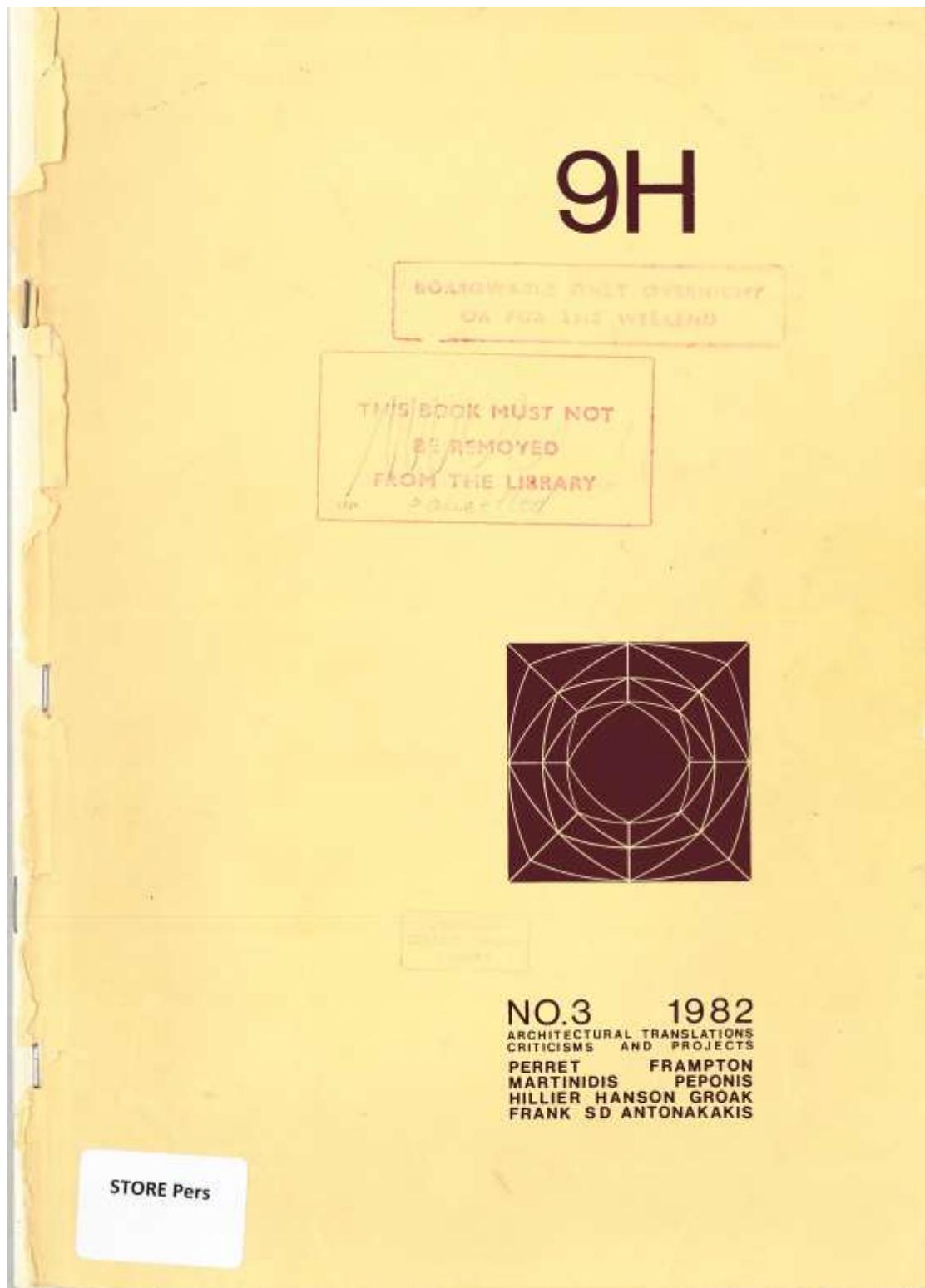
Figure 2.17 Cover of *9H* 3 (1982). The issue featured Frampton's 'Production, Place, and Reality' article, and presentations of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' architectural projects by themselves and Dimitris Fatouros.

crucially including explicit references to critical regionalism, and a discussion of the works of the Antonakakis in terms of a '"realistic" typology' (Fig. 2.16).[33] Finally, Frampton's own 'Production, Place and Reality' was featured in the third issue of *9H* (1982e). The issue also included a presentation of the Antonakakis' mid-1970s Benaki Street apartment building (Fig. 2.17).[34] These three equally plausible options meant that Frampton came across Tzonis and Lefaivre's article sometime in early 1982. It was the moment when his own variant of regionalism was discursively coalescing. In Tzonis and Lefaivre's article, Frampton found a theoretical analysis that combined his own critical and aesthetic concerns. This is also why he immediately adopted the term 'critical regionalism'. In the final instance, it was this seminal article that allowed him to discuss the work of the Antonakakis in the terms that he himself preferred.[35]

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[33] Originally held in Delft earlier in 1981, the exhibition was Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' first major opening to a European, and potentially international, audience. For more information on that exhibition, see the special feature in the Dutch review, *Wonen-TA/BK* 20-21 (1981), and Simeoforidis (1981b). The 4-page leaflet that accompanied the exhibition at the Architectural Association in 1982 (see Figs. 2.14-2.16) registered Frampton's interest in the work of the Antonakakis. On the last page, the leaflet mentioned plans for publishing their work in the International Rizzoli series of monographs. Edited by Frampton (1985b), the monograph was eventually published in 1985. I return to Frampton's correspondence with the Antonakakis later in this section and in chapter 4 (sections 4.3 and 4.4).

[34] For a brief overview of the magazine and its scope, see Diamond (2005). In a recent interview, Elias Constantopoulos (2014) asserted that Frampton referred to *9H* as standing out from the architectural publications of the period.

[35] An interview with Tzonis & Lefaivre could have served as an additional source of information here. However, my interest lay more on Frampton's 'international' discourse from the 'centre' of Western architectural production in relation to the 'regional' practice of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. The results already yielded by archival research are therefore sufficient. At the time, Tzonis and Lefaivre were ambivalent with Frampton's recuperation of 'critical regionalism'. Although they enjoyed the growing international exposure of the term they had coined, they were also frustrated by its somehow opportunistic appropriation by Frampton. This is also why thirty years later they remain the spokespersons for the critical regionalist project. See Goode (2009: 228) and Lefaivre & Tzonis (2011).

Tzonis and Lefaivre had grappled with 'The Question of Regionalism' earlier in 1981. Like Frampton, they had turned to regionalism to articulate their response to postmodernism. In their earlier critique of this 'narcissist phase in architecture' in 1980, they had 'underlin[ed] the need for a new direction in the field'. Although they had not yet 'any concrete proposal for the future' to offer, they had concluded that 'architecture desperately needs a new humanistic involvement and an explicit rational discourse […] a constructive attitude and an open dialogue' (Tzonis & Lefaivre 1980: 61). For their turn to regionalism a few months later, Tzonis and Lefaivre collaborated with Anthony Alofsin. Alofsin was one of Tzonis's graduate students at Harvard University at the time. Under his supervision, he had worked on Lewis Mumford's theories to extrapolate a 'constructive' conception of regionalism (see Alofsin 1980). Aspects of this work were incorporated in the three authors' joint article in 1981.

'The Question of Regionalism' traced the development of regionalism in Western architectural history. In so doing, Tzonis, Lefaivre and Alofsin intended to renew a bottom-up tradition that could actively contribute to a contemporaneous social movement. Under the broader umbrella of regionalism, they also promoted a participatory design process to resist the anonymity of a technocratic built environment. Numerous local movements of the past that had opposed the imperialistic top-down imposition of architectural styles thus served as models for a contemporary regionalist agenda. Tzonis, Lefaivre and Alofsin (1981: 126) sided with Lewis Mumford who played 'a key role in reintroducing the social and humanistic standpoint [in] reformist critiques of the modern'. Their aspired regionalism thus went against 'the empty forms' of the International Style, but it also retained a cosmopolitan attitude devoid of nationalistic or racist undertones. Tzonis, Lefaivre and Alofsin (1981: 125) aspired to architecture as 'a manifestation of building that satisfie[d] real, that is regional, and not artistic, that is international, needs'. In other

words, they shared Frampton's concern to address the same division between the political and the aesthetic dimensions of modern architecture.[36] In sum, they promoted an 'architecture of reflecting and understanding' the human needs that reaffirmed the relevance of regionalism (Tzonis, Lefaivre & Alofsin 1981: 133). Although the term 'critical regionalism' was not used throughout this first text on the subject, its main theoretical contours were already visible.

Very soon, Tzonis and Lefaivre had the opportunity to develop these ideas further. In early 1980, Orestis Doumanis commissioned them to write an article on the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. The publisher's request was meant to support Dimitris Antonakakis's candidacy for a chair of architectural design at the National Technical University of Athens (Antonakakis 2013a). The architecture of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis provided Tzonis and Lefaivre with a concrete case study for a region they were already familiar with. Their formerly abstract overview of regionalist movements in the history of Western architecture from the 18th century onwards could now become integrated within the socio-political and economic developments of modern Greece from the 19th century to the present. Moreover, the work of the Antonakakis itself offered the authors an opportunity to explore the actual possibilities for an architectural expression of their aspired regionalism. This concrete architectural dimension had been left unexplored in their first article on the subject.

The agenda of participatory design from 'The Question of Regionalism' was still discernible in the background of 'The Grid and the Pathway'. It acted as the golden standard against which the Antonakakis' and any future architecture of

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[36] Compare with Frampton (1982c: 24). These two regionalist discourses of the early 1980s developed independently. In their seminal texts of 1981, Tzonis and Lefaivre (and Alofsin) did not reference Frampton's work. Neither did Frampton mention Tzonis and Lefaivre until he came across 'The Grid and the Pathway' in early 1982.

critical regionalism had to be measured against: 'No new architecture can emerge without a new kind of relations between designer and user, without new kinds of programs' read the concluding lines of 'The Grid and the Pathway' (Tzonis & Lefaivre 1981a: 178). Tzonis and Lefaivre's agenda thus reintroduced some of the original postmodern pleas of the 1960s, that were relatively silenced after the Biennale, in the discursive ferment of the 1980s. Like Frampton's, Tzonis and Lefaivre's critical regionalism was also a child of its own postmodern times. Their regionalist movement was no longer opposed to the 'repressive absolutist regimes and their restrictive academic pseudo-universal theories of the past', but to the 'despotic aspects of the Welfare State and the custodial effects of modernism' (Tzonis & Lefaivre 1981a: 172). In other words, Tzonis and Lefaivre were also fighting against the common adversary of every other architectural development that contributed to the postmodern tumult of the period.

> By way of a general definition, we can say that [regionalism] upholds individual and local architectonic features against more abstract and universal ones. [...] To understand a regionalist work, therefore, we must look to the context in which it was created: the ways in which its specific features affect human ties and to how these features, in turn, are shaped by given social formations. [...] Looking, then, at the work of the Antonakakis, two major distinctive architectonic patterns appear: the grid – the discipline which is imposed on every space element – and the pathway – the location of place elements in relation to a movement. [...] Both patterns, besides their formal characteristics, have a content which we cannot be conscious of unless we become aware of the social and historical context within which the two patterns were born. This context is the development of the regionalist movement in Greece. (Tzonis & Lefaivre 1981a: 164)

In Tzonis and Lefaivre's analysis, the design principles of the 'grid' and the 'pathway' that characterised the work of the Antonakakis were contextualised within the socio-political history of modern Greece. These two 'major patterns' corresponded to two different phases of 'historicist regionalism' (neoclassicist and populist). They were in turn exemplified in the work of two major figures of architecture in modern Greece: in Aris Konstantinidis's rationalist 'grids' and Dimitris Pikionis's topographically sensitive 'pathways'. The work of the Antonakakis essentially developed as a synthesis of their two major forebears.

The 'grid' pattern was associated with what Tzonis and Lefaivre called 'neoclassicist' regionalism.[37] In the Greek context, the classical orders and the reverence for the right angle echoed the ancient democratic past of the country. They were therefore regarded as 'carriers of autochthonous values and aspirations of freedom' (Tzonis & Lefaivre 1981a: 166). Neoclassicism was thus received as a regional movement towards the promising ideals of a socially inclusive democracy in the modern Greek state. It was this incipient neoclassicism of the grid that established its popular appeal in modern Greece. Running from Schinkel to Mies, this thread led to the austere work of Aris Konstantinidis (Fig. 2.18).

However, neoclassicism could not express the social conflicts and disillusionment that ensued when these socially inclusive ideals failed to materialise (Tzonis & Lefaivre 1981a: 167-169). In the late nineteenth century, a novel populist

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[37] Tzonis and Lefaivre's analytical framework was another symptom of their discourse as a child of its postmodern times. Their reading of the grid in terms of an incipient neoclassicism from Schinkel to Mies was aligned with the attempts of other architectural theorists of the period to read (neo)classicism into modernism. Their analyses affirmed the presence of history in a supposedly ahistorical movement. The most prominent example here was Colin Rowe. In his *Mathematics of the Ideal Villa*, Rowe (1976) had reintroduced classical themes in the post-war modernist debates. He was following on the footsteps of his mentor, Rudolf Wittkower (1949), who had traced the generative grid underlying Palladio's villas.

[Third party copyright material]

Figure 2.18 The 'grid' pattern of 'neoclassicist regionalism' in Tzonis & Lefaivre (1981a: 166). The 'grid' pattern develops as a thread that connects Schinkel (bottom left) to Mies (top left), and leads to the austere work of Aris Konstantinidis. His Archaeological Museum in Ioannina (top right) is juxtaposed with the Antonakakis' Archaeological Museum on Chios (bottom right).

movement emerged. In its pursuit for a new national unity, this regionalism focused on folk architecture. It was a way to overcome the division between town and country that was instigated by the development of neoclassicist regionalism (Tzonis & Lefaivre 1981a: 174-176). This thread led to the design principle of the 'pathway' (Fig. 2.19), as exemplified in the landscaping work of Dimitris Pikionis (1887-1968) around the Acropolis (1954-1957):

[Third party copyright material]

Figure 2.19 The 'pathway' pattern in Tzonis & Lefaivre (1981a: 172). Pikionis's landscaping project around the Acropolis (bottom left) exemplifies this pattern, which is echoed in the Antonakakis' House at Spata (right). In this case, the 'pathway' is used as a principle of design that organises movement from the exterior to the interior as a series of intermediate meeting points with varying degrees of privacy and publicity.

The pathway is the backbone from which each place grows and to which each place leads. As in the case of the grid, it may control also aspects of the microclimate, the flow of air, the view or the course of service lines; but its primary role is to be a catalyst of social life. Every time its circuit is laid down and every time one passes through it, it can be seen as the reenactment of a ritual, the confirmation of the human community and a criticism of the

alienating effects of contemporary life. Together with the grid, the pathway is a commitment to architecture as a cultural object in a social context. (Tzonis & Lefaivre 1981a: 178)

Even more important than the patterns themselves as design principles was their embeddedness within the specific historical and social context. This is what rendered them distinctively critical and regionalist. In other words, the patterns of critical regionalism were not the results extrapolated from an empiricist formal observation, as in the case of Christopher Alexander's (1977) *Pattern Language* (Tzonis & Lefaivre 1981a: 178).

In their work, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis combined the rationalist 'grids' of Konstantinidis with the topographical sensibility of Pikionis's 'pathways'. In so doing, they also transgressed their forebears. In the eyes of Tzonis and Lefaivre, both patterns were essentially escapist. The 'grid' expressed a utopian drive forward, and the 'pathway' a nostalgic drive backwards. When the Antonakakis employed these patterns as organising principles of their architectural designs, they emancipated them from these escapist projections. This is why their work was a novel step towards a critical direction for the development of regionalism in Greece. Focusing on the rooted experience of the place, their architecture was a realistic intervention in the socio-political condition at the moment of its production.

Rather schematically, Tzonis and Lefaivre associated socio-political struggles with architectural production in modern Greece. Despite the shortcomings of their oversimplified general account, their main points were significant for the discursive ferment of the period. The concluding lines of 'The Grid and the Pathway' rendered critical regionalism as the 'bridge over which any humanistic architecture of the future must pass'. They also acknowledged the 'unique significance' of the Antonakakis' work 'not only to Greek architecture but also to contemporary

architecture in general' (Tzonis & Lefaivre 1981a: 178). These ideas were aligned with Frampton's own optimistic aspirations of regionalism as a sort of reformist modernism. In the eyes of Tzonis, Lefaivre and Frampton, the unfinished project of modernity could be saved by the unfulfilled pledge of a regionalism emancipated from its nationalistic connotations.

Apart from Frampton, Tzonis and Lefaivre, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis had also contributed to the theoretical development of critical regionalism. They had done so indirectly through their specific architectural concerns, and their historical relations with the three authors of critical regionalism.

Tzonis had first met the architectural couple during his student years at the National Technical University of Athens in the late 1950s. The three of them had remained in contact over the years that followed. Although Tzonis moved to the United States to pursue his graduate studies and a subsequent academic career abroad immediately after graduating from Athens, the three of them retained an occasional correspondence. This is also why Tzonis rose to the occasion when Doumanis prompted him to write a comprehensive article on the architects' work two decades later (Antonakakis 2013a). In a letter to the couple, written in early January 1980, Tzonis thanked them for having sent him a body of articles to assist him with his writing.[38] Dimitris Antonakakis had essentially forwarded a copy of the portfolio he had submitted for his academic candidacy at the National Technical University of Athens. This included a comprehensive list of their projects to date (1978), previous publications of the most celebrated among them, as well as a series of articles Suzana

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[38] By then, the piece was also meant to accompany the exhibition of their work in Delft (set for 27 October to 4 December 1981) following an invitation by Aldo van Eyck. This explains the almost simultaneous appearance of a translation of 'The Grid and the Pathway' in Dutch (see Tzonis and Lefaivre 1981b). In the next chapter, I revisit this exhibition to discuss the multifarious impact of 'The Grid and the Pathway' (see sections 3.1 and 3.2).
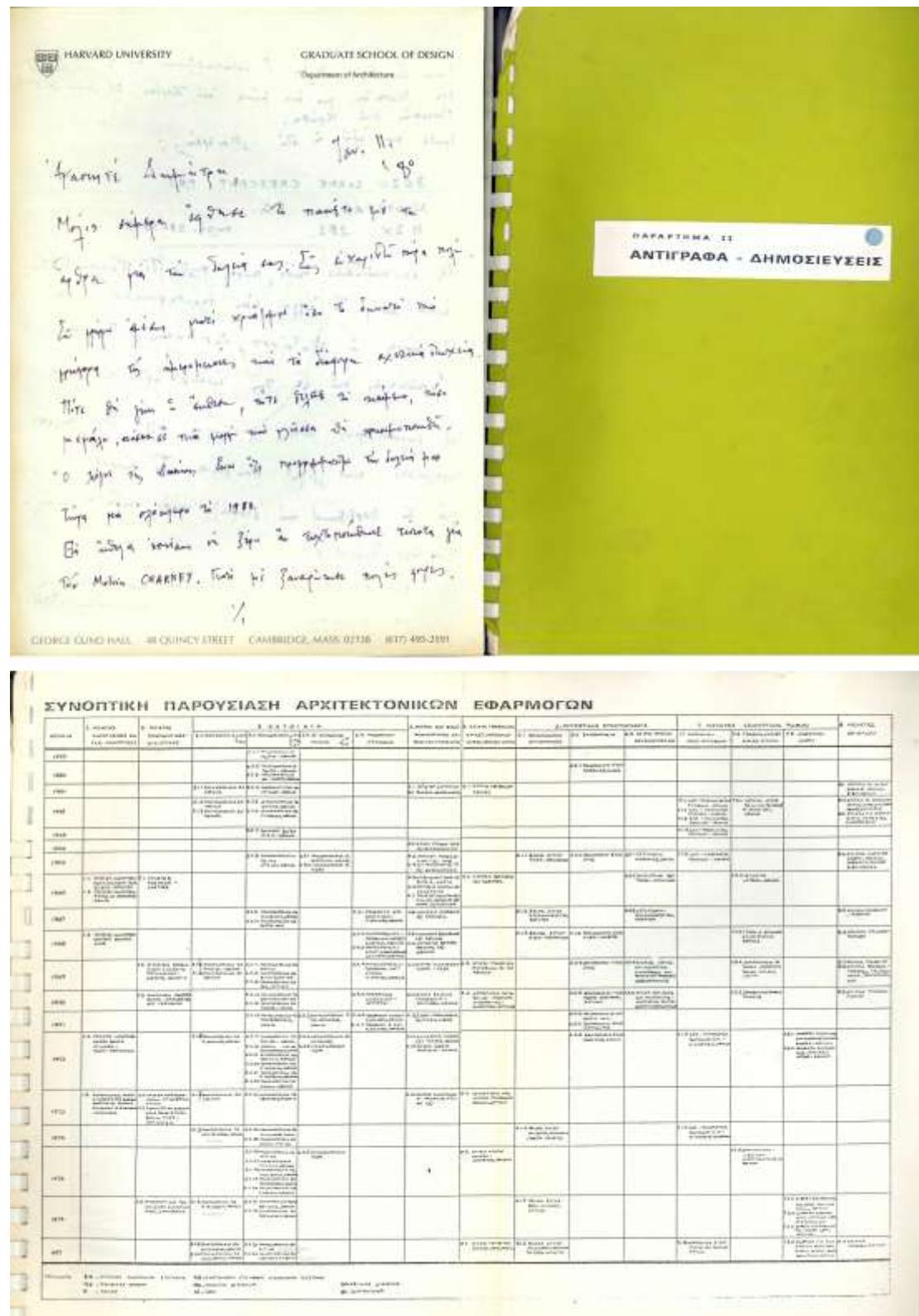
Figure 2.20 First page of Tzonis's letter to Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, dated 11 January 1980 (top left), Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' portfolio of publications (top right), and the comprehensive list of their architectural projects (bottom) forwarded to Tzonis earlier in 1979 (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

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and Dimitris Antonakakis had published in the mainstream and specialised press of the period (Fig. 2.20). The articles covered an array of subjects. These ranged from the problems posed by tourist development in Greece (1971), and the points of contact between public and private space (1973), to the unforeseen transformations of residential spaces during their inhabitation (1975), and the apartment building in Greece in relation to the role of the architect (1978b). This material did not only document Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' socially conscious approach to architectural design. It implicitly developed aspects of the 'pathway' thematic by the time Tzonis and Lefaivre began writing 'The Grid and the Pathway'.

Soon afterwards, draft typescripts of 'The Grid and the Pathway' started circulating between Tzonis and Lefaivre, the Antonakakis, and Doumanis. The 15-page draft typescript retrieved from Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive (Fig. 2.21) includes the two architects' hand-written notes. The sporadic corrections, comments and modifications suggested by the architects added their own touch to Tzonis and Lefaivre's original manuscript. Alongside their suggestions for the typescript, the architects included a list of their proffered projects to illustrate the article (Fig. 2.22). They also used coloured pencils to draw over plans from their selected projects to highlight specific spatial qualities and their main architectural intentions.

At first glance, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' notes to the draft typescript are not that extensive. Their most crucial contribution to the piece lies in its visual side. The architects provided eloquent figures, drawings and photographs to be used as illustrations for the article. Through them, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis implicitly offered their own interpretation of their built projects. In so doing, they also added a layer of historical accuracy to Tzonis and Lefaivre's wider reaching theorisations. More specifically, the architects clarified the influences that legitimised
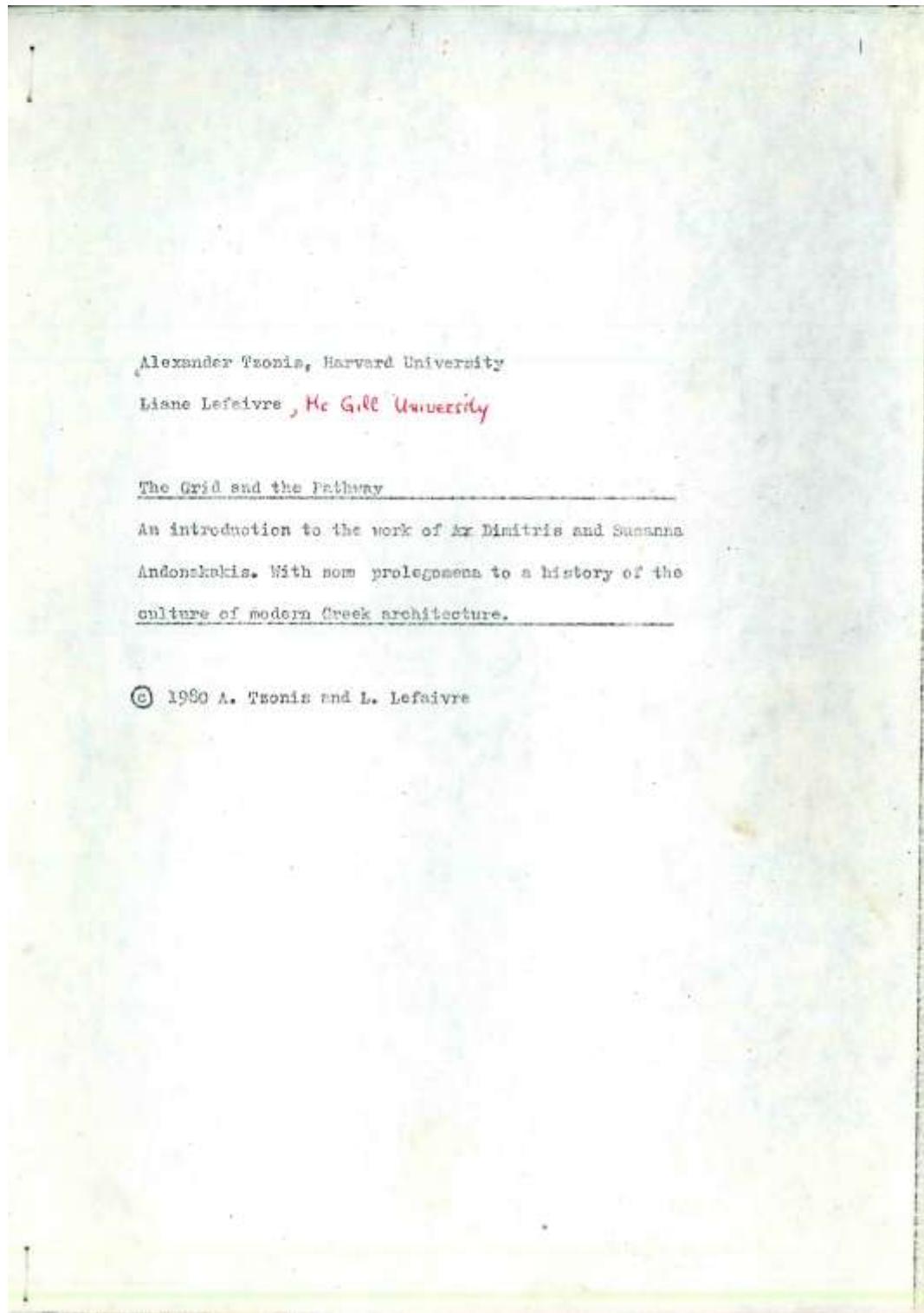
Alexander Tzonis, Harvard University

Liane Lefaivre , Mc Gill University

The Grid and the Pathway

An introduction to the work of Mr Dimitris and Susanna
Andonakakis. With some prolegomena to a history of the
culture of modern Greek architecture.

© 1980 A. Tzonis and L. Lefaivre

Figure 2.21 Cover page of a 15-page draft typescript of 'The Grid and the Pathway', including

hand-written annotations by Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis (Suzana and Dimitris

Antonakakis' private archive).

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icturesque
. Νεοκλασσικά
            "
2.
3.   "
4.   "
5. Mies
6. Schinkel
7. Κωνσταντινίδης
8. Χίος μακέτα 2 φωτογραφίες
9. Κατοικία στά Μοντεβάρδια πλάνα καί σχέδιο ζωνῶν
10.   "   στό Πόρτο Χέλι
11. Οἰκισμός τό Δίστομο
12. Mies – Weissenhoff
13. Κατασκευαστικῶν λεπτομέριες
14.   "
15.   "
16.   "
17.   "
18. Κατοικία στό Πρινόδασος
19. Ferme Ornée
20. Πικιώνης   20A Πλάτωμα
21. Κατοικία στά Σπάτα Πολυκατοικία στή Ε. Μπενάκη 'Αξονομετρικό Κάτοψη
22. Λαϊκά στοιχεῖα "doorsteps" "passages" "courts"
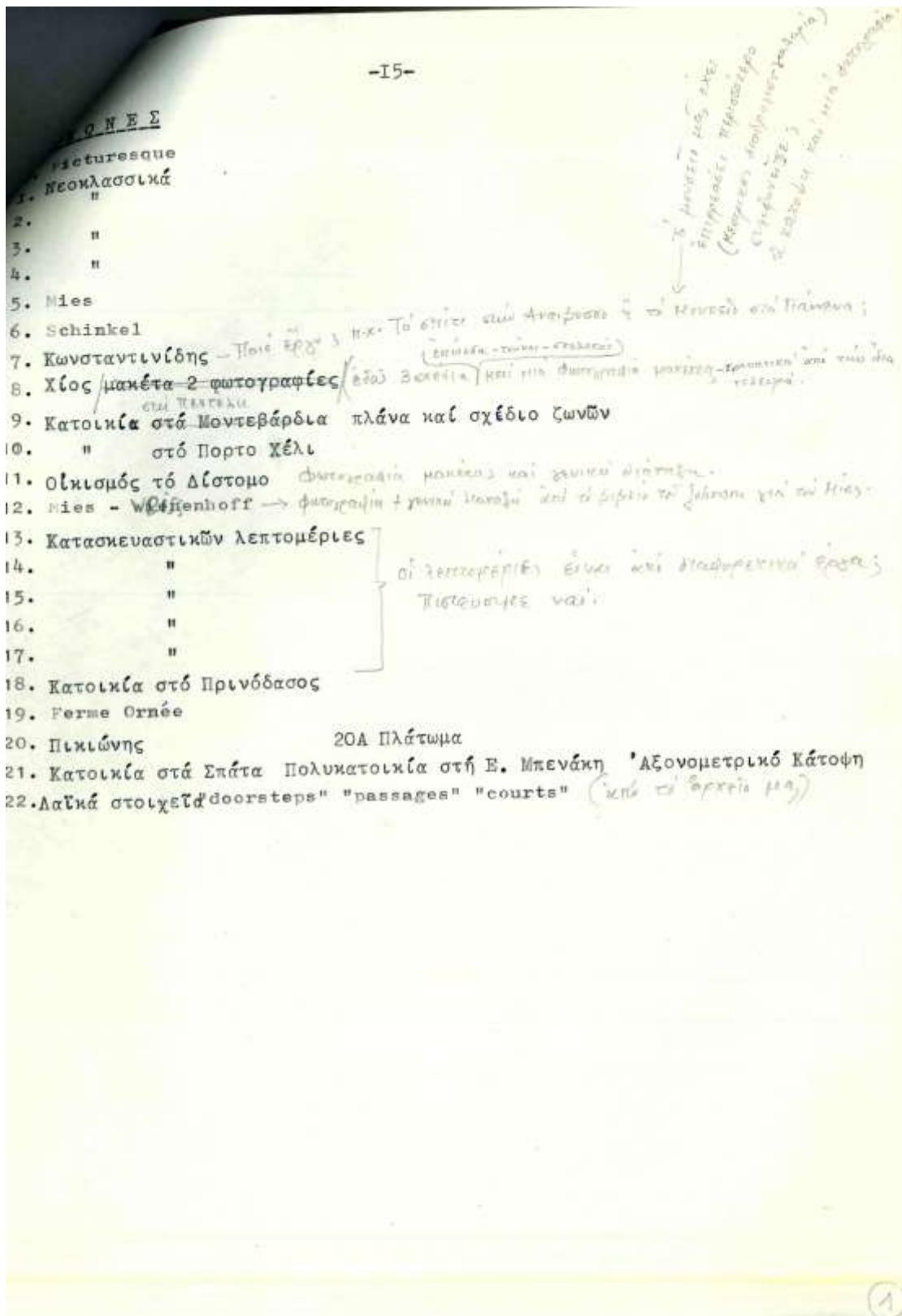
Figure 2.22 The Antonakakis' modifications to Tzonis and Lefaivre's proposed illustrations in their draft of 'The Grid and the Pathway' (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). The two architects' suggestions added a layer of historical accuracy.
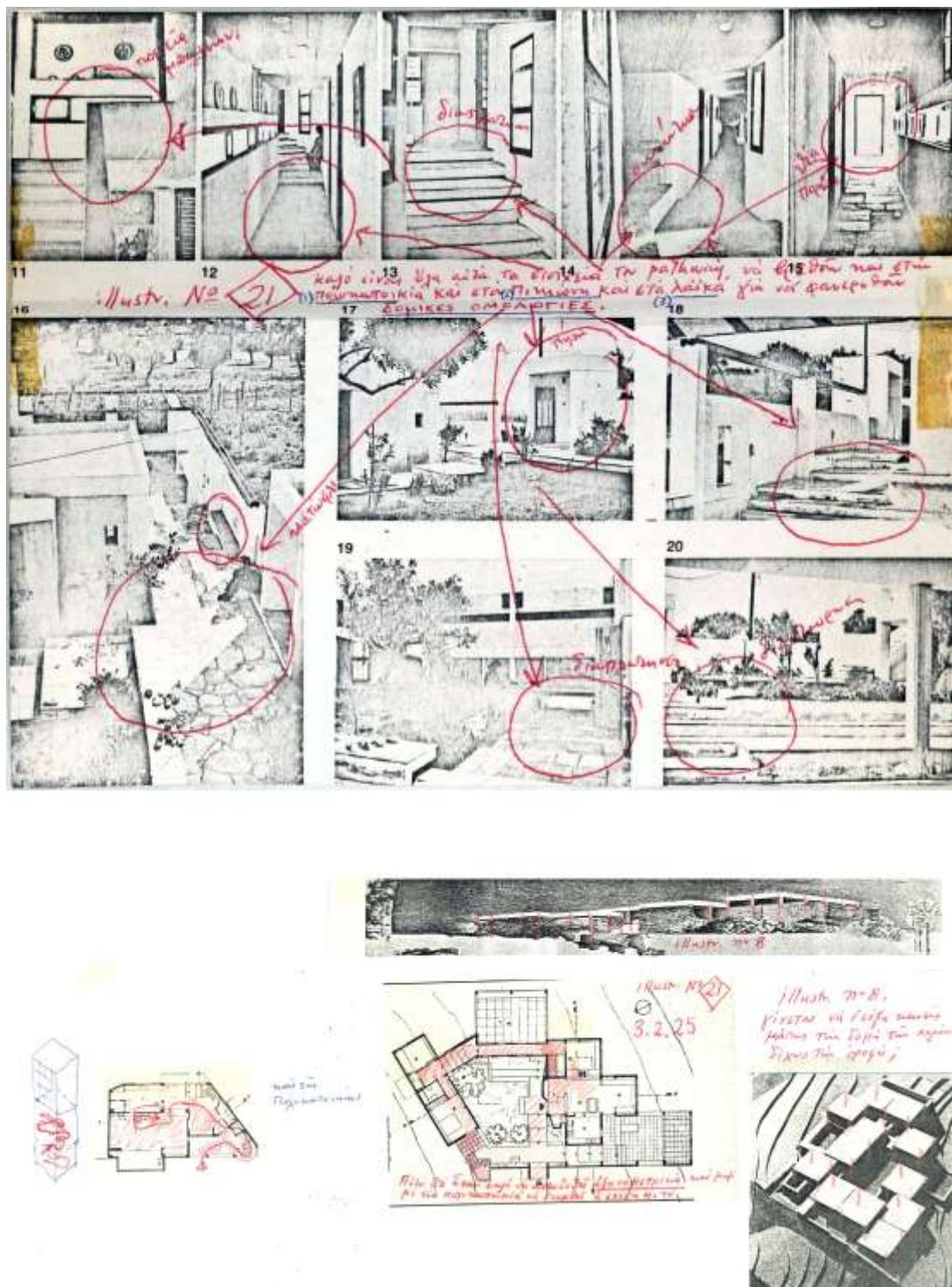
Figure 2.23 The Antonakakis' proposed organisation of photographs as a visual narrative for Tzonis and Lefaivre's 'The Grid and the Pathway' (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). Featured projects include their House at Spata (1974-1975) (top, middle bottom), the Benaki Street apartment building (1973-1975) (bottom left), and the Archaeological Museum on Chios (1965) (bottom right).

some of their key design solutions. For instance, in the draft typescript, Tzonis and

Lefaivre had proposed accompanying their discussion of the Antonakakis'

Archaeological Museum on Chios (1965) with an image of Konstantinidis's Weekend

House in Anavyssos. By doing so, they intended to illustrate the common use of

rationalist 'grids' in the early works of the Antonakakis with Konstantinidis. Although

the Weekend House in Anavyssos was indeed an emblem of Konstantinidis's

architecture,[39] the Antonakakis disagreed. Instead, they preferred to include images

from his Museum in Ioannina. Konstantinidis's Museum in Ioannina shared more

affinities with their Archaeological Museum on Chios in terms of scale, programme,

and spatial organisation (Fig. 2.22). The two architects thus considered the museum

project more relevant to their own work.[40]

For another section of the article, the two architects selected images that

highlighted key characteristics of their projects (Fig. 2.23). These included the

relations of indoor-outdoor space and their usually porous boundaries, as well as

their use of thresholds, trajectories and landings as means for an architectural

treatment of movement in the spaces they designed. To further emphasise the main

concerns behind their designs, the couple included keywords (like 'pathway-balcony',

'view-pathway', 'gateway', 'threshold', 'intersection', 'steps', 'widening') in their hand-

written notes on the images. Embracing Tzonis and Lefaivre's analysis of the 'grid'

and the 'pathway', the Antonakakis intended to reinforce it through the orchestration

of the article's illustrations as a visual narrative. This is why they noted that the

illustrations of their Museum on Chios should emphasise the columns that supported

the structure (clearly foregrounding their 'grid' pattern) (Fig. 2.23). In addition,

[39] For Aris Konstantinidis's own role in building the reception of this work as emblematic of
his architectural oeuvre, see Giamarelos (2014).

[40] The young architects had actually consulted Konstantinidis when designing the Museum on
Chios in the early 1960s. They had first met him in the late 1950s as students, when they were
commissioned to make a model for his Xenia Motel at Meteora project (Antonakakis 2013a).

Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis noted that the constituents of the 'pathway' evident in the photographs of their House at Spata (1974-1975) should also be traced in: (a) their Benaki Street apartment building (1973-1975), (b) Pikionis's Acropolis landscaping project, and (c) vernacular architecture. In the two architects' own words, this would 'reveal the structural homologies' of their work (Fig. 2.23). The House at Spata thus becomes the generator of the Antonakakis-Tzonis & Lefaivre correspondence around the 'pathway'.[41] Dimitris Antonakakis used to refer to the internal movement that effectively serves as the backbone for this House in terms of a 'corridor-street'. This term was intended to encompass both the sense of a direct transition from one space to the next, and the dynamics of intersecting gazes and chance meetings in an urban street. The illustrations selected by the Antonakakis slightly modified the visual narrative of their architectural gestures and influences.[42] This gave rise to associations and meanings that in turn brought Tzonis and Lefaivre's textual observations into a sharper focus, aligned with the architects' own concerns.

This architectural concern, that centred on public space in its transitive relation with other social spaces of increased privacy, had been consciously cultivated over two decades. As a product of the rooted Greek culture, it was also key to both Tzonis and Lefaivre's and Frampton's discourses. The closing illustration of 'The Grid and the Pathway' presented a systematic organisation of Dimitris Antonakakis's measured drawings from the island of Hydra (Fig. 2.24). The original drawings, on

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[41] This is also why the discussion of the 'pathway' pattern in the final version of 'The Grid and the Pathway' opens with the House at Spata (see Fig. 2.19).

[42] Their organisation of the visual material is also reminiscent of Gordon Cullen's (1961) discussions of Townscape and the picturesque. In the case of the Antonakakis, however, this townscape unfolds within a single architectural project. Although Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis never referred to Cullen, Tzonis and Lefaivre's (1981a: 165) article did open with a discussion of the English picturesque as the 'most prominent' regionalist movement of the early eighteenth century.
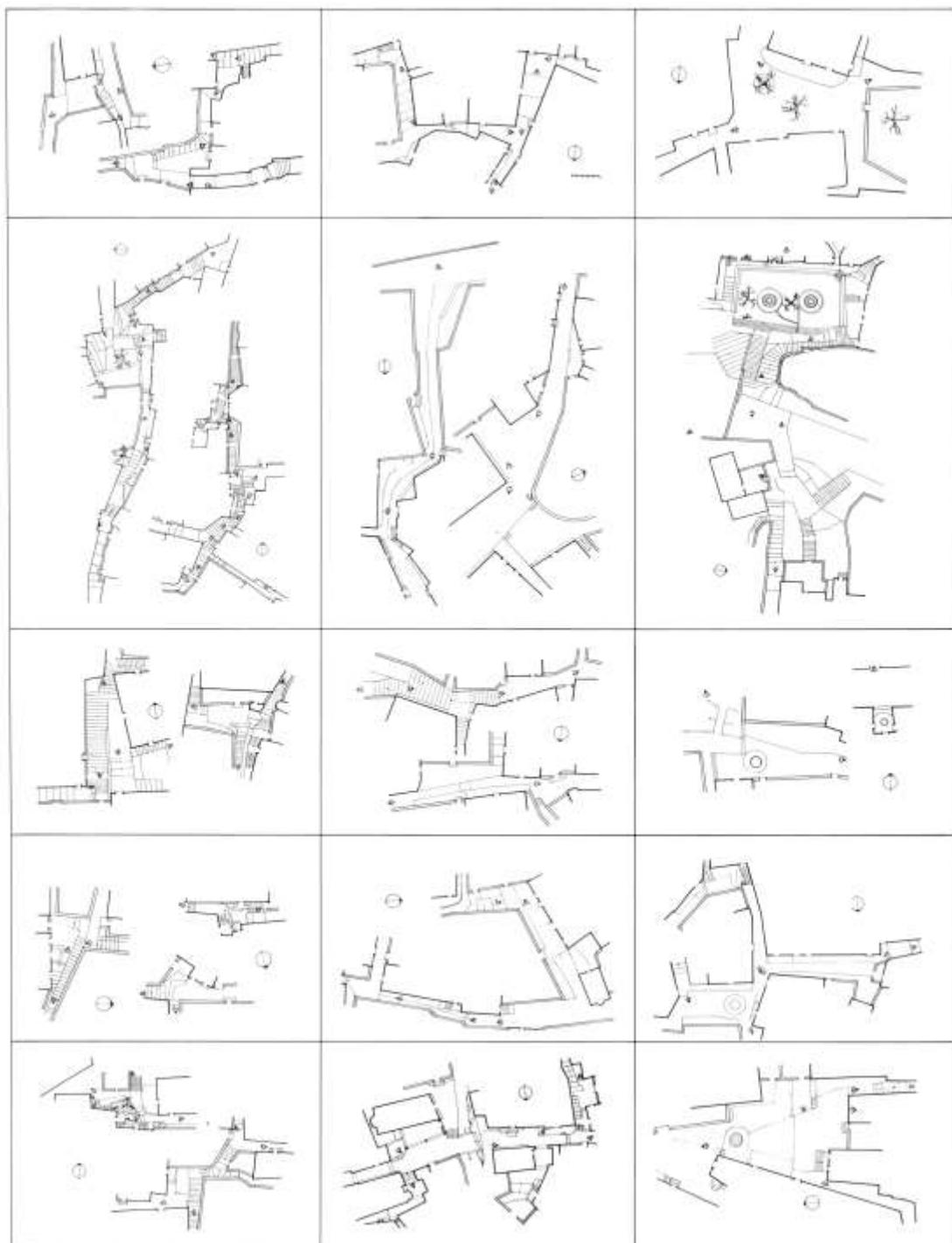
Figure 2.24 The concluding illustration of 'The Grid and the Pathway' (Tzonis & Lefaivre 1981a: 177) is the systematic presentation of Dimitris Antonakakis's survey of Hydra for his undergraduate lecture project at the National Technical University of Athens (1958).
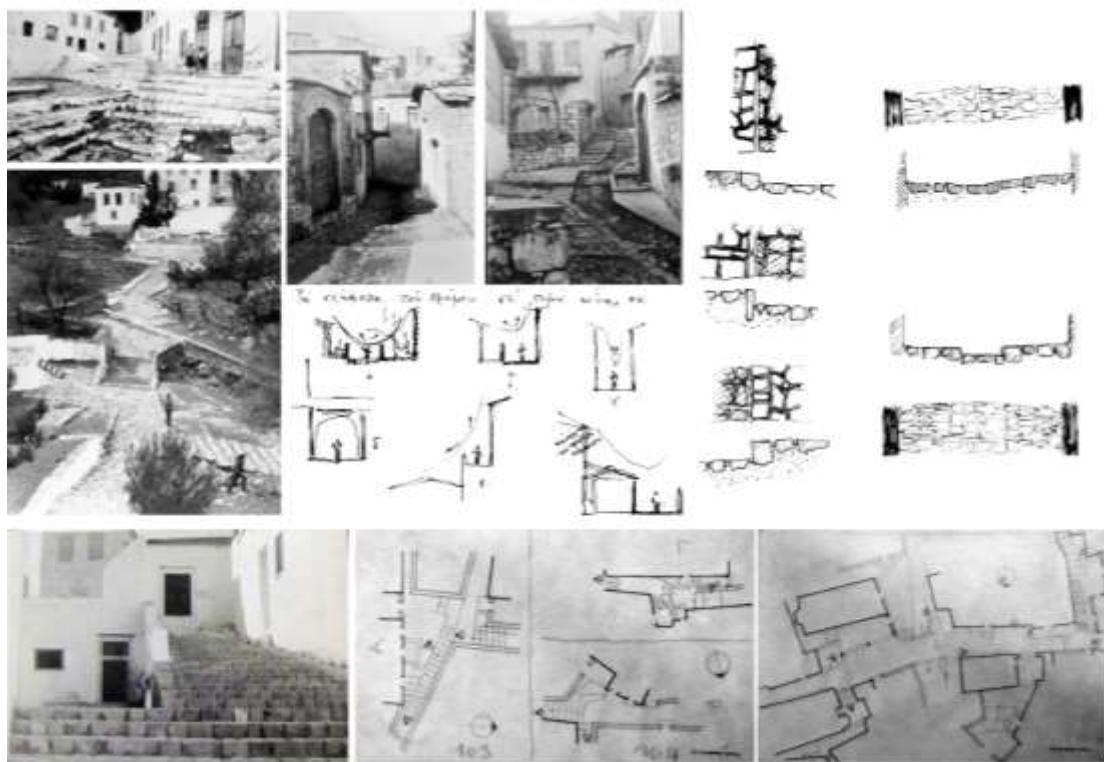
Figure 2.25 Characteristic photographs, drawings and sketches documenting Dimitris Antonakakis's incipient architectural concerns from his undergraduate student lecture at the National Technical University of Athens (1958) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

which the published typological matrix was based, dated back to Antonakakis's student years in the late 1950s. His survey of cross-roads, and pedestrian circulation on smooth plateaus and steep slopes also documented the transitive relations between public and private spaces from the streets to the courtyards (Fig. 2.25). The observations recorded in this mature student work presaged Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' future projects.[43] A decade later, the Antonakakis (in collaboration with

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[43] Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' mature student projects are discussed in detail in chapter 3 (see section 3.3). There, I relate the Antonakakis' reconsideration of the regional with their formative years at the National Technical University of Athens in the late 1950s.
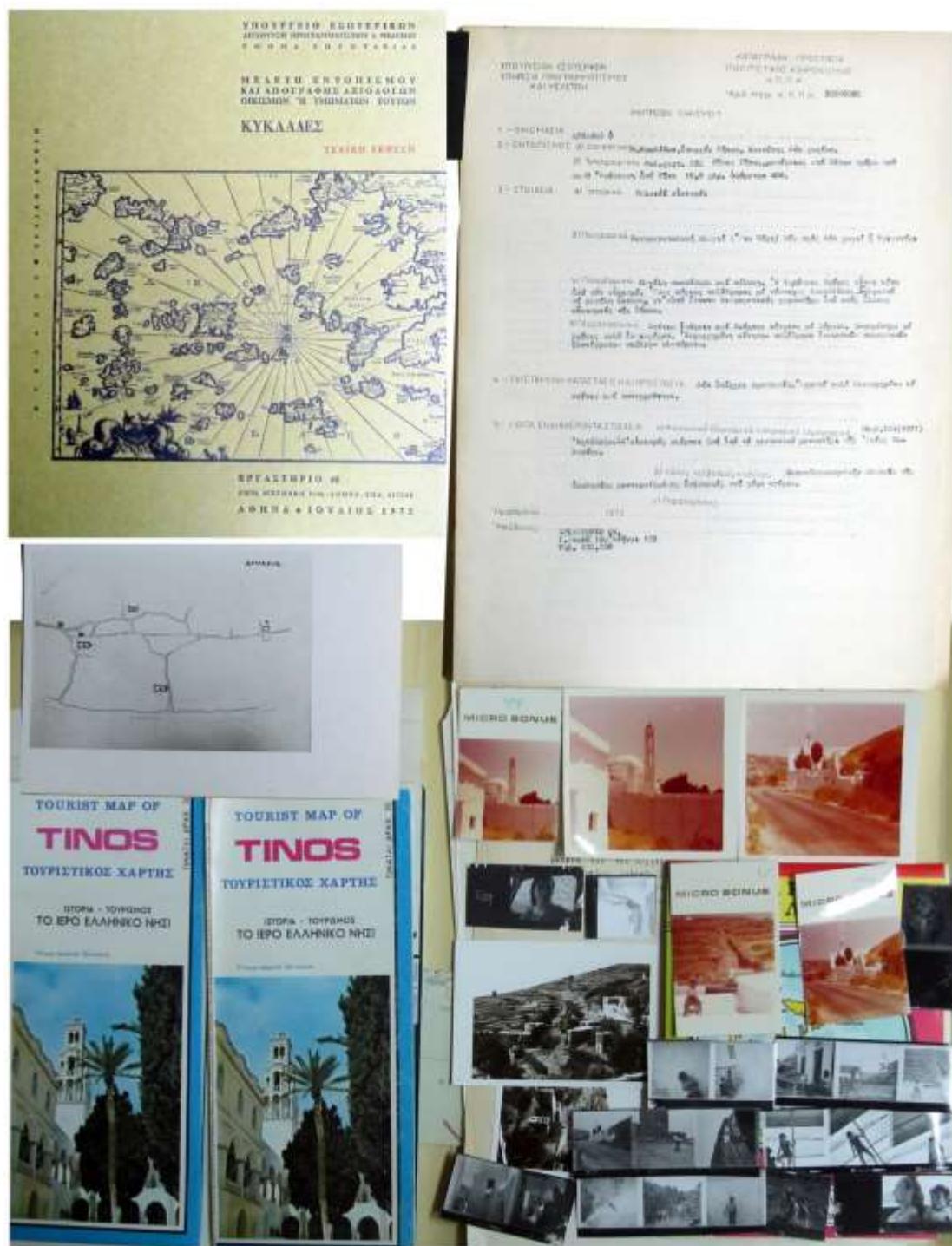
Figure 2.26 Photographs, maps, and drawings from Tinos. Documenting the Cycladic settlements was the grand project of the Antonakakis' collaborative practice, Atelier 66, in the early 1970s (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). It followed a similar trail with Dimitris Antonakakis's earlier work at the National Technical University of Athens.
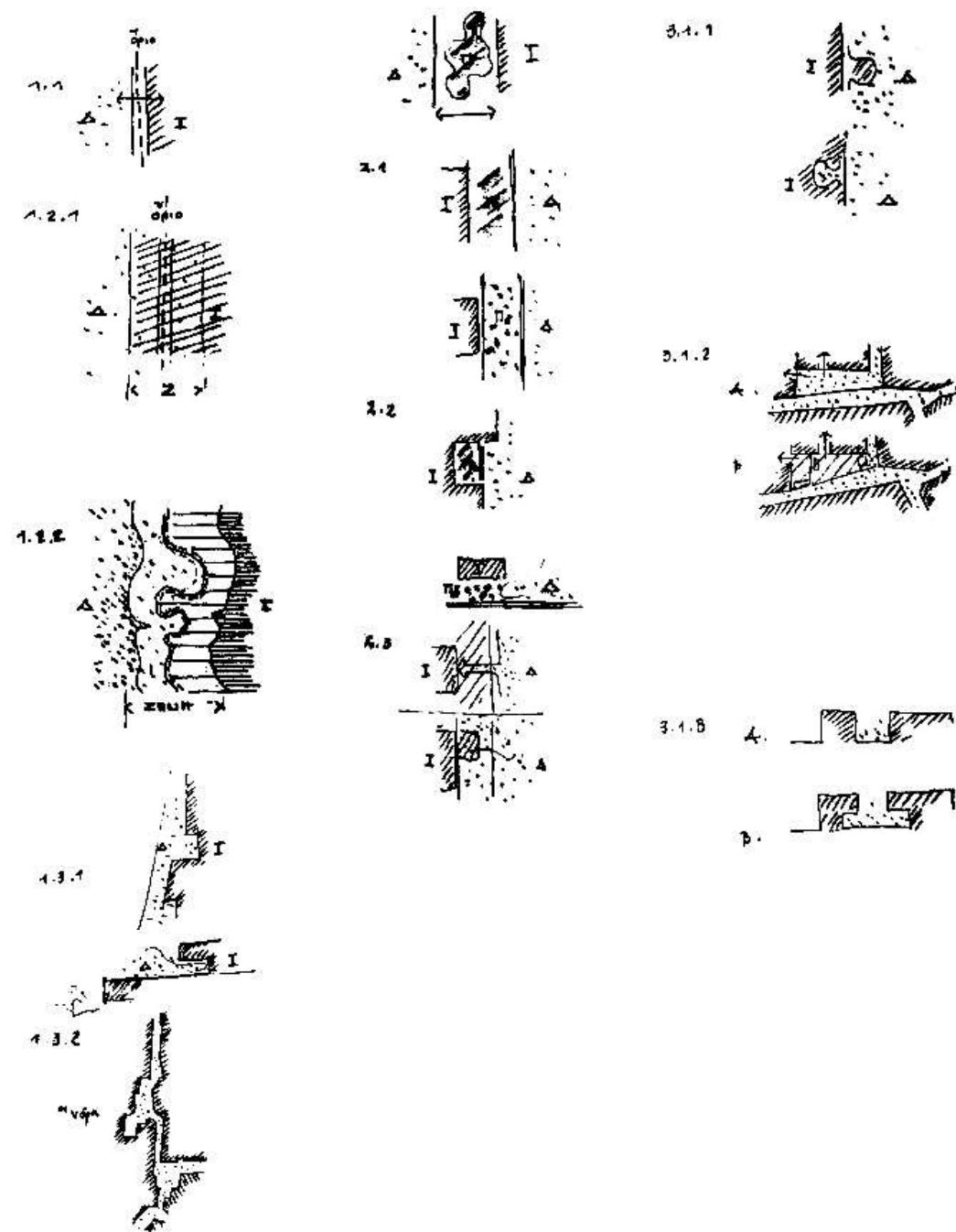
Figure 2.27 Dimitris Antonakakis's illustrations for his 1973 article on boundaries between public and private spaces, and their implications. His lessons from Hydra in 1958 (see Figs. 2.22-2.23) live on in his more systematised architectural thinking fifteen years later (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

their peers from Atelier 66) followed a similar approach when they surveyed the Cycladic island settlements (Fig. 2.26). By 1973, Dimitris Antonakakis had also theorised this approach. Published under the Greek military regime in 1973, his 'observations on the boundary' that brings public and private space in contact had undeniable political gravitas.

> The more one area permeates the other, the more its characteristics influence the other and the easier the transition from one to the other. […] Semitones are shaped. […] The complexity of these mutual permeations variegates the trajectory in Public space and endows Private space with an identity of its own. (Antonakakis 1973: 169–170)

Antonakakis stressed the architectural need for intermediate spaces that enable the public and private realms to gradually fade into one another. He clarified that this was not a strictly spatial or formal relation. Abolishing hard boundaries was a matter of social life itself, through the transfer of certain public functions and activities in private spaces, and vice versa (Fig. 2.27). Antonakakis clarified that the processes that shape the boundaries between public and private spaces are 'a result of human behaviour in relation to specific cultural conditions, social structure, political organisation and institutional frameworks determined by the citizens themselves or others that shape their environment' (Antonakakis 1973: 171).

From the drawings of the mature student projects to Antonakakis's theorisation of 1973, the concerns of Tzonis and Lefaivre's 'pathway' thematic (of transitive spaces as catalysts of communal life) enjoyed a long history of their own in the architects' work. In a case like this, it is difficult to draw a line between the theorists' and the architects' contribution to the development of this discourse. In any case, the published version of 'The Grid and the Pathway' does bear the subtle mark of its reinterpretation by Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis.

[Third party copyright material]

Figure 2.28 Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' apartment building at 118 Benaki Street in 'The Grid and the Pathway' (Tzonis & Lefaivre 1981a: 174-175).

Tzonis and Lefaivre's article proved to be the ideal mediator between the British historian and the Greek architects. Frampton had already met Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis when he had visited their Benaki Street apartment building in Athens in 1978.[44] Thus, when reading about it through the lens of Tzonis and Lefaivre (Fig. 2.28), Frampton was also in the position to verify their analysis, based on his earlier personal experience of the space. The importance of 'The Grid and the Pathway' in this story can hardly be overstated. It offered critical theoretical

[44] It was Yorgos Simeoforidis who first suggested, and then escorted him to, a visit to the building (Antonakakis 2013a).

categories, as well as a broad historical and socio-political contextualisation, to Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' built work. In other words, the article gave Frampton the tools he needed to read and understand it as a concrete expression of his own developing regionalist discourse. This is why critical regionalism is a historical artefact of a transcultural authorship. This mode of production of architectural discourse was also aligned with the main aims behind it. Far from promoting a static cultural insularity, this regionalism was the discursive footprint of architectural concerns travelling through cultures. Thus, the Benaki Street apartment building found its place in the British historian's anthology of critical regionalist projects at the end of 1982.

Frampton's anthology of critical architectural practices was already articulated even earlier. By the end of 1981 already, the British historian had articulated his vision of 'unsentimental regionality' in the work of selected architects across the globe (Fig. 2.29). Approximately a year after his resignation from the Biennale, his counterattack to the Strada Novissima was clear. The postmodern classicism of the Stern-Jencks alliance could not be allowed to dominate the discussion. Attempting to shift international attention away from the Strada Novissima historicists, Frampton outlined a series of eighteen monographs on critical architectural practices. All these monographs were to be published by Rizzoli within two to four years. Predominantly European, Frampton's selections outlined the 'other' side of the Biennale.[45] Not including a single North American architect, Frampton focused on the parts of the same discussion that were not represented at the Strada Novissima. He highlighted architectural practices that developed

[45] Fourteen out of Frampton's eighteen selections were Western European architects (Ungers, Utzon, Piano, Botta, Foster, Siza, Hertzberger, Moneo, Linazasoro, Antonakakis, Ciriani, Fehn, Valle, Gregotti). His non-European selections included Barton Meyers (Canada), Kazuo Shinohara, Tadao Ando (Japan), and Balkrishna Dhosi (India).

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Figure 2.29 First page of Frampton's letter to Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, dated 21 December 1981 (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). Frampton expresses his interest in the 'unsentimental regionality' of their work, and proposes the publication of a monograph on their work by Rizzoli.

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Figure 2.30 Third page of Frampton's letter to Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, dated 21 December 1981 (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). Frampton outlines his series of monographs on critical architectural practices to be published by Rizzoli.

alternative approaches to the crisis of modernism, from Norman Foster to Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. Without having closely read 'The Grid and the Pathway' yet, Frampton was aware of Tzonis's critical involvement with the work of the Antonakakis. In late 1981, he already had him in mind to introduce the Greek architects' work to an international audience (Fig. 2.30).

Frampton met the couple again in Greece, in 1983, at the second international architectural symposium, organised by Dimitris Fatouros (b. 1928) and the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki (in collaboration with Roy Landau and the Architectural Association), on Hydra.[46] The symposium marked the first time that Frampton presented the six points of his firmly articulated critical regionalism on Greek soil. In their own presentation, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis in turn focused on thematic concerns of their architectural design projects, including their 'construction zoning', 'the significance of movement, the "ambiguity" of architecture (A. van Eyck's "twin phenomena"), the use of colour and their interpretation of traditional Mediterranean case studies' (Simeoforidis 1983a: 14; see also Dostoglu 1984: 106). In the context of the symposium, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' reflection on their own work through these thematic categories thus served as a further elaboration and concrete expression of Frampton's theoretical endeavour. Their reference to concerns they shared with Aldo van Eyck also brought a subtle historical depth to the fore. The Antonakakis were implicitly reconnecting Frampton's regionalism with the original Team 10 critiques of modernism. This move was significant in the wider context of the postmodern debates of the period. It

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[46] This was the second time Fatouros teamed up with Roy Landau to organise a symposium on Hydra. They had done the same two years earlier, when the international roster of speakers and students discussed the architectural language of the coming decade. The ensuing conversations focused on 'the relation of tradition with contemporary architecture' (Simeoforidis 1981a: 27). Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis were also present there to discuss these matters and offer the participants a tour of their architectural work on the island.

brought back another aspect of the diverse postmodern pursuits that were relatively silenced after the Biennale. It was only five years before the exhibition in Venice that Frampton (1975) had suggested the polyphonic work of Team 10 as a model for the pluralism of the present. The Antonakakis' reference to Aldo van Eyck thus insisted on the contemporaneous relevance of Team 10 revisionism in 1983. This was what the Greek architects' own 'regionalism' had always been about, anyway: in broad terms, a sort of critical modernism.[47]

The architects' long-standing concerns thus fed in to the development of Tzonis and Lefaivre's theoretical discourse on their work, which was in turn assimilated in Frampton's critical regionalism. Each of the individual agents participating in this tripartite set of relations added a personalised nuance that renders critical regionalism as an artefact of transcultural authorship. It is the outcome of a dynamic mode of production of architectural discourse. This multifaceted authorship of critical regionalism challenges the artificial boundaries between theory and practice. From the outset, the Antonakakis' built work was at the epicentre. Tzonis and Lefaivre's discourse was constructed around it. The Greek architects' regional architectural concerns thus also remained implicit at the backdrop of Frampton's discourse. The same was the case for Tzonis and Lefaivre's socioeconomic account and their agenda of participatory design. This subtle thread that remained implicit within Frampton's critical regionalism enabled the earlier socially conscious aspects of the postmodern in architecture to re-enter the contemporary discussions. The novel discursive space that Frampton explored after the Biennale thus enriched the postmodern debates with a crucial transcultural dimension that also hinted at its longer underlying history. This interplay of the

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[47] Not much later, Frampton (1984) preferred to use the term 'critical modernism' to refer to Tadao Ando's similar vein of work.

international with the regional dimension was the most important, but also easily
misinterpreted, characteristic of critical regionalism.

2.4 Regionalist critiques

After 'The Grid and the Pathway' was recuperated by Frampton in 1983, Tzonis and
Lefaivre (1984: 22-23) rightfully argued that 'Greek architecture [was] slowly finding
its place in the international scene'. The rhetoric of critical regionalism was clear. It
was because these works were regional that they acquired their international
significance. This served as a motive for an inward-looking turn of the Greek
architectural field. The rationale was simple: if the region could produce work of
international significance on its own, then it should remain focused on its existing
resources. It should continue following its own trajectory, ideally without any
distorting contact with the international architectural developments. The local
architectural scene had already found the answer to the crisis of 'international style'
modernism on its own. Hence, it was the rest of the world that should be paying
attention to Greece, and not the other way around. This inward-looking
interpretation served the Greek modernists who wanted to resist postmodernism. At
the same time, it also served the traditionalists who wanted to oppose the
modernists. These local architectural audiences were therefore ready to succumb to
another round of introversion after the years of the military junta (1967-1974). The
obfuscated message of critical regionalism provided the alibi for them both to push
their respective progressive and conservative agendas forward.

The empowering effects, as well as the undesired consequences, of the impact
of the critical regionalist discourse were already observable in 1984. Tzonis and
Lefaivre (1984: 22-23) regretted this reading that resulted in a reinforcement of

traditional borders. This is why they were also quick to stress their broader vision about the unresolved architectural problems of the period that were 'neither iconographic nor formal' (Tzonis & Lefaivre 1984: 23).[48] Unfortunately, the historical reception of their work in the Greek milieu did not follow the direction they desired. The inward-looking, and eventually self-referential, reading of critical regionalism reversed the focal intentions of 'The Grid and the Pathway'.[49]

Meanwhile, the international popularity of critical regionalism was on the rise.[50] This increased interest registered at the first International Working Seminar on Critical Regionalism at Pomona in 1989.[51] The main organiser, Spyros Amourgis (1991: x), heralded critical regionalism as 'the most coherent astylistic thesis to emerge in the last twenty years'. In Amourgis's eyes, this was a genuine alternative to the dying historicist echo of the Biennale on the American shores.[52] Joined by more than 30 fellow theorists, academics and practising architects, the International Working Seminar offered Frampton, Tzonis and Lefaivre an opportunity to revisit

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[48] Cf. Tzonis & Lefaivre (1980) for their economic and political analysis of the prevailing postmodernist trends. For a related critique, also see Ghirardo (1990).

[49] At the end of the decade, the Greek architectural historian, Andreas Giacumacatos (1990: 18) attributed the international interest for regional developments to a 'cultural curiosity'. However, this 'curiosity' could only be partially satisfied, as the Greek architectural milieu was 'not yet in the position to articulate a comprehensive, self-reliant and multi-faceted discourse'.

[50] By October 1984, within less than two years since the publication of Frampton's seminal texts in 1983, *The Architectural Review* had already hosted two extensive features on regionalism. For other 1980s texts on the subject, see Steiner & Mondale (1988: 9-78).

[51] Before the Pomona Meeting, another symposium on critical regionalism had been held in Seville (1985). Other symposia were held in Delft (1990) and Milan (1990). For a brief critical overview of the symposium in Delft, see Ingersoll (1991b).

[52] In his account of the symposium in Delft ('Context and Modernity', 12-15 June 1990), Ingersoll echoed Amourgis's position. Ingersoll (1991b: 124) contended that critical regionalism set out to 'oppose the triumphant postmodernism promoted by Charles Jencks and the 1980 Venice Biennale'.

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Figure 2.31 First page of Kenneth Frampton's and Silvia Kolbowski's joint letter to Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, dated 27 July 1984 (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

and enrich their discourses.[53] More recently, the 40 texts on architectural regionalism anthologised by Vincent Canizaro in 2007 testified to the diversity and the pertinence of the discussions instigated by the regionalist discourses.

Frampton did not share this enthusiasm.[54] To start with, he had already encountered numerous practical difficulties with his Rizzoli series of monographs (Fig. 2.31). By 1985, when the series was supposed to have been completed, only two out of his eighteen proposed monographs had been published. By then, Rizzoli was reluctant to undertake the project in its entirety. Not focusing on the work of the internationally renowned architects was a riskier economic venture for a publisher. The self-perpetuating propaganda of the architectural 'avant-gardes' was thus reinforced by a vicious circle of risk-averse publishing practices. If this was to break, a whole network of related practices also had to be modified. This proved to be a difficult task even for somebody with an influential position at the Western 'centre' of architectural production like Frampton. The volumes on Tadao Ando (1984) and Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis (1985) were the only ones to be eventually published.

By the mid-1980s, Frampton (1986: 120) had also expressed his dissatisfaction with the 'unfortunate' term 'critical regionalism' (Frampton 1986: 120). The conservative connotations of regionalism distorted the critical dimension of his project. Over the years that followed, he was also increasingly disillusioned with

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[53] For all the participants' contributions to the seminar, see Amourgis (1991). Frampton had already developed his ideas further in his 'Ten Points on an Architecture of Regionalism: A Provisional Polemic' (1987b).

[54] Meanwhile, Tzonis and Lefaivre (2003, 2011) carried the critical regionalist torch forward in the terms of their own agenda.

the progressive political front. This is why, in the 1990s, Frampton (1995) placed his emphasis on tectonic culture, another one of the constantly recurring themes in his earlier work. Building culture gradually prevailed over the stronger socio-political aspirations of his work of the 1970s and early 1980s. His familiarity with the work of Herbert Marcuse and Jürgen Habermas (evident in Frampton 1982b and 1982c) meant that Frampton understood criticality as the negativity of the Frankfurt School of thinking. As the years went by, this understanding of criticality seemed less relevant to the ensuing global developments.[55] In the preface to the fourth revised edition of his critical history of modern architecture, he acknowledged that his discussions in the 1980s appeared less relevant at the outbreak of the 21st century:

> Transnational corporate ascendancy and the decline of the nation state have put into serious question what we can possibly mean by the term 'modern' today, or even the vexed word 'critical', given the ever-expanding value-free domain of digital technology and a Pandora's box of a new nature brought into being by the widespread application of genetic modification. (Frampton 2007: 7)

A few years later, he referred to his critical regionalist discourse of the 1980s as his 'naïve proposition of 30 years ago' (Frampton 2013: 7).

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[55] Frampton's recourse to critical theory was also the main reason behind Canizaro's (2007: 11) 'disaffection for critical regionalism'. In his eyes, the technique of defamiliarisation that was implicit in Frampton's critical regionalism 'seemed to throw the baby out with the bathwater'. In seeking to resist the nostalgic effects and their easy exploitation by the market forces, it also stripped place from its defining sense of comfort. Canizaro's reaction is indicative of the tension implicit in the project of critical regionalism (or regional modernism) from the outset.

However, these recent developments in Frampton's architectural discourse are not mere symptoms of the waning criticality of a time past.[56] The criticality of his regionalist discourse was problematic from the outset. To start with, Frampton's relation with the 'periphery' was mediated. Effectively an outsider to the locales of his favoured regionalist architects, most of his accounts could only be second-hand. In the specific case of Greece, he had to rely on other scholars, like Tzonis and Lefaivre (as in Frampton 1983b: 159-162), or his Greek graduate students in the United States, like Dimitris Varangis (as in Frampton 1985b: 4). However, he did not have a way to double-check the validity of these regional accounts. Despite his declared intentions, his analyses of the early 1980s thus glossed over the actual political reality of architectural discourse and production. His phenomenological reading of technology and his universalist notion of cultural difference further undermined the generative potential of his discourse. Disseminated by the Western centre of architectural theory production, the local repercussions of his discourse also ran against Frampton's intended aims. Endowing the 'marginal' figures of remote regions with the aura of the 'internationally famous' architect, critical regionalism ended up reproducing the effects of the star system it was originally supposed to resist, on the regional level. Frampton's own accounts of his critical regionalists thus led to a mythologised interpretation of their work. In other words, Frampton's discourse did not historically fulfil its potential to explore the spaces of debate it was opening.

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[56] For a concise purview of the changes in social roles and relations that reflected the wider political shifts of the period in the theory and practice of the Euro-American world, see Keucheyan (2010: 1-73). For an overview of developments of criticality in Euro-American architectural discourses and practices since the late 1970s, see Fischer (2012). For an alternative attempt to retrieve and update the criticality of Frampton's regionalism for the contemporary concerns of the architectural community, see Hartoonian (2013). To do so, Hartoonian distinguishes modernity from late capitalism, and emphasises the autonomous features of the tectonic. Although Hartoonian's attempt was not entirely convincing, it did highlight the potential of critical regionalism to be further developed in theoretical terms.

Many of these problems were identified in critiques of critical regionalism that soon emerged on the architectural (Rykwert 1983), political (Jameson 1994), postcolonial (Eggener 2002), and globalising (Fraser 2013) fronts.[57] In the same RIBA lecture series (1982-1983) that hosted the Jencks-Frampton debate, Joseph Rykwert (1983) had already expressed his reservations. He questioned the possible viability of the 'dialect regionalism' of Siza and Valle, insofar as he could foresee the imminent disappearance of these dialect cultures. He therefore concluded 'that kind of dialect regionalism seems almost as remote as Mr Terry's classicism' (Rykwert 1983: 27). Although Rykwert did not necessarily share Jencks's (1984a: 152) view that critical regionalism was 'also a style like any other', he did point out the real possibility of its degeneration to an empty word. A decade later, Fredric Jameson (1994: 189-205) went one step further in noting the futility of critical regionalism as a political project of regional cultures of resistance. Jameson noted both the geopolitical impossibility of the project, and the danger of a late capitalist recuperation of regional authenticity, e.g. as a commodified tourist product.[58] Another decade later, Keith Eggener (2002) underscored the colonialist dimension latent in Frampton's discourse. He showed how critical regionalism ended up marginalising the architectural cultures it was allegedly vindicating. He started by highlighting the tendency of critical regionalism to render regional identity synonymous with the work of an individual architect (Eggener 2002: 230). In so doing, this discourse 'absorb[ed] culturally and geographically situated activities within an overarching, Euro-American-generated discourse, one bearing relatively

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[57] For more critiques and extensions of critical regionalism, also see McLeod (1989), Colquhoun (1992 and 1996), Ingersoll (1991a), Cassidy (2007), Allen (2007), Moore (2007), and Crinson (2008).

[58] Pallasmaa (1988) was also concerned with the feasibility of regional architecture within the postmodern condition, albeit from a phenomenological standpoint.

little interest in local perspectives on local culture', including the architects' own understandings of their work (Eggener 2002: 233). Hence, Eggener argued:

> [A]rchitecture of a regionalist character is not primarily a reaction to the West, or to "world culture," [...] but a response to local circumstances. It should be seen not as a marginal practice, but as a development parallel to contemporary architecture in the industrialised West. [...] [Critical regionalism] makes paramount a struggle where no struggle might otherwise have been said to exist. It routes to the margins an architecture that might not otherwise be imagined standing there. (Eggener 2002: 233-234)

His critique concluded with a plea for 'heeding the voices of those responsible for building particular cultures [...] rather than imposing formulas upon them, [in order] to understand better the [...] local discourses in their full range' (Eggener 2002: 235). Yet another decade later, Murray Fraser (2013: 387) argued that critical regionalist discourse falls back to the 'homogenisation fallacy' about globalisation. Positing the hybrid as 'the defining base for globalisation', Fraser (2013: 389) underscored the need to move away from the binary centre/periphery model of critical regionalist discourse into a study of 'complex trans-cultural networks of exchange'. Hence, globalisation is not 'smoothing out everything and creating a single world order', but it is 'constantly creating new kinds of difference and heterogeneity, and in ways that will never be uniform or consistent' (Fraser 2013: 387).

As I discuss the architectural practice of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis in Greece in the following chapters, I share Eggener's and Fraser's concerns.[59] Did the

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[59] These concerns echo Shmuel N. Eisenstadt's (2002: 2) view that modernity does not equal Westernisation, and his subversion of the centre-periphery hierarchy. As he characteristically asserts, '[i]t was indeed the incorporation of the periphery's themes of protest into the centre that heralded the radical transformation of various sectarian utopian visions into central elements of the political and cultural programme' (Eisenstadt 2002: 6). Eisenstadt's notion of

architecture Frampton heralded as an exemplar of critical regionalism work in this way for the local architectural milieu? Although in the Greek case Frampton's account is not as far off the mark as in the case of Barragán, his analysis corroborated a mythologised interpretation of the Antonakakis. It also had wider repercussions both for the Greek architectural field at large and for Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis themselves. Focusing on the Greek architectural milieu in the second part of the dissertation, I retain the 'international' critical regionalist discourse and the abovementioned critical concerns as the implicit backdrop of my own historical work.

multiple modernities has recently been used as a central concept for Edward Denison's work in architectural history (2011).

Part II

Postmodern Greece

Chapter 3
The reconsideration of the regional

Introduction

The celebrated reception of critical regionalism in Greece serves as a starting point for this chapter. To explain this success, I look back to the first histories of architecture in modern Greece (Doumanis 1964, Loyer 1966, Fatouros 1967, Antoniadis 1979) before the publication of 'The Grid and the Pathway' in 1981. This allows me to showcase the historiographical/theoretical reasons for the celebration of critical regionalism in the local architectural milieu. I show how Tzonis and Lefaivre's article offered a reconciliation for the deep-seated Pikionis-Konstantinidis opposition established by these first histories. Until the publication of 'The Grid and the Pathway' in 1981, the Pikionis-Konstantinidis debate served as the defining dilemma for the future of modern architecture in Greece. Presenting this as a false dilemma, Tzonis and Lefaivre's article acquired the status of a significant intervention in Greek architectural discourse. In addition, 'The Grid and the Pathway' offered a renewed understanding of the work of Pikionis. The article reappraised his work when its significance for the Greek architectural milieu was at a nadir. After Frampton's recuperation of 'The Grid and the Pathway', Pikionis's ambivalent relation to modernism gained increasing relevance in the international postmodern context of the period. Tzonis and Lefaivre's article thus led to an unexpected posthumous interest in the work of Pikionis. Last but not least, the local reception of critical regionalism was associated with modernism. This enabled Greek architects to recuperate the revered project of the generation of the 1960s that was abruptly

brought to a halt by the imposition of the military junta in 1967. Critical regionalism was thus interpreted through the 1960s lens of relating modernism with the Greek architectural tradition.

I then trace the threefold impact of the critical regionalist discourse on Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis: (1) I return to the same histories of architecture in modern Greece (Doumanis 1964, Loyer 1966, Fatouros 1967, Antoniadis 1979) to show that before the publication of 'The Grid and the Pathway', Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis were consistently portrayed as outward-looking modernists. However, the accounts of their work after the publication of 'The Grid and the Pathway' (Philippidis 1984, Cohen 1994, Kotionis 2004, Kalogirou 2007, Kizis 2015) became increasingly inward-looking. The Antonakakis were literally understood as 'deeply rooted […] inside the dialectic of Greek culture' (Tzonis & Lefaivre 1981a: 178).[1] This almost exclusive association of the work of the Antonakakis with Pikionis and Konstantinidis still holds the imagination of architectural historians captive. (2) I then turn to my interviews with the architectural couple, to explore the effects of critical regionalism on the architects' personal relations within the Greek architectural milieu, and their legacy. The 'international' celebration of their 'peripheral' work reflexively endowed the Antonakakis with the aura of the renowned architect in Greece.[2] This in turn estranged the architectural couple from their peers, including Konstantinidis himself, who broke his ties with the Antonakakis. It also

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[1] The article did mention the Miesian influence through the teaching of A. James Speyer at the National Technical University of Athens in the late 1950s. However, it took Tzonis and Lefaivre only one sentence to transform Mies to Konstantinidis, and follow their own intrepretative intentions (Tzonis & Lefaivre 1981a: 166). The historically accurate information included in the article was effectively clouded by the force of the main argument that focused on the regional scale.

[2] Costandis Kizis (2015: 19) recently referred to Dimitris Antonakakis as 'maybe the only internationally renowned Greek architect of his generation'.

accelerated the dissolution of their 20-year-old collaborative practice, Atelier 66, in 1986. (3) Finally, I look at Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' writings. I focus specifically on Dimitris Antonakakis's memorandum for his candidacy at the National Technical University of Athens (1978) and Suzana Antonakaki's monthly architectural column at the mainstream Greek newspaper, *Ta Nea*, (1998-2009). From these texts, I marshall evidence of the arbitrary genealogical relation outlined in 'The Grid and the Pathway'. The Antonakakis' link with Konstantinidis was not that strong. The distorting effect of 'The Grid and the Pathway' was so forceful that the later accounts of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' work lost touch with its actual historical ground. The couple's architectural outlook was shaped from a different set of influences that harked back to their student years at the National Technical University of Athens in the late 1950s. This is why, in the last section of the chapter, I return to the architects' formative years to retrace their understanding of tradition. My account is based on my interviews with the architects, their published writings, as well as their sets of notes and mature (lecture and diploma) projects from their student years. I use these sources to glean elements in their education that allowed Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis to think of the regional in terms of the modern, and vice versa. It was their lessons from Michelis, Hadjikyriakos-Ghika, Pikionis, and Speyer that conditioned their understanding of tradition, and, by implication, their critical regionalism. Thus, my historical research draws a more nuanced picture of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' critical regionalism. It moves away from the simplistic frame of the Pikionis-Konstantinidis genealogy to open their work up to a richer set of relations.

3.1 Inward-Looking Repercussions

Although not immediately perceptible by an external observer, 'The Grid and the Pathway' was a significant intervention in the Greek architectural milieu of the early 1980s. Besides the international attention generated by Frampton's recuperation of Tzonis and Lefaivre's article, there were also important regional reasons for the celebrated reception of critical regionalism in Greece. 'The Grid and the Pathway' offered a way to reconcile the Pikionis-Konstantinidis opposition that haunted the local architectural field. Before the publication of Tzonis and Lefaivre's article, Pikionis and Konstantinidis were interpreted as offering two diverging architectural approaches for the reconsideration of the regional in Greece. Konstantinidis assimilated the architectural qualities of the regional vernacular in his consistently modernist designs. Pikionis's ambivalent relation to modernism meant that his work often replicated, mixed and matched the forms of regional architectural dialects. Owing to his versatile references, Pikionis's work was easily associated with traditionalist approaches. In the final instance, the Pikionis-Konstantinidis opposition concerned the future of modern architecture in Greece between modernism and traditionalism. After 'The Grid and the Pathway', one no longer had to take sides. Since the article showed that their influence could be successfully combined in the work of a novel architectural generation, Pikionis and Konstantinidis could equally serve as founding figures of modern architecture in Greece.

The Pikionis-Konstantinidis opposition was established in the first systematic analyses of architecture in modern Greece by Orestis Doumanis (1964), Dimitris Fatouros (1967), and François Loyer (1966). They all agreed that the reconsideration

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Figure 3.1 Opening spreads of the first publication of Orestis Doumanis's survey of modern architecture in Greece in John Donat's *World Architecture* (1964: 116-119). In this publication, Doumanis's text included a short set of illustrations that focused on the works of Greek modernists, Aris Konstantinidis, Takis Zenetos, and Nikos Valsamakis (bottom).

of the regional tradition[3] was a focal point of concern for modern Greek architects (see Doumanis 1964: 1, Fatouros 1967: 422). Doumanis's text was the most polemical. It intended to give a clear modernist direction to avant-garde architecture in Greece (Fig. 3.1). Doumanis was not only against the superficial traditionalists who imitated morphological elements in modern constructions. He was also opposed to the unwitting 'eclecticism' in the work of 'Romantics'. These 'Romantic' architects 'transposed elements of the past into their work' to contribute to a '"Greek school" of national architecture' (Doumanis in Donat 1964: 117).[4] In his text, Doumanis did not name any of these 'Romantic' architects. However, the images included in the article to illustrate this type of architecture featured the Potamianos House (1953-1955) by Pikionis (Fig. 3.2). Hence, the target of Doumanis's criticism was clear. The normative message of his analysis was that a 'Greek school' of national architecture should abandon Pikionis. It should rather evolve along the modernist lines of Aris Konstantinidis. In the years that followed, Doumanis's editorial activity in the influential annual review *Architecture in Greece* served this agenda. Doumanis adopted Konstantinidis's rhetoric, and its essentialist references to an architecture of real human needs. He suggested that the lessons from tradition were to be found on a

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[3] The protagonists of my history used the word 'tradition' to refer to what I more broadly call the 'regional'. Throughout the chapter, I have therefore opted to adopt their terminology to stay true to my historical material. For a more nuanced understanding of 'tradition' and the wider implications of its invention, see Hobsbawm & Ranger (1983). However, Suzana & Dimitris and other Greek architects of their generation understood 'tradition' in essentialist, rather than constructivist, terms.

[4] Doumanis's text was originally published in English in Donat (1964: 116-123). It was accompanied by a short set of illustrations (limited to works by Aris Konstantinidis, Takis Zenetos, and Nikos Valsamakis). Later in the year, the article was elaborately illustrated for its republication in the Greek magazine, *Αρχιτεκτονική* 48. The illustrations now presented the work of numerous other Greek architects, including the young Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis.

level of abstraction that was reconcilable with the modernist tenets.[5] He proposed that Greek modern architects needed to distinguish

> those elements and the spirit which must always, beyond time, constitute the characteristics of the country's architecture — simplicity and honesty in the use of materials and in construction, the inspiration of the landscape and a rational functionalism dictated by real needs. (Doumanis 1964: 117)

Established by Doumanis in 1964, the Pikionis-Konstantinidis opposition was thus centred on the intertwined questions of the regional and the modern. In Greece, critical regionalism was thus understood in terms of these intertwined questions. Between 1964 and 1981, when 'The Grid and the Pathway' was published, the Pikionis-Konstantinidis opposition was only further reinforced. Konstantinidis himself encouraged it through his derogatory allusions to the work of Pikionis in his later writings. Although his celebrated status in the local architectural field is undisputed today, Pikionis's regional reception was not positive from the outset. His now internationally renowned landscaping project around the Acropolis was originally presented in terms of 'forgery' and 'assault' to the archaeological spots in the Greek architectural press of the period (see Salmas 1958).[6] In the decade following Pikionis's death in 1968, esteem for his work was steadily on the decline. This was due to the emergence of a circle of high-class traditionalists, unofficially led

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[5] This was not an exclusively Greek phenomenon. The 1950s witnessed the reappropriation of the vernacular. This formed part of an attempt to legitimise the prevailing modernist discourses and functionalist principles of design all over Europe (see Brown & Maudlin 2012).

[6] For a contemporaneous defence of Pikionis's work, see Vassiliadis (1962).

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Figure 3.2 Opening page of the republication of Orestis Doumanis's survey in Greek in *Αρχιτεκτονική* 48 (1964: 1). The added illustrations included Pikionis's Potamianos House (bottom left). For Doumanis, Pikionis was therefore one of the 'Romantics' whose approach should now be abandoned in favour of the avant-garde modernism of Aris Konstantinidis, Takis Zenetos, and Nikos Valsamakis.

by Angeliki Hadjimichali (1895-1965).[7] As self-proclaimed Pikionists, they presented themselves as the rightful heirs to his legacy. In his history of architecture in Greece, Antonis Antoniadis marked 1976 as the year that this 'irreverence' to the work of Pikionis reached its highest point. It was the moment when Pikionis's work was derided as 'ruinology' (Antoniadis 1979: 49).[8] This is an additional reason why 'The Grid and thePathway' was such an important intervention in the Greek architectural milieu of the period. It offered a reappraisal of Pikionis's work in a way that could be attuned with the pursuits of modern Greek architects of the period.

In the meantime, the imposition of the military regime (1967-1974) had further complicated the reconsideration of tradition in Greek architecture. The nationalistic overtones of the regime dictated a cultural introversion that was accompanied by a forced folklore aesthetic. The situation was further complicated by the regime's simultaneous reliance on the modernised construction industry and its recourse to the mythical glory of the past. These were the main pillars of its propaganda. The intertwined questions of the modern and the regional thus became more complicated for Greek architects of the period. Many of them responded by unambiguously embracing modernism as a form of resistance to the folklore aesthetic dictates of the regime (Fig. 3.3). They drew their inspiration from the mythologised Generation of the 1930s, that had first tried to reconcile modernism with Greekness.[9]

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[7] Angeliki Hadjimichali was more interested in the study and preservation of Greek folk culture. Starting from the 1920s, her work ranged from studies on the folk art of Skyros, and Greek ornament and garment, to the nomadic population of the Sarakatsani in the 1950s. For the comprehensive posthumous publications of her work, see Hadjimichali (1983; 2010).

[8] This derogatory term was also used by Konstantinidis when referring to Pikionis in his later writings (1991).

[9] For the mythical status of the Greek Generation of the 1930s, see Tziovas (2011). The Generation of the 1930s also undertook its modernist project under a military regime (1936-

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Figure 3.3 Organised by the colonels, the 'cultural festivals' – the Olympiads (1969, top right), War Virtue (1968, top left and bottom right), and the anniversary of 21 April (1972, bottom left) – were meant to praise the military regime. Their turn to history involved the Persians invading Greece, and other similar myths of the Greeks' war virtues (Photographic archives of C. Konstas (top left), Benaki Museum (bottom left), K. Megalokonomou (top right), N. Tsikourias (bottom right)).

1941) with similar cultural politics. For the propagandist recuperation of the past from that regime, see Petrakis (2006), and Hamilakis (2007: 169-204).

The generation of the 1960s thus attempted to update their role models' cultural contribution, in pursuit of a modern Greekness. Their aim was to combine their lessons from the native tradition with the tenets of international modernism for the post-war Greek world. This pursuit of 'Greekness' was intended to bring them back to the 'real needs' of the region. This stronger focus on the region was also their main difference from the more 'cosmopolitan' scope of the Generation of the 1930s. That Generation had revisited Greek mythology, the landscape of the Aegean and folk culture to construct a 'Greekness' that could converse with the strands of Western modernism. More inward-looking, the generation of the 1960s effectively reversed this process. A cosmopolitan 'Greekness' was not their major priority. They resorted to modernism to return to the region, not vice versa. In their case, modernism acted as the filter that enabled them to rediscover the 'real needs' of the region. Rephrased in a modern idiom, these 'real needs' would in turn allow them to transgress both the imposed folkloric aesthetic and the straight revivalism of the traditionalists. Pikionis was often interpreted as a member of the preceding Generation of the 1930s. However, his ambivalent relation to modernism meant that his legacy could not be unanimously appreciated in this context.

All these reasons explain why 'The Grid and the Pathway' constituted a significant intervention in the Greek architectural milieu of the period. It reappraised Pikionis's work by saving it from its derogatory association with nostalgic 'ruinology' and conservative traditionalism. Tzonis and Lefaivre's article highlighted the socio-cultural elements in Pikionis's work that were still relevant for the development of modern architecture in Greece. In addition, it showed how the contrast between his and Konstantinidis's approaches could effectively be reconciled in the work of a new architectural generation represented by the Antonakakis. In other words, critical regionalism showed a way out of a false dilemma. Focusing their analysis on the work of Pikionis, Konstantinidis, and Antonakakis, Tzonis and Lefaivre offered a novel

reading of the Greek architectural milieu. The reconsideration of the regional

tradition did not have to follow an either/or road. The new architectural generation

could now draw its inspiration from both Pikionis and Konstantinidis.

'The Grid and the Pathway' was published at the most intense moment of the

international postmodern debate. This wider context was essentially absent from the

Greek understandings of critical regionalism of the period. This is an additional

reason why the critical regionalist discourse did not historically generate a renewed

consideration of the regional in 1980s Greece. It is in this light that Antoniadis's 1979

history of modern Greek architecture acquires an increased significance here. It is the

book that registers both the local inescapability from the discussions of the 1960s and

the internationally dominant postmodern context of the period.[10] As a historian,

Antoniadis was an outward-looking regionalist. He was an internationally informed

observer of the local architectural field. However, his voice remained bounded by the

inward-looking discussion of tradition in the essentialist terms of the 1960s. Sharing

these convictions, Antoniadis considered the work of Greek architects as a priori

significant for the international scene. His history anachronistically associated

architecture in Greece with the concurrent developments in the Western world. In his

account, every major international architectural movement had its precedent or

analogue in the Greek past. For Antoniadis, the work of Pikionis and Konstantinidis

thus explored the postmodern problematic of Brent C. Brolin (1976), Charles Jencks

(1977a), and Peter Blake (1974) three decades *avant la lettre.* In his account, the

'eclectic' Pikionis was concerned for the 'user', 'meaning', 'symbols', as well as a

'"collage" of the traditional with the modern'. For Antoniadis, this meant that 'the

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[10] Antoniadis (1977) was also the author of the first article on postmodern architecture to be
published in Greek.

postmodern actually started with Pikionis, the Greek' (Antoniadis 1979: 53, 196).[11]
While these were all problematic assertions from a scholarly point of view, they were
also the clear signs of their time. By 1979, figures like Pikionis and Konstantinidis
could only be significantly discussed in the context of the international postmodern
debate. Their renewed interpretation in the work of Suzana and Dimitris
Antonakakis, as discussed by Tzonis and Lefaivre in 1981, could contribute to a novel
reconsideration of the regional. However, this did not historically take place in the
Greek architectural milieu. The rereading of Pikionis and Konstantinidis in the
context of 1980s Greece remained anachronistically tied to the essentialist
discussions of tradition of the 1960s.[12]

However, the same was not the case in the international context. Frampton's
recuperation of 'The Grid and the Pathway' for his articulation of critical regionalism
endowed Pikionis with unexpected posthumous relevance. In the postmodern context
of the period, his ambivalent relation to modernism reinforced the pertinence of his
work. In the course of the 1980s, Pikionis was thus brought to the international

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[11] Back in 1966, Loyer had also resorted to terms like 'populism', 'rejected modernism', and a
'third way' of 'authentification of style through the introduction of certain decorative forms' to
sum up Pikionis's original contribution to the establishment of modernism in Greece. These
terms were increasingly relevant in the context of the postmodern debate of the 1980s,
inasmuch as they 'allow[ed] room for political and national preoccupations that pure
modernism render[ed] totally invisible' (Loyer 1966: 1200).

[12] In the mid-1980s, Alexandros Christofellis (1985) was one of the few Greek architects who
implied that the work of Konstantinidis and the generation of the 1960s could also be framed
in the postmodern context. Starting from the 'hellenocentric snugness' of the 1960s in Yannis
Tsarouchis's drawings and Manos Hadjidakis's music, he noted that Konstantinidis also
'introduced traditional elements, colours, materials in his modernist vocabulary after an
austere exercise of transcription and abstraction. [...] All these Greeks never needed to declare
they are postmodern, because they had never been fanatically modern' (Christofellis 1985:
54).

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Figure 3.4 The Pikionis-Antonakakis exhibition opening at the Greek Festival in Delft (27 October 1981) featured in Technische Hogeschool Delft's *Periodiek* (top). The short text referred to Tzonis & Lefaivre's 'grid and pathway' interpretation. The Pikionis-Antonakakis exhibition also featured at the cover of the Dutch architectural review, *Wonen-TA/BK* 20-21 (1981) (bottom left). The issue also included a Dutch translation of Tzonis and Lefaivre's (1981b) article (bottom right).
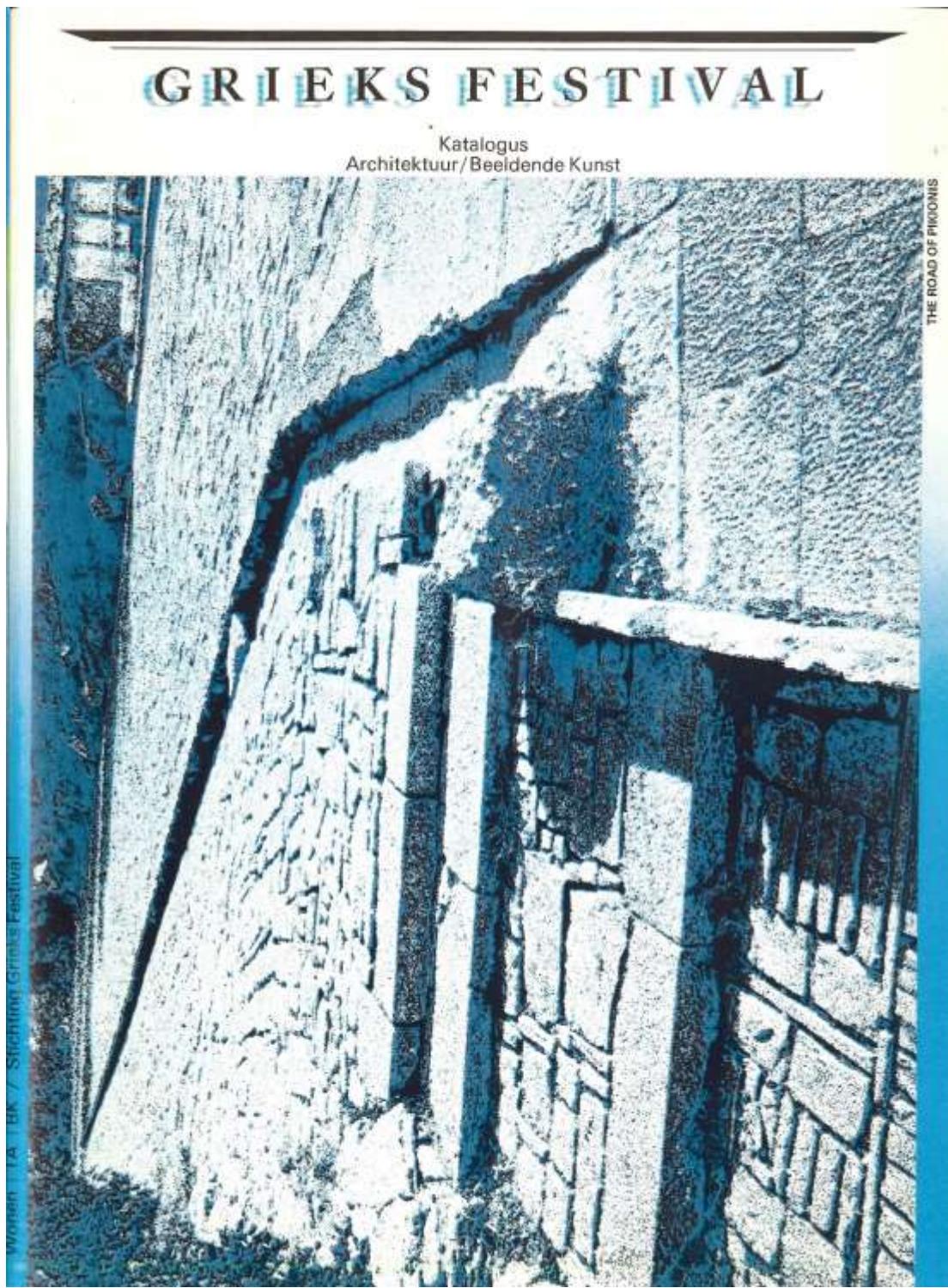
Figure 3.5 Cover of the Pikionis-Antonakakis exhibition catalogue at the Greek Festival in Delft (27 October-1 December 1981). Featuring the Acropolis landscaping project, the cover focused on the 'road of Pikionis' as a defining element in the work of the Greek architect. Established in 1981, Tzonis & Lefaivre's 'pathway' account of the work of Pikionis still holds for the international audience of his work.

Figure 3.6 Views of the Pikionis (top) and the Antonakakis (bottom) exhibition sections at the Greek Festival in Delft. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' first meeting with Aldo van Eyck at the exhibition opening (27 October 1981), marked the start of a long friendship (middle) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

spotlight. Within a decade, the international exposure of his work ranged from the exhibition of Greek architecture in Delft (1981; Figs. 3.4-3.6) to the monographic exhibitions at the Architectural Association in London (1989) and the fifth Biennale in Venice (1991).[13] This turn of events rendered Tzonis and Lefaivre's 'grid and pathway' interpretation indispensable to the international reception of his work. Thirty-five years later, their account still holds. Recent books on Pikionis's work, like Alberto Ferlenga's *Le Strade di Pikionis* (2014), concentrate exclusively on his use of the pathway, considered in isolation from other prominent characteristics of his oeuvre.

It is this simultaneous convergence of international and regional interest that explicates the broad impact of 'The Grid and the Pathway'. Critical regionalism historically served as a discursive haven. It maintained Frampton's and the Greek architects' progressive distance from the reactive historicism of the Venetian postmodernists. In the preface to the second edition of his critical history of modern architecture, Frampton (1985a: 7) explicitly referred to critical regionalism as a '"revisionist"' variant of modernism'. Serving as the banner for the resuscitation of modernism, critical regionalism offered an alibi for the recuperation of the Greek architectural generation of the 1960s. That critical regionalism itself was a discursive product of postmodern ferment was not seriously considered at the time. The prevailing Greek interpretation of critical regionalism posited that architecture in Greece had never been genuinely postmodern.[14] Any digression from the tenets of

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[13] In his introductory text for the Antonakakis exhibition at the Architectural Association, Roy Landau (1982: 1) registered this renewed international interest in the work of 'the outstanding 'traditionalist' Dimitri Pikionis, who is now enjoying a revival'. For an account of the Pikionis-Antonakakis exhibition in Delft, see the special feature in the Dutch review, *Wonen-TA/BK* 20-21 (1981), and Simeoforidis (1981b).

[14] This view was most clearly propagated by the Greek architectural historian, Andreas Giacumacatos. He contended that Greek architectural projects of the 1980s did not constitute

international modernism just endowed a local colour by assimilating elements from the historical architectural tradition of the region. The international discourse of critical regionalism corroborated the institutionalisation of Konstantinidis and Pikionis as 'the two most important figures in the generation of contemporary Greek architecture' (Tournikiotis 2000: 55). In the 1980s, Greek architects increasingly understood themselves as carriers of this regional variant of modernism in the lineage of Konstantinidis and Pikionis. This institutionalisation of Tzonis and Lefaivre's reading of the local architectural field is also documented in Angelika Stamatopoulou and Denia Kassimati's student lecture at the National Technical University of Athens in 1985. Without a shadow of a doubt, Pikionis and Konstantinidis are presented as the seminal generators of (late) modern architecture[15] in Greece (1985: 20). By 1985, Tzonis and Lefaivre's interpretation had thus become the defining genealogy of modern architecture in Greece. No longer restricted in the discursive confines of architectural magazines, it was now circulated in the Greek Schools of Architecture as the standard interpretation of the local architectural field. In addition, it served as a stronghold of resistance to the international postmodern developments of the period.

This alleged reaffirmation of modernism in early 1980s Greece was also an aftermath of the Greek cultural ambience of the late 1970s. It was attuned with the socio-political optimism and the utopian drive that prevailed after the fall of the junta

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a 'comprehensive postmodern poetics' (Giacumacatos 1990: 19). A decade later, in his brief history of twentieth-century architecture in Greece, he referred to the only 'supposed spreading of the so-called "Greek postmodernism"' (Giacumacatos 2004: 105). I discuss the vicissitudes of the postmodern debate in 1980s Greece in more detail in chapter 4 (see section 4.4).

[15] The students resort to the term 'late-modern architecture' as coined by Charles Jencks (1980c).

in 1974.[16] However, this return to the modernism of the 1960s was also anachronistic. The discourse of critical regionalism had inadvertently reinforced a cultural insularity. It was used as an excuse to look inward, effectively 'recycling the same approach to the local since the 1960s' (Kizis 2015: 267). Flourishing in the 1960s, this Greek School of modernism 'respond[ed] to the technical and financial possibilities of the country and to particular human needs'. According to Dimitris Fatouros (1967: 431), '[t]he use of local and low-cost building materials and methods of construction, an effort for an industrialisation which [was] adapted to the existing conditions, [as well as] obedience to site and climate' were its main features. Greek architects of the 1980s sincerely believed they were following a resistant, uninterrupted modernist path.[17] While they believed so, however, they were also increasingly adopting postmodern concerns in their architecture.[18]

3.2 Repercussions on Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis

Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' first steps in the architectural profession coincided with the appearance of Doumanis's (1964), Loyer's (1966), and Fatouros's (1967) histories. Despite these authors' different agendas, the couple's young architectural practice found its place in all three of them (see Doumanis 1964: 10, Fatouros 1967:

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[16] This part of the story is recounted in more detail in chapter 5 (see section 5.1: 342-347).

[17] This distorted conviction obstructed the elucidation of the modalities of the postmodern condition and its different cultural products in areas with varying degrees of socio-economic modernisation and cultural embracement of modernism. Cf. Dimitris Papanikolaou's (2005: 141) similar concerns in the field of modern Greek literature studies.

[18] It took more than a decade to draw the theoretical connection of the critical regionalist discourse with the postmodern debate, as in Constantopoulos (1994: 18).

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Figure 3.7 Apartment building on Argolidos Street (1962) by Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis and Kostis Gartzos (middle right) was included in Doumanis's first anthology of modern architecture in Greece (1964: 10), alongside the modernist works of P. Vasiliadis, I. Vourekas, and P. Sakellarios.

433, Loyer 1966: 913, 1193).[19] Apart from documenting the early recognition of their work, the inclusion of the Antonakakis in these histories situates their architectural concerns in the context of 1960s Greece (Fig. 3.7). Like their peers, they also had to address the question of tradition that was central in the cultural debates of the period.

Fifteen years before the critical regionalist discussion, this early appreciation of their work also hinted at its possible international significance. Doumanis (1964: 4) classified them as followers of the modern direction in world architecture. He thus portrayed them as outward-looking practitioners. In a letter to the architects on 4 January 1966, Loyer characterised their Archaeological Museum of Chios (1965) as 'a work of international quality' that deserved to be published in a European architectural review. In Antoniadis's account a decade later (1979: 122-127), their work was also interpreted as a combination of influences from Mies and Le Corbusier. Prior to the publication of 'The Grid and the Pathway' in 1981, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis were thus consistently portrayed as outward-looking.

Following the celebrated reception of Tzonis and Lefaivre's account in Greece and abroad, however, the interpretation of their work became increasingly inward-looking, and remained so. Focusing on their rhetoric, for instance, Dimitris Philippidis (1984: 374) highlighted the Antonakakis' work in relation to Konstantinidis's agenda. He portrayed the couple as the 'major successors of

[19] The architects' active involvement in collective disciplinary affairs (like the annual Panhellenic Architectural Conferences of the Association of Greek Architects in the early 1960s) established their direct contacts with key figures. In this respect, their close friendship with Dimitris Fatouros, that dated back to their student years, was very significant. Fatouros was one of Loyer's main sources for his ambitious historiographical task. Loyer (1966: 1114) recorded Fatouros's increasing dominance in the Greek architectural field of the period from the key posts he occupied (from his active involvement with the Association of Greek Architects to his professorial chair at the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki) in the 1960s.

Konstantinidis's message'.[20] The architects themselves soon attempted to escape

from the strictly regional genealogical lineage of 'The Grid and the Pathway'. In their

speech at the symposium of their exhibition opening in 1994, for instance, they

opened their work up to the direct influence of Le Corbusier and the indirect

influence of Mies van der Rohe (Kotionis 2004: 80). They consistently did so at least

since 1987, when Suzana Antonakaki was invited to present their work in the

International Design Seminar (INDESEM) in Delft. In addition, they had already

highlighted the 'international' side of their architectural education in their

introductory piece to Frampton's monograph in 1985.[21] Suzana and Dimitris

Antonakakis clearly intended to counter a strictly inward-looking interpretation of

their work.

This inward-looking impact of the discourse of critical regionalism was also

registered negatively. Its criticism by successive scholars gave rise to more nuanced

understandings of the Antonakakis' work. This is the case for Jean-Louis Cohen

(1994: 33), for instance. Cohen interpreted the work of the Greek architectural couple

as an on-going elaboration of modernism. His periodising account emphasised

features of the Antonakakis' work that coincided with Western architectural

developments at the time. His discussions of the window frames 'that allude in quite

a humorous way to other Creten figures' in their Polytechnic School of Crete project

(1982-1991) thus coincide with the international postmodern trends of the 1980s

(Cohen 1994: 35). Their subsequent 'return to a type of architecture where

constructional elements are exposed and conspicuous', as in the painter's studio on

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[20] See also Philippidis (1984: 376, n566).

[21] In his later texts, Frampton (1999: 13) also noted the 'international' influences in the
Antonakakis' work as 'three important strands in the modern tradition, all of which date from
the 50s: the *béton brut* manner of Le Corbusier, the Structuralist organicism of Aldo van Eyck
and the reinterpreted classicism of Mies van der Rohe'. However, he still discussed their work
mainly in terms of 'the mutual legacy of Pikionis and Konstantinidis'.

Aegina project (1990-1993), in turn coincides with the neo-modernist tendencies of the 1990s (Cohen 1994: 45). Nikos Kalogirou also stressed that the international interest instigated by critical regionalism should not lie in the 'exoticism' of a 'hellenocentric type of architecture, decorative and redolent of the East' (Kalogirou 2007: 25). His concern revealed the tension between the international and the local aspects of critical regionalism that obfuscated this discourse from the outset. His reference to the specific cultural context of 1960s Greece which 'placed Greek art and architecture on the map of international developments' (Kalogirou 2007: 21-23) and from which the Antonakakis' work also originated, further corroborated his argument against exoticism. Zissis Kotionis (2004) also started from this discussion of the international versus the regional genealogy. He was the first Greek scholar to explicitly discuss the impact of the postmodern developments in the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. In all these cases, however, the regional genealogy of Pikionis and Konstantinidis was not seriously challenged.[22] In fact, even recent scholarship, like Kizis (2015), has not escaped from the interpretative grip of 'The Grid and the Pathway'. This is further testament of the impact that Tzonis and Lefaivre's account still holds in the imagination of architectural historians. However, this account is not historically accurate. It distorts the actual formation of the Antonakakis' architectural outlook.

The ramifications of 'The Grid and the Pathway' did not remain exclusively on the discursive plane of architectural history. They also affected the architects' personal relationships with their peers. Unlike Pikionis, Konstantinidis was still alive when Tzonis and Lefaivre's article was published in Greece. Recently retired, he devoted the last years of his life to the systematic organisation of his archive, and the recording of his thinking in written form. Dissatisfied with the presentation of his

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[22] For the international architects and critics, this was to be expected. They trusted the opinion of Tzonis as an insider to the Greek architectural field.

work in 'The Grid and the Pathway', he reportedly contacted Tzonis to inform him that the coupling of his life's work with that of young architects was inappropriate (Antonakakis 2013a).[23] For the same reasons, Konstantinidis refused to take part in the exhibition of Greek architecture in Delft (1981). The exhibition was based on the 'grid and pathway' interpretation of the Greek field. It was therefore set to focus on Konstantinidis's work, alongside the architecture of Dimitris Pikionis, and Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. After this occurrence, the couple lost contact with Konstantinidis. As the Antonakakis put it in a recent interview, the publication of 'The Grid and the Pathway' and its eventual recuperation by Frampton also generated hostility around them (Antonakakis 2013a). Their personal relation with Aris Konstantinidis was one of these undesired costs of the critical regionalist story. As Dimitris Antonakakis wrote in a disappointed tone three decades later:

> We underestimate architecture in Greece and revere only whatever is presented in the international scene, because we cannot, or do not want to, see it from a distance and evaluate it in the global context [...] [W]e regard this [international] work as something alien and inaccessible. Owing to the great technological and economic parameters involved, it bears no relation to the everyday reality of Greek architectural production. [...] The French, the British, the German [...] believe that their architecture is not only naturally situated in the global context, but it also shapes it. [...] [Consequently,] if a

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[23] A closer inspection of the relevant lines in the version of 'The Grid and the Pathway' that was republished in Frampton's 1985 monograph on the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis confirms this. The reworked version provides evidence of slight modifications that rounded a few corners concerning the work of Konstantinidis, in response to his dissatisfied pleas. They culminated in Konstantinidis's recognition as 'the doyen of contemporary Greek architecture' (Lefaivre & Tzonis 1985: 17). Konstantinidis's reaction may also lie behind Tzonis's and Lefaivre's decision to place Pikionis at the forefront as the 'pure expression' of critical regionalism in their subsequent texts (starting from Tzonis & Lefaivre 1984: 22).

Greek work happens to transcend the borders of our country […] to be

discussed in the supranational global context, the Greek architectural

community regards it as an "exaggeration". Instead of instigating a renewal

and a reevaluation of the Greek architects' endeavours, such an occurrence

produces a short-lived turmoil that is followed by a constant 'conspiracy of

silence' that attempts to reduce, to annul the significance and the contribution

of this work in any relevant developments. (Antonakakis 2011: 16-17)

The international recognition of their work had not historically fulfilled its potential

for the Greek architectural field. On the contrary, it had practically reinforced a

regional inferiority complex. This also seemed to be at the source of the hostility

towards the Antonakakis generated by critical regionalism.

The Antonakakis had first met Konstantinidis during their student years. At

the start of their career, Konstantinidis had also agreed to advise them on their

competition entry for the Archaeological Museum on Chios in 1965 (Antonakakis

2013a). He had also appreciated the work of the young architectural couple on the

furniture design of Theotokos Foundation, and had asked for their permission to

publish it abroad (see Konstantinidis 1967; Fig. 3.8). However, their correspondence

waned over the years to dissipate after the publication of 'The Grid and the Pathway'.

In historical terms, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' contact with Konstantinidis

was therefore rather limited. Even if they did study his built work, his influence in the

formation of their architectural outlook was not as important as posited by Tzonis

and Lefaivre. Suzana Antonakaki references Konstantinidis only four times in the 107

articles she wrote for her monthly column on architecture in the popular daily

newspaper, *Ta Nea* (1998-2009).[24] In the short memorandum booklet for his

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[24] By contrast, her substantial references to Le Corbusier are more than fifteen.

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Figure 3.8 Konstantinidis's presentation of the Antonakakis' furniture for the Theotokos Foundation in *Moebel Interior Design* 6 (1967: 72-73).

candidacy at the National Technical University of Athens in 1978, Dimitris Antonakakis does not mention Konstantinidis. He considers his work alongside Pikionis and Speyer as the defining moments of his formative years (Antonakakis 1978: 7, 66-67). In other words, three years before the publication of 'The Grid and the Pathway', Konstantinidis is not even mentioned as an indirect influence. For Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, Konstantinidis's influence remained almost as distant as that of Mies van der Rohe. It was an influence emanating from his work, not from the deeper ties of a personal biographical connection.

This biographical connection was much stronger in the case of Pikionis. Tzonis and Lefaivre were therefore right to stress the significance of his work for Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. Both cherished their memories from the last years of his teaching at the National Technical University of Athens in the late 1950s. As a

student, Dimitris Antonakakis had also worked at Pikionis's Acropolis landscaping project. He therefore retained a living memory of the 'topographically sensitive' ways in which his mentor organised 'the pathway' that was to become central in Tzonis and Lefaivre's account. Out of respect for their mentor, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis were not absent from any public event that intended to save Pikionis's memory from the circle of the conservative traditionalists who claimed to act in his name. Pikionis's contribution to the formation of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' architectural outlook has historically been so significant that they can be considered his greatest disciples.

The impact of 'The Grid and the Pathway' was not restricted to critics and historians and the unexpected creation of new enemies in the Greek architectural field. Before anything else, Tzonis and Lefaivre's interpretation had a significant impact on the architects themselves. The 'grid and pathway' analysis of their work presented itself as an open question to Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. In the decades that followed, they both rebelled against it, and tried to reinterpret their work in its light. In other words, critics like Tzonis and Lefaivre, who interpreted Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' work in the long course of their architectural development in a systematic way, did not just record the architects' story. Their interpretations affected the couple's own understanding of their work, and fed into the development of their architectural outlook. The critics' words challenged the architects to rethink the role of their major influences in the development of their work. This feedback loop between the architects and the critics worked in two ways. When the historians offered their major interpretative schemata, the architects felt they had to step back and reconsider their work in this new light. However, the architects' insider perspective on their personal formation also meant they did not remain passive recipients of others' accounts of their work. They actively promoted their own architectural concerns through a careful selection of publishable projects,

Όταν μου ζήτησαν να αναλάβω ένα μεταπτυχιακό μάθημα η πρώτη μου κίνηση ήταν να το αρνηθώ. Όμως επειδή αυτό μου ήτανε πολύ βολικό - και άρα ύποπτο - αποφάσισα να το ξανασκεφτώ.

Αναζήτησα λοιπόν μ' αυτή τη προοπτική τι θα μ' ενδιέφερε να μελετήσω μέσα από την συλλογική ερευνητική προσπάθεια - όπως φαντάζομουν ότι θα ήταν - κι όπως πιστεύω ότι θα πρέπει να είναι η διαδικασία ενός μεταπτυχιακού μαθήματος.

Και σκέφτηκα ότι θα ήταν προκλητικά ενδιαφέρον μια φορά συστηματικά να μελετήσω σοβαρά το έργο του Δημήτρη Πικιώνη και του Άρη Κωνσταντινίδη, δύο αρχιτεκτόνων που περισσότερο διαισθητικά παρά αναλυτικά νομίζω χρησιμοποιήθηκαν από τον Αλέκο Τζώνη και την L. Lefaivre. οι οποίοι φώτισαν μονάχα κάποια χαρακτηριστικά του έργου τους αφήνοντας αλλά στη σκιά προκειμένου να στηθεί το σκηνικό του κριτικού τοπικισμού στην Ελλάδα. Από τότε βρίσκονται όλοι, κι εγώ μεταξύ τους μπερδεμένοι με τον ένα ή τον άλλο τρόπο καθώς όλοι οι κριτικοί από τότε ακόμα και οι ίδιοι οι εισηγητές του κριτικού τοπικισμού επιχειρούν να αναδείξουν τι συνδέει και τα δύο έργα και τα διαφοροποιεί.

Πώς όμως να προσεγγίσουμε τη δουλειά αυτών των αρχιτεκτόνων που δεσπόζουν στην Ιστορία της Ελληνικής Αρχιτεκτονικής;
Μέσα από ποια λογική να την δούμε για ν' αξιολογήσουμε τα στοιχεία της, να τα συγκρίνουμε - απομονώνοντάς τα και να παρακολουθήσουμε τη λογική που τα συνδέει ή όχι, ή εν πάση περιπτώσει τα εντάσσει σ' ένα αδιαίρετο και ανομοιογενές σύνολο αυτό της ιστορίας της νεοελληνικής αρχιτεκτονικής.

Πώς θα μπορούσε να καταλάβουμε σε βάθος το έργο τους που τόσο λίγο γνωρίζουμε;

C:\A66\Dimitris\E M P\pik.kon\eisagogi.doc   15/2/2000   5

Figure 3.9 Dimitris Antonakakis's notes for his Pikionis-Konstantinidis graduate seminar at the National Technical University of Athens, dated 15 February 2000 (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

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and monographic exhibitions devoted to their work after the 1980s. Such major occasions (like their monographic exhibitions in Athens in 1994, and Thessaloniki in 2007) offered the architects an opportunity to reflect upon their oeuvre. It was their chance to set the historical record straight, and to present novel or neglected aspects of it. Dimitris Antonakakis could also do so through his teaching at the National Technical University of Athens. For example, when he was asked to lead a seminar in the first Masters in Architectural History and Theory programme in the late 1990s, he devoted it to the systematic study of the work of Pikionis and Konstantinidis. As he characteristically noted in his preparatory notes for the seminar, retrieved from the architects' private archive (Fig. 3.9), he considered this subject 'provocatively interesting'. Antokakakis believed that Tzonis and Lefaivre had used these two architects 'intuitively rather than analytically […] to set up the scene of "critical regionalism" in Greece' (Antonakakis 2000a). Antonakakis concluded by voicing his confusion with critical regionalism in regards to its actual meaning and the work of Pikionis and Konstantinidis. He was right to be confused. The history of his and Suzana's architectural formation in the late 1950s painted a more nuanced picture than the 'grid and pathway' interpretation.

3.3 The late 1950s background

For more than three decades, the impact of 'The Grid and the Pathway' centred the discussion on the possible influence of Pikionis and Konstantinidis in the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. However, the formation of their architectural outlook historically followed a more nuanced path. On various occasions (as in Tournikiotis 2007: 15), the couple mentioned other architects and mentors they consider influential for their work. At the same time, architectural historians focused

on formal affinities between their work and an ever-expanding group of architects (including Le Corbusier, Loos, Aalto, Mies, Pikionis, Konstantinidis, van Eyck, Team 10). They thus neglected the actual biographical details of the architects' formative years. In the pages that follow, I attempt to redress this by revisiting Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' formative years at the National Technical University of Athens in the late 1950s. In so doing, I draw out the elements that conditioned their specific understanding of the regional in relation to the modern. I suggest that this ability to rethink the regional in terms of the modern, and vice versa, underlies the significance of their work in the critical regionalist framework. Apart from Pikionis (1887-1968), their theoretical lessons from Panayotis Michelis (1903-1969), the drawing and painting classes of Nikos Hadjikyriakos-Ghika (1906-1994) (with the assistance of Dimitris Fatouros), as well as the teaching of A. James Speyer (1913-1986), were conducive factors to their architectural formation.[25]

Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' introductory text to Frampton's monograph celebrated their opening to the international scene in the mid-1980s. By 1985, the two Greek architects clearly wrote as international representatives of critical regionalism. The Greek architects focused their discussion on the interplay of the international with the local. Looking back to their student years, they discerned two relevant trends in their architectural education: (a) the international direction that 'assumed the general Western problematic of the period' through the teaching of Michelis, Fatouros, and Speyer; and (b) the regional direction that 'maintained a creative liaison with contemporary trends, but was primarily interested in uncovering the essence of Greek cultural heritage' (Pikionis, Konstantinidis) (Antonakakis in Frampton 1985b: 7). The Antonakakis thus remained 'aware of international

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[25] The poet and painter, Nikos Engonopoulos (1903-1985), also introduced the architects in the nuances of the world of colour. Suzana Antonakaki was especially influenced by his drawing classes.

practice', but that was not enough. They considered that this international practice 'must be adapted to the particularities of [their] country, to [be] enrich[ed] with what George Seferis calls "humanisation," when he refers to corresponding tendencies in Greek literature' (Antonakakis in Frampton 1985b: 7). The evocation of Seferis and Pikionis was not coincidental. These two major Greek figures were regarded as members of the modernist Generation of the 1930s who acted as a role model for the architects' own generation. The common term "humanisation", that was also employed by Tzonis and Lefaivre to relate critical regionalism with Mumford, allowed the Antonakakis to discuss critical regionalism in their own terms. However, the architectural couple was also clearly under the grip of the 'grid and pathway' interpretation of their work. This was evident in their reference to the work of Konstantinidis alongside Pikionis. The reference to their student years is more significant here. It highlighted the importance of these years for the formation of their architectural outlook.[26]

In a recent interview with the architects, Dimitris Antonakakis (2014b) opined that, in the late 1950s, the National Technical University of Athens lacked a consistent architectural vision of its own. The curriculum of their studies was Corbusian. Design studios followed the thematic manifestos of the Ville Radieuse, focusing on the design of a series of apartment buildings, schools and universities, transport hubs, and cultural centres (Antonakakis 2007: 36).[27] The critical texts and international publications they studied at the time were limited. The texts published in Greek periodicals of the late 1950s (*Ζυγός* and *Αρχιτεκτονική*) rarely associated the

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[26] In her recent public lecture, Suzana Antonakaki (2016) referred to the same figures (Pikionis, Michelis, Fatouros, Engonopoulos, Speyer) as decisive for the formation of their specific architectural sensibility. Rather tellingly, she did not include Konstantinidis in her list of key figures.

[27] For the organisation of the city 'of the machinic civilisation' in these terms, see Le Corbusier (1933).

local architectural field with the Western developments of modern architecture, as was the norm for the other arts (Antonakakis 1989a: 10-11). Antonakakis understood that their tutors attempted to follow the trends of the period, without assimilating them in an original discourse of their own (Antonakakis 2014b). In other words, they were passively reacting to external stimuli, rather than proactively developing a distinct positive contribution to the architectural debates of the period. The exceptions to this rule were mentors such as Pikionis, Hadjikyriakos-Ghika and Michelis.

Michelis was the most internationally accomplished academic teaching at the National Technical University of Athens School of Architecture in the late 1950s.[28] He actively collaborated with an international network of architects, artists and philosophers working in the broader field of aesthetics.[29] His long-standing theoretical work from the late 1930s onwards (see especially Michelis 1940, 1946a, and 1955), as well as his attempt to offer a solid institutional ground for the study of aesthetics in Greece, added significance to his teaching. Suzana Antonakaki was especially inspired by his work on Byzantine art and architecture (see Michelis 1946a and 1946b). His teaching explored the effect of 'endless space' in Byzantine churches. Considering their plan and section drawings, Michelis highlighted the successive 'thresholds' within the church. Filtered by light, both horizontally and vertically, these 'thresholds' implicated an intended move of the soul towards the divine 'infinity' of the sky. Michelis's understanding of the *non finito* as that which constantly opens up to something else also stayed with Suzana Antonakaki. Drawing from these precedents, her later studies of traditional architecture focused on these

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[28] Michelis's books were eventually translated in English (1955), French (1959), Italian (1968), Serbian (1973), Romanian (1982), Japanese (1982), and Korean (2007).

[29] More than half of the 53 texts included in the Michelis 'in memoriam' volume (see Papatsonis 1972) were written by non-Greek authors.

qualities. She was especially interested in ways to open the interior to successive permeations from its surroundings.

Michelis's teaching was not limited to Byzantine art and architecture. His lectures on reinforced concrete were also memorable for his young students. Michelis started from the technical details to conclude in the aesthetic elevation of concrete and its distinct architectural qualities.[30] Originally trained as a civil engineer, Michelis conveyed his sincere appreciation of the novel builidng material to his students. In so doing, he also revealed his interest in modern architecture. Catering for the modern and the regional in equal measure, his comprehensive theoretical approach[31] inspired students like Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis.

Led by his conviction that architects should also learn to write in academic standard, Michelis initiated the student lecture format in the early 1950s.[32] For Dimitris Antonakakis, these student lectures highlighted the significance of analysing architecture in typological terms (Antonakakis 2014b). In the final instance, Michelis's teaching offered Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis a way to understand traditional architecture through a modern lens.

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[30] For his comprehensive study of the aesthetics of reinforced concrete, see Michelis (1955). In oral exams, Michelis would ask questions like 'Why are there tucks and pleats in women's clothing?'. He anticipated an answer that would acknowledge the structural role of these pleats in increasing the sturdiness of those clothes (Antonakakis 2014b). It is therefore clear that Michelis attempted to convey an overall sense of statics and engineering as that was applied in the everyday life experience of his students.

[31] For an anthology of Michelis's essays on art, architecture and aesthetics in English, see Michelis (1977).

[32] For an anthology of Michelis's students' surveys of traditional settlements from 1953 to 1957, see Michelis (1960). The student lecture format was later adopted as a stable module of the School's curriculum.

This was more evident in Suzana Antonakaki's student lecture project in 1959. To present the conclusions from her study of the architecture of Makrinitsa, she devised a typological matrix. Her analysis of houses extended from plan to section, and from indoor space to the courtyard. This multifaceted three-dimensional approach made her work stand out at the time. It was distinctly architectural when compared with similar output by scholars of folklore studies. The typological surveys of 'the Greek house' included in Megas (1951), for instance, were solely based on plan drawings. The crucial third spatial dimension was missing. Suzana Antonakaki was also especially attentive to architectural details in various scales (Fig. 3.10). Her observations ranged from the general layout to the staircases, and from the emerging relationships between the different levels to the interior skylights that lighted up the space when the windows had to remain shut (Antonakaki 1959: 15).[33]

A year earlier, in his student lecture project on the island of Hydra, Dimitris Antonakakis had focused more explicitly on the relationship of the private houses to their immediate public space. For him, this relationship was crucial for understanding the urban layout of a traditional settlement:

> [T]he street and the house are inseparably tied together through a courtyard
> or a terrace that both isolates the house from the street in terms of circulation
> and acts as a vestibule. In terms of spatial perception, it is the semitone
> between the house and the street, and in terms of form it blends with the
> street and the volumes of the houses in such a way that it moves freely,
> creating alcoves and overhangs, while its paddock remains free and
> independent from any standardisation. The courtyard is an extension of the

[33] The origins of these interior skylights were to be found in Byzantine architecture.
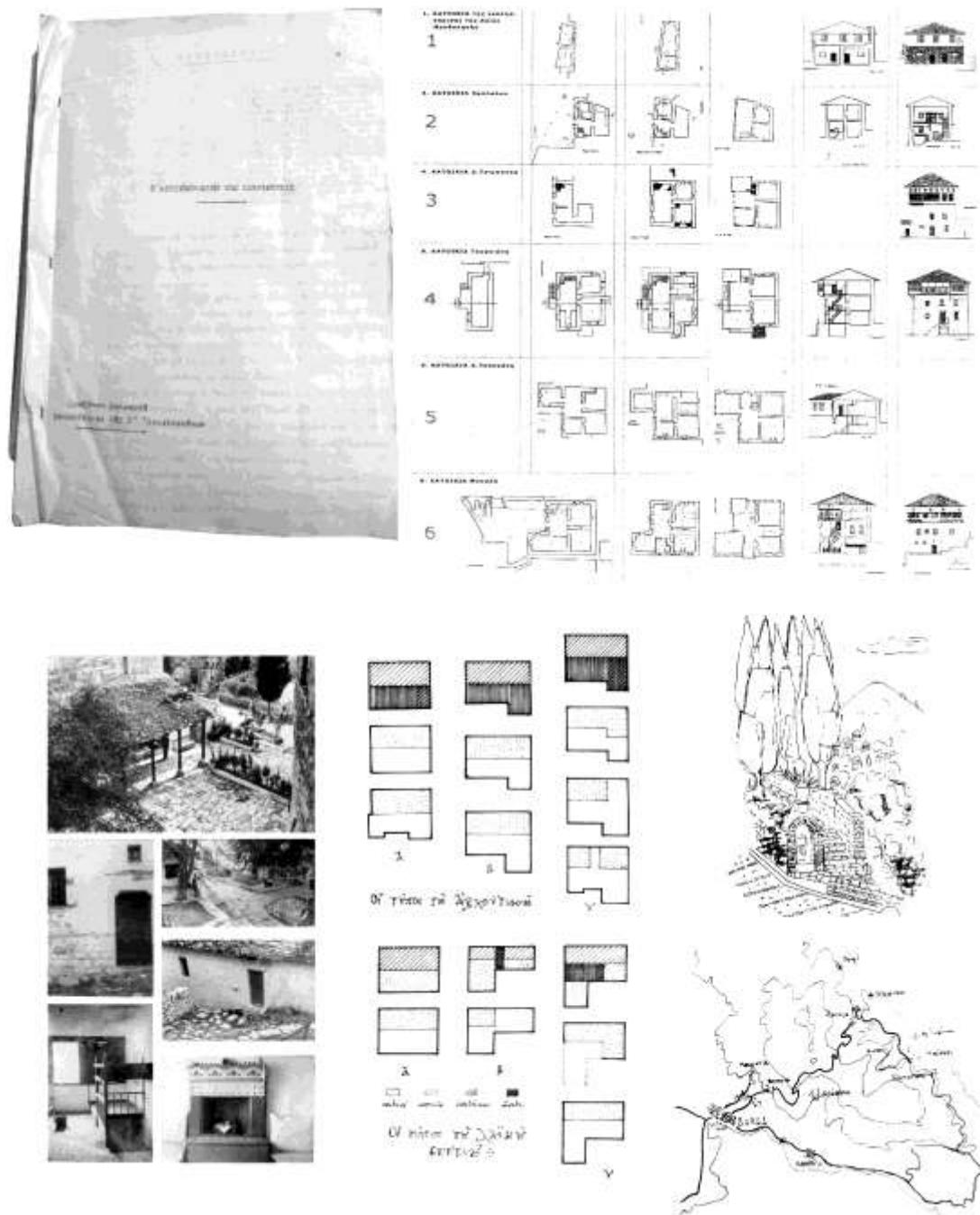
Figure 3.10 Characteristic photographs, drawings and sketches documenting Suzana Antonakaki's incipient architectural sensibilities from her undergraduate student lecture at the National Technical University of Athens (1959) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). The typological matrix she devised for organising her observations (top right, bottom middle) documents her modern approach to the architecture of the region.

street in the house and a cordial opening of the house to the street.

(Antonakakis 1958: 12)

It was this intended association of the public with the private that gave rise to elaborate architectural details. These ranged from the decorated doorways that acted as the public faces of inviting houses and their courtyards to the landings that mediated the transition from the street to a courtyard (that in turn served as a vestibule) (Antonakakis 1958: 12-13). When discussing the most important public spaces of the settlement, Antonakakis also observed the landings that were 'automatically created' on the occasions that a street bifurcated (Antonakakis 1958: 19), as well as the

[s]tairs that belong[ed] to the street and [the] stairs that belong[ed] to the houses [...] [These were] often built together [...] to such an extent that one [was] led to believe they were made to highlight the house. (Antonakakis 1958: 20)

Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis belonged to the young architectural generation who felt the need to update their role models' cultural contribution, in pursuit of a modern Greekness. Their aim was to combine their lessons from the native tradition with the tenets of international modernism for the post-war Greek world. Michelis's teaching equipped them with a systematic way to look at the regional. This allowed them to organise their first observations and the architectural concerns they had already started to develop under the influence of their other significant mentors.

Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' modern lens was also informed by Nikos Hadjikyriakos-Ghika's teaching. His drawing classes centred on harmonic relations and proportions. Nikos Hadjikyriakos-Ghika lent another breath of cosmopolitan air
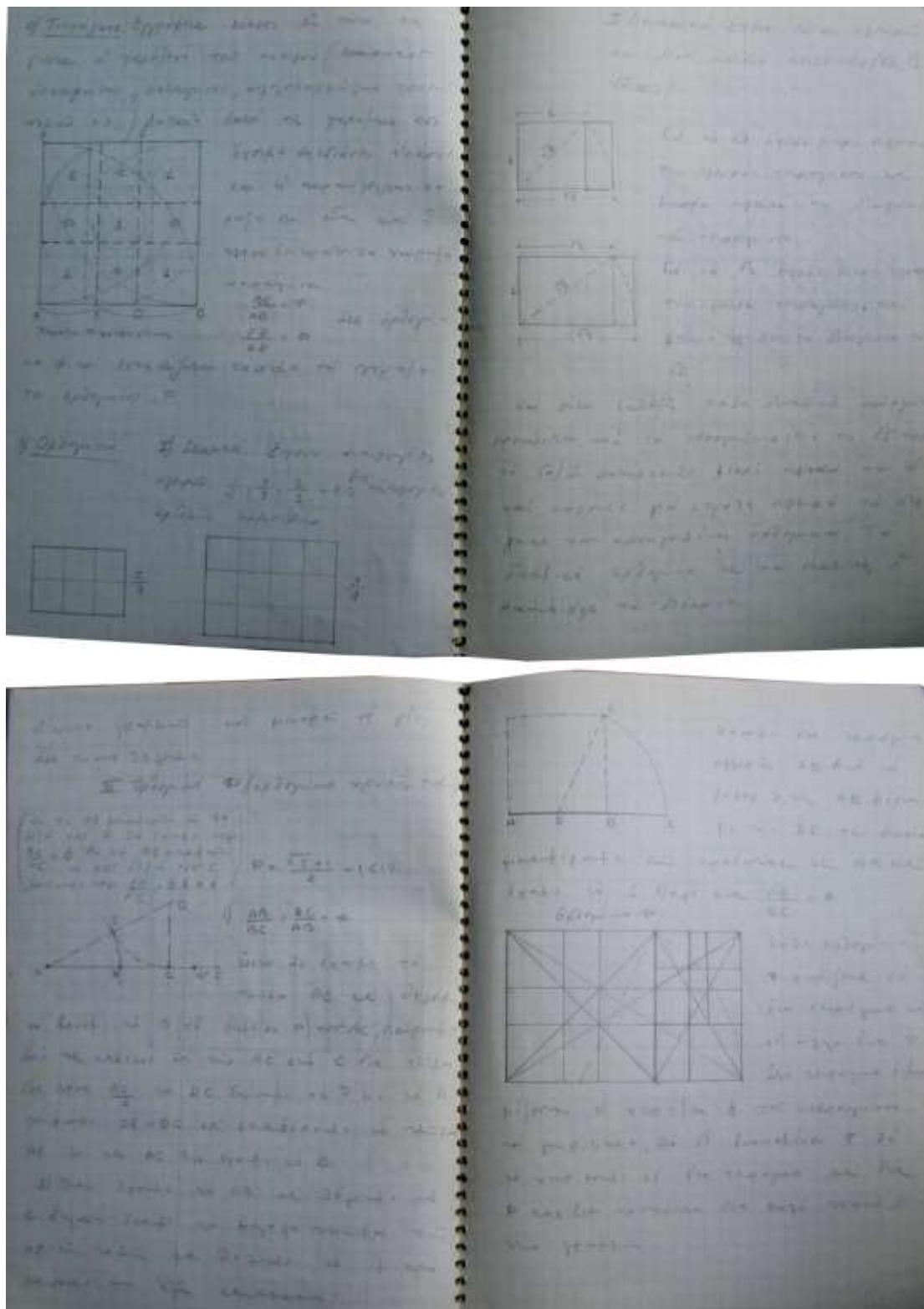
Figure 3.11 Selected spreads from Suzana Antonakaki's student notes on harmonic proportions from Hadjikyriakos-Ghika's drawing classes in the late 1950s (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

to the School. He had been involved in the organisation of the 4th International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM) in Greece in 1933. He was also considered a member of the legendary Generation of the 1930s, alongside the 'old sage' Pikionis.[34] He was therefore regarded as a living myth by the young students of the late 1950s. Hadjikyriakos-Ghika's teaching followed his own precise rules. He started from an analysis of the key elements in a drawing. He then showed how those elements found their place in a specific system of proportions and harmonic relations, based on $\sqrt{5}$ and the golden section, among others (Fig. 3.11).[35] Hadjikyriakos-Ghika claimed he had extrapolated these relations from works of art of diverse international origins. Their universal occurrence in turn validated their inner 'truth'. To prove his theory for themselves, Hadjikyriakos-Ghika asked his fourth-year students to uncover the same underlying proportions in Japanese art works. He also claimed that the artist's sensibility could work towards these relations in an intuitive, unconscious way (Antonakakis 2014b). The 'unconscious' applications of the same rules reinforced his argument about the universal validity of these harmonic proportions. Hence, Hadjikyriakos-Ghika's teaching was not limited to providing the architects with a modernist lens that was complementary to Michelis's teaching. His thesis about the 'unconscious' working out of the harmonic proportions implied that the best examples of traditional architecture could also be adhering to the same rules.

This logic was obviously close to Le Corbusier's experiments with the Modulor (1950). The Modulor was Le Corbusier's attempt to address a tripartite challenge. He wanted to devise a single system of proportions that would simultaneously address

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[34] See Hadjikyriakos-Ghika (1994) for his encompassing view of Greekness.

[35] As Hadjikyriakos-Ghika concluded in his inaugural lecture to students at the National Technical University of Athens (1942: 28): 'Essentially, these laws [of proportions, axes, framing, balance, and symmetry] condition all the arts, including music, dance, and poetry. It is these laws of harmony that are occasionally called music or architecture'.

three major needs: (a) harmonious design relations (b) directly associated with the human body, with the capacity to (c) meet the coordinating dimensioning demands of a construction industry based on standardisation. The resulting system of proportions would thus cover both the practical and the aesthetic sides of modern design. It would be an ideal toolbox for a new generation of modern designers. In a recent interview, Kostis Gartzos (2014), a close friend of Dimitris Antonakakis during their student years, confirmed that Le Corbusier's Modulor was at the back of their minds. In their frequent group travels to the Cycladic islands (Fig. 3.12), the young students of architecture surveyed the vernacular settlements to confirm the Modulor. These settlements were built by anonymous workers whose main concern was to fulfil their immediate practical needs. Uncovering harmonic relations behind the work of their hands would mean that both Hadjikyriakos-Ghika and Le Corbusier were right. It would also legitimise the 'unconscious' wisdom of the regional builder as a source for enriching modern architectural designs. These Corbusian tenets were, and still are, deeply ingrained in Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' architectural approach. The two architects were convinced by the Modulor as a method of organising design and maintaining architectural qualities in direct association with the human body. As Suzana Antonakaki characteristically wrote, agreeing word by word with the modernist master:

> In his book *Le Modulor* [Le Corbusier] methodically researches the proportions of the human body, its relation with movement and rest in space, to propose a design tool that will refer to geometric analogies and harmonic proportions. […] The conjuction of technique with consciousness, and of exactitude with poetry, characterises the whole of Le Corbusier's textual and architectural production. […] The return to archetypes characterises his life, work and death. (Antonakaki 2010: 214)

Figure 3.12 Suzana & Dimitris Antonakakis with fellow Atelier 66 architects (Boukie Babalou and Antonis Noukakis) on a trip to Naxos in 1973 (Antonis Noukakis's private archive). Long after their graduation, Atelier 66 architects frequently travelled together to the Greek islands to study the architectural qualities of the regional vernacular.

Through their surveys of traditional settlements, the young architects tried to define the proportions of popular wisdom prevalent in vernacular architecture. In other words, they read the Cycladic settlements with the eyes of Le Corbusier. In their case, it was an attempt to showcase the deep connection of the vernacular tradition of Greece with the major tenets of modernist design. Greek architectural discourse that promoted this agenda of the generation of the 1960s also encouraged this association. Fatouros's account of the 'quite natural' influence of Le Corbusier on the Greek field, 'since at some points it coincides with certain of the traditional features of anonymous architecture' (Fatouros 1967: 431) is rather telling here. Le Corbusier's influence did run deep in Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' thought. In the 107 newspaper articles she wrote for her monthly column on architecture from 1998 to 2009, Suzana Antonakaki referred to his work and ideas more than anybody else. More recently, Dimitris Antonakakis (2016) was also critical of the current generation of young Greek architects who seemed intent to 'bury' Le Corbusier rather too quickly.

Through their studies of the traditional built environment, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis pursued specific archetypes of dwelling in Greece. These archetypes were in turn expected to lead to a poetic architectural expression of their modern times. It is no coincidence that many of Suzana Antonakaki's references to Le Corbusier are followed by, and associated with, similar ideas from Pikionis (see Antonakaki 2010: 149-150). For the Antonakakis, it was the modern that renewed the question of the regional; and, in turn, in their work, it was the regional that allowed

them to reconsider the modern.[36] The two questions were intertwined.[37] Although 'The Grid and the Pathway' offered a historically misleading account of the Antonakakis' main influences, the major intuition of Tzonis and Lefaivre was accurate. Through their work, the Antonakakis did attempt to associate whatever was exemplified as Pikionis's teaching with modernist tenets. More specifically, they attempted to reclaim Pikionis from the traditionalists to the side of modernism.[38] As a project, this was possible because Pikionis's ambivalence to modernism could be associated with a reconsideration of both the modern and the regional in Greece. This is why his architecture 'could not be tagged by convenient labels' (Antonakakis 1989a: 11). And this is also why the formation of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' architectural outlook is part of the postmodern problematic, even in the sense of its rudimentary definition as 'one-half Modern and one-half something else — usually a traditional or regional language of building' (Jencks 1984a: 6).[39]

In Loyer's history of the turbulent establishment of modernism in Greece, Pikionis had already emerged as the most significant figure. The stochastic approach of his teaching offered a dispassionate account of the major cultural, social and

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[36] This point will be further elucidated in my discussion of the Benaki Street apartment building in chapter 4 (see section 4.1). The approach I allude to here is obviously close to Eisenstadt's (2002) notion of 'multiple modernities' and its recent appropriation in architectural historiography by Denison (2011).

[37] For the responses of other Greek architects of the same generation (Tassos and Dimitris Biris, Alexandros Tombazis, Yorgos and Eleni Manetas, Kyriakos Krokos, and Michalis Souvatzidis) to the intertwined questions of the modern and the regional, see Tournikiotis (2000: 57-59).

[38] Dimitris Antonakakis's (2013b) revisit of Pikionis's School at Pefkakia best exemplifies this approach. It is discussed in more detail later in this chapter (section 3.3: 229-231).

[39] The source of the quote here is the fourth edition of *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (1984), but this early definition was already used by Jencks in his writings of the late 1970s.

political 'querelles' of the interwar and early post-war years.[40] Loyer placed these debates in the additional context of the Kitsikis-Pikionis opposition at the heart of the National Technical University of Athens in the early 1950s. Schematically, the opposition revolved around the poetic (Pikionis) and the commercial (Kitsikis) conceptions of the architect (Loyer 1966: 1184). These are the historical origins of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' anti-commodification approach to architectural design.[41] Far from being understood as a romantic remnant of a bygone era, as alluded by Doumanis (1964), Pikionis's wisdom thus proved inspiring for the younger generations of Greek modernists in diverse ways.[42]

Tzonis and Lefaivre were right to note Pikionis's landscaping around the Acropolis as an exemplar of his topographically sensitive 'pathway' approach. This project had indeed proved significant for both Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. When their mentor guided his students to a site visit in 1958, Suzana Antonakaki witnessed the poetic world that the architect can build. She understood how this could be done through 'selected viewpoints, crucial spots in the trajectory, […] visual radii, peripheries of circles, […] proportions… the golden section' (Antonakaki 2010: 33). Convinced by Hadjikyriakos-Ghika's teachings on the ideal proportions, Suzana Antonakaki was looking for a way to enhance the poetic qualities of her architectural work through harmonic geometric relations. Having worked on the construction site himself, Dimitris Antonakakis could explain how Pikionis had structured the space

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[40] That Loyer rates Pikionis's contribution so highly might say more about his sources than for himself. Even if he just adopted and shared his main interlocutors' insights, however, his account still provides evidence of the high esteem of Pikionis's disciples to his teaching. They fruitfully interpreted it as a question concerning the relation of modernism with tradition.

[41] Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' anti-commodification approach will be further discussed in chapter 4 (see section 4.1).

[42] For a comprehensive edition of Pikionis's texts, see Pikionis (1986).

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[Third party copyright material]

Figure 3.13 Constantinos Doxiadis's theory of viewing segments in the spatial organisation of the Acropolis complex (1937).

around the Acropolis. It was organised as 'a succession of 'critical' points where extended views [we]re possible'. The overall design was based on 'the particularities of each of the locations [...] combined with [Pikionis's] geometrical ordering preference'. This ordering preference in turn rested upon Constantinos Doxiadis's theory of viewing segments (1937). This theory posited that the spatial arrangement of buildings in the complexes of ancient Greece followed a plan that centred on the observer/visitor of the sites.[43] This spatial arrangement was geometrically determined in relation to a series of crucial fixed points. These were the vantage points for observing the entirety of the complex as a harmonious whole. The total visual field was divided by optical radii (in angles of 30° or 36°) and exact distances

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[43] At the time, similar ideas were explored in Le Corbusier's *promenades architecturales*, Auguste Choisy's (1899: 413) 'picturesque' reading of the Acropolis by the peripatetic viewer, and Sergei Eisenstein's (1937) reconstruction of the ensemble in terms of a montage sequence.
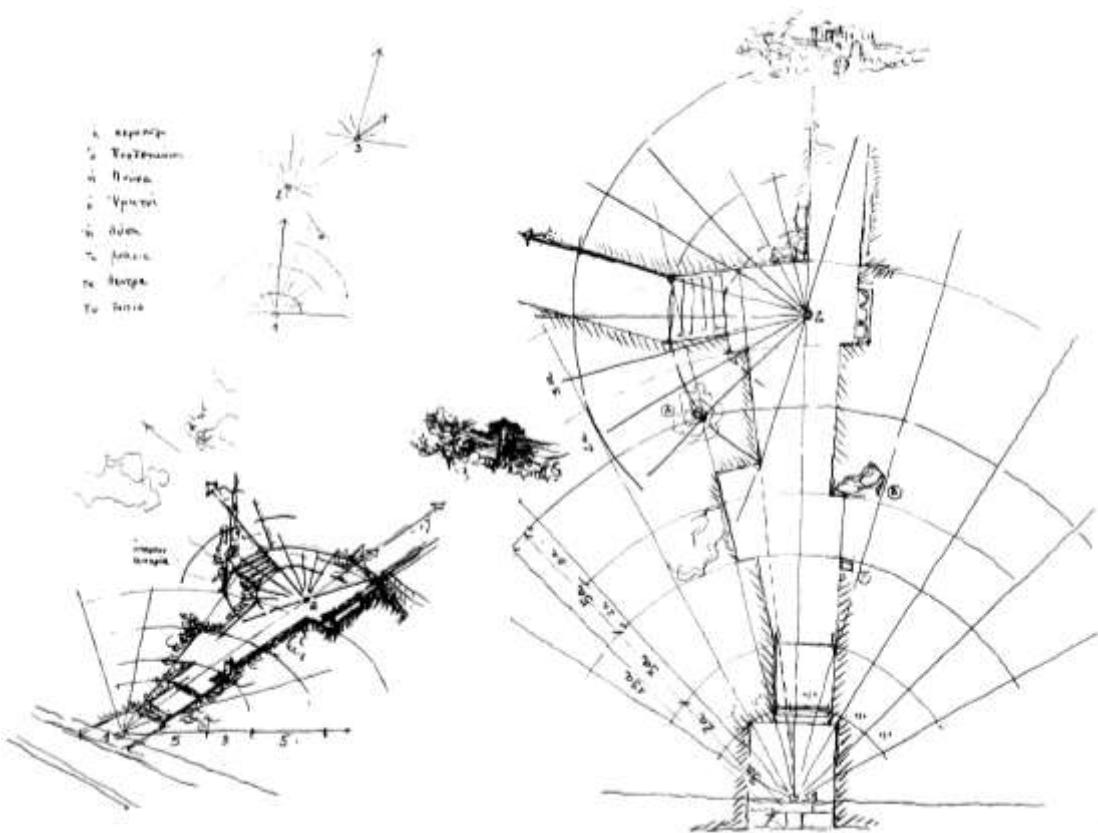
Figure 3.14 Dimitris Antonakakis (1989b: 90) reveals the underpinning geometric relations of Pikionis's Acropolis pathway project as a series of successive griddings (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

(of 100, 150, or 200 feet). These determined the spatial distribution and their placement from one vantage point to the next (Fig. 3.13). In short, this geometric process organised space as a series of vistas that incorporated the buildings and their surrounding landscape.[44]

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[44] For Doxiadis's theory of structuring space, see Tsiambaos (2009). The theory was Doxiadis's PhD thesis at the Berlin Polytechnic (1936). Pikionis (1937) was one of the first to present this theory in Greece a few months before its publication as a stand-alone book in German.

Following Doxiadis, Pikionis used circular segments for the overall organisation of his landscaping project. These circular segments were 'gridded up' in golden section divisions (3:5 and 8: 13). The points of their intersections were usually denoted by the placement of an object deemed significant (Fig. 3.14). Dimitris Antonakakis therefore concluded that 'the entire route is derived from a series of overlaid grids offering the various possibilities and combinations eventually selected on the spot by Pikionis himself' (Antonakakis 1989b: 90). In other words, Dimitris Antonakakis argued that Pikionis's 'pathway' was also underlied by the 'grid'. At the end of the decade that was marked by the 'grid and pathway' interpretation of the Antonakakis' work, his statement carried additional significance. The implication was clear. Even if 'this type of grid on the ground was a totally different class of grid being used at the time' (Antonakakis cited in Dolka 2002: 5), both the grid and the pathway could be found in Pikionis. Konstantinidis's involvement was not necessary. It was only because 'Pikionis never talked about the grid' (Antonakakis cited in Dolka 2002: 5) that Konstantinidis had to play a part in Tzonis and Lefaivre's interpretation of the Antonakakis' work. Even the recourse to an architecture of 'real needs', a signature phrase of Konstantinidis's rhetoric, was already there in Pikionis's teaching.[45] As Dimitris Antonakakis contended, Pikionis explained to his students that the ancient works of architecture 'were mostly built out of "necessity" rather than out of a desire to create an architectural style' (Antonakakis cited in Dolka 2002: 3). Pikionis was already modern in the eyes of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. One just had to scratch the 'decorative' surface of his architecture to see it defined as an art of precise proportions. As Dimitris Antonakakis asserted when interviewed by Maria Dolka in 2002, in their early work he and Suzana

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[45] It characterised Pikionis's thought at least since his seminal essay on folk art (1925).

used the geometrical proportions of the rectangle with the proportions of the numbers to the square root of 3, 5 and of φ. This work with these proportions was a requirement of Pikionis's courses.[46] (Antonakakis cited in Dolka 2002: 2)

Pikionis's recourse to harmonic proportions thus connected his teaching with prevailing modernist design strands. His intention to architecturally address the passing of time, however, also allowed his work to move beyond the standard modernist tenets. Pikionis's remark that there was 'no need to worry about [a specific design element], as it will eventually contract' with the others around it, stayed with Dimitris Antonakakis. Pikionis implied that any human artefact will eventually contract with nature, who will receive it in the end. Acknowledging the passing of time, Pikionis intended to work with the patina of decay. It was this intention that opened the door to the modernist criticism of his work as a fabrication of 'contemporary ruins' around the Acropolis (Antonakakis 2014b). For similar reasons of 'eventual contraction' over time, Pikionis allowed a creative space to accomodate the work of his craftsmen within his own overall compositions. He achieved this by adopting 'the attitude of the craftsman'. He was 'always explain[ing] what he wanted to do and not how' (Antonakakis 1989a: 12). The very personal work of Pikionis was also the result of his allowing his colleagues, workers, and collaborators room for proactive self-acting. This didn't mean he did not retain his own vision, and would not act correctively when necessary.[47] In the Acropolis project, 'he would search for the principles by which he could incorporate the mistake into a system of exceptions,

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[46] In his presentations of his work, Pikionis rarely referred to golden section proportions. For one of the rare occasions that he revealed the underlying geometric proportional stratum of his design thinking (1:1, 1:φ, 1: $\sqrt{\varphi}$, 1: $\sqrt{2}$), see Pikionis (1952: 259).

[47] Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' experiments in anti-hierarchical structures of collaborative design with Atelier 66 also hark back to their lessons from Pikionis. I discuss them in more detail in chapter 4 (see section 4.3).

thus activating the predetermined geometry' (Antonakakis 1989a: 14). This way of working through a transgression of rules that in turn underlined their presence, stayed with Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis.[48] Their own relation to their strong modernist background can be read in this fermented manner. Their attempt to transgress it ended up reinforcing its subtle presence. In addition, Suzana Antonakaki perceptively noted Pikionis's insight that it is where 'the feeling of folk tradition comes into a creative contrast with the contemporary living conditions that novel, genuine, popular forms are born' (Antonakaki 2010: 62). This insight provided the two architects with an understanding of the ways in which tradition could enrich their modernism.[49] Ranging from modernism to the regional vernacular of the anonymous craftsman, Pikionis's teaching offered Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis a way to integrate multiple traditions in their work.

In an earlier interview with the architects, Dimitris Antonakakis (2013a) summarised his influence from Pikionis in terms of its 'notable consistency'. This 'included the defiance of modernism, without being postmodern'. This was also why Dimitris Antonakakis wanted to defend Pikionis from the unfair modernist criticism levelled at him from 1964 onwards. He returned to Pikionis's famous declaration of his 'rejection' of the Modern Movement:

> The Lycabettus School was built in 1933 [Fig. 3.15], but as soon as it was
> completed, I found it did not satisfy me. It occurred to me then that the

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[48] The similarities between the 'error and rectification' approach to architectural design by the Antonakakis (see Antonas 1994) and the 'elaboration and improvisation' approach in the work of Pikionis (see Antonakakis 1989a) are striking. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' own approach to architectural design, that originated from their lessons from their former mentor, will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4 (see section 4.1).

[49] In the next chapter, I discuss how this insight was incorporated in their design of the 118 Benaki Street apartment building in more detail. See chapter 4 (section 4.1).

universal spirit had to be coupled with the spirit of nationhood. (Pikionis 1958: 37)

In his reading, Antonakakis (2013b) placed the emphasis in Pikionis's dissatisfaction with the outcome of a specific project (highlighting the 'as soon as it was completed' caveat), and not with the modern movement in general.[50] Dimitris Antonakakis's manifest need to keep Pikionis within the modernist camp is a sign of a schizophrenic genealogical relation. His admitted relief at Speyer's approval of Pikionis's Potamianos House (1953-1955; Fig. 3.16) (Antonakakis 2013a) is an additional sign of the same relation. The relation is schizophrenic, because the biographical facts (of the Antonakakis' direct relation of apprenticeship with Pikionis) cannot be denied. They must therefore be reconciled with the architects' own self-understanding as, however critical, but basically faithful, modernists. In other words, the Antonakakis want their major influence fighting alongside them in the same camp of an aporetic critical modernism. When Suzana Antonakaki discussed Pikionis's school on Lycabettus, for instance, she did so in the terms of the critical regionalist discourse that had by then been identified with their own work. She thus extolled Pikionis's intention to 'revise the *type* [of the building] through its adaptation to the *place* in the wide sense of the term'. She portrayed the school as 'a living organism that touches tenderly upon the earth, interprets the mountain and the trees with architectural means, elaborates the movement and completes the landscape' (Antonakaki 2010: 46).

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[50] In the paragraph that preceded this notorious excerpt of his 'Autobiographical Notes', Pikionis (1958: 37) asserted: 'When I became familiar with the Modern Movement, I felt instinctively close to it. If the more perceptive minds among us accepted and embraced the Modern Movement at that time, it was for the following reasons: it promised to become the embodiment of organic truth; it was austere, and fundamentally simple; it was governed by a geometry that conveyed a universal design capable of symbolising our age'. For the misreadings of these two paragraphs and the prevalent understanding of Pikionis in Greece when his work became internationally prominent, see also Tzirtzilakis (2008: 29-32).

[Third party copyright material]

Figure 3.15 Dimitris Pikionis's modernist Lycabettus School (1933) (top) was immediately followed by his design for the Experimental School in Thessaloniki (1935) (bottom) (Benaki Museum Neohellenic Architecture Archives). In this case, Pikionis mixed modernist design principles for organising space with pitched roofs and other morphological elements from the vernacular architecture of northern Greece.

[Third party copyright material]

Figure 3.16 Dimitris Pikionis at the Potamianos House (1953-1955) (Benaki Museum Neohellenic Architecture Archives).

The foundations for this aporetic critical modernism of the Antonakakis were laid out and further reinforced by the teaching of Speyer. Coming from a former student of Mies van der Rohe, Speyer's appreciation of Pikionis's unconventional work was significant for the Antonakakis. For the young architectural couple, it confirmed that Pikionis's inspiring teaching was not incompatible with a modernist outlook, as implied by the prevailing criticism of his work at the time. It was affinities like these that enabled Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis to relate Speyer's open approach to modernism[51] with the lessons from their other inspiring mentors. Speyer was the only visiting professor in the School at the time (1957-1960). For students like Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, who were attracted by erudite cosmopolitan professors, his international outlook felt like a breath of fresh air in a rather introverted school (Fig. 3.17). His enduring influence on the young Greek architects cannot be overstated. Speyer offered Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis an effective way of organising their diverse, and occasionally divergent, influences into a coherent body of thinking and a systematic method of designing. Speyer's undeniable admiration for the work of Mies,[52] coupled with his intention to move it further forward, was attuned with the Antonakakis' own concerns. Along with other young architects of their generation, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis were determined to move modernism forward. They were not interested in a static replication of their lessons from the great 'masters'.

In hindsight, Speyer (2001: 99) summarised his teaching in Athens as offering students 'some sort of fundamental approach to architecture [...] show[ing] them what principles meant'. However, he had to struggle in his teaching:

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[51] See Speyer (1958) for his interpretation of the modernist 'masters'.

[52] Speyer's admiration for Mies was unequivocal. He considered him 'the greatest living architect' (Speyer 1970: 95).

Figure 3.17 Photos from Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' student years. They document A. James Speyer's close relationship with his favourite circle of students in Athens in the late 1950s (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

I think it was their first exposure to Miesian architecture. I think they had a
superficial knowledge of the International School. They certainly had a
superficial idea of Corbusier's architecture. […] Their understanding of the
International Style was as superficial as their understanding of anything else.
[…] The architectural school was really of a very low order. It was the flimsiest
kind of superficial formalism. They had no idea how to build; they had no idea
of the relationship of structure to formal expression. (Speyer 2001: 99-100)

Supervised by Speyer, Suzana Antonakaki's diploma project at the National Technical
University of Athens (1959) documents his teaching method (Fig. 3.18). This was
based on exploring alternative solutions to the same brief. The method thus implied
that there were no single correct answers to the multifarious nature of architectural
questions. Speyer encouraged his students to account for their design decisions with
arguments, sketches and 'working models […] for five or six alternative propositions'
for the same brief. His method enabled Suzana Antonakaki to achieve 'a critical
distance towards [her] own work'. This in turn meant accepting 'the "stochastic
adaptations" – that so often arise from real conditions and specificities – with
sobriety' (Antonakakis 2013a). This "exercise" was valuable for the architects'
subsequent work. Speyer's method stayed with the couple as a stable point of
reference, discipline and control of their design and thinking. It was the same
systematic method that allowed them to interpret the postmodern defiance of
modernism more than a decade later. Speyer's open logic endured, allowing the
Antonakakis to reconsider other elements they had refrained from using in their
architecture. In the final instance, Speyer provided them with 'this disciplined
decision that allowed [them] to control what [they] do' (Antonakakis 2013a). It was
owing to Speyer's teaching that the Antonakakis used the grid as an organising
mechanism of their architectural design. He helped them understand it not as a rigid
straitjacket, but as an open-ended design principle. As such, it could be constantly
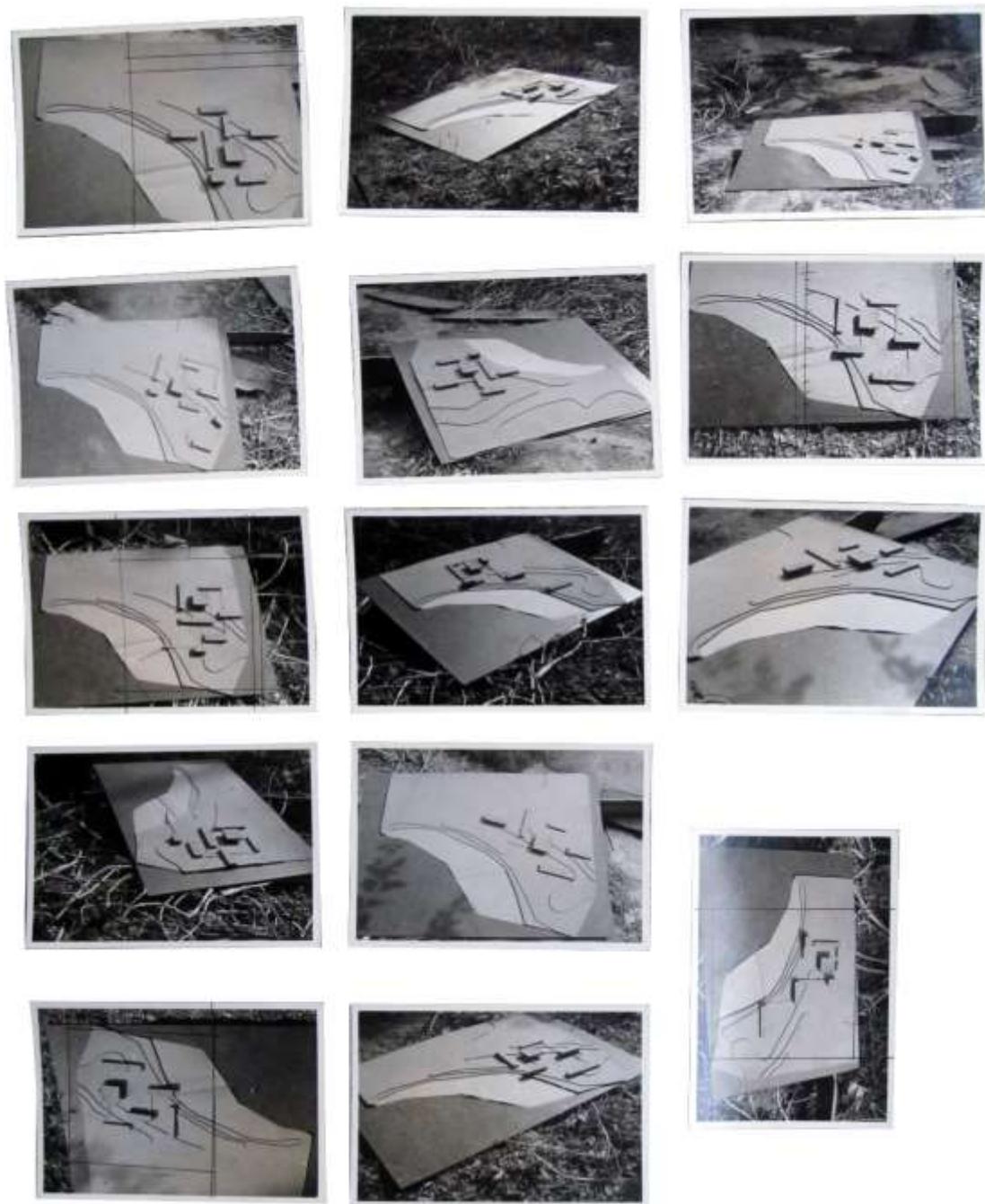
Figure 3.18 Suzana Antonakaki's diploma project at the National Technical University of Athens, supervised by A. James Speyer (1959) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). As the various working models show, Suzana Antonakaki experimented with alternative solutions to the same brief, before going forward with a finalised proposal.

[Third party copyright material]

Figure 3.19 Living room of Speyer's East Pearson Street Residence (1965), photographed by Hedrick Blessing (Chicago Historical Society). Speyer's acquired taste for Byzantine art is combined with Oriental carpets and Miesian chairs.

confirmed and occasionally denied. This allowed the Antonakakis to incorporate the 'controlled transgression of given rules' that originated from their lessons from Pikionis, in their architectural designs (Antonakakis in Tournikiotis 2007: 17).

Speyer's developed a reciprocal learning relationship with his students. Field trips with students to vernacular Greek settlements were stimulating for him.[53] Apart

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[53] Speyer also guided Mies in a short tour in Greece (see Speyer 1959).

from the traditional built environment, Speyer (2001: 100-101) was also intrigued by Michelis's strong interest in the Byzantine heritage. After having stayed in Greece for three years, Speyer had cultivated his own appreciation for Byzantine artworks. These found their place in his personal architectural spaces, alongside his Miesian furniture, when he returned to the United States (Fig. 3.19). His own houses on Hydra documented this reciprocity even further (Fig. 3.20). In the eyes of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, these houses were further proof that modernism could be combined with tradition. If it was done by a 'standard-bearer of modernism' like Speyer (Saliga & Sharp 1995: 58), then Pikionis's resort to tradition could also be counted as 'a move' within the modernist camp, too. In his own reading of Speyer's houses on Hydra, Dimitris Antonakakis did exactly that. He interpreted them in the terms of Dimitris Pikionis. His descriptions of a 'foundation [transforming] into a bench, a staircase into rows of seats, a flat roof into a garden, [...] a window with iron work and shutters [into] a bench open to the view' (Antonakakis 1997: 66) were reminiscent of Pikionis's transformative use of found objects in the Acropolis project. Besides, modernism and tradition could both speak the same language of 'plainness and austerity' (Antonakakis 1997: 63). They were therefore reconcilable, and not in opposition. The key seemed to lie in practicing architecture 'without dogmatising the principles of the modern movement' and 'standing free before' the trends of their time (Antonakakis 1997: 70). In the next chapter (see section 4.1), I show how Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis aspired to do the same in their own building designs through my case study of their 118 Benaki Street apartment building.

Figure 3.20 Nikos Panayotopoulos's photographs show how Speyer's Houses on Hydra combined tenets of modernist design with the spatial qualities of the traditional settlement that surrounded them (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

3.4 The intertwined questions of the modern and the regional

The diverse influences of their student years conditioned Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' personal understanding of tradition. However, their relation with it was complicated. It took Dimitris Antonakakis approximately three decades of professional architectural practice to be able to clarify what tradition meant for him. In 1989, he asserted that tradition was

> the living quotidian reality of what we build today. This will in turn constitute the tradition of tomorrow; this quotidian reality, with its 'ruptures, conflicts [...] continuities and discontinuities ... that usually express the presence of novel forces who challenge the existing equilibrium'.

> The struggles of these novel forces that push things forward with their stance and their resistance to the status quo, constitute a tradition we must reclaim, document, expand and enrich, proving its necessity. [...] I believe that Tradition is a dynamic phenomenon that evolves concurrently with [social] life itself.[54] And it evolves when the inventions of one are validated, adopted and developed by the others. [...] Hence, tradition should be subjugated by every one of us. It constitutes a challenge to redefine ourselves in the context of a Greek reality we attempt to assimilate. Assimilating the social reality of today through its actual history might eventually enable us to express and transcend it, i.e. carry its tradition forward. [...] I obviously do not wish to 'reanimate the conditions' of the everyday life of those who built those

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[54] Although Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis did not refer to his work, this remark echoes Ernesto Rogers's (1957: 3) discussion of the concept of continuity as 'change within the order of a tradition'.

[traditional] settlements. Neither do I wish to idealise the social relations of

the groups that developed within them. (Antonakakis 1989c: 65)

This approach was clearly removed from parochial nostalgia and ossified

historicisms. Understanding tradition in terms of the actual everyday life was an

original plea for a reconsideration of the regional. It was not a question of yesteryear,

but an open question of the actual present as it moves towards the uncertain future.

Tzonis and Lefaivre (1981a: 178) were right to note that the work of the Antonakakis

moved away from the escapist understandings of tradition. It was their insistence on

the living and evolving aspect of tradition that made the difference. This was also an

all too modern way to understand the regional.

In the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, the modern was used as a

critical tool to study the regional. The two architects thus kept their clear distance

from the conservative traditionalists of the period. Despite their admiration for the

work of the modernist 'masters', however, Dimitris Antonakakis (1996: 134) was also

critical of the placeless architecture of Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier. In the

Antonakakis' work, the regional also became the vehicle for a critical approach of the

modern. In other words, the architects' inquiry moved both ways. It constituted both

a critique of the regional through the modern, and a critique of the modern through

the regional. The questions of the modern and the regional were intertwined. In the

final instance, it was this regional aspect that allowed the Greek architects to offer

their personal reply to the prolonged impasse of modern architecture. For Suzana

and Dimitris Antonakakis, the study of tradition was meant to confirm the

connection of the international (critical) modernist influence of their work with the

Greek vernacular. It was this dual conciliatory relation of the local with the

international that endowed their work with the qualities appreciated by the critical

regionalist discourse. For the Antonakakis, the question of the regional became a

Figure 3.21 The Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank by Suzana & Dimitris Antonakakis (in collaboration with Annie Platanioti). Façade drawing by Suzana Antonakaki (1984) alongside the final built result (1986) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

question of continuity. They pursued the ways in which the architectural lessons from the past and the bold visions for the future could be appropriately reconciled and responsibly adjusted to the needs of a changing world.[55]

By effectively emulating the critical with either the modern or the regional, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' work developed in an increasingly personalised manner. By the mid-1980s, however, the two architects sensed that their work was constrained by the established mannerisms of their own architectural idiom. Rather ironically, when the Benaki Street apartment building (1973-1975) was globally heralded as a flagship of critical regionalism (Frampton 1985a: 324-326), Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis were designing such projects as the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank (1983–1986). This building bore the formalist marks of a postmodernism the architects had witnessed, and allegedly rejected, at the Biennale (Fig. 3.21). The critical regionalist framing of their work thus coincided with a major design crisis in their collaborative practice. In the chapter that follows, the close reading of these projects will further elucidate the Antonakakis' reconsideration of the modern over a decade of architectural practice, circa 1980.

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[55] In a similar vein, Yorgos Simeoforidis (1983c: 25) noted: 'Expanding the concept of "regionalism" we can consider it as a critical reaction to the transition from a premodern to a modern world. This reaction respectively accepts, rejects or attempts to incorporate modernism in the quotidian life of a place. [...] In this case, "regionalism" is the development of movements or personal stances. Metaphorically speaking, we can imagine this sort of "regionalism" as a cultural filter, in contrast with the sort of regionalism that raises clear limits or boundaries and barriers against any cultural exchange. [...] Besides, between the international eclecticism of consumerism and the regional provincialism of "tradition", there must exist an, almost unexplored, limit to be critically claimed by the avant-gardes.'

Chapter 4

Opening up the design process

Introduction

This chapter focuses on Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' designs for the 118 Benaki Street apartment building (1973-1975) and the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank (1983-1986). The two projects enabled the architects to develop their different critiques to the Athenian apartment building typology within a decade of postmodern international developments. For the purposes of my research, they thus serve as exemplars of the Antonakakis' reconsideration of the modern. Understanding themselves as modernists, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis detested the simplistic applications of the modernist tenets in the production of the Athenian built environment. Instead of being abandoned, the modern had to be reconsidered. According to the architectural couple, a first step in this direction was to 'resist the established patterns of the market' and return to an architecture that catered for 'real needs' (Antonakakis in Frampton 1985b: 6). In my analysis, I pick out 'anti-commodification' and 'anti-hierarchy' as thematic shorthands for the Antonakakis' attempt to address the problematic aspects of the (Athenian) modern. The combined stances of 'anti-commodification' and 'anti-hirearchy' are expressed in the two architects' attempt to open up the design process to the parties involved and affected by it. This was the only way to restore a relationship based on specific shared values instead of abstract common problems (cf. Antonakakis 1996: 134). Opening up the design process was expected to ease the move from the anonymity of the built environment back to the sense of a community with a shared social life. My historical

research enables me to explore the limits of this process over the course of the decade that separates the two projects.

I start by situating the Benaki Street project in the context of Athenian apartment building production. I read it as Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' most articulate critique of the Athenian modern building typology. To do so, I look at: (1) the General Building Regulations (1955) and their modifications by the military junta regime (1968). This allows me to highlight the limits set by these legislative texts, and the specific typology they prescribed; (2) the mode of production of the commodified Athenian built environment by the small-scale private sector. This includes individual historical agents (like contractors, developers, land owners, and the anonymous future tenants of their built projects), and the legal mechanism of the *antiparochi* (that enabled land owners and contractors to form *quid pro quo* 'win-win' deals). I then trace the architects' own design intentions through: (a) their preliminary drawings, sketches and diagrams for the building. These allow me to trace the evolution of the Antonakakis' critique of the Athenian apartment building typology; (b) the short film the architects produced for personal use in 1978, to record and showcase the building's spatial qualities.

After highlighting the architects' own intentions, I examine how these fared in practice. Hence, I explore the limits of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' attempt to open up the design process, first to the tenants of their projects, and then to collaborating architects and professionals.[1] My account is based on interviews with

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[1] My account of the inner life of Atelier 66 is based on interviews with the architects: Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, Giorgos Antonakakis, Boukie Babalou, Konstantinos Daskalakis, Theano Fotiou, Eleni Goussi-Desylla, Kostis Hadjimichalis, Aleka Monemvasitou, Antonis Noukakis, and Dina Vaiou (2014). My account of the inner life of the Benaki Street apartment building and the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank is based on additional interviews with the tenants: Aristide Antonas, Myrto Nezi, Pattie Dolka, Vasso Hadjinikita, the civil engineers

(1) the architects, (2) the tenants, (3) the engineers and craftsmen involved with the Benaki Street project. Through these interviews, I show how the architectural couple worked within and beyond the existing mode of production to turn it to their own advantage. The building thus emerges as the product of a household economy, founded on strong familial and friendly bonds. I trace the evolution of the tenants' shared practices of everyday life over time, the way in which the building worked as a four-story 'single family house', and the specific qualities of the regional vernacular the architects attempted to adapt to the metropolitan built environment. In the final instance, however, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis did not manage to crack the core of modernist architectural authorship. In every case, they remained the clear leaders of a design process that did not open up further beyond their own control. I then argue that this was also the case for the 'anti-hierarchical' structure of design collaboration the two architects attempted to establish with their collective practice, Atelier 66. My interviews with the other Atelier 66 architects constantly highlighted the following issues and concerns: High workload, and the members' varying commitment to the shared process; personal lives that were increasingly out of sync due to the widening age and professional experience gap between the Antonakakis and the younger members; the Antonakakis' strong design signature over the projects; and the Atelier 66 architects' gradually diverging interests in different design scales (urban planning vs. architecture). This constellation of factors and tensions accumulated over time to render Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis the leading authorial figures of their collaborative practice. The two architects' overarching control of the design process became increasingly evident in their practice over the years that followed.

Alekos Athanassiadis, Panagiotis Plainis, the architect Annie Platanioti, and the craftsman Yannis Roussos (2014).

For their Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank project, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis had to refurbish an existing construction within a historic environment. This led the architects to a different reconsideration of the modern Athenian apartment building typology in this project. I document it by looking at drawings, sketches and models retrieved from the architects' private archive. I draw additional information from my interviews with (a) the Antonakakis, (b) collaborating architects (Annie Platanioti), and (c) civil engineer (Panagiotis Plainis). This enables me to show how the architectural couple effectively turned the building inside out. They focused on its interior function as a public space, and its exterior form as an inward-looking fortress. In this project, the Antonakakis' 'grid' pattern was consciously enriched with 'pathway' elements like directionality. The two architects' attention to the minute design details instigated a discussion about a possible postmodernist turn in their work. I argue that this was a symptom of an increasingly personalised architectural idiom that became self-enclosed and self-referential to the extent that it lost its actual contact with the place. I situate my argument within the development of the postmodern debate in late 1980s Greece. Starting from the stigma that accompanied the 'postmodern' label, I trace the eventual return of Greek architectural discourse to the question of relating the modern with the regional. However, this return was still carried out in the essentialist terms of the 1960s. What had begun as a potential enrichment of their design practice ended up as a formal exercise. By the mid-1980s, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis had almost exhausted the expressive capacities of their modernist architectural idiom. Falling back from the modern to the regional and vice versa, thus became a vicious design circle for the Antonakakis. This, in turn, limited the potential criticality of their work.

4.1 Anti-commodification on 118 Benaki Street

To comprehend Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' design practices, one has to situate them in their specific historical and architectural context. In the pages that follow, I use Frampton's analysis as my starting point. I show how his critical regionalist account glossed over the intricacies of a design process conditioned by the Athenian context of the 1970s. It is this context that sets the Benaki Street apartment building apart from the local architectural production of the same period.

For the Greek publication of his critical history of modern architecture in 1987, Frampton added a 3-page preface. This additional text served as a brief account of the development of modern architecture in Greece. In these pages, Frampton described Athens as 'the modern city par excellence'. His understanding of the Athenian context merits quotation in full here:

> At one level, one may look to Athens, if not Greece as a whole, as the paradoxical place of modernity in the midst of the so-called Postmodern era, for perhaps in no other world capital can one find such a widespread acceptance of modern architecture, both as a programme and as a formal language. Athens is surely the modern city par excellence in the sense that the normative Neoclassical city of the nineteenth century was progressively replaced and extended after the early 1950s by an equally normative modern typology [...] Endlessly repeated with sufficiently subtle variations, [...] these undemonstrative blocks amount to a remarkably civilised level of urban building, unequalled anywhere in the modern world. This unselfconscious achievement – the autonomous manifestation of a culture rather than the
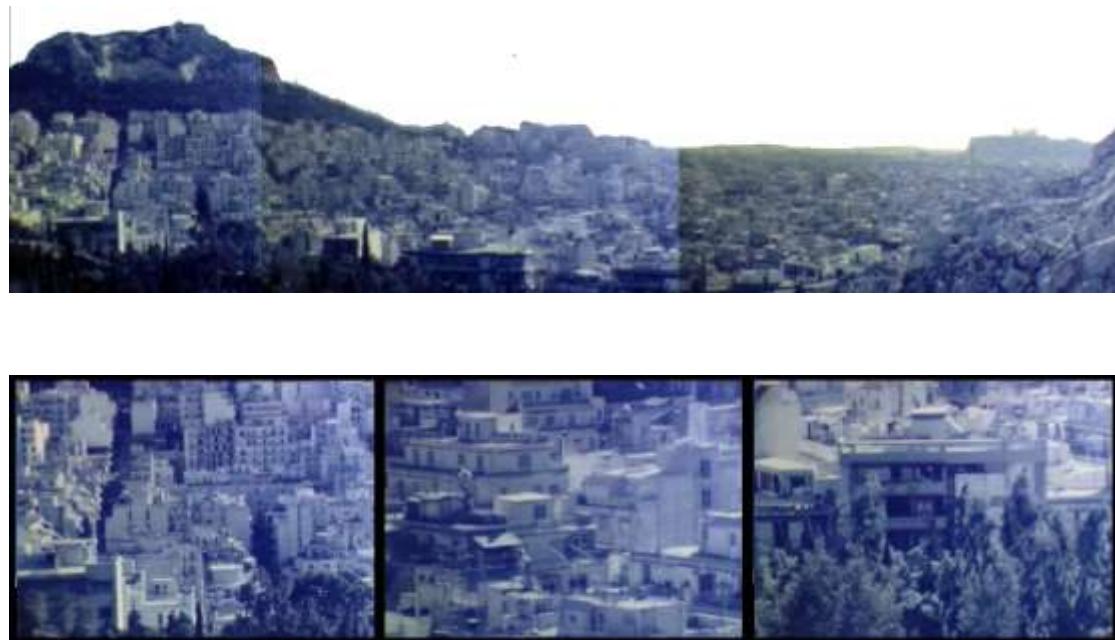
Figure 4.1 The 118 Benaki Street apartment building situated in the Athenian context of the late 1970s. Collage and selected stills from video by Alekos Polychroniadis (1978) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). It is the prevalence of the apartment building typology that renders Athens as 'the modern city par excellence' in the eyes of Frampton.

> work of a single architect – is all the more successful for having nurtured a
>
> richly articulated city (Frampton 1987a: 14)[2]

This understanding of Athens was followed by a reiteration of his critical regionalist credo. Frampton posited that a way out of the crisis of modern architecture lay in the combination of topographic and tectonic sensibility. In the penultimate page of his book, he presented the Benaki Street apartment building by Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis as an exemplar of this approach. In other words, this was a building that addressed the crisis of modern architecture by embodying a critique of Athens, the

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[2] More than a decade later, Frampton (1999: 12) still referred to Athens as 'one of the few cities in the world where a normative modern 'international' architecture accounts for a large part of the inner urban fabric'.

modern city par excellence (Fig. 4.1). Frampton also described the city of Athens as a replication of the 'fragmented vernacular mosaic of the islands […] within th[e] urban matrix' (Frampton 1987a: 14). This description of the city echoed the description of the 'layered structure' of the Benaki Street apartment building. Its architecture was defined by 'a labyrinthine route drawn from the Greek island vernacular [that was] woven into the regular grid of the supporting concrete frame' (Frampton 1985a: 326). Frampton thus described the city and the building in similar terms. His descriptions rendered the Benaki Street project as an architectural microcosm of the broader urban condition. It was the design product of talented individuals working within a regional culture, economy and technology of construction. Their work captured the essence of that culture, and reproduced it in its ideal form. 118 Benaki Street was the unit that every Athenian apartment building could have become. This would have in turn saved 'the modern city par excellence' from the adverse effects of the commodification of the housing sector, and the ensuing anonymity of its 'undemonstrative' architecture. A modernist urban environment could therefore be reinvigorated through the pathways of the island settlements.

Frampton was not alone in acknowledging the special role of 118 Benaki Street within the line of production of the Athenian apartment building (*polykatoikia*). Regional architectural critics were also united in their appreciation of this project in the Greek context. Elias Constantopoulos characteristically regarded it as 'the most successful example of that perception of an anti-polykatoikia, which is truly a poly-katoikia much more than others, though' (Constantopoulos 1994: 22). In other words, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis reinterpreted the fundamental principles of the Athenian apartment building typology by challenging its design conventions, as well as its standard modes of production. It is in this sense that the Benaki Street apartment building is the 'exception […] that proves the rule', as noted

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by Dimitris Philippidis (2001: 106). In the architectural design poetics of 1970s Athens, reconsidering the modern equalled redefining it.

Thanks to Frampton's attention, the Benaki Street apartment building is the most celebrated project of the Antonakakis to date. In Dimitris Antonakakis's own words (2014b), it has enjoyed 'a career of its own'. His prosopopoetic phrasing attributes individual agency to the building. This in turn suggests that Frampton's discourse also led to a mythologising interpretation of 118 Benaki Street. Subsequent critics assumed that this project condensed the meaning of the Antonakakis' oeuvre. For Jean-Louis Cohen, the Benaki Street apartment building represented the best illustration of the 'Brutalist vein' in the work of the couple (Cohen 1994: 43); for Dimitris Fatouros, it was 'an excellent example' of 'their organising principles at work' (Fatouros 1994: 47); for Alexander Tzonis and Alcestis Rodi, it was 'a shared symbolic act of defiance' that 'opposed the mainstream architecture of the junta and the dogmas of the junta itself' (Tzonis & Rodi 2013: 210-211, 208) (Fig. 4.2); for Yorgos Tzirtzilakis (1989: 27), it 'constitute[d] something like the last act, the premature farewell of [a direction] for the evolution of a type of building which never managed to reach an exact typological definition'.[3] However pessimist, enthusiastic, or dispassionate, all these different interpretations nonetheless acknowledge the significance of this project. Historians and critics acknowledge the special place of 118 Benaki Street either within the oeuvre of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis or within the history of the Athenian apartment building typology. In both cases, the building acquires the status of a signature work for the architectural practice of the

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[3] In Tzirtzilakis's account, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' Benaki street project is one of three examples of possible directions of evolution of the apartment building typology. The other two are the apartment building in Polydroso by Tassos and Dimitris Biris (1980), and the apartment building in Chania by Danai & Ioanna Skaraki and Marios Nikiforiadis (1986).

[Third party copyright material]

Figure 4.2 Building permit for the Benaki Street apartment building (1973) (Prefecture of
Attica's Urban Planning Agency Archives). The stamp of the military regime features at the
top of the document. The significance of the building in this political context was recently
highlighted by Tzonis & Rodi (2013: 208-211).

Antonakakis. However, the number of these diverse interpretations also shows that the building practically acted as an empty signifier waiting to be loaded with a different meaning by the next critic. However significant it might have been in the different historiographical contexts, the architects' own intentions remain key here. For Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, 118 Benaki Street served as a critique of the commodified Athenian apartment building of the period.

The architectural couple consciously presented their project as a critique to the standard apartment building typology of Athens. This standard typology was effectively prescribed by the Building Regulations of the period. Its main features were established in the General Building Regulation of 1955 (Royal Decree, 9 August 1955). This Regulation encouraged the maximum exploitation of land by increasing the permitted building mass. This was a legislative effort to reduce the relative cost of the building site, and exert state control over the unregulated construction industry of the period. In Greece, public housing represented less than 3% of the total surface of residential space (see Emmanuil 2006). Hence, the production of novel housing was a matter of the small-scale private sector. This in turn led to the commodification of land and speculative practices of building construction (cf. Issaias 2014: 70-73). This is why the Regulation relied mainly on prohibitions and prescriptions. These were all aimed at controlling an unregulated housing market. They ranged from the specified contours of new constructions (including the overall height, number of individual floors, window heights, setbacks and penthouses) to architectural details (including the width and extensions of balconies and terraces) (Fig. 4.3).[4] It was these prohibitions and prescriptions that gave rise to the defining elements of the Athenian

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[4] For a detailed comparative reading of the 1929 and the 1955 General Building Regulations and their implications for architectural design in Greece, see Sakellaropoulos (2003: 259-379), and Paschou (2001).

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Figure 4.3 Evolution of the Athenian apartment building typology, following the modifications of the Greek General Building Regulations in the twentieth century (Woditsch 2009: 60-61 (top); 74-75 (bottom)).

apartment building.[5] These were: (1) the size of the site and the typological characteristics of the host building block, (2) the width of the adjoining streets and their role in the broader urban network, (3) the system of *antiparochi* (a quid pro quo agreement between developers and land owners),[6] and (4) the prescriptions regarding the number of floors and the fraction of the site that could be covered by the building. In addition, the Regulation prescribed a gradual retreat of the last two or three floors by 2.50m, and the introduction of arcades on the ground floor. These additional prescriptions addressed problems of ventilation, lighting and pedestrian circulation on the street level. The design of the typical floor of the Athenian apartment building thus had to assimilate and adapt to all these requirements throughout.

Contractors and developers added their own layer of requirements and prescriptions to this typology. These varied in accordance to their desired clientele. To suit the needs of these projected clients, architects had to ensure their designs were flexible enough. They needed to accommodate the variegated needs of the unknown buyers and future tenants of the apartments, without subverting the fundamental elements of the overall structure (like staircases, lifts, columns, central heating and plumbing). In addition, architects were not allowed to modify the façade of the building. It was the main façade drawing that sold the building to the future tenants. Hence, contractors and developers agreed that the main façade and the entry

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[5] Although the General Building Regulation of 1955 was replaced in 1973 (Legislative Decree 8, 9/9 June 1973), the general directions remained the same. See Antonakakis (1985: 130) for the couple's interpretation of these General Building Regulations.

[6] *Antiparochi* practically offered a win-win deal to the parties involved. This is why it became the motor of the small-scale Greek construction boom after the 1950s. Later in the chapter, I discuss the workings of this system in the case of the Benaki Street apartment building (see section 4.2: 280-281).

hall had to be impressive and luxurious.[7] Predicting the desires of their clientele, they preferred to restrict and delineate the architects' room for intervention (Antonakakis 2014a: 63-65). The developers' commodified approach to building was also reflected in their design concerns. They aimed at simple standard floors with the maximum possible number of rooms (as it was this number that determined the final selling price of the apartments). To maximise profit, these design specs also had to be realised through an economic construction.

Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis were opposed to this design and construction model. Unlike their European counterparts, the Greek architects were not fighting against the 'alienating' modernism of welfare state grand projects.[8] This was practically non-existent in a country where public housing projects accounted for less than 3% of the national total of residential space. It was not this large-scale faceless version of the modern that the Antonakakis were opposing. Their adversary was the commodified version of the modern promoted by the Greek building construction industry. It was this popular mode of production that had given Athens the modern face that seduced Frampton, but appalled Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. Developers and contractors had adapted the modernist tenets of minimalism, standardisation, and rational construction to their own speculative ends. Depending on the building regulations for each area of the city, the typical Athenian apartment building was organised in four to six continuous floors.

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[7] By contrast, the other façades, the everyday visual setting for all the neighbouring constructions in the building block, were considered insignificant.

[8] Siding the Antonakakis with the opponents of the 'despotic aspects of the Welfare State', Tzonis and Lefaivre's (1981a: 172) account thus constitutes another misguiding myth. Although 'The Grid and the Pathway' claimed to offer a local insider's account of the Antonakakis' regionalism, it actually disregarded specificities of the Greek context in which their architectural design practice was situated.

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Figure 4.4 Typical Athenian apartment building under construction in Kallithea (1987) from Manolis Baboussis's photographic 'Project Athens, 1984-1996' (Manolis Baboussis's private archive). The photo documents the prevalence of this popular typology in the Athenian landscape, as well as the small-scale private sector that produced it at work.

Symmetrical, horizontal balconies were usually the prevalent feature of the building's façade. They reflected an attempt to maximise the number of apartments facing the front of the plot. The indiscriminate repetition of this same building type across the Athenian basin created an urban environment that was deemed as faceless by the 1970s (Fig. 4.4).

It was this version of the modern that the Antonakakis intended to reconsider. They aimed to save the benign aspects of the modern movement from the speculative hands of the Greek contractors and developers. To this end, they pursued an alternative set of architectural qualities that were in principle opposed to the commodification of the built environment. Through their architecture, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis claimed to respect and assimilate the qualities of the natural

environment. They also catered for the evolution of human activity over time, and pursued its rational organisation in the spaces they designed. Cross-ventilation and lighting were another two of their focal design concerns. Their buildings adapted to the orientation of the site to ensure lighting and ventilation of various sections in different times of the day. Their architecture also valued the interpenetration of public and private space. Following from this, their designs strived to enrich the quality of movement in space through successive thresholds between areas of different character. Finally, all these architectural qualities had to be achieved through simple and honest constructional means (Antonakakis 2014a: 78). In other words, the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis promoted the qualitative aspects of space design. It did not dwell on the contractors' quantitative concerns, and the superficial luxury of their main façades.

118 Benaki Street also exemplified the architects' resistance to these commodifying trends through the specific mode of its production. In the final instance, the building was the outcome of a cooperative process that challenged the standard hierarchies of design, construction and use. The individual parties involved contributed their land, labour and capital to a communal housing project. The couple thus worked against the system that had 'unselfconsciously' produced Frampton's modern city par excellence. This is what made their work stand out from that of other Greek architects at the time.

From the 1980s onwards, the Athenian apartment building was the main typology of a booming construction sector in Greece. As such, its design challenges had also been addressed by avant-garde Greek architects of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' generation. The architectural couple had followed their work in the 1950s. 5 Semitelou Street by Nikos Valsamakis (1951) was regarded as a defining exemplar of quality apartment building architecture. In this project, the horizontal

symmetrical balconies of the typical apartment floor were treated as integral parts of the building mass. Organised within a cantilevered gridded structure, they appeared as a porous, semi-open-air, volumetric extension of the building body. This cantilever also highlighted the entry hall on the ground floor as different from the other apartment floors.[9] Valsamakis's project thus introduced the main design motifs that were further explored by other celebrated architects of the period. The space defined by the cantilevered end of the balconies and the main building mass became an exercise in architectural elaboration. It seemed as if architects of the period tried out different articulations of this porous volumetric filter of the Athenian apartment building. Their projects experimented with: a playful organisation of the façade within the overarching symmetry of the structure (Fatouros); an emphasis on horizontality and flexibility of moving glass panels (Zenetos); its volumetric division in two separate blocks (Dekavallas and Argyropoulos). In the eyes of young practitioners of the early 1960s, projects like these formed an inexorable horizon for their personal work (see Antonakakis 2014a) (Fig. 4.5). By the early 1970s, after a decade of professional experience, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis made their own contribution to this on-going architectural development (Fig. 4.6).

Before anything else, the Benaki Street project was the two architects' built manifesto for the ideal Athenian apartment building. Following the Corbusian tradition of architectural manifestos, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis summarised their critique in five points (Fig. 4.7). In opposition to the standard practices of the period, their apartment building architecture aimed at: (1) using the entrance 'as an

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[9] As a design gesture, this was obviously welcomed by the Greek contractors and developers of the period. It was in line with their intention to separate the entry hall as the most luxurious space of the building. In Valsamakis's work, quality architectural design was thus aligned with the local building market and construction industry.

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Figure 4.5 Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis studied the work of other celebrated Greek

architects, including (from left to right) the Athenian apartment buildings in: 5 Semitelou

Street by Nikos Valsamakis (1951); 109 Patission Avenue by Dimitris Fatouros (1957); Amalias

Avenue & Daidalou Street (1959) by Takis Zenetos; Deinokratous & Loukianou Street by

Konstantinos Dekavallas and Thalis Argyropoulos (1960). These projects defined the avant-

garde architectural horizon of the Athenian apartment building typology when the

Antonakakis set up their professional practice.

Figure 4.6 Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' 118 Benaki Street apartment building (1973-1975) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). The building represented the architects' contribution to the on-going development of the Athenian apartment building typology.
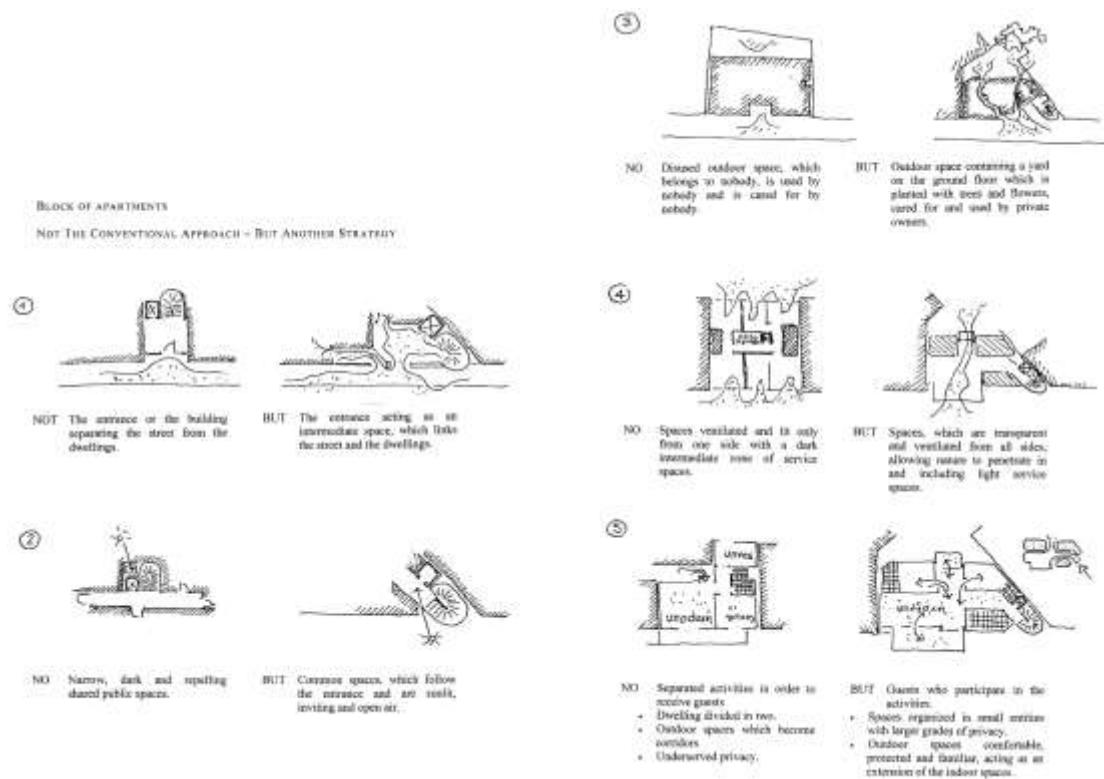
Figure 4.7 118 Benaki Street as a critique to the Athenian apartment building typology (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). In Corbusian fashion, the Antonakakis' critique is organised in five points.

intermediate space, which links the street and the dwellings', (2) 'sunlit, inviting and open air common spaces', (3) a living outdoor space with a yard on the ground floor, (4) transparent and cross-ventilated spaces, as well as (5) 'spaces organised in small clusters with increased grades of privacy' (Antonakakis 2007: 152).[10] In the pages that follow, I focus on the design process of the Benaki Street apartment building. I show

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[10] In his account of 118 Benaki Street, Platon Issaias (2014: 144) summarises the Antonakakis' antithesis to the Athenian apartment building typology in terms of: 'the repetition of the typical floor plan and the lack of individualisation of the domestic units, the "corrupted", bad construction quality in comparison to the magnificent detailing and custom made elements of the 1930s, and finally, the complete absence of communal, primarily outdoor spaces with a relevant quality'.

that this project led the Antonakakis to crystallise their critique to the Athenian modern. 118 Benaki Street served as the occasion to bring together and put in practice ideas that had matured from Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' experience with other contractors and developers over the previous decade (cf. Antonakakis 2014a: 86). In addition, the formation of a cooperative with the other tenants, who were also friends of the couple, enabled the architects to move away from the dictates of the building industry of the period. This enabled Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis to prioritise the architectural qualities they valued, and see them applied in practice in a complicated building typology.

The evolution of the Antonakakis' critical design process is evident in their preliminary plans for the building. In the early stages of the design process, for instance, the staircase is not yet the open, public and luminous space of the final drawings (Figs. 4.8-4.11). Even when it does come out in the front in a later version of the same drawings, it is more conventionally incorporated in the building mass (Fig. 4.12). As Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis wrote a decade later, the position of the staircase is 'the most crucial choice in the design of the apartment building', in general. The staircase does not only define vertical and horizontal movement across the building. It also conditions the distribution of the apartments and their possible flexibility for future conversions. Practical considerations aside, the Antonakakis also considered the staircase 'a symbol of the earth-sky relation'. As such, it merited to occupy a more significant place than the usual dark recesses of the apartment building (Antonakakis 1985: 133).

Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' design explored how far it could push the limits of the existing building regulations to produce the desired architectural qualities. The relation between the design and the regulations was reciprocal. For instance, the two architects labelled the living room of their own apartment a

Figure 4.8 Preliminary version of the Benaki Street apartment building with the staircase

situated at the centre of the building (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

Figure 4.9 Preliminary version of the Benaki Street apartment building with the staircase situated at the back end of the plot (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

Figure 4.10 Alternative version of the Benaki Street apartment building with a more complicated solution for the staircase at the back end of the plot (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

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Figure 4.11 Preliminary version of the Benaki Street apartment building with the staircase

situated at the other back end of the plot (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

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Figure 4.12 In this version of the Benaki Street apartment building, the staircase is brought to the front. However, it is still enclosed in the building mass (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

sculptor's atelier, to take advantage of the clause that allowed for double heights in the case of workspaces (Fig. 4.13). As Platon Issaias (2014: 114) recently argued, projects like the Benaki Street apartment building constituted a precedent that 'anticipated the modifications of existing regulations'. One of these was the

Figure 4.13 Photos of the Antonakakis' apartment at 118 Benaki Street (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). Taking advantage of the regulations that allowed increased heights for artists' workspaces, the Antonakakis created a double-height living room space (bottom) and a 'bridge' that ran across their apartment from one end to the other (top).
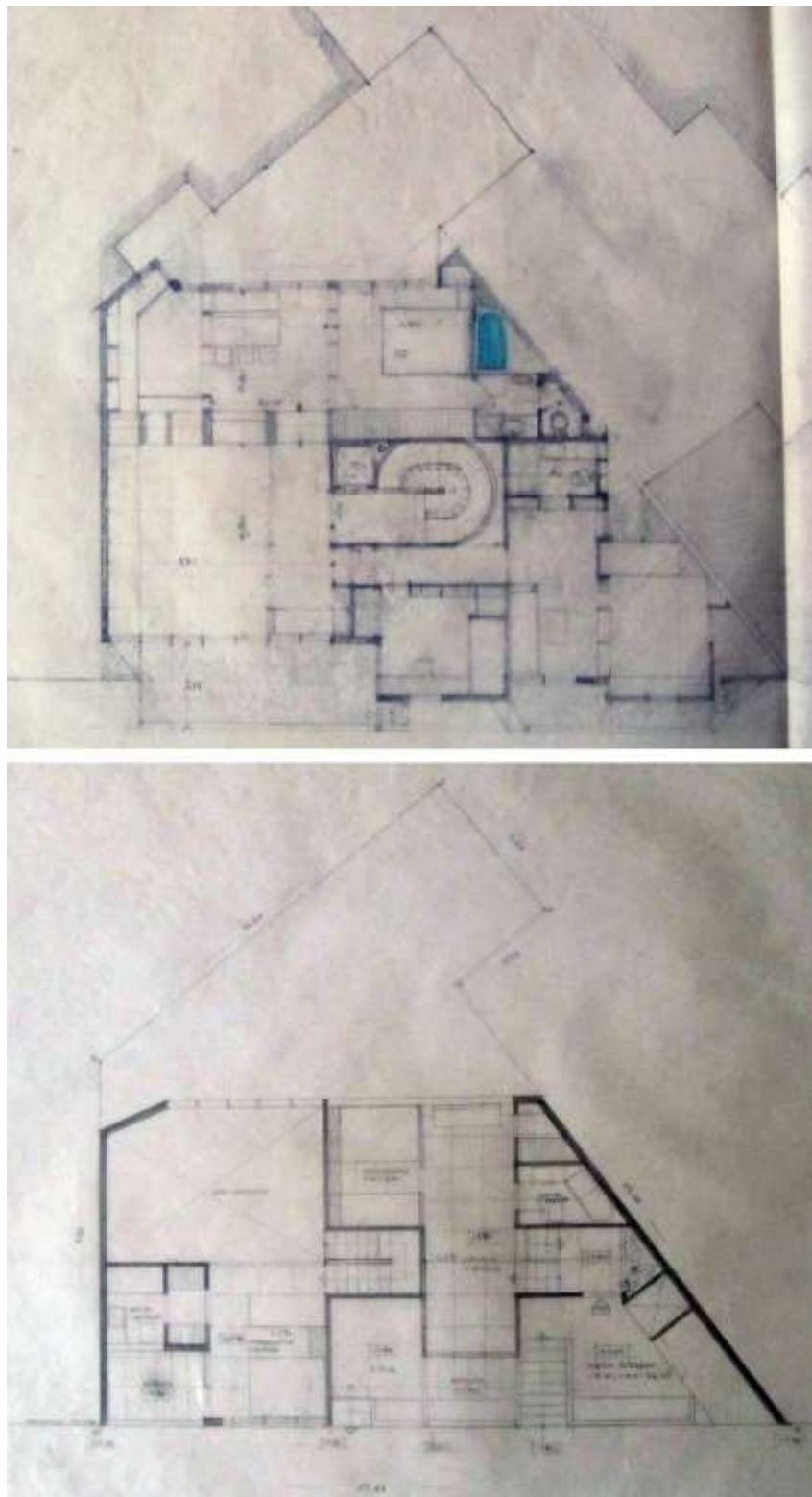
Figure 4.14 The modification of the building regulations midway through the design process in 1973 obliged the Antonakakis to reduce the original size of the apartments (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). Starting by retaining the staircase in the middle (bottom), the architects soon understood they had to experiment with a different solution (see Figs. 4.9-4.11).

introduction of semi-outdoor spaces in the General Building Regulation of 1985.[11] Finally, the modification of the building regulations midway through the design process in 1973 instigated major changes in the overall design. It effectively led to a second version of the Benaki Street project (Fig. 4.14).[12] The new regulations no longer allowed a 10-meter-deep coverage of the site, irrespectively of its configuration. It was also due to the previous regulations that there was no room for a shared courtyard in the first version of the building. While this meant that the apartments had to become smaller in size, the legislative change eventually enabled the architects to produce a more interesting result.

These crucial design features were clearly highlighted in 1978, when the architects decided to record their Benaki Street project in film. Directed by Atelier 66 architect, Alekos Polychroniadis, in Super-8 film cassette, the 10-minute colour video records a visit to Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' apartment on the first floor. It starts with the entry space that the architects have treated as a courtyard. A constant locus of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' architectural concerns, the gradual filters and thresholds lead the visitor from the public to the private sphere of the house (Fig. 4.15). In other words, the architecture of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis embodies the same qualities they used to appreciate in the work of other architects across the centuries, like they did in Venice in 1980 (cf. chapter 1, section 1.1). The different spaces within their apartment are in turn treated in terms of a small city within four walls. As if turning their apartment inside out, the living room serves as an indoor piazza. In the video recording, Suzana Antonakaki rears her head through the openings of the bedrooms (Fig. 4.16). She thus shows how the apartment is organised

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[11] In Issaias's account, the other project that might have contributed to this legislative change is the Polydroso apartment building by Tassos and Dimitris Biris (1980).

[12] The changes were put into effect with the Legislative Decree 8, 9/9 June 1973.

Figure 4.15 The entry space to the Benaki Street apartment building. Selected stills from video by Alekos Polychroniadis (1978) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

Figure 4.16 The double-height interior living room functioning as a Cycladic island piazza in the Antonakakis' apartment. Selected stills from video by Alekos Polychroniadis (1978) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

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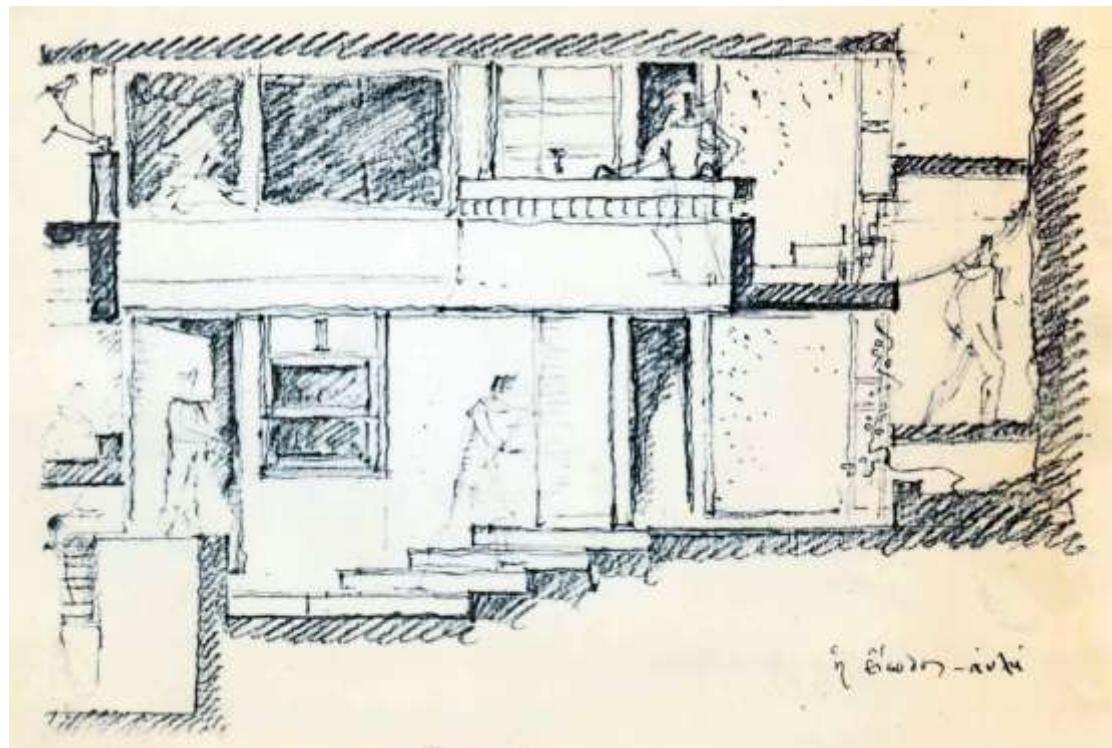
Figure 4.17 Preliminary sketch of the entry space to the Benaki Street apartment building (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). The five human figures included in the sketch emphasise the theatricality of this space, serving as a courtyard for meeting the other.

around interlocking degrees of privacy and publicity. The theatricality that ensues also forms part of the architects' original intentions. It creates an atmosphere of a piazza of a Greek island settlement within their personal living environment in a modern urban context.

These ideas were already emphasised in many of the two architects' preliminary sketches (Fig. 4.17). These showed how the public street penetrated through the site to form a transitional entry space to the building (Fig. 4.18). Combined with the scenes in Polychroniadis's video, they confirm the coherence of the architects' intentions from the design stage to the final built result. This was not the typical apartment building with the main entry hall on the ground floor and the

Figure 4.18 The entry space to the Benaki Street apartment building. This preliminary sketch shows the Sifnos stones extending to the public pavement (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

conventional staircase that led to a series of identical floors. In the architects' own words, the entrance to the building was 'a roofed court', and the staircase served as 'a continuation of this court, being at the same time open-air and in direct contact with the street' (Antonakakis 2007: 151). These intentions were materially accentuated by the pavement in front of the building. Like their mentor, Pikionis, the Antonakakis adopted a holistic view. Their designs were not limited to formal exercises on any given site. They also activated the ground as another expression of a main

Figure 4.19 The entry to the Benaki Street apartment building (2014) (Photos: Stylianos Giamarelos). The tiling of the pavement changes to Sifnos stones in front of the building.
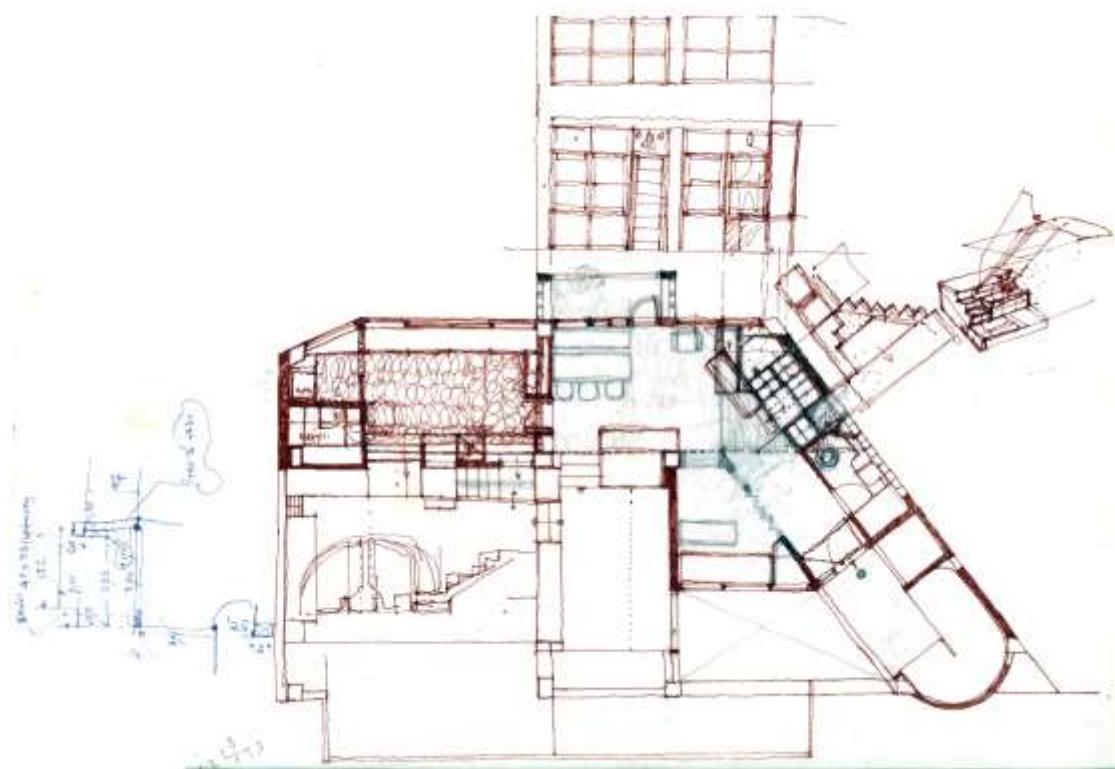

Figure 4.20 Working sketch for Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' first-floor apartment on 118 Benaki Street (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). A plan drawing interspersed with design information on the façade (top), interior section (middle left), and axonometric drawings (top right).

architectural intention. Covered with the same Sifnos stone used throughout the building floors, the public pavement was materially extended to enter the private sphere of the Benaki Street apartment building (Fig. 4.19). In other words, the road was part of the building, and vice versa; the Sifnos stones were extended from the building outwards to the public street. This is how the Antonakakis addressed the relation of their architecture to the public sphere. In their view, the public and the private did not develop in the isolation of their binary opposition. They were partially interdependent. Hence, architecture for a private project should not be afraid to affect its public contours.

This holistic approach to architectural design that challenged conventional boundaries was also reflected in their drawing practice. A working sketch I retrieved from Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive (Fig. 4.20) serves as a good case in point here. Starting as a plan drawing of the first- floor apartment of 118 Benaki Street, the sketch also includes design considerations for the main façade, the interior view of the main living room, as well as the unfolding of a staircase in space. In other words, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis considered design objects in their totality. Even when they worked on a single aspect of them, as in a plan drawing, they did not treat it in isolation from its implications on the other planes (section, façade, axonometric). The elaborate design process thus left its material marks, not only in the final built form, but also on the preliminary drawings. Most of them carry the traces of relentless modifications and corrections (Fig. 4.21). Suzana Antonakaki worked closely with the other three families and couples that were to inhabit the building. She drew, erased and modified these drawings multiple times, so that every apartment met the tenants' needs. Instead of settling for a typical plan to be replicated in all floors of the building, each floor of 118 Benaki Street was different (Fig. 4.22). Each apartment was a bespoke piece of architecture. This crucial aspect of
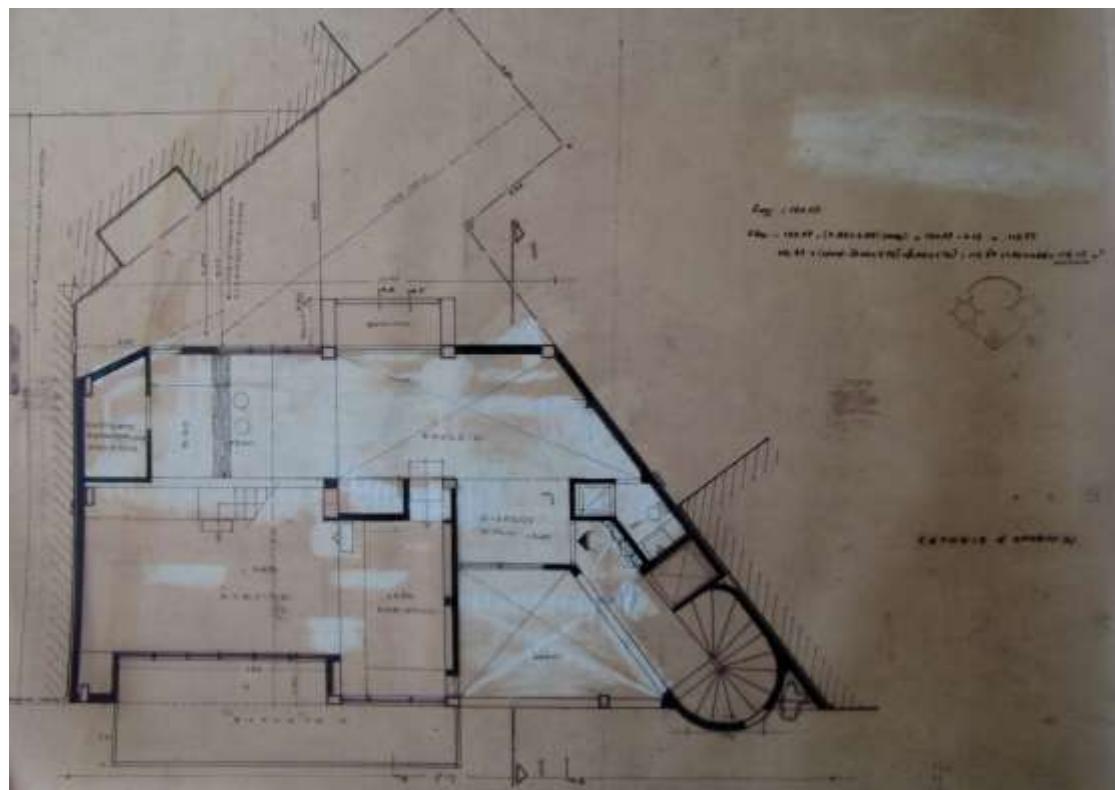
Figure 4.21 First-floor plan drawing (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).
The drawing is marked by the material traces of a design process based on error and
rectification (see Antonas 1994).
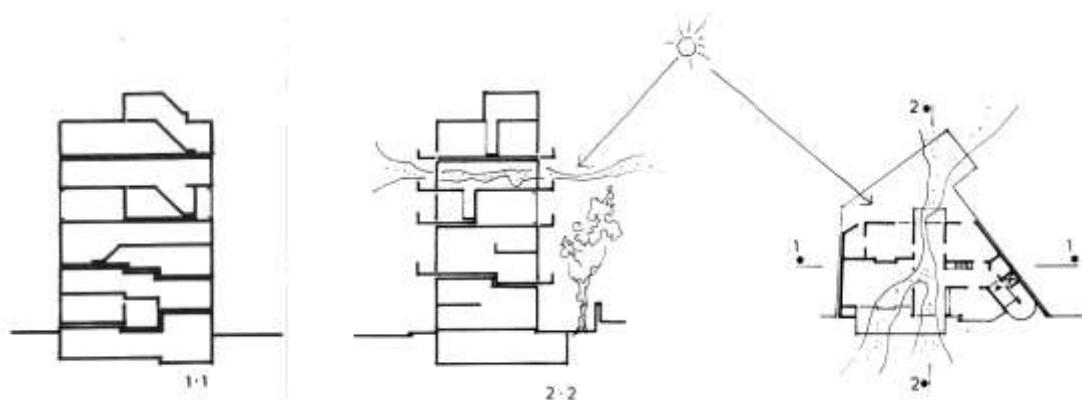
Figure 4.22 Presentation drawings and diagrams of the Benaki Street apartment building
(Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). This is an Athenian apartment building
lacking a typical floor plan. The section drawings emphasise its reorganisation through the
distribution of single apartments in multiple stories.

Figure 4.23 Street views of the Benaki Street apartment building. Selected stills from video by Alekos Polychroniadis (1978) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). The multi-story distribution of the apartments was also evident in the exterior façade. Each apartment was distinct and readily identifiable from the street level.

the design was not included in their five points of critique of the Athenian apartment building. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis worked hard to integrate these diverse apartments in a coherent whole. This was not the standard Athenian apartment building with the wet spaces and the staircase in the middle, the living rooms at the front and the bedrooms at the back. Most of the apartments were organised in two stories, and the family units were individualised within the overall structure (Fig. 4.23). Behind this versatile design process, there was always the rule of the grid (Fig. 4.24).[13] This tool enabled the Antonakakis to keep their holistic approach under their design control. It is also the dual face of the Benaki Street apartment building (Fig. 4.25). The project rests upon the conventions of modern architectural design and the Athenian apartment building typology. At the same time, it critiques and transgresses

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[13] In his interview with Maria Dolka (2002: 5), Dimitris Antonakakis asserted that their use of the grid came from Pikionis. Their mentor 'used this technique for the ground plan of a building but not for the vertical measurements of the building, i.e. the height. That happens all the time. We use this grid only for the ground floor plan, but not for the individual levels of the building'.
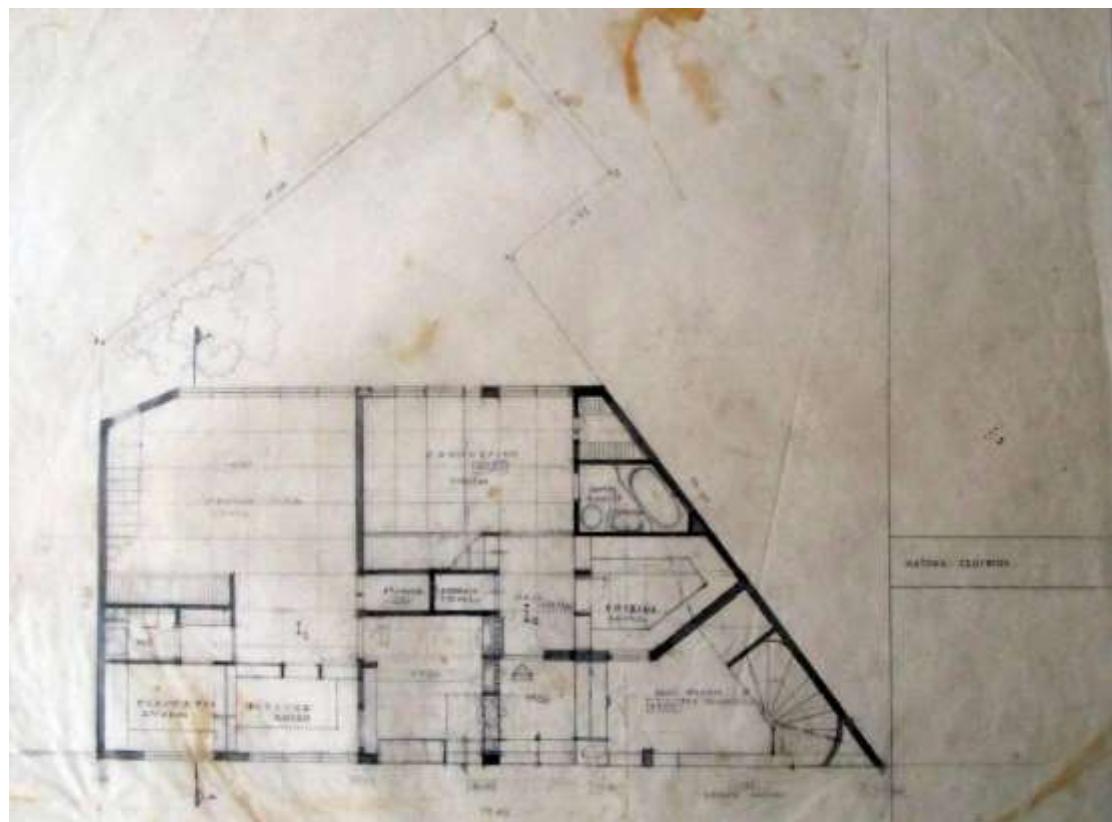
Figure 4.24 Ground floor plan drawing for the Benaki Street apartment building (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). The subtle rule of the grid underpins the design.
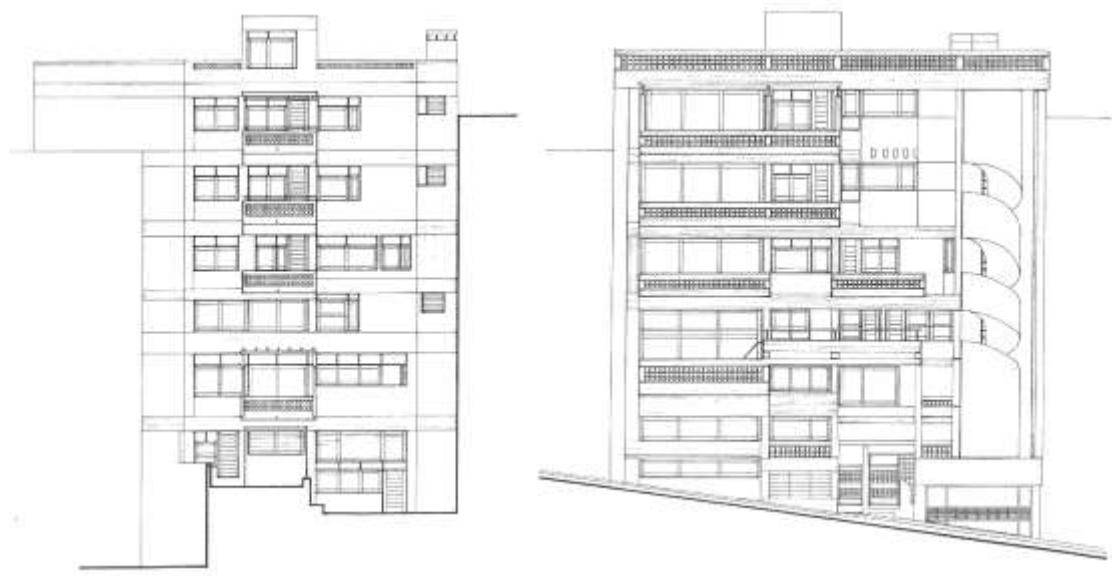
**Figure 4.25** Main façade drawings of the Benaki Street apartment building (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). The façade facing the back of the plot (left) shares affinities with the Athenian apartment building typology. The façade facing Benaki Street expresses the Antonakakis' critical transgressions from the norm.

it, it works within and beyond it.[14] It is this dual attitude that casts Suzana and

Dimitris Antonakakis' design practices as agents of the postmodern ferment.

4.2 Opening up to the tenants

Opening up the design process to the tenants was crucial for Suzana and Dimitris

Antonakakis' critique of the Athenian apartment building typology. The Antonakakis

got to know the future tenants and their needs, to design an apartment tailored to

them. This was the architects' personalised reply to the generic approach of the

contractors and developers that led to the commodification of the built environment.

From the phase of the first sketches, the architects established a feedback loop with

the tenants. The Antonakakis shared their initial architectural proposals, and the

tenants responded with their own proffered modifications.[15] Suzana and Dimitris

Antonakakis' work was also distinct from that of other celebrated architects of the

period, since the couple did not build exclusively for the upper classes. The lack of a

steady circle of clients meant that their clientele opened to the middle-to-low-income

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[14] For Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, the apartment building has been a focal problem of architecture in Greece (Antonakakis 1978a: 63-64). It is also the central theme of most of their texts. See Antonakakis (1977, 1978b, 1981b, 1985, 2014a), Antonakaki (1981), Alexandropoulou (1977), and Lalas (1985).

[15] My account of the inner life of the Benaki Street apartment building and the collaborative design practices of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis is based on my oral history interviews with: the architects (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis) and their son (Aristide Antonas), the civil engineer (Alekos Athanassiadis), the contemporary tenants (Myrto Nezi, Pattie Dolka, Vasso Hadjinikita), and the craftsman (Yannis Roussos) in 2014.

category. Their major architectural challenge was to maintain the desired quality within a restricted budget.[16]

The Benaki Street apartment building was the product of a specific household economy. Lampis and Pattie Dolka, who owned the land, wanted to demolish the old neoclassical house of Pattie's parents that still stood there, to erect a new construction in its place. This would enable them to profit from the recent Building Regulation that allowed for more square footage on the site. Owning the land, they were looking for the contractor who would agree to undertake the task of the construction. He would cover the cost of the construction, and give them two apartments in return (one for them, and one for Pattie Dolka's parents, the Kannas family). On his part, this contractor would also have to look for other parties interested to buy the rest of the apartments. This was how the successful quid pro quo mechanism of the *antiparochi* worked. The owners of the land got the best apartments they themselves would not personally have been able to build; the contractors and developers covered their expenses and made a profit by selling the remaining apartments to interested parties.[17] *Antiparochi* thus served as a win-win

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[16] The only clients who did not impose budget restrictions to the work of the Antonakakis were the residents of the houses in Voula (1975) and Perdika (1981).

[17] In the words of Platon Issaias (2014: 165), the *antiparochi* 'merged the self-building mode of production of residential space with the speculative housing market. The regulation provided the framework where, a respective land piece, owned by a family, or a single person, was exchanged, without any further tax revenues, with built space, in most cases, a few apartments. It was a private agreement between a local contractor and a property owner to trade the plot with a percentage of the built surface in a new building. The landowners had the opportunity to increase their income, by renting the apartments that they did not use as their own house, and the contractors to obtain land without bank loans'. For his 'taxonomies' of the Athenian apartment building typology, see Issaias (2014: 66-147).

deal for those involved. Hence, its popularity as a mode of production of the Athenian built environment is not surprising in hindsight.

Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, who were also interested in having an apartment in the area, approached the Dolkas with a different offer. They would provide the architectural drawings in exchange for the first floor of the apartment building. What was now missing was an additional third party to provide the capital for the construction work to get started. At this point, another friendly couple, the Nezis family, also showed an interest. The Nezis were about to sell a piece of land they owned in Elefsina, to get an apartment in Athens. The four couples (the Antonakakis, Dolkas, Nezis, and Kannas) could now start discussing the prospects of this common project. Their original plan was to sell the ground floor of the new building to a third party.[18] This additional income could cover the remaining expenses. However, when this idea did not materialise, the Antonakakis, and their relatives,[19] decided to step in and buy the ground floor themselves. They wanted to use it as the headquarters of their collaborative architectural practice, Atelier 66. The four friendly couples then resorted to the familiar mechanism of the *antiparochi* to form a partnership of their own. The formation of their own cooperative for the design and construction of the building enabled the project to develop with no other intermediaries. It involved only the parties that were interested to share their lives as neighbours in the same building.

These social bonds were crucial for the development of the project. In a recent presentation of the Benaki Street apartment building, Dimitris Antonakakis (2014a)

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[18] The regulations allowed for the ground floor to be used as a commercial space.

[19] These relatives (Dimitris Antonakakis's brother, Giorgos, and his wife, Aleka Monemvasitou, as well as their cousin, Kostis Hadjimichalis, and his wife, Dina Vaiou) were also fellow architects in Atelier 66.

[Third party copyright material]

Figure 4.26 The city of Athens in 1890, before the advent of the apartment building typology (Ministry of the Environment, Energy and Climate Change Archive). Single-family houses are the norm, while the tallest public buildings are only two-floors high.

started from the changing dynamics of Greek residential space after the late 1940s. He was mainly concerned with the transition from the single-family house to the apartment (Figs. 4.26-4.27). For Antonakakis, the single-family houses of the pre-war years were cellular social units that involved the extended family bonds. These bonds were extended, because they included not only the three familial generations from the grandparents to the grandchildren, but also aunts, uncles and cousins. As the place of reference, the house was the spatial setting that strengthened these social bonds. It effectively 'glued' the extended family together. With the move to the big cities and their apartments, those social relations changed. Residential space became the locus of meeting for only two generations (with the grandparents usually moving to an apartment of their own, if not already institutionalised). The cellular social unit

[Third party copyright material]

Figure 4.27 Inner city squatter settlement (bottom) facing the advent of the Athenian apartment building typology in 1966 (top) (Dimitris Philippidis's private archive). The settlement was eventually eradicated to be replaced by apartment buildings. This was the case for the greater expanse of the city of Athens during the construction boom of the 1960s.

thus decreased in size, and the social relations it used to sustain atrophied. In Antonakakis's eyes, this in turn led to an impoverished understanding of tradition. It was only through social relations that tradition could be maintained and further developed (Antonakakis 2014a: 61). In this light, 118 Benaki Street was also a defence of these traditional residential values. More specifically, it was an attempt to

transform them, to reflect the contemporary needs in the metropolitan apartment building.[20]

The tenants' understanding of the building as a '4-floor family' house chimes with the architects' original intentions. The tenants felt that the building offered them a quality way of life. Their experience was far removed from the metropolitan anonymity of the Athenian built environment. 118 Benaki Street strengthened the social bonds between these families. This in turn meant that the Antonakakis' reinterpretation of tradition in the modern urban context steered away from mere nostalgia. Other qualities of the regional vernacular were also brought in to be adapted to the urban environment. As Suzana Antonakaki wrote in 1981,

> [t]he dual orientation (cross-ventilation) that ensures a controlled climate for the interior, corners of life for different times of the day can, with the appropriate spatial arrangement, provide some possibilities-memories of an outdoor life in the narrow limits of the apartment. (Antonakaki 1981: 55)

In the built work of the Antonakakis, tradition is carried over as a memory of spatial qualities of life in the open-air environment of the vernacular settlement. It was from this context that most modern-day Athenians had originated, anyway.[21]

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[20] In this sense, their work shared affinities with Aldo van Eyck's (1969: 172) approach who had proposed 'start[ing] with the past for a change and discover the unchanging condition of man in the light of change—i.e. in the light of the changing conditions he himself brings about'. Compare Konstantinidis (1975: 313): 'a truly unprecedented and advanced work […] is justified by a continued, living tradition, that which endures because it is put to the test again and again, with each new context, so that it expresses afresh inner experiences, secretly nurtured disciplines, forms that have truly been handled over and over again'.

[21] For the internal migration in Greece during the first two post-war decades, see Kapoli (2014).

[Third party copyright material]

Figure 4.28 New Year's dinner in Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' apartment with Atelier 66 architects and Benaki Street tenants (1991) (Lucy Tzafou-Triantafyllou's private archive). On occasions like these, the building felt like a 'four-floor single family house' for the tenants.

However, the actual life of the tenants in the building suggested that this was only a short-lived alternative. It was more like a dying reverberation of a tradition whose fate was to be lost in the Athenian metropolis. The four families had organised their life in the building in an unconventional way when they first moved in. However, the shared aspects of their collective life faded as the years went by. For instance, Lampis Dolkas had offered his expertise in mechanical engineering to provide 118 Benaki Street with a common centralised heating and ventilation system. However, the arrangement proved inconvenient in practice, and it was not long before they all reverted to autonomous management for each apartment. When the four families first moved in, they also acted as if the whole building was a shared space. They left the doors to their apartments unlocked, cooked for each other, and

Figure 4.29 Traditional interior aesthetics in the living room of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' apartment. Selected stills from video by Alekos Polychroniadis (1978) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

Figure 4.30 Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' traditional interior aesthetics in the living room of their apartment in 118 Benaki Street (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). Furniture, rugs, and other objects that allude to the agricultural life in traditional Greek settlements populate the Antonakakis' interior spaces.

organised frequent common gatherings (Fig. 4.28). After the 1990s, however, the building increasingly functioned like a conventional relatively anonymous Athenian apartment building. Today, the space is no longer shared, the common family gatherings are sparse, and the doors are locked again. The previous phase in the life of the building has certainly left its mark, and the tenants still feel connected. However, in practice each floor now functions in isolation from the others. It is therefore only the formal design features that still render the Benaki Street apartment building as distinct from the standard Athenian typology.

Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' approach to tradition was holistic. They resorted to it as an embodiment of social relations, a source of abstract spatial typologies relevant to the regional context, but also as an aesthetic language (Figs. 4.29-4.30).[22] If the recourse to tradition in an anonymous modern context was to be fully realised, however, the tenants would also have to ascribe to this aesthetic language. Without this aesthetic mentality on the part of the tenant, an architectural project like this could not work. The tenants of 118 Benaki Street were self-conscious. They knew that they were living in an unconventional apartment building. They therefore felt they had to follow the architects' taste in the interior spaces, to avoid an aesthetic dissonance. In the Benaki project tenants' eyes, the final word belonged to the expert architect. The tenants shared the impression that the building offered them lessons in architectural quality. In their own words, it taught them how to dwell and feel at home in a house. The long-term friendship with Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis also helped the tenants develop an eye for the minute design decisions that affected their everyday life in buildings. The architects were also happy to see

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[22] Starting from the 'Habitat' CIAM in Aix-en-Province (1953), many of the Team 10 architects also studied bidonvilles, shanty towns and traditional settlements as the built fabrics of social practices. Although Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis were also interested in these social patterns of dwelling, their additional resort to folk tradition as the source of an aesthetic language differentiated them from these similar pursuits.

their ideas about cross-ventilation and lighting, thresholds, openings and communication across the building being actively used and appreciated by the tenants. These aspects of their design depended heavily on the tenants' agreement. This is why they did not always work in practice in their other projects. However, the architect-tenant hierarchy had proved very hard to completely dissolve, even when the architects had deliberately attempted to include the tenants in the major design decisions.

The architects had noted the discrepancy between theirs and the other tenants' aesthetic preferences. Tenants did not want their apartments as simple and austere as Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis had originally designed them. Aesthetic considerations aside, tenants had to go with roughcast plaster and Sifnos stones. These were the cheapest options available and their budget was restricted at the time. As the years went by, however, the tenants replaced the Sifnos stones on the floor, despite their initial fascination with the material as reminiscent of Greek island life. For some tenants, this was also a case of following the style of the times. The Benaki Street project was constructed in the early 1970s. That period was characterised by a wider turn to Greek architecture and folk art. The carpets and rugs that originally covered the floors of the apartments, for instance, were meant as a cultural expression of a return to folk culture. They represented a return to an authenticity that resisted its superficial recuperation and abuse by the 7-year military regime (see Tournikiotis 2006). In other words, this revisit of tradition was a political act of resistance. [23] At the same time, it also served as a reconsideration of the modern. In this sense, the Antonakakis' work was a child of its own time. Their turn to the

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[23] This was not the first time that folk culture acted as a stronghold of resistance to a constructed national tradition in the history of modern Greece. Tzonis and Lefaivre's (1981a)

Figure 4.31 Living rooms of the Nezis' (top) and the Dolkas' (bottom) apartments, as designed by the Antonakakis in 1977 (left), and in their current state in 2014 (right) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' and Stylianos Giamarelos's private archives). The tenants replaced the Sifnos stones with wood and marble. They also introduced contemporary furniture pieces.

regional tradition was inseparable from the prevailing cultural trends of the 1960s from which it emerged. For the sophisticated tenants of 118 Benaki Street, however, the interior decoration of their apartment could not remain frozen in the 1960s. At some point, they felt the need to change it to follow the aesthetic trends of the decades that followed (Fig. 4.31).

schematic regionalist account in 'The Grid and the Pathway' echoed this long history of a 'resistant' folk culture since the nineteenth-century foundation of the modern Greek state.

In a retrospective account of their relationship with the tenants of their buildings, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis (2000b) noted they had been lucky enough to work with 'ideal' tenants over the years. They got to know and mutually trust each other, cultivating strong friendly bonds with many of them. However, their account does not hide their disappointment for the alterations during the construction process, or later in the life of the building. As they characteristically note, 'despite their old friendships' tenants ended up making design 'decisions irrelevant to the intentions that were once regarded as preconditions' later (Antonakakis 2000b). In other words, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis could not afford losing control of their projects even after they had been completed. In this sense, they were still deeply modernist authors.

This was also the case for their collaboration with other professionals in the construction industry. In their texts, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis regularly admitted their difficulty 'to separate [the] creative work' of their builders and craftsmen from their own, 'and to distinguish their contribution to the unique character of the work of Atelier 66' (Antonakakis in Frampton 1985b: 11). However, it was the architects who were always at the helm of the design process.[24] Their collaboration consisted of getting the craftsmen to understand the architects' intentions and the overarching rationale of their designs. These went beyond the standardised solutions of banal apartment buildings. They therefore challenged the skills of their craftsmen. The design philosophy of the Antonakakis posited that this inability to standardise the design details of their work preserved a crucial architectural quality from being lost (cf. Antonakakis 2014a: 98). In an era of industrial standardisation, it harked back to the subtle qualities of human craft and

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[24] For the theorisation of the significant contribution of the craftsmen in sustaining a tradition rooted in a community, see Antonakakis (1996).

manual work.[25] The architects themselves had a good sense of the use, qualities and properties of the materials. This allowed them to appreciate the design intelligence of their craftsmen even more. The architects often consulted them for advice when they faced specific challenges in material construction. However, it would be an exaggeration to say that the craftsmen contributed significantly to the result (Roussos 2014). The architects prepared drawings and models specifically for their craftsmen. In these detailed drawings and models, everything was already fully laid out as needed for construction.

The work of the architects was so tightly put together that other professionals, like the civil engineers who collaborated with them, had to be in constant contact. Sometimes, the simple metric modification of a detail could lead to an extensive reconsideration of the original design. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis used the grid so extensively that the metric dimensions of key design elements were proportionally correlated. For the structural design, the civil engineers had to retain the Antonakakis' architectural intentions intact. They thus engaged with the architectural brief, to solve the problems that arose from these specific design intentions. Apart from the extensive use of the grid, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' architectural designs also used to divide the building in different construction zones. This was the architects' own preliminary structural design that was already aligned with the grid and their other key design elements.[26] Their engineers always started their detailed structural design from this preliminary version provided by the architects. Again, despite the Antonakakis' rhetoric of

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[25] However, the custom-made furniture and bespoke set pieces also meant that the construction costs rose.

[26] The spatial plasticity of the Antonakakis' designs with their slight changes of levels obstructed the antiseismic behaviour of their buildings. This was usually solved by reinforcing some key columns.

creative contribution of the parties involved (Antonakakis in Frampton 1985b: 11), the architects' superior role in the design hierarchy was not practically challenged.

Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' non-standard approach did not go unobserved by the developers and contractors of the period. Some of them went as far as charging the Antonakakis for elitism (cf. Antonakakis 2014a: 83; Lalas 1985). However unfair, their critique focused on a question pertinent to the architects' approach: could the design model of 118 Benaki Street, and the 'household economy' upon which its construction had been founded, be generalised to be applied on a larger scale? Suzana Antonakaki re-used and further developed some of its most important features in the subsequent Doxapatri apartment building project (1978-1981). The future tenants of this building also formed a similar partnership. However, they found it more difficult to cooperate, since they did not also share the friendly ties of the parties involved in the Benaki Street cooperative. It thus seemed inherently difficult to generalise a design process that rested on personalised interaction with the involved parties.

This was another symptom of the Antonakakis' unwillingness to think of their practice in a business sense.[27] They promoted an architectural design practice that did not follow the market. In the eyes of the Antonakakis, the commodified approach

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[27] Issaias (2014: 131) highlights this dissonance between the private market and the architects' approach as the main reason of the Antonakakis' incapacity to 'intervene successfully to the polykatoikia production, especially in the last three decades'. For the two architects, this distance from the private market practices saved their work from degenerating in a commodifiable fad. Nonetheless, their projects were influential for a new generation of Greek architects. In Issaias's account, the Antonakakis' main contributions to the Athenian apartment building typology were the reorganisation of the floor plan (that emphasised individualisation through the distribution of single apartments in multiple stories), and the 'brutalist materiality of the exposed, un-plastered concrete' (Issaias 2014: 114). However influential they have been in terms of design and materiality, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis could not also debunk the mode of production their practices opposed.

led to a built environment 'bereft of symbols [and] points of reference'. Its fading quality expressed the 'destitution, shallowness, […] bureaucracy, and consumer mania' that characterised a 'commercialised everyday life' (Antonakakis in Frampton 1985b: 6). It was this anonymity and the resulting dissolution of social relations that Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis wanted to address in their reconsideration of the modern. However, as architectural practitioners, the Antonakakis also had to rely on contractors with the business sense they themselves lacked. The most perceptive of these contractors in turn appropriated some of the Antonakakis' design experimentations, to turn them into a profitable enterprise. This was the case with the idea of incorporating prefabricated balconies in the design of their early 1960s apartment building projects with contractor, Nikos Konstantinidis (cf. Antonakakis 2014a: 82). Konstantinidis found out that the Antonakakis offered him a distinct architectural identity with inexpensive means. His appreciation for their work in turn led him to entrust them with his large-scale tourist project, the Hydra Beach complex. In other words, the contractors and developers Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis theoretically opposed were also practically required as clients. They enabled the couple to produce some of their large-scale projects of the highest architectural calibre.

While the Antonakakis would not easily admit it, in all aspects of their work during the decade in question, they implicitly sided with what they explicitly opposed. Tensions like these generated ambiguities and dualities that were entrenched in the architects' work. During the 1980s, these were only further amplified. Faced with sometimes irreconcilable demands, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis still had to carry their architectural design practices forward. In the pages that follow, I will show how this series of double binds gradually enmeshed the Antonakakis in a postmodern ferment, starting from their collaborative design practice, Atelier 66.

4.3 Anti-hierarchical collaborative design

In his Introduction to the 1985 monograph, Frampton highlighted 'the cultivated sense of "collectivity"' in Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' collaborative practice, Atelier 66. The work of the office was presented as the product of collective conception by a stable group of architects. It thus exemplified critical regionalism in the sense of 'consciously cultivat[ing] its own roots [...] to arrive at its expressive form' (Frampton 1985b: 5). While Frampton was right to highlight this cultivated collectivity, his ideologically motivated account also mythologised the actual practices of Atelier 66 twenty years later. When Frampton published this text in 1985, the collaborative practice had grown to include twelve partners (Fig. 4.32). However, it took this collaborative structure less than a year to dissolve in 1986.[28] In what follows, I will retrace the inner life of Atelier 66 to show how Frampton's critical regionalist also accelerated its eventual dissolution.

The need to redefine the design process as a collective endeavour was a focal concern of similar developments at the time. The early critiques of functionalism were instigated by seminal texts like Jane Jacobs's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961).[29] They favoured an opening up of the design process from the individual authorship of the authoritarian modernist architect. They called for a novel design ethos that would incorporate contributions from the other parties involved or affected by the final design products.[30]

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[28] For Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' accounts of the formation and dissolution of Atelier 66, see Antonakakis (1988a: 26-28) and Stylianou (1990: 62-67).

[29] For a similar critique of modernist urban planning, see Mitscherlich (1965).

[30] Charles Jencks's own first attempt to illustrate the postmodern in architecture as a multivalent pluralistic language resorted to the participatory design work of Lucien Kroll and Ralph Erskine (Jencks 1977a: 95-96). In the United States, Alexander Tzonis (1972) also

NAME	UNIVERSITY EDUCATION	SPECIAL ACTIVITIES	PARTICIPATION in Atelier 66
G. AIDONOPOULOS	Architect N.T.U. 1963		1963-1967 1978-1982
D. ANTONAKAKIS	Architect N.T.U. 1958 Instructor N.T.U 1959	.Member of the council of the Assoc. of Greek Architects 1961-62 .President of the Assoc of the NTU Teaching Personnel 1973-77 .Vice President of the Central Council of the Panhellenic Assoc. of Academic Teaching Personnel 1976-77	1965-
S. GOUSSI-DESYLLAS	Architect N.T.U. 1960		1965-1972 1980-1982
S. KOLOKYTHA-ANTONAKAKIS	Architect N.T.U. 1959	.Member of the council of the Assoc. of Greek Architects 1971-72 .President of the Department of Architects of the Technical Chamber of Greece 1982-84	1965
D. POTIRIS	Architect N.T.U. 1959		1963-1967 1980-1982
M. TSANAKLI-VRONDISSI	Architect N.T.U. 1960		1967-1972 1980-1982
C. HADJIMICHALIS	Architect A.U.T. 1968 MA Urban and Regional Planning UCLA 1976 Ph.D. Regional Planning UCLA 1980 Senior Lecturer A.U.T.1982		1968-1974 1974 - 1980
G. ANTONAKAKIS	Architect 1970 Université de Genève		1970
A. MOHENVASSITOU-ANTONAKAKIS	Architect N.T.U. 1969 Instructor N.T.U.1971		1972
V. BABALOU-NOUNAKIS	Architect N.T.U. 1970 Instructor N.T.U. 1971		1972
A. NOUNAKIS	Architect N.T.U. 1970		1972
K. MORETTIS	Architect N.T.U. 1970		1972-73
A. POLYCHRONIADIS	Architect A.U.T. 1968 Diplome I.U.P. Institut de Paris 1970		1973
D. VAIOU-HADJIMICHALIS	Architect N.T.U. 1974 MA Urban Design UCLA 1977 Instructor N.T.U. 1982		1975
N. NISOS	Architect N.T.U. 1971		1978
TH. FOTIOU	Architect N.T.U. 1969 DEA en Geographie Urbaine Paris X Nanterre 1982 Instructor NTU 1972	.Vice President of the Central Council of the Panhellenic Association of Academic Teaching Personnel 1978 .Member of the Central Council of the Panhellenic Assoc. of Academic Teaching Personnel 1982	1979
C. DASKALAKIS	Architect N.T.U. 1970		1976

TIME OF PARTICIPATION ....
PART TIME PARTICIPATION : MILITARY SERVICE
TIME OF POST GRADUATE STUDIES

Figure 4.32 The structure of Atelier 66 and its evolution over time. In 1983, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis forwarded this document to Kenneth Frampton to be included in his edited monograph on their work. The book was published by Rizzoli in 1985 (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

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developed an interest in anti-hierarchical participatory design processes, inspired by his mentor, Serge Chermayeff (cf. Chermayeff & Alexander 1963, and Chermayeff & Tzonis 1971).

In the 1960s, the strong theoretical interest in this subject did not leave architectural practices unaffected. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis shared these concerns. They believed that opening up the design process could 'contain and continue a previous conversation' with architects, places, 'the rigours of life, [and] the interventions of the inhabitants'. In turn, this could be an antidote to the anonymous urban environment generated by the vulgar commodification of modernist tenets by the Greek construction industry (Antonakakis in Frampton 1985b: 7). In other words, the Antonakakis' experimentation with structures of collaborative design was another significant part of their reconsideration of the modern. When they formed their collaborative practice Atelier 66 in 1965, the Antonakakis consciously strived to devise an anti-hierarchical structure of working together. They started with three fellow architects who were also close friends of the couple.[31]

When it was founded in 1965, Atelier 66 was not an exception to the local architectural field. Forming collaborative practices was an emerging trend for the young Greek architects of the period.[32] They usually comprised three or four architects, who had already developed friendly ties from their student years. Following the latest legislative modifications, collaborative practices were eligible to participate in the numerous architectural competitions of the period. Early 1960s Greece was undergoing a construction boom mainly driven by the tourist sector and the investment in infrastructure this required.[33] Collaborative practices were the

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[31] The first architects of Atelier 66 were Eleni Goussi-Desylla, Efi Tsarmakli-Vrondisi, and Denys Potiris. They were all fellow students of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis at the National Technical University of Athens School of Architecture in the late 1950s.

[32] This was noted first by Loyer (1966: 1194) as introducing a 'novel conception of the profession' and later by Antoniadis (1979: 119-120).

[33] For a reading of architecture, politics and tourism in Greece from 1950 to 1965, see Tournikiotis (2012).

Figure 4.33 Publication of the military junta regime (Public Relations Service of the Ministry of Coordination, 1970) highlighting the reliance of its propaganda on the booming construction sector (Benaki Museum Neohellenic Architecture Archives).

young architects' gateway to undertaking large-scale projects. Left to the devices of their individual practices, the young Greek architects would not have been able to work on projects of this magnitude. Large-scale tourist resorts were especially promoted and easily funded by the Greek banks at the time.

This intense construction process carried on unfettered by the imposition of the military regime in 1967. In fact, the building regulations promoted by the junta in 1968 actively encouraged the on-going construction boom. The construction sector became key for the purposes of the regime's propaganda. The boom was presented as a major factor of growth for the Greek economy, owing to the policies promoted by the colonels (Fig. 4.33). The legislative modifications of 1968 allowed for increased

building heights and square footage.[34] They also promoted a conception of the building as a stand-alone object in the environment. Architects were now allowed to consider their projects as independent from the confines of site specificity and their host urban block. This practically paved the way for the construction of the first Athenian skyscrapers (like the Towers of Athens and Panormou), among other large-scale projects of the period. In addition, the regime organised a series of architectural competitions for public buildings, including schools and hospitals.[35] Greek architects of the period used these competitions as a testbed. They enabled them to apply the modernist tenets on a scale larger than that of the typical apartment building. Their adherence to modernism was also an implicit form of resistance to the junta, and its folklore aesthetics of a nostalgic return to history (cf. Tournikiotis 2006).

Even if one retained ideological reservations to participate in competitions organised by the anachronistic regime, the formation of a collaborative practice in the first steps of a young architect's career still made sense. It offered a gentle introduction to the professional world. Collaborative practices allowed groups of friends to gain valuable experience by sharing their first commissions, usually coming through the circles of their family members.

Like their Greek colleagues at the time, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis formed ad-hoc collaborations with close friends, to take part in architectural competitions. The eventual establishment of their shared practice was the result of their winning entry to the competition for the Archaeological Museum of Chios in 1965. This first prize enabled the couple to rent an office space in Yianni Statha

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[34] Law 395/1968 allowed the extension of existing or future buildings by one floor. Permissible heights, plot coverage, and building volume were practically increased by 30%.

[35] These have been documented in the architectural competition pages of the annual review, *Architecture in Greece* (1967-1974).

Street. This was how Atelier 66 was born. The name echoed that of the Swiss architectural practice, Atelier 5, whose work was often published in *L' Architecture d'aujourd'hui* in the early 1960s. The Greek architects shared the attitude of their Swiss counterparts to emphasise collective work, instead of singling out individual contributions.

The office did not follow a business model that would invest in its projected image through public relations. It was the work that was always at the forefront, and at the centre of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' concerns. This in turn meant that their collective practice did not have the clientele that would guarantee a steady flow of commissions. The common group projects could only come through an award at an architectural competition. This is why the work of the architects involved in Atelier 66 was only in addition to their main occupation. They all retained their own individual clients or employment in a bigger architectural office. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' office thus served as a shared workspace for whomever needed to use it. Collective involvement was not a precondition. Atelier 66 architects were free to use the space for developing individual projects for their own clients. If necessary, they could also invite other members of the group to collaborate on their individual projects. As the years went by, the Antonakakis had also cultivated their long-term collaborations with a group of trusted craftsmen.[36] 'Fine-tuned' to the needs of the couple's work, these experienced craftsmen were also available to work with the other Atelier 66 architects on their individual projects (Stylianou 1990: 67). Each architect contributed proportionally to the common expenses that ensured a fully-functional

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[36] This informal group of craftsmen included Charalambos Tzanakakis (furniture), Yannis Tsalapatis (ironwork), Michalis Patelaros (carpentry), Stelios Kostoulakis (concrete), Stavros Panou (wall decorator), Stelios Lasithiotakis (fireplaces), Yannis Nikoloudakis (wall plaster). Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis had also designed extensions and other architectural interventions to some of these individuals' houses.

workspace readily available for use by anyone in the group. In similar terms, the occasional competition prize was shared in equal parts to the architects involved.

What made Atelier 66 stand out from other Greek and international collaborative practices of the period was its gradual expansion and constant renewal. The other Greek groups did not eventually include additional partners beyond the original three or four architects. By contrast, Atelier 66 welcomed many younger architects who joined Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis on coequal terms over the years. Thus, a group of thirteen collaborating architects was gradually formed without the obligation to be financially supported by the Antonakakis. Atelier 66 did not have employees.[37] It comprised fellow architects, family members, relatives and former students of Dimitris Antonakakis at the National Technical University of Athens. This ensured that the culture of companionship of the original group of friends in the 1960s was retained in the 1980s, when Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis also collaborated with younger colleagues. It was a solid group competent to claim large-scale commissions in the regional architectural milieu.

Due to the relative autonomy of each Atelier 66 architect, the decision to enter a competition as a large group usually meant working in the after-hours during the weekdays, or on Sundays. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' tendency to rethink and rectify the original ideas,[38] or try many possible alternatives, added to the workload. It meant that the Atelier 66 architects kept working until the last breadth of the deadline. As stressful as this work at the limits was, it ensured the high-quality standard of the final design proposal. For some members, the shared experiences

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[37] Annie Platanioti, who worked mostly with Suzana Antonakaki and stayed in the office for approximately 25 years, was the only exception to this rule.

[38] For the Antonakakis' 'error and rectification' approach to architectural design, see Antonas (1994).

(from their joint travels and their common political beliefs to the music, monologues and poetry they were listening to while working at the office) outweighed the high workload. The dedication Atelier 66 demanded from its members was cultivated in an overarching climate of coequal collaboration. There were no official 'protocols'. Voicing an opinion on any matter was positively encouraged.

However, the high workload eventually became a burden for some of the collaborating architects. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis worked at an office that also formed part of their own apartment building. The boundaries between their life and their work had thus been blurred. In Atelier 66, private life was part of the public professional action. Having to cater for their children, Suzana Antonakaki worked from home. This meant she was rarely absent from the office. At the same time, Dimitris Antonakakis devoted a considerable amount of his time to academic teaching every week. It was not therefore rare for the couple to stay up working until late into the night, after having put their children to sleep. They worked harder than the other Atelier 66 architects who had to follow their lead. In theory, the terms of the collaboration were relaxed and flexible. However, this lack of shared timetables and commonly agreed scheduling practically meant there was no boundary between work and leisure time. This was especially intensified the closer one got to a competition deadline. In that sense, Atelier 66 was not a typical professional group. It was a group of people that shared a life devoted to architecture. This in turn meant that the younger colleagues were called to mature abruptly. It was hard for them to escape the normalised working hours of their Saturday nights. The workload engulfed their personal lives that were still at an earlier stage, out of sync with the rhythms of their senior colleagues. It was not long before some of them felt architecture could not be their entire life, but a profession that needed to be reconciled with other significant aspects of their lives. At this point, the terms of their collaboration at Atelier 66 needed to be reconsidered.

Work/life balance was not the only problematic aspect of the collaborative practice. Although Atelier 66 welcomed younger colleagues, the established design practices of the office and the formal homogeneity of their final products did not reflect this influx of talent. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis remained the unchallenged leaders of the collaborative practice. This was a group consciously devoted to transgressing the dominant modernist approach to architectural design. However, it did so only in the signature way of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. Although the rhetoric of the office emphasised co-equal team work, the outward reception was that of a practice of (anonymous) associate architects led by the (eponymous) couple. Every work of Atelier 66 was immediately associated with Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. The other architects thus felt they had to reproduce the Antonakakis' distinctive architectural idiom. The number of architects involved with Atelier 66 was therefore irrelevant. They all designed the same. It was difficult for something different to emerge out of this context. For the younger members of Atelier 66, this was also owing to their respect for their former mentor at the National Technical University of Athens. Even when the terms of their collaboration with Dimitris Antonakakis had changed in the context of a professional architectural practice, it was difficult for them to stop regarding him as a mentor. This student mentality was thus carried over to the early years of their professional practice. In this sense, Atelier 66 was closer to the type of modernist groups formed around leading figures like Alvar Aalto in Finland.

For the former students of Dimitris Antonakakis, their first meeting with Suzana in the office was equally revelatory. There, they met a female architect as dynamic and charismatic as their mentor. In their eyes, she was the hidden protagonist, a creative source of Atelier 66. In their everyday life in the office, Suzana Antonakaki led the design process, and defended the design ideas she put on paper. She gradually rose to a leading role in the office. Especially after 1977, when Dimitris

Figure 4.34 Comprehensive list of projects forwarded to Kenneth Frampton for the Rizzoli monograph (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). The last column specifies the architects responsible for each project (Atelier 66 architects, competition entry, Suzana or Dimitris Antonakakis). The list documents Suzana Antonakaki's leading role in the office. After 1977, she is the lead architect for more projects than her husband.

Antonakakis was preparing his academic portfolio for his professorial candidacy at the National Technical University of Athens, she was the lead architect for most of the projects undertaken by the couple (Fig. 4.34).

Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis had cultivated their own way of working together over the years. In the mythologising eyes of their peers, it seemed that the two architects communicated their design intentions with a single glance from one end of the drawing board to the other. For them, it was as if the couple worked in direct unison. The young architects felt they needed to work very hard to cover the decade of professional experience that often divided them from the couple. Under these circumstances, they could not picture themselves as co-equal partners. After all, they had just started working for an architectural practice that was already mythologised as unique in the Greek architectural field. They worked more like collaborating architects who were also apprentices. For many of them, their work at Atelier 66 was equivalent to a graduate programme. Their professional work covered gaps in their architectural education. They felt they got much more than they contributed to the work of the office. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' relations with their peers were thus shifting over time. The first Atelier 66 generation of close friends used the same language, and shared similar concerns with the couple. Hence, it was not only practical experience that the younger architects of Atelier 66 lacked (Fig. 4.35). They increasingly did not share the same references and interests with Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis.

It was in urban design and planning that Atelier 66 clearly benefited from the activity of the younger architects. Kostis Hadjimichalis, Alekos Polychroniadis, Konstantinos Daskalakis and Dina Vaiou worked on numerous urban projects during their years at the office. They had all pursued similar subjects in their graduate studies. Atelier 66 thus built up a portfolio of urban planning projects. This in turn

Figure 4.35 Atelier 66 architects in Olympia in 1980 (Giorgos Antonakakis's private archive). By then, the group included a mix of older and younger members, whose age gap exceeded a decade.

enabled the group to respond to competitions of this magnitude with confidence. It is in the sense of this different design scale that the distinction between the (architectural) work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis and the (urban) work of Atelier 66 is valid. However, in the final instance, individual contributions from the young architects were assimilated to the overall compositional logic of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. As the years went by, this tendency posed an open question to the couple. When interviewed, their peers employed terms like 'Baroque' and 'design crisis' to describe the atmosphere in the office circa 1980. This was more evident in the Antonakakis' obsession with detail in elaborated drawings of increasingly complex projects. It was at this point that the couple felt the need to enrich their

main architectural concerns with those coming from the younger generation of their collaborators. However, their design crisis coincided with a congestion of conflicting architectural ambitions of the members of Atelier 66.

The different design approaches within Atelier 66 surfaced in the early 1980s. Their clear articulation coincided with the commission of large-scale projects like the university buildings on Crete. The major difficulties arose when the younger architects wanted to go beyond Dimitris Antonakakis's teachings, in pursuit of an individual expression of their own. In principle, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis were also concerned with the urban and socio-political matters discussed by Kostis Hadjimichalis, for instance. However, these concerns were not the focal source of the architectural couple's own design interests. Contrasts like these came to the fore as diverging approaches to the same design problem. By this point, Atelier 66 had become a group of increasingly maturing architects. Their collaboration over a long stretch of time accentuated both their individual differences and their converging approaches to design. Splitting up in two sub-groups to produce different solutions to competition briefs became a standard practice in the office during the late 1970s. This initial stage was followed by a group discussion of the merits and flaws of each sub-group's proposal. The aim was to reach an agreement upon the preferable design strategy to be adopted. However, in most cases the ensuing result was the one originally proposed by Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. In some cases, the couple put the extra effort to design the other architects' proposals themselves to highlight their problems. This was another symptom of their prevailing presence in the office. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis spent more time on the work of Atelier 66 than the other architects who were not in the office as much as they were. Thus, the project would have taken another direction after the couple had spent another night's work on it in the absence of the others. After this point, it would be very difficult to revert to an older version of the same project. The usual back-and-forth of the design

process notwithstanding, in the final instance, the collaboration practically followed a linear development under the control of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis.

However, arriving at a shared consensus was not always possible. In the architectural competition for the Tavros City Hall (1972), for instance, Atelier 66 submitted two proposals, and they were both distinguished (Fig. 4.36). The two projects were different in their working of the relation of the building to the city. Where the proposal that won the prize gathered the program within a single self-enclosed volume, the proposal that earned the distinction worked with shorter building blocks that connected to the surrounding public spaces on various levels. In other words, the same group had produced opposing architectural solutions to the same design brief.

This does not mean that a univocal monolithic block within Atelier 66 systematically challenged Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' suggestions. There were also disagreements among the Atelier 66 architects. As long as the group stayed together, and once the masterplan for a large-scale project was agreed upon, the architects worked in sub- groups responsible for specific sections. Individual buildings in the masterplan would be designed in detail by groups of two or three Atelier 66 architects. This was expected to produce a variation in their architectural character after the main features and design decisions for each of them had been agreed with the whole group. The various group discussions also served as occasions to theorise the work of Atelier 66.[39] These frequently left room for a more intense

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[39] This sophisticated process of collaborative decision-making can be traced in the texts Atelier 66 had to submit for their architectural competition entries. Many of them were eventually published in Doumanis's annual review, *Architecture in Greece* over the 1970s and 1980s.
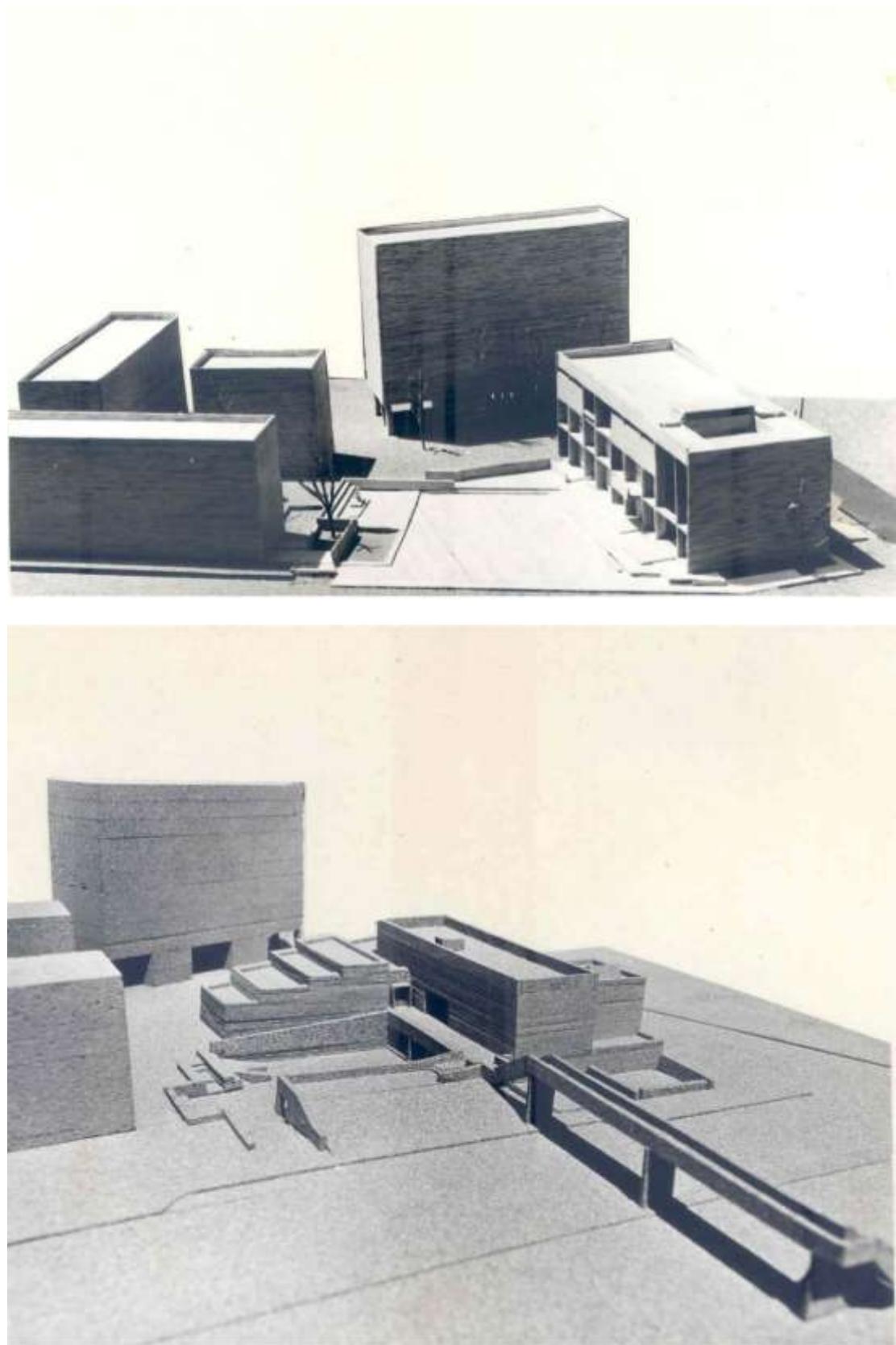
Figure 4.36 In the architectural competition for the Tavros City Hall (1972), Atelier 66 submitted two proposals. They were both distinguished (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).
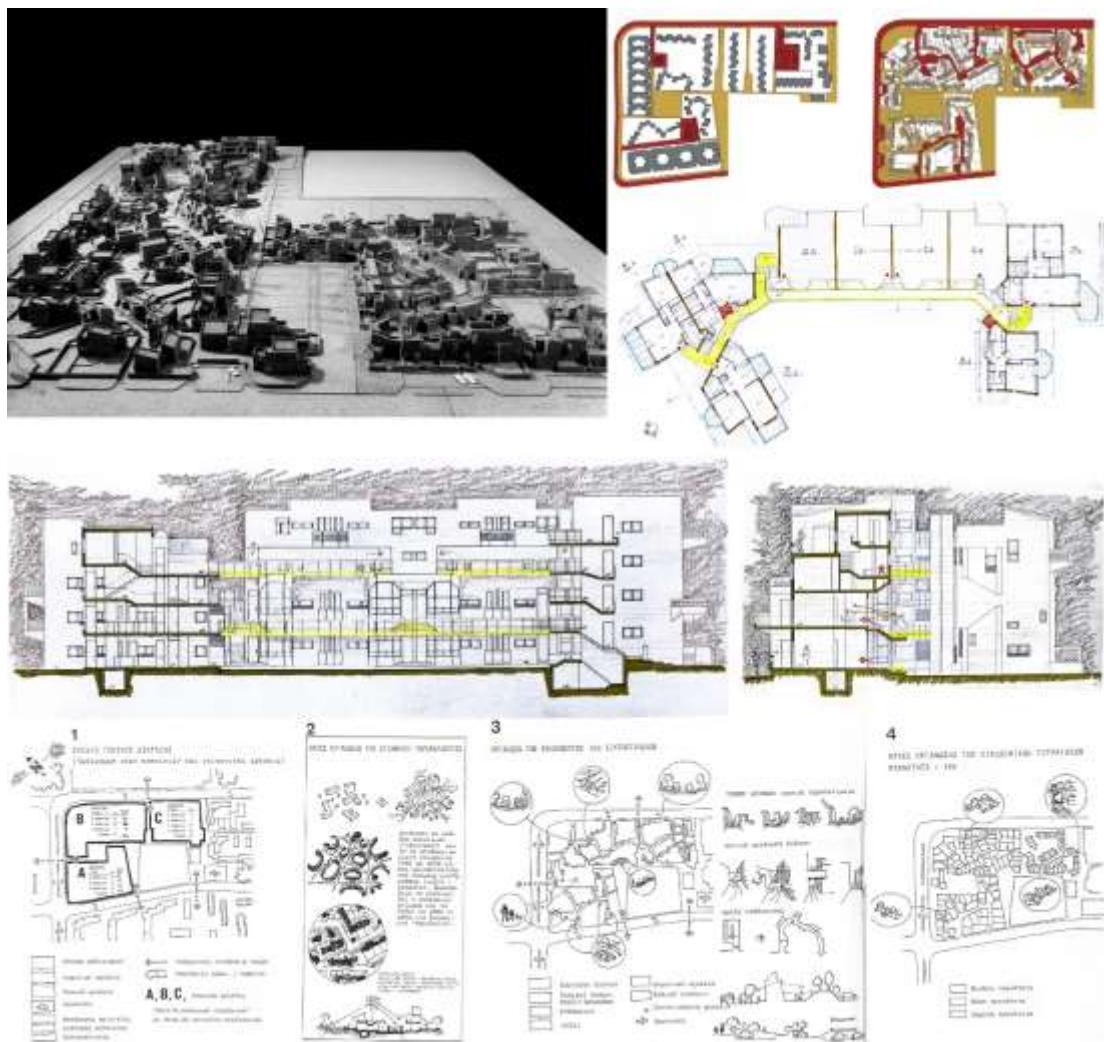
Figure 4.37 Atelier 66's EKTENEPOL project in Komotini (1981) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). The architects defied the original plans of the contractors to create a labyrinthine masterplan of open-air routes of varying degrees of privacy and publicity throughout the housing complex (top and bottom). The agreement upon the masterplan was followed by the design of variable dwelling units by Atelier 66 architects (middle).

critique that was nonetheless never articulated. Serious ruptures did not materialise, because in the final instance Atelier 66 architects fell back to the common design principles that stemmed from the practice of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. In retrospect, this seems like the strategy of a group that understood its internal tensions, but preferred not to address or discuss them in detail any longer.
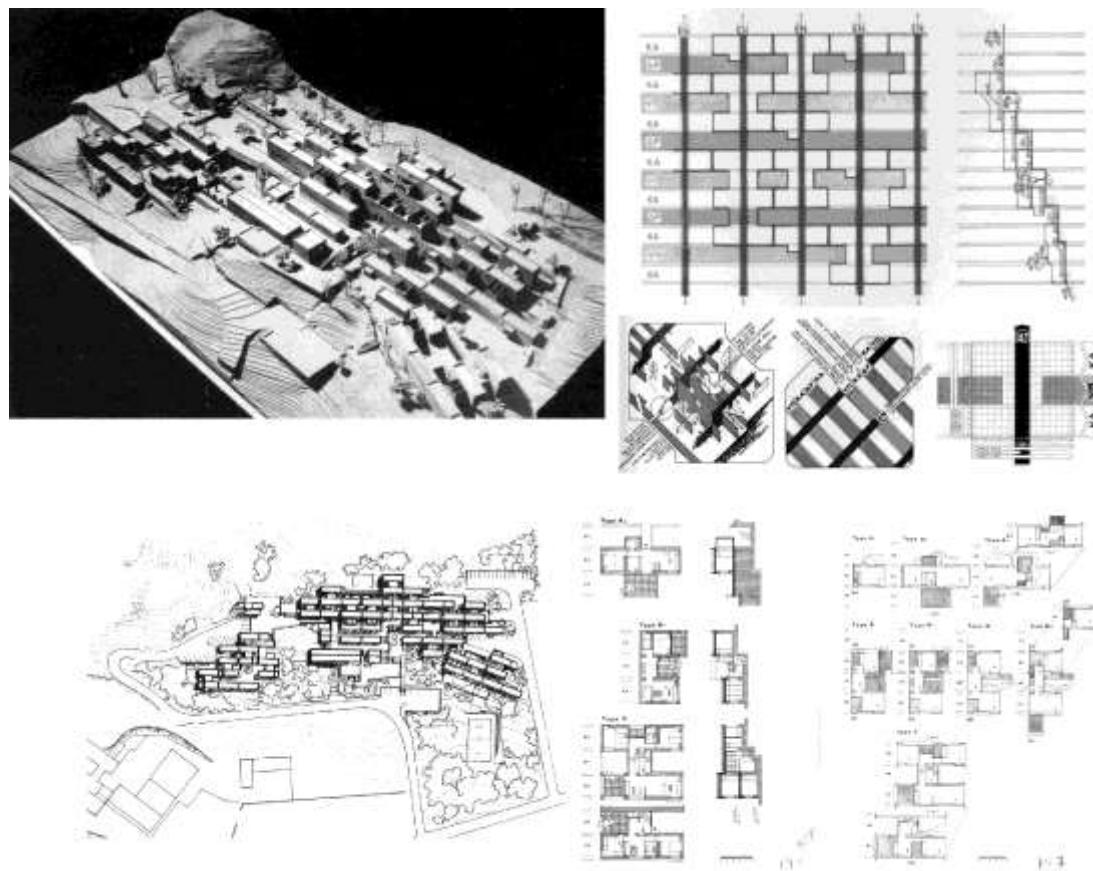
Figure 4.38 Housing project for construction workers in Distomo by Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis (1969) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). A system of successive parallel zones of public/open-air and private/closed spaces (top right) organised the housing complex of variable dwelling units (bottom right).

Atelier 66 architects regarded the EKTENEPOL housing project in Komotini (1981) as the best example of their collective practice (Fig. 4.37). This housing complex of 220 apartments developed around a series of open spaces and outdoor routes of varying widths that served as piazzas, playgrounds, and streets. In 1988, Dimitris Antonakakis highlighted the same project as the cornerstone of their residential work during the 1980s:

the single-family houses we realised in the 1970s were apparently and consciously influenced by our Distomo housing project of the late 1960s [Fig. 4.38];[40] similarly, the houses we designed in the 1980s refer more or less directly to the logic or the elaboration of the EKTENEPOL housing project. (Antonakakis 1988a: 31)

However, it was not the collective aspects of this design project that concerned him the most. Antonakakis was more interested in the specific housing typology they had explored there. They continued to develop it with Suzana Antonakaki in their subsequent residential projects of the same decade. In other words, it was his and Suzana's individual contribution to the project that concerned him.

This is why Atelier 66 architects also have differing recollections of the important design debates in the office during the 1980s. The mismatches in their accounts indicate the widening chasm of interests within the group. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, for instance, remember these discussions revolving around their own main concerns: the implementation of the grid in their designs, and the exact metric relations between the various design elements. Should they go for a 90, an 86, or an 83cm grid that would then serve to control every aspect of their design, from the overall dimensions of a room to the door and window openings? The decision on this three-dimensional volumetric grid in turn gave rise to a series of new questions. Does the grid refer to the top or the bottom of the window opening? Does it start from the floor, and if so what is the starting point of this floor (the slab, or the final covered or tiled surface)? While some of these solutions worked very well for the façades, they implied major constraints for the interior spaces, and vice versa. All

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[40] For contemporary readings of the Antonakakis's Distomo housing project (1969), see Petridou, Pangalos & Kyrkitsou (2012), and Papandreou & Tsakmaki (2015).
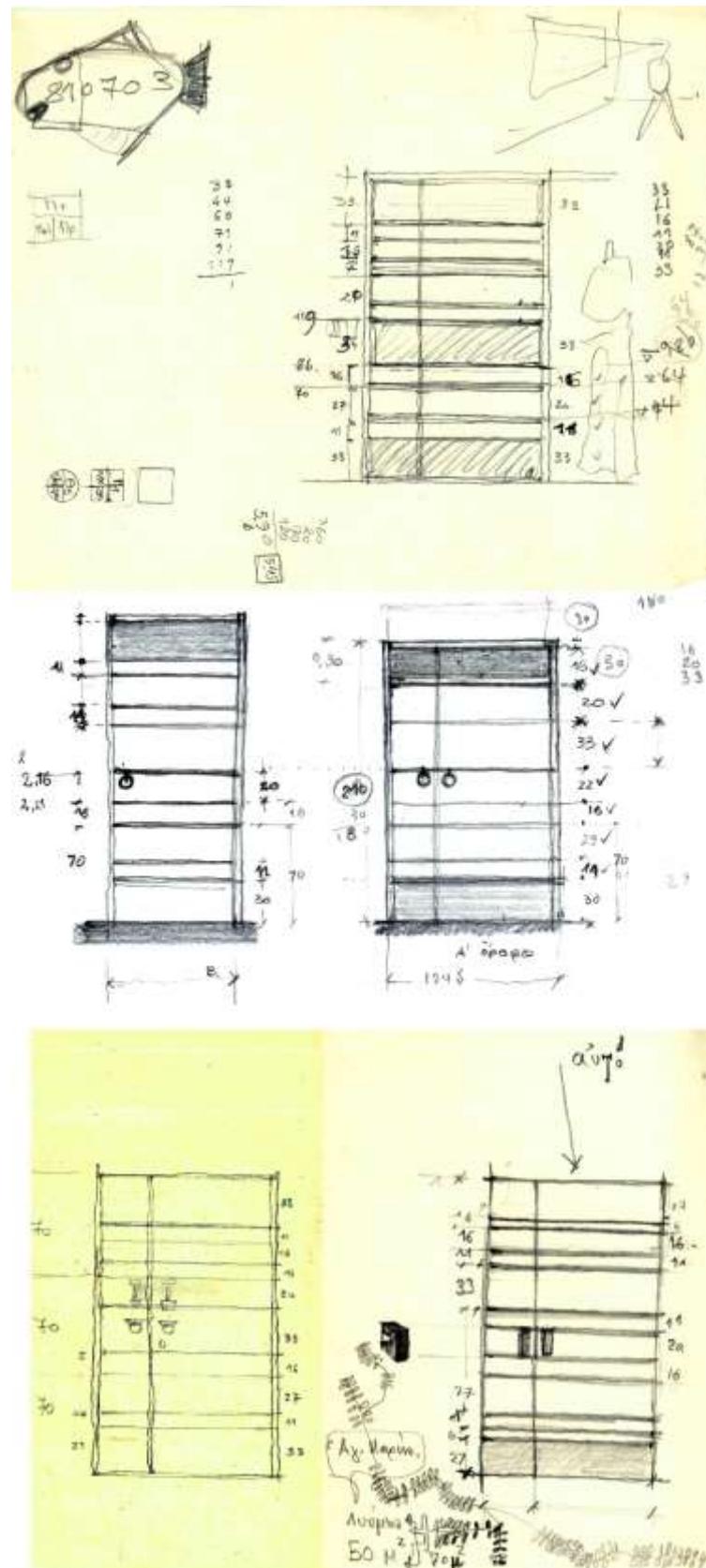
Figure 4.39 Preliminary sketches for a door at the Benaki Street apartment building (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis private archive). The sketches document the Antonakakis' obsession with exact, proportional and allegedly harmonic metric relations.

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these questions around the micro-scale of architectural details are clearly the Antonakakis' own concerns of the period. Their private archive includes countless sketches on tracing paper with metric variations on the single theme of a specific design detail (Fig. 4.39). However, these concerns were not necessarily shared by all their Atelier 66 peers. Some of them were more inclined to discuss the design problems they encountered on the larger urban scale. They were preoccupied with questions on patterns of modular units, their acceptable repetition and organisation in functional urban zones. They were therefore uninterested in the design details of a window frame or a staircase railing, over which Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis could conversely obsess.

It was around this point that Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' work attracted the attention of Kenneth Frampton. Although Frampton (1985b: 5) celebrated the 'the cultivated sense of "collectivity"' in Atelier 66, he originally intended to celebrate the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis in isolation. It was the Greek architectural couple who had to insist on including Atelier 66 in the main title of the monograph (Fig. 4.40). Even though the title referred to Atelier 66, the monograph spoke through its content, and its main message was clear. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' work was individually acclaimed on an international level by Frampton. And if this was the case, it became increasingly clear that the couple needed to alter their relations with their partners. They could no longer perpetuate the pretence of co-equality between the different group members. They had to become the clear leaders, as in Suzana & Dimitris Antonakakis and Associates. By 1983, the older members had all taken their own paths, leaving the two Antonakakis with the younger generation of Atelier 66 architects. This increasing age gap was an additional factor that led the architectural couple to assume the overall control of the office in 1986, only a year after the publication of Frampton's monograph.

2.

Nous vous envoyons deux pages de bibliographie où on a corrigé
deux fautes (copies No 3) et on a completé la page 9 (copie
No 4) avec le titre d'un dernier texte de Suzana.

Pour le "cover image" nous pensons que c'est une bonne idée
mais il ne faut pas oublier de mettre aussi au titre les noms:
"ATELIER 66".

En ce qui concerne les noms des photographes, comme on ne con-
nait pas quelles sont les photos choisies pour la presentation
finale, ce serait peut être mieux pour nous de noter les noms
sur le "printer's proof" quand tu va nous l'envoyer.

Pour la note biographiqhe de Dimitri puisque sa place à l'Ecole
d'Architecture n'a pas son pareil à la langue Anglaise, ce se-
rait mieux au lieu de "Lecturer of Architecture in the NTU 1978"
de mettre: "Member of the Teaching staff in the school of Archi-
tecture on N.T.U. 1975..." (copie (5)

Nous esperons avoir à bientôt vos nouvelles.

Amitiés et saluts à Kenneth,

Suzana   Dimitris

Figure 4.40 Second page of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis letter to Sylvia Kolbowski, dated 30 March 1985 (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). The two architects ask for their Atelier 66 peers to be included in the main title. Frampton originally intended to celebrate the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis individually, in isolation from Atelier 66.

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Stressing continuity over rupture, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis now refer to 1986 as a significant moment in the evolution of Atelier 66 (see Sioutis 2017: 16, n6). However, 1986 practically marked the end of the anti-hierarchical experiment of Atelier 66. After this, none of the original Atelier 66 architects stayed with the architectural couple. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis were joined by a novel group of even younger architects.[41] In an interview only a few years after the dissolution of the original group in 1986, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis both referred to the collaborative terms of Atelier 66 as 'utopian' (Stylianou 1990: 64, 66). Their multifarious cultural references and their obsession with the minutest design details set a limit as to how far their architectural practice could go. The scale of projects they could undertake, and their subsequent legacy, was rather limited by the design route they followed. In the final instance, it was Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis who had the final word. In this context, their young apprentices could not find creative room for themselves, within or beyond the senior architects' crystallised language. The design presence of the Antonakakis became so strong that it was difficult for any of their younger colleagues to rise to partner status. This is why a novel prospect for the future development of Atelier 66 could not emerge from within. Their studio and collaborative practice lacked a structure that would enable it to carry on and develop further into the future. Contrary to the architects' original intentions, in the final instance, Atelier 66 was always Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis.

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[41] This novel group was formed by Aristide Antonas, Matina Kalogerakou, Efi Koumarianou, and Xenia Tsioni.

4.4 Postmodernist Rhodes

The dissolution of Atelier 66 coincided with a period of inward-looking formal experimentation on the part of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. Hardly receiving any external input, their work became more personal. It dwelled on the repository of the references they had been cultivating over the years. When the critical regionalist discourse celebrated their work (1983-1985), the couple was moving away from the architectural practices that had originally attracted the international interest in their work. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis understood that the dictates of the modern movement had decisively shaped their work. After two decades of creative experimentation with them, however, they did not want to witness a stalemate in their architectural practice. By the early 1980s, they intended to drive their architectural practices forward. A return to their own 'critical regionalist' work of the recent past and the modernist tenets of their architectural education were not viable options. At this moment, the only other major source of external reference was the postmodernism of the Biennale. Although they never admitted fully succumbing to it, their architectural practices circa 1980 moved in that direction. Their introductory piece to Frampton's monograph in 1985 already adopted a rhetoric that would not sound out of place in the Venetian Strada Novissima. In this text, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis invoked 'journeys in time, […] the intermingling of eras, and the poetic freedom of dreams'. Their repository of references was also expanded to include 'Cretan palaces, the archaic Kouroi and sanctuaries, the Hellenic house, the Classical and Hellenistic agoras, the Byzantine churches and monasteries, [and] the seventeenth-century settlements' among others. All these precedents required 'identification and interpretation'. Through this process, they helped the two architects rediscover 'the meaning [and] the poetry lost in [the] eroded and oversimplified architectural vocabulary' of vulgar Athenian modernism (Antonakakis in Frampton 1985b: 6, 8). By this point, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis clearly

understood architectural design in linguistic terms. The change they felt their practice needed became a question of enriching their formal vocabulary beyond modernism. Since this formal vocabulary informed their personal architectural idiom, their work could only become increasingly inward-looking.

Dimitris Antonakakis (2014a: 86) claimed that the façades of the Benaki Street apartment building were the direct result of the interior organisation of space in plan and section. At its core, his thesis is modernist. It echoes similar remarks on design by Aris Konstantinidis (cf. Giamarelos 2014: 4). However, there is no single way in which the plan and section drawings can unequivocally produce a façade. While this is already clear in the Benaki Street apartment building (1973-1975), it becomes more evident in the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank project (1983-1986). This increasing elaboration of the façade as a relatively autonomous entity of the design project characterises the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis in the early 1980s. It is a symptom of their attempt to reflexively renew their design work. They ventured in this direction when it was clear that their previous attempts to open up the design process had reached their limits. Their modernist urge to control the final design product had brought the potential ferment of the anti-hierarchical collaborative practices of Atelier 66 to a halt. Practically without any other external input, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis were thus left with their own references and their increasingly personal architectural idiom. Unable to challenge their basic modernist tenets further, they had only their repressed lessons from the Strada Novissima to turn to. Focusing on their personal architectural idiom, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis thus embarked on an introvert formal experimentation. They intended to carry on assimilating their understandings of tradition in their modernist design vocabulary. However, their obsessive turn to the regional tradition also risked turning into a burden for their architecture. In 1988, Dimitris Antonakakis summarised the last decade of their personal architectural development. He

acknowledged that the postmodern debate of the 1980s encouraged them to 'condense the last two decades of [their] experience, and move with greater daring and freedom' (Antonakakis 1988a: 29). 118 Benaki Street was an original project that embodied the two architects' critical response to the standard Athenian apartment building typology. A decade later, the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank project offered them the opportunity to directly work with this banal typology through a design intervention on an existing building.

One element that remained constant in their work throughout this decade, was the systematisation of their diverse architectural gestures in the invariant logic of the grid. Elias Constantopoulos was the first to highlight this in 1994:

> Reexamining the work of D. and S. Antonakakis, from the apartment building in Argolidos str. (1960) to the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank (1983), we observe that the grid is retained, albeit in different form, as the constant field in which the acts of composition take place. (Constantopoulos 1994: 24)

Although the grid remained a stable anchor for their design work, its implementation was not uniform throughout the decades. In other words, their appropriation of the grid as a design element also evolved alongside their design work in the 1980s. Suzana Antonakaki noted this, when she was invited to teach at the INDESEM international design seminar in Delft in 1987. In her presentation of their work, she referred to the grid not only as an organising principle, but also as an element of directionality in their later projects:

> There is a dominant aspect that the grid is a neutral and directionless network within which flexibility or not, the permanent or not-permanent partitions of the building are moving. There is also another view that the grid may be capable of defining the directions, in which the bearing elements have a dual

function. This is the view that we have chosen and tried to support throughout our work. Trying to have different degrees of privacy in the different places of the building we searched within the interior of the building for memories of the street. In our early work we have used the grid as a neutral (weft-warp) network with columns usually square and equidistant. Later we aimed at solutions, where the grid was defining a direction and an internal passage at the same time. This idea has been implemented on an existing building in Rhodes island. It was the case of a typical office building that has been finally used as a Branch Office of the Ionian Bank of Greece. We created there a public space by proposing an internal street which unfolds from the ground floor up to the terrace. […] Starting from the need that the grid has direction-orientation, we were led to the elaboration of the limits and we concluded in creating construction zones, organically bound to the building and capable of using the space between the columns and the opportunity for a dual function of the bearing elements. (Antonakaki 1988: 144)

In the aftermath of the celebrated interpretations of their work by Tzonis, Lefaivre, and Frampton, the Greek architects consciously attempted to enrich their grid with 'pathway' elements. In the liminal cases, the grid obviously coincided with an internal passage through the building. This is yet another way in which 'The Grid and the Pathway' influenced Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' work in the 1980s. The theorists had brought forth a clear conceptual schema which had been unconsciously developed in the architects' past work. Since they became aware of it, the Antonakakis consciously pursued the further development of these ideas in their later work. If the grid had been the stable modernist aspect of their work, its subsequent conscious enrichment with 'pathway' elements was their way of reconsidering the

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Figure 4.41 Conventional modernist apartment-cum-office building by Sotiris Koukis (top) transformed into the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank by Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis (bottom) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

modern in their architectural design poetics. In this context, the Rhodes branch of

the Ionian Bank exemplified their renewed approach to the grid.[42]

The commission for the project came through Dimitris Andriolas. He was an

old acquaintance of Dimitris Antonakakis from his years of leading the Association of

Teaching Fellows and Assistants at the National Technical University of Athens in the

late 1970s.[43] After the fall of the military junta, Andriolas became the director of the

Ionian Bank. Appreciating the work of the Antonakakis, he contacted the two

architects to discuss an edifice the Ionian Bank had acquired in 1983. Originally

constructed in 1968, the building had profited from the increased heights permitted

by the modified regulations of the military junta. By 1983, demolishing the building

to erect a novel construction in its place was not viable. In the aftermath of the 1975

Map of Venice, novel constructions were not permitted to reach similar heights in a

designated preservation zone. Demolishing the building to replace it with a new

construction practically meant losing a whole floor. This is why Andriolas asked the

Antonakakis to work with the existing building (Fig. 4.41). At the time, the edifice was

still in use as a commercial and office space (Fig. 4.42). Its architect, Sotiris Koukis,

was a prolific engineer of the period. He had started his professional practice a

decade before Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. His architecture rarely veered away

[42] Discussing their work of the period in terms of mannerism, Zissis Kotionis also observed
that Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' use of the grid differs from Konstantinidis's. Their grid
is not static like a chessboard. It is endowed with an 'elastic directionality' that is evident in
the elements that fill it by sliding in it (Kotionis 2004: 83).

[43] Dimitris Antonakakis's role in the Association of Teaching Fellows and Assistants in the late
1970s is discussed alongside his practices of architectural pedagogy in chapter 5 (see section
5.1).
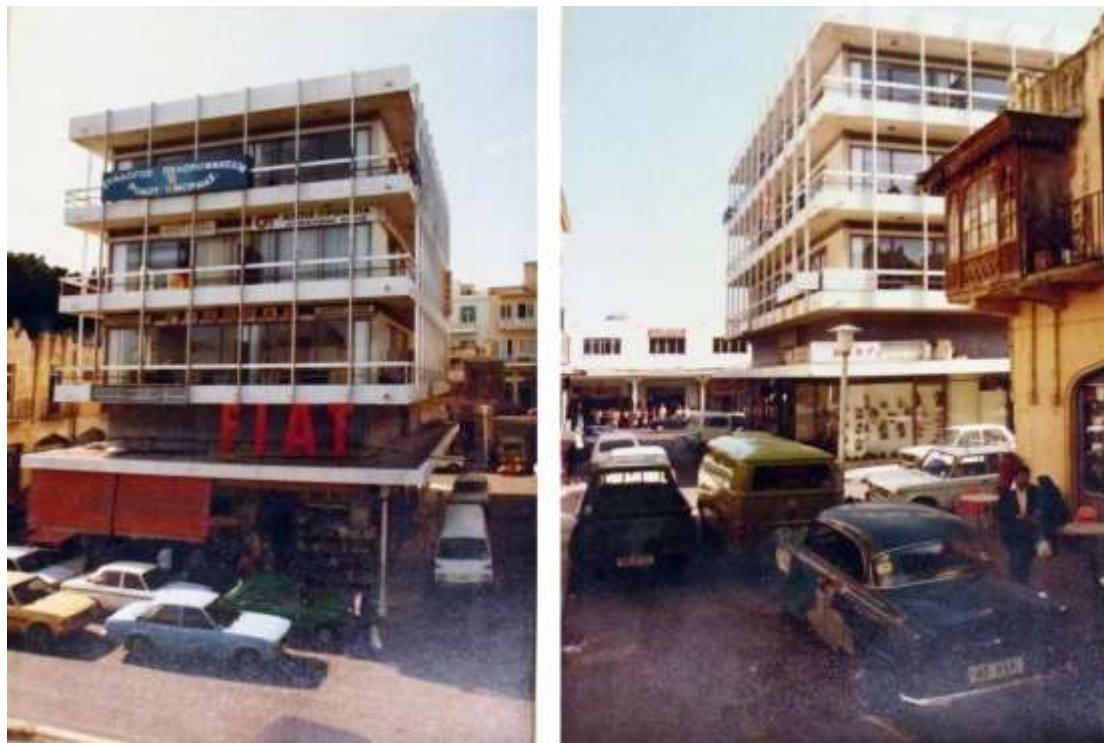
Figure 4.42 Conventional modernist apartment-cum-office building by Sotiris Koukis in use in 1968 (Rhodes Urban Planning Agency Archive).
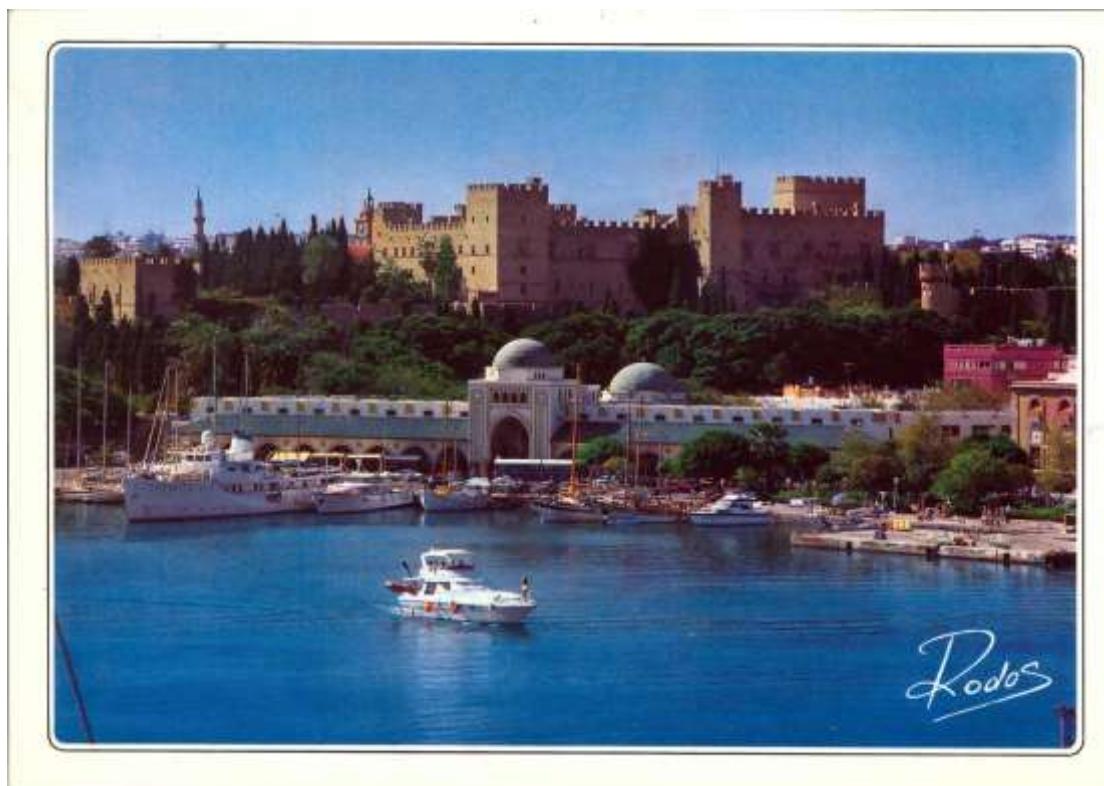
Figure 4.43 Postcard from Rhodes, highlighting the historic surroundings of the building. The Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank is situated at the far right end of the image (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

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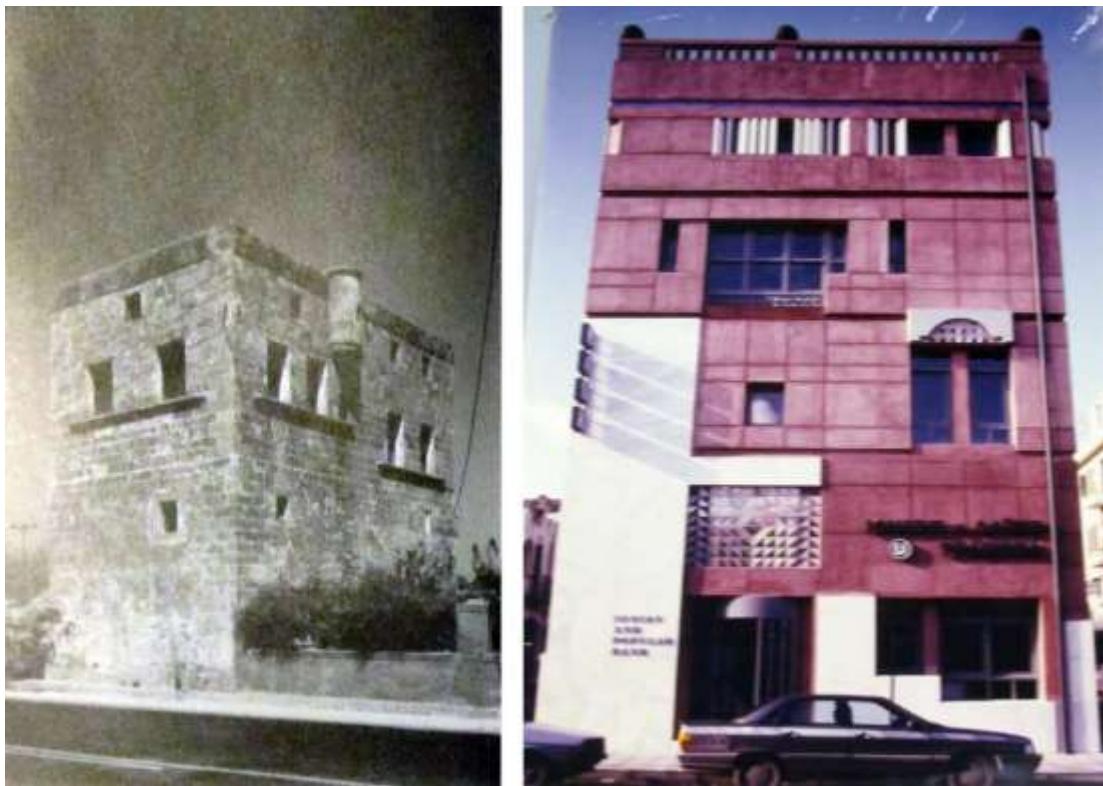
Figure 4.44 Inward-looking 'tower houses' of Rhodes (left) inspired the Antonakakis for their work on the Ionian Bank (right) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

from the Athenian apartment building typology. Most of his projects were conventional modernist buildings like the one on Rhodes.[44]

Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis aimed to 'transform' the banal modernist apartment-cum-office building both internally and externally (see Antonakakis 1988b). They intended to render it contextually legible as another part of the same whole, i.e. the designated preserved zone. That the building was the tallest around the old fortress called for its integration with its surroundings. By 1983, Suzana and

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[44] Koukis rarely published his work. In the early 1980s, his collaboration with Iason Rizos on the Athenaum Intercontinental Hotel in Athens was his best-known project.
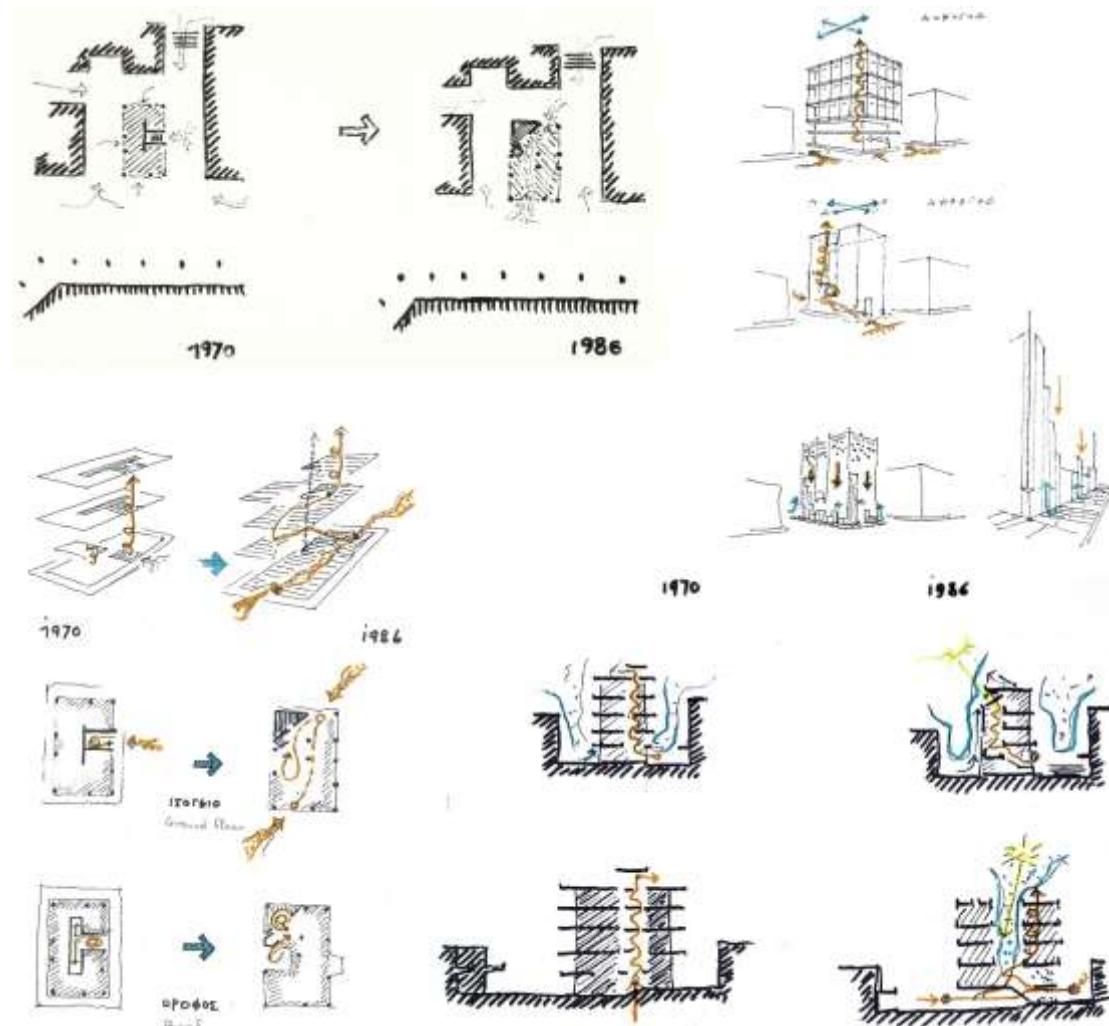
**Figure 4.45** Diagrammatic sketches of the Antonakakis' design intervention at the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

Figure 4.46 Views of the ground floor interior of the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). The architects intended to endow the space with the aura of the outdoor public space.

Dimitris Antonakakis had rarely worked in such historic environments (Fig. 4.43).[45]
In the process of familiarising themselves with this context, they revisited Pikionis's
original work on Rhodes (1951). The approach of their former mentor served as an
additional source of inspiration for the two architects. Their own first-hand
observations led them to the conclusion that the old houses on Rhodes functioned
like small towers (Fig. 4.44). Rarely were their interior spaces and their inner lives
extended to the outside world of the city and its public spaces. By contrast, the
building they had to refurbish was a generic construction of the Athenian apartment
building typology.[46] Indiscriminate glass surfaces and balconies enveloped its three
floors. Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis aimed to reverse that. Tearing the balconies
down, their intervention effectively turned the building inside out. The edifice was
transformed into an inward-looking volume whose open ground floor could be
transversed by the public life of the city. The wide-open space of the ground floor was
intended to form a seamless part of the surrounding open-air public space (Fig. 4.45).
This architectural intention was materially expressed through individual design
elements, like large glass surfaces and unconventional frames. In design details like
these, Suzana Antonakaki aimed for an interplay of the big with the small. She
worked on the interior with the scale of a public space in mind. The two doors on the
opposite sides of the building were also intended to encourage a transversal
movement through the building. They further endowed the interior with the aura of a
public space (Fig. 4.46). However, the original staircase of the existing building, and
its conventional placement in the middle of the ground floor area, was obtrusive for
the realisation of this idea. To free up the central area of the ground floor space,

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[45] Their most relevant experience was their restaurant, bar, and night club projects at
Akronafplia (1969-1970).

[46] For the proliferation of the Athenian apartment building typology in the periphery of
Greece, see Magouliotis (2016: 77-125).
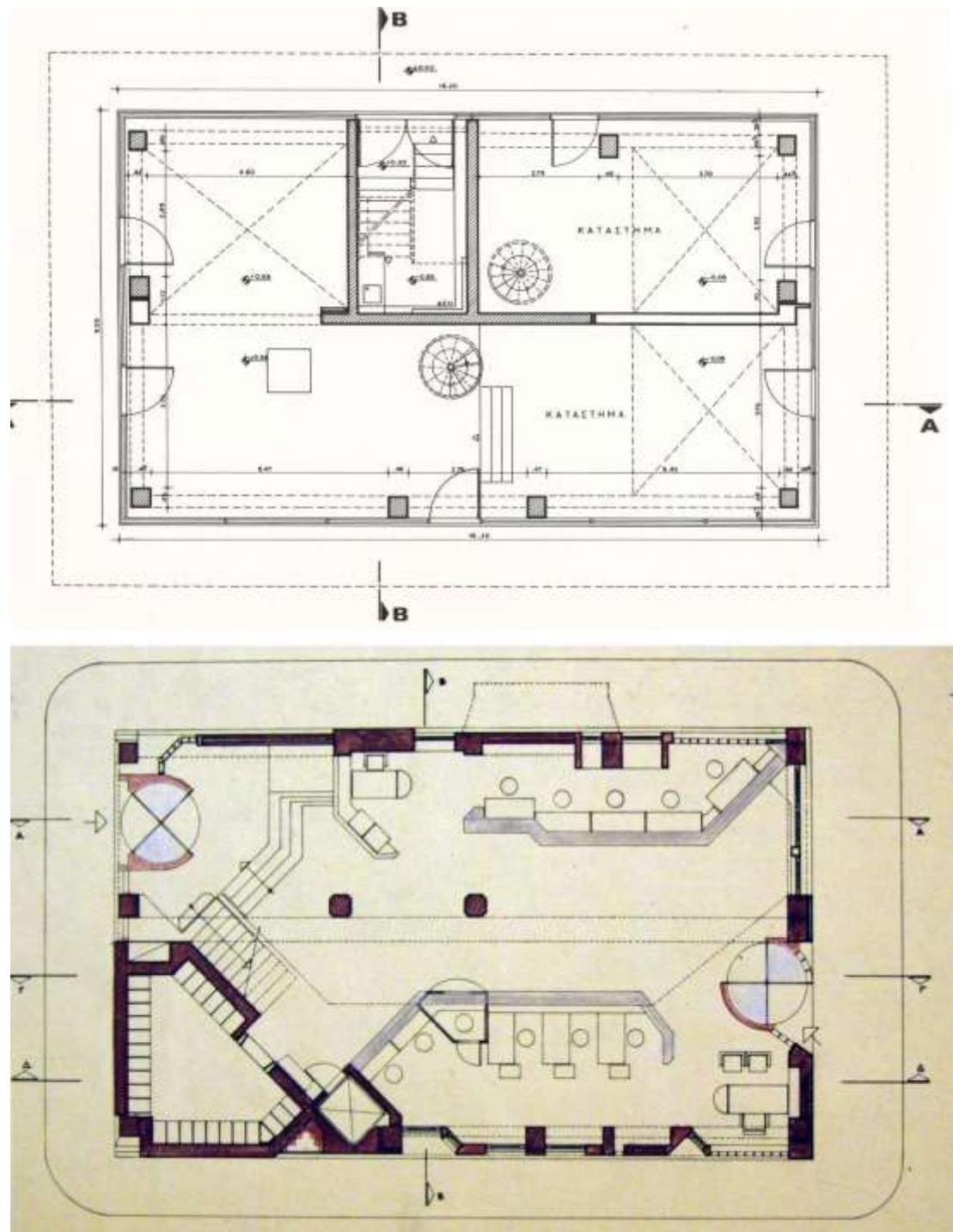
Figure 4.47 Transformation of Koukis's original ground floor plan (top) by the Antonakakis (bottom) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).
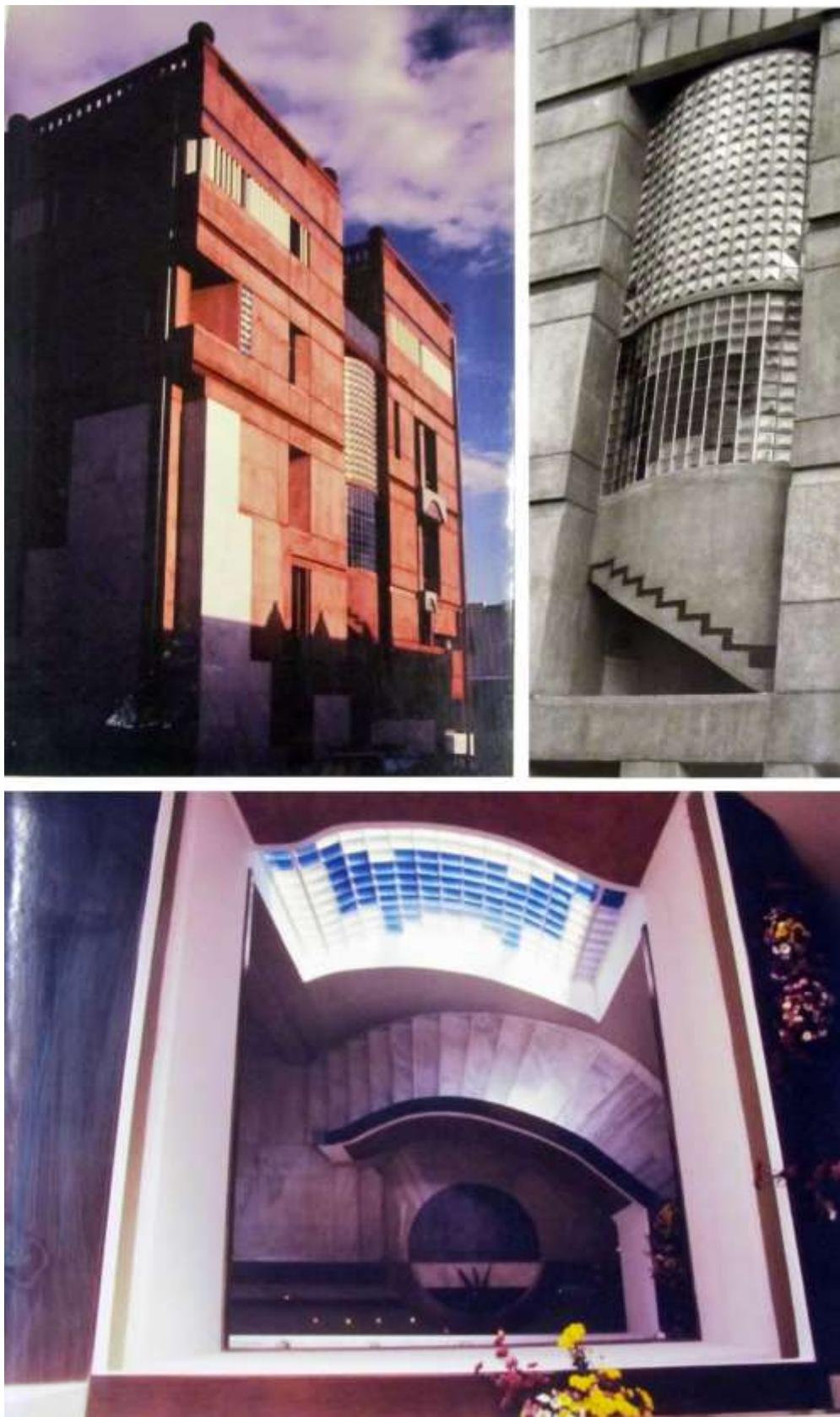
Figure 4.48 The novel staircase of the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank was a prominent feature of both the interior and the exterior views of the building (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).
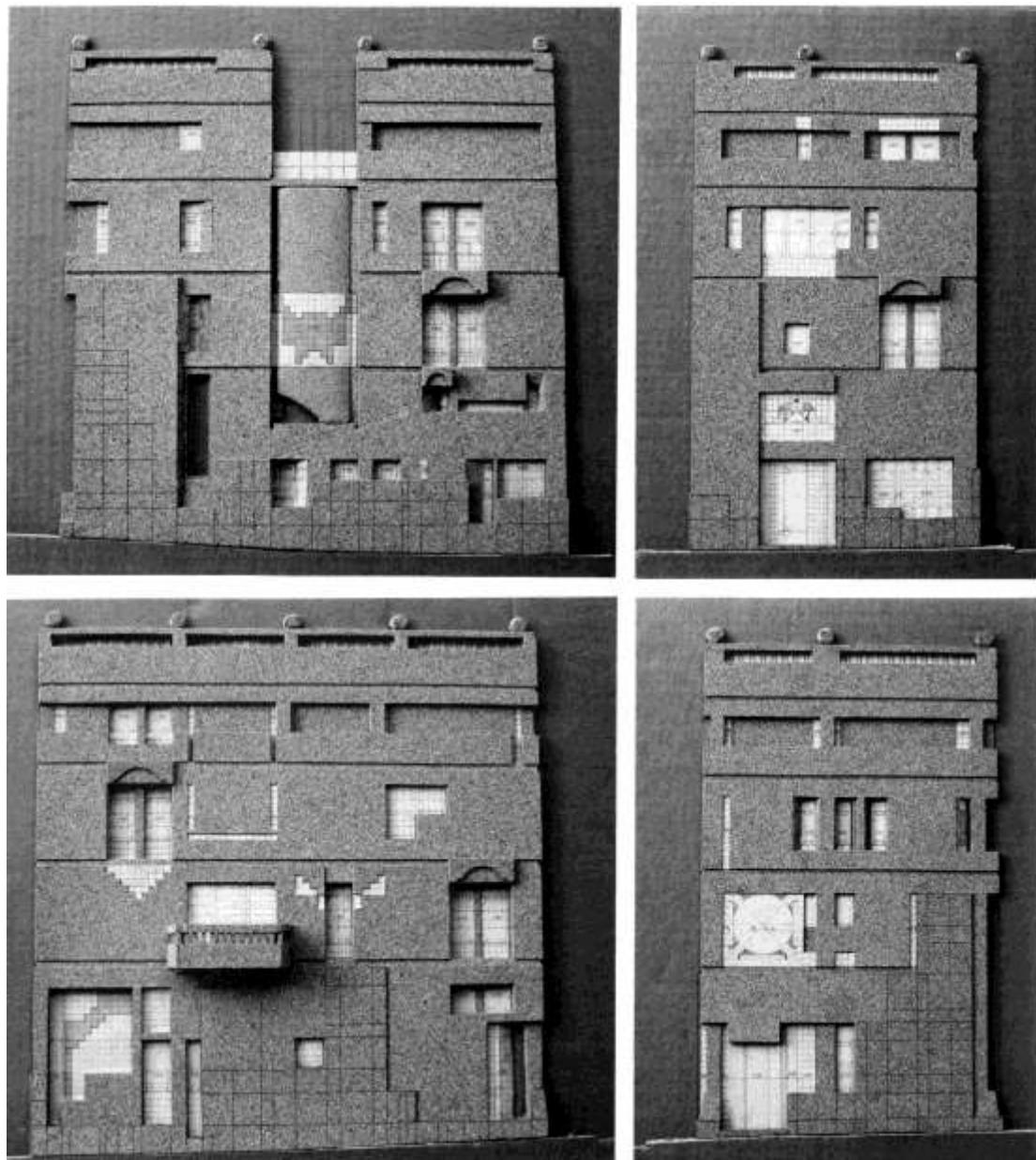
Figure 4.49 The Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank façade study models by Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis (Benaki Museum Neohellenic Architecture Archives). The elaborate design treated the exterior of the building as a malleable surface to be sculpted by the architects.
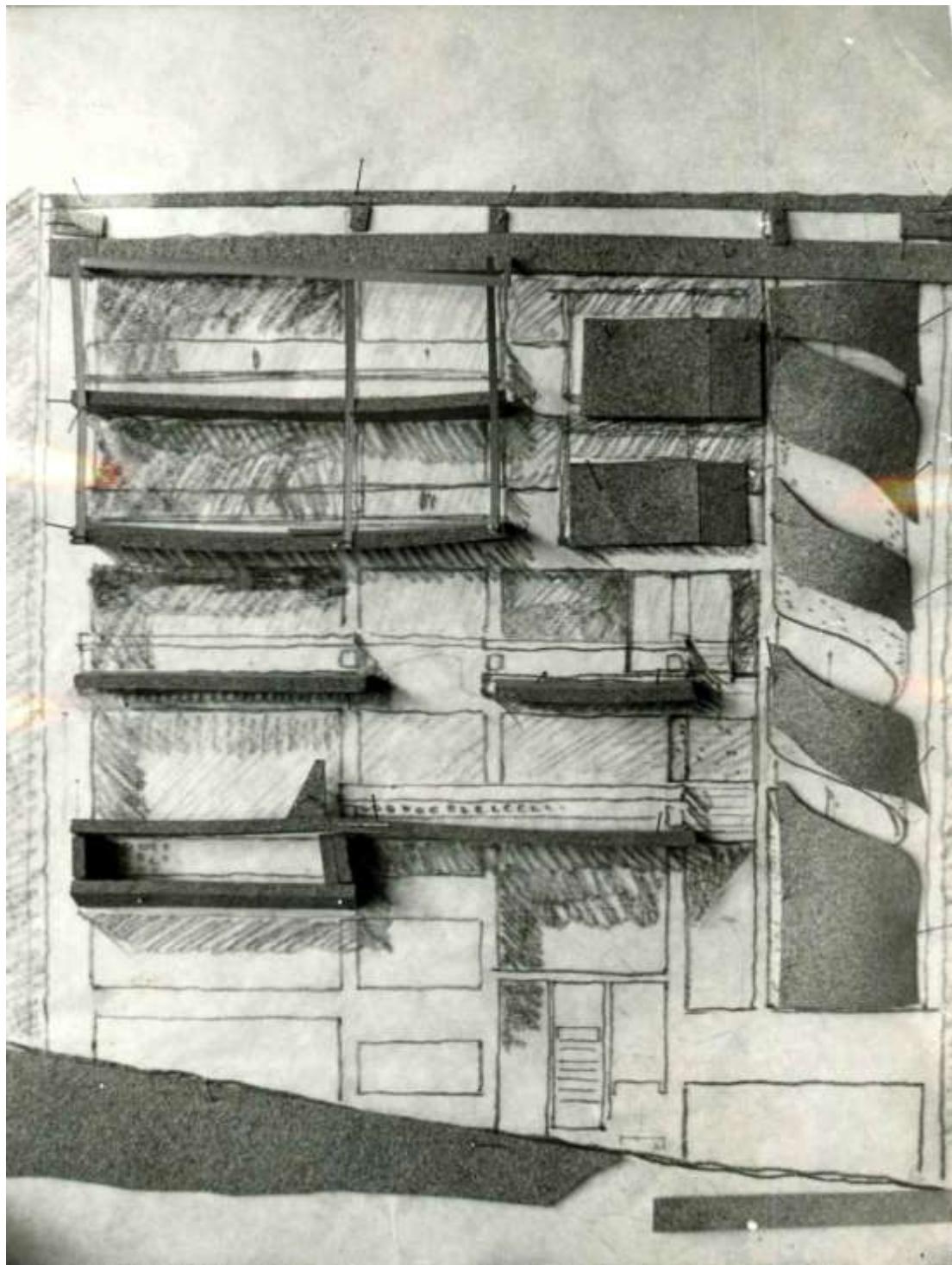
Figure 4.50 118 Benaki Street apartment building façade sketch study model (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). The Antonakakis' interest in the plasticity of the façade was a long-standing interest in their work.

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Figure 4.51 Study models by Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis (Benaki Museum Neohellenic Architecture Archives). The vacuous interiors of these models document the two architects' increasing focus on the exterior of the building as a malleable surface in the 1980s.

Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis placed the lift and the money bin on one corner (Fig. 4.47). They also removed the existing staircase to replace it with a more elaborate construction (Fig. 4.48). This led many to believe that they had preserved an imaginary authentic old staircase of the building. During the opening reception of the building the architects were congratulated for retaining the original staircase. They were also asked whether the building was formerly a tower of the Italians. Other attendants of the opening reception felt like this was a building that was always there. Nobody recalled its previous state.

With the organisation of the interior space finalised (and the structural issues solved in collaboration with the civil engineers, Vassilis and Panagiotis Plainis), Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis focused on the exterior form of the building. Their elaborate work on the façades was an additional reason why this project was quickly associated with the postmodernist fads of the period (Fig. 4.49). However, this was not the first time that the Antonakakis worked on the façade in an elaborate manner. Even for a project as unanimously celebrated as the Benaki Street apartment building, the two architects had also focused on the main façade as a design unit of special significance. A similar working model they produced at the time (Fig. 4.50) focused on the sculptural qualities and the volumetric variations across the façade. Elaborate design work on the façade therefore enjoys its own long history in the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. In this light, the Rhodes Bank project is not a sudden 'postmodernist turn'. It is rather an evolutionary step within this longer history of their special design attention to the façade. This step marks a transition from the façade as a thin plane that is interspersed with volumetric bodies (like the balconies and staircase of 118 Benaki Street) to its subsequent treatment as a thick surface with its own potential for sculptural expressiveness (as in the Rhodes Bank project). Similar study models for other projects of the same period (Fig. 4.51), document this direction in the Antonakakis' work of the 1980s.

For the Rhodes Bank project, the Antonakakis drew from their original understanding of the old buildings as inward-looking towers. They sculpted the monolithic volume of the Ionian Bank in a way that produced the effect of two interconnected towers. This was not just to redress the formal and typological dissonance of the existing building with its immediate context. It was also the architects' deliberate attempt to tone down the relatively large scale of the building. Slicing the building in half also reflected its interior organisation around the elaborate novel staircase (Fig. 4.52).
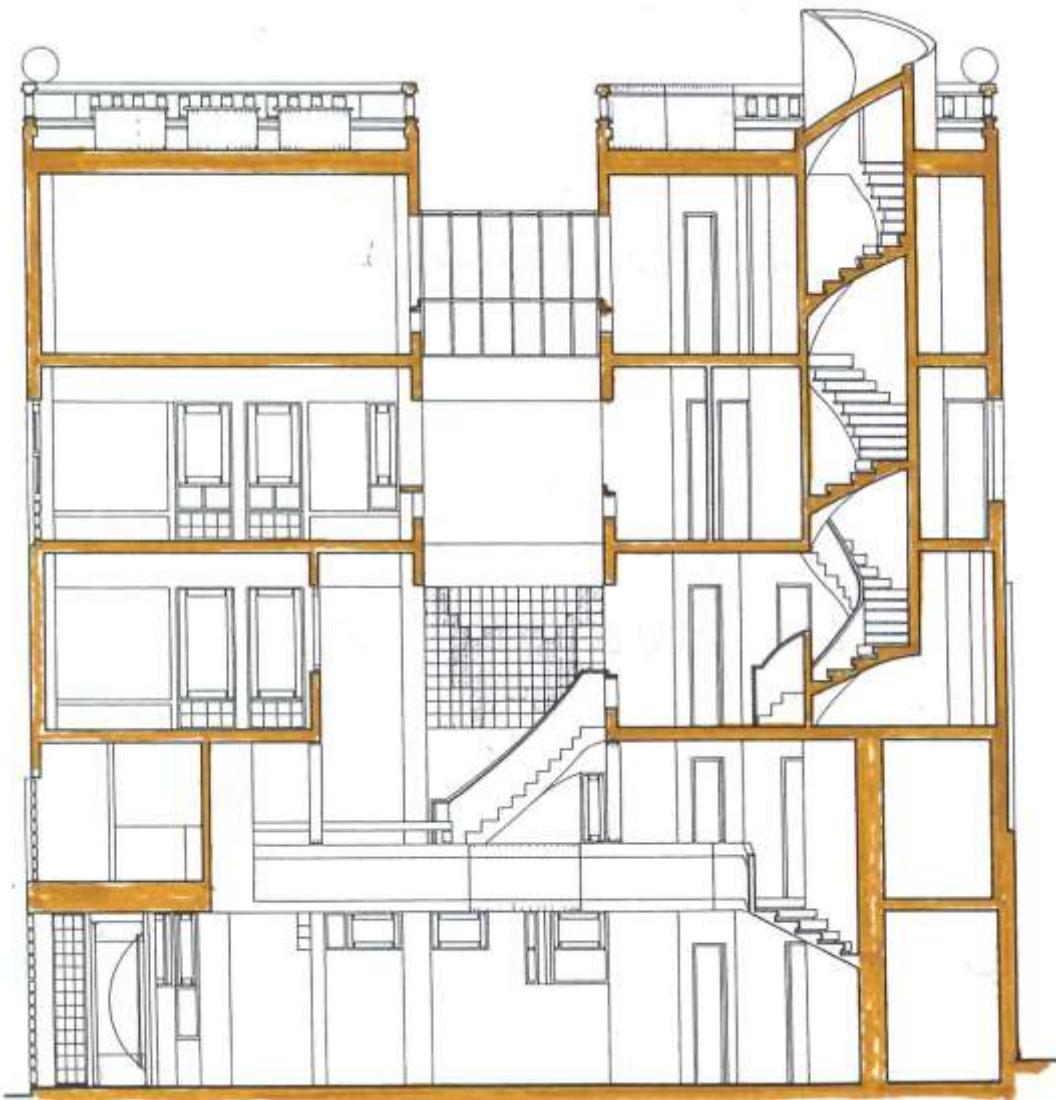
Figure 4.52 The section drawing of the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank reveals the novel staircase as the anchoring design element of the Antonakakis' intervention (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). The 'twin towers' are clearly demarcated and organised around it.

Once this decision was made, the architects concentrated on the details. With the project located away from the Atelier 66 headquarters in Athens, they had to work with a local construction crew. The budget did not enable them to cover travel expenses for their trusted craftsmen. This did not keep Suzana Antonakaki from

Figure 4.53 Different tiles that were eventually used for the public pavement meant that Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' original intentions could not be fully realised (Rhodes Urban Planning Agency Archive). The white marble used by the local construction crew used for the lower part of the exterior wall was supposed to match the material used for the public pavement. This design detail was meant to intensify the public character of the building.

trying out new ideas. With the local construction crew, she experimented with inserting colour in the roughcast plaster (following an original formula by Nikos Hadjimichalis). However, some of the two architects' ideas did not come out as expected. For instance, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis originally intended to use dark marble on the lower part of the façade. They wanted to create the impression that the material used for the public pavement was also 'climbing' on the exterior walls of the edifice. This subtle design detail was meant to accentuate the sense of the building as part of the public domain. The overarching principle was a logical development from the Benaki Street project, where the Sifnos stones extended from

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Figure 4.54 Working with an unknown construction crew, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis produced an extensive set of drawings to ensure the realisation of their design intentions. These included a comprehensive matrix of every significant design element, from the elaborate openings to the glass surfaces (Rhodes Urban Planning Agency Archive).

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Figure 4.55 Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis also produced an extensive set of construction detail drawings to ensure the realisation of their design intentions (Rhodes Urban Planning Agency Archive).

the interior floors of the building to the exterior pavement. On Rhodes, this idea was lost when the local construction crews eventually used conventional pavement tiles for the surrounding public space (Fig. 4.53). Other details, like Eleni Vernardaki's ceramics on the façade, became trademark features of the building. This exquisite attention to detail produced an elaborate piece of architecture. The Antonakakis' exceptional attention to detail was also owing to their inability to be physically present on site during the construction process. Not knowing the local construction crew in advance motivated the two architects to produce some of their most detailed project drawings to date (Figs. 4.54-4.55). They wanted to ensure the quality of the built result would be as close to their original intentions as possible.

The Antonakakis' decision to slice the volume in half to produce the twin tower effect was not favourably received by the closed circle of architects and critics of the period. The criticism levelled at the building concentrated on its external appearance. Owing to the facile association of the building with the postmodern historicist trends of the period, the question was: Were Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis about to 'turn postmodern'?[47] A juxtaposition of the buildings they had produced over the two decades of their professional practice would suffice to document this transition (Fig. 4.56). The austere projects of their youth were succeeded by the elaborately detailed works of their maturity. However, this did not mean that the Antonakakis had turned away from the pursuits that always defined their design practice. In the words of a Greek architectural historian at the time, the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank was still '[h]ighly emblematic' of the design

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[47] By the end of the decade, Constantopoulos (1990: 21) noted the introduction of postmodernism in Greece as an 'non-revolutionary' intention of 'aesthetic differentiation'. In most cases, it consisted of an extra ornamental layer to conventional (modernist) structures. This description was broadly in line with the Antonakakis' approach to the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank project.

Figure 4.56 Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis's earlier works (top clockwise: apartment building on Argolidos Street (1962), Phillipas residence in Glyfada (1969), Archaelogical Museum on Chios (1965), Oxylithos residence (1973)) in juxtaposition with their work in the 1980s (bottom: University of Crete Department of Philosophy (1981) and Crete Polytechnic campus (1982), completed in the 1990s) (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

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Figure 4.57 Carleton Knight's letter to Dimitris Antonakakis, dated 23 January 1987 (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). Knight described the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank as a post-modernism of Corbusian inspiration.

principles usually adopted by the architects. However, 'the morphological elaboration' of the project also 'offer[ed] various innovational aspects compared to their previous works' (Giacumacatos 1991: 74). In a recent interview with the architects, Dimitris Antonakakis (2014b) opined that their work of the period expressed their feeling that they had already conquered the intricacies of the modernist design tenets. They were therefore ready to move forward beyond them.

For Dimitris Antonakakis, the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank was a project with a strong personal character. This rendered it significant within their oeuvre. As he characteristically noted, he regarded this building as their own 'comment on postmodernism'. However, he also admitted that this reference to postmodernism was not their deliberate intention at the time. It was rather a conclusion they reached after witnessing the 'discomforted' reception of the building. Both the Greek architectural circles and their close international peers, like Aldo van Eyck and Herman Hertzberger, remained unconvinced.

Other international critics received the building more enthusiastically. In a letter to Dimitris Antonakakis in 1987, Carleton Knight III described the Rhodes Bank as 'post-modernism inspired by Le Corbusier' (Fig. 4.57). Working as a contributing editor of *Architecture*, the magazine of the American Institute of Architects, Knight intended to publish the project there at the time. However, his premature death only a month later meant that his article on the building was never finished to be published. His positive reaction was nonetheless encouraging for Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. Considering this project a characteristically personal work of this period, they intended to promote and publish it more widely. They thus ensured it was included both in the exhibition of their work at the Greek Pavilion in the fifth Venice Biennale of Architecture (1991), and their first monographic exhibition at the French Institute in Athens (1994).

The architectural couple was so enthusiastic with this project they had even started promoting the building before it was finished. In a letter to Frampton in February 1984, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis include material on 'one of [their] last buildings' (Fig. 4.58). Although they don't name it, they refer to this building as 'a very challenging project' due to 'the problems of [its] incorporation […] within a pre-

A T E L I E R 66 · E M. B E N A K I 118 · A T H E N S 707. · T E L. 36 17 768 · 36 60 373

Athens 16.2.1984

Dear Kenneth,

We hope you had an interesting time in India. Finally the CIAM conference in Athens developed into a very interesting affair. It was really revealing to see three generations of architects planners and historians to exchange ideas and compliments... to each other.

We have the tapes of both parts of the conference which you could hear next time you come to Athens.

Elefterios brought us the news of your conversation and we hope that finally the project will reach a happy conclussion for all of us.
We are sending you the "unfortunate photographs" of Benaki str. together with one of our last buildings. We found it a very chalanging project and the problems of the incorporation of our buildings within a pre-existing settlement.

We hope that we are not creating you any problems with this additional material. In case there is no space for it, you could choose between the "Hospital of Sitia" project and "Laggadia". We would prefer to see Laggadia published because the latter is its complete final phase.

We are waiting to hear from you soon and we hope that there will be no more problems for the completion of all this work.

Yours sincerely,

Dimitris Antonakakis Suzana Antonakakis

P.S. we are going to send you the reprint of "TEKNIKA XPONIKA" with the original texts of CIAM IV.

Figure 4.58 Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' letter to Kenneth Frampton, dated 16 February 1984 (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). Forwarding photographs of the Benaki Street apartment building for the Rizzoli monograph, the two Antonakakis also send Frampton one of their latest projects, the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank.

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Figure 4.59 Kenneth Frampton's letter to Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, dated 12 March 1984 (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). Frampton confirms that he received the new material, but needs more time to proceed to his final selections.

existing settlement'. Given that Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis rarely worked in historic environments, I contend that the project in question was the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank. It is therefore clear that Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis intended this project to be included in Frampton's monograph. The British historian's reply to the couple a few weeks later confirms that he received the material (Fig. 4.59). Despite his positive note that the 'new work is very interesting', however, the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank does not make it to the published monograph. Approximately fifteen years later, Frampton noted a

> regrettable regression into historicising, stylistic Post Modernism in the 80s, detectable […] even occasionally in the architecture of Atelier 66, most particularly perhaps in their rather decorative Ionian Bank, built in Rhodes. (Frampton 1999: 14)

The Frampton-Antonakakis correspondence of 1984 shows that the British historian was aware of the existence of this project at the time he was promoting the work of the architectural couple as an exemplar of critical regionalism. At this point, he could not include a project that verged towards what his regionalism was meant to oppose. In other words, to save the coherence of his discourse around the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, Frampton preferred to ignore the 'regrettable' Rhodes Bank. He glossed over the intricacies of an architectural design practice in full flow and transition at the time of his writing. This is an additional aspect of the distorting and mythologising effect of critical regionalism on the architectural practices it was allegedly appraising. Already in 1986, however, shortly after Frampton's monograph was published by Rizzoli, things were different.

Only a year after their celebrated entry to Frampton's history of modern architecture, Atelier 66 dissolved. At the same time, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis were criticised for succumbing to postmodernism. Writing in the Leftist

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Figure 4.60 Xydis's (1986) presentation of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' work on Sifnos as the 'invasion of postmodernism' in the Leftist journal, *Anti* 326.

journal *Anti* in 1986, Alexandros Xydis presented their Hartokollis house project on Sifnos (1984) as a 'post-modernist invasion' to the island (Fig. 4.60). The architects were held to account for lacking a "lived" experience of the place, and experimenting with 'the "postmodern" style'. They did so in a landscape that had so far evaded 'exotisms' and had 'neither the functional nor the aesthetic need for neoclassical eclecticisms'. Sifnos was 'not a place for architectural experiments' (Xydis 1986: 50).

Beyond Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' control, the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank thus became representative of their turn to postmodernism. In their accounts at the time, both Elias Constantopoulos (1994: 24) and Andreas Giacumacatos (1991:74) treated the building as a liminal case. Dubbed as 'revelatory',

the 'sculptural treatment' of the Bank and the 'ambiguous iconographic references possibly introduces a novel phase in their design research' (Giacumacatos 1989: 58). By the mid-1980s, the work of the Antonakakis was clearly in transition.[48] In the eyes of the architectural audiences of the period, the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank looked like an escapee from the Strada Novissima. Its postmodernist façades harked back to memories of the Biennale. It was easy to imagine the building navigating the Venetian lagoons alongside Aldo Rossi's Teatro del Mondo. However, the Bank also reflected the architects' conscious attempt to further develop their work along the lines of the critical regionalist 'grid and pathway' interpretation. In other words, the Antonakakis' attempt to expand upon the critical regionalist account had led their project to be received as a variant of Strada Novissima postmodernism. Hence, it was not only the shared terminology that rendered critical regionalism as an integral part of the discursive postmodern ferment, as I argued in chapter 2 (see section 2.3). In this context, the Rhodes Bank by Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis is an eloquent expression of the same phenomenon in terms of architectural design. This was largely owing to the architects' understanding of their creative freedom to move away from the modernist tenets. In their own words, this was their 'controlled transgression of given rules' (Antonakakis in Tournikiotis 2007: 17). After all, it was their constant desire for control of the design process that led to their personal, albeit increasingly stale, architectural idiom.

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[48] Andreas Giacumacatos (1989: 58) interpreted these developments in the continuum of a 'design *recherche patiente*'. Approximately a decade later, Dimitris Philippidis (2001: 155-156) also contended that Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis had managed to 'assimilate' their experimentations with these 'postmodern' liberties in the spirit of their previous work. In other words, they did not suddenly 'turn' postmodern. They just explored these tendencies in the context of their own oeuvre.

The architects thus found themselves caught up in a postmodern debate they could hardly follow when it was historically produced.[49] This is why they also defended the autonomy of their personal design method beyond labels, movements and tendencies that cloud understanding (Antonakakis 1989d: 83).[50] Critical regionalism was a term devised around their own work at the moment of their frustration with the postmodernism they witnessed at the Biennale. The two architects did intend to move their lessons from modernism forward. However, it was unclear whether terms like 'critical regionalism' and 'postmodernism' were useful in their pursuit. Both terms proved rather inadequate. They were not only unhelpful overdeterminations of diverse architectural expressions. They also had serious practical ramifications on architectural practices of the period. Earlier in this chapter (see section 4.3), I showed how Frampton's critical regionalism inadvertently accelerated the dissolution of Atelier 66.[51] The association of the Antonakakis with 'postmodernism' was also theoretically obfuscating and practically detrimental.

In 1980s Greece, the postmodern debate was conducted in the moralistic vocabulary of modernist discourse. Although the term was rarely defined in the regional architectural milieu, 'postmodernism' denoted the external 'Other' that threatened the local community. As in the Great Debate lecture series at the RIBA in

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[49] It was not only Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, but a whole architectural generation that found itself in this awkward position. According to Panayotis Tournikiotis (1989), this 'transitional phase' of architecture in Greece was not internally generated. The assimilation of the foreign 'postmodern' influences lacked a clear theoretical and historical understanding that could offer a meaningful orientation to these developments. For a purview of Greek architecture in the 1980s, also see Constantopoulos (1989), and Giacumacatos (1989).

[50] Savvas Condaratos (1990: 19) was not happy with this evasive response by the Antonakakis. It was not a constructive contribution to the Greek postmodern debate of the period.

[51] In chapter 3, I also examined the historical ramifications of the critical regionalist discourse: (a) on the broader architectural milieu of 1980s Greece (see section 3.1), and (b) on Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis themselves (see section 3.2).

1983, the relevant architectural debates in mid-1980s Greece were also conducted in the Manichean terms of the modern versus the postmodern (see Condaratos 1988: 85n1). Aris Konstantinidis's (1987) passionate critique of the postmodern developments set the intense tone of the debate in Greece. 'Postmodernism' thus served as the term that coagulated the imagined community of 'us', the Greek modernists, against 'them', the Venetian postmodernists (and their unnamed Greek followers).

The implied association of the Antonakakis' work with postmodernism thus put them on the defensive. In an interview at the time, Dimitris Antonakakis asserted that 'the postmodern had not provided [them] with any helpful theoretical structure'. It had only served as a critique of commodified modernism that fed in to the architects' own reconsideration of the modern. This allowed them to work more freely, insofar as the discipline of decisions that underlay their work were sturdily defined. In the same interview, Suzana Antonakaki was also adamant in distinguishing the critical regionalist from the postmodernist stance. She described the regional as the place in which 'Architecture meets history [...] not historicism. The "critical" stance towards the past excludes quaint and superficial imitations' (Stylianou 1990: 68-69). In other words, the reconsideration of the modern could only be intertwined with the reconsideration of the regional. In theory, this enabled the Antonakakis to develop their specific approach of working within a traditional settlement. According to Dimitris Antonakakis (1989c: 66), a new building in a historic setting should still 'address the conditions of contemporary life'. It could well be the result of a 'synthesis of particular elements of the traditional cluster' that

would nonetheless set its own terms of 'articulation' and 'organisation of space'. It would not merely replicate existing forms of the settlement.[52]

The Manichean moralism and the architects' anxiety of being stigmatised as postmodernists, especially on the part of the generation that matured in the 1960s, short-circuited the postmodern debate in 1980s Greece. Greek architects who were interested in the postmodern developments of the period first had to defend them against the scathing modernist critiques.[53] Throughout the decade (from Antouanetta Angelidi and Dimitra Hondrogianni,[54] who had expressed their interest in the first open debate of the Association of Greek Architects in 1981, to Kostas Moraitis's equally passionate response to Konstantinidis's libels in 1988), the arguments remained the same on both sides. The younger architects emphasised the emancipatory dimensions and the subversive potential of the postmodern in architecture (see Moraitis 1988: 162).[55] Speaking from the defensive also meant that these architects usually adopted a dispassionate conciliatory tone (see Condaratos 1988). Already in 1982, Manolis Papadolampakis (1982: 17) was appalled by the 'sterility' of a debate based on a series of 'misunderstandings'. Although the term 'postmodern' enjoyed a wider circulation in Greece only after the mid-1980s,[56]

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[52] Again, Antonakakis's words echoed similar debates on historicism (especially between the Smithsons and Ernesto Rogers) at CIAM Otterlo (1959).

[53] The postmodern-friendly voices were more openly expressed in small magazines of the period like Ἄνθρωπος + Χώρος. See Antoniadis (1977), Korovesis (1982) and Papadolampakis (1982).

[54] See *The Journal of the Association of Greek Architects* 8 (1981): 80-82.

[55] For a similar portrayal of the postmodern as an emancipatory development, also see Condaratos (1988).

[56] In 1982, Papadolampakis had noted the absence of relevant bibliography in Greek. Antoniadis (1977), Porphyrios (1978), Korovesis (1982), Papadolampakis (1982), and the open debate of the Association of Greek Architects (1981) constituted the few sources on postmodern architectural developments available in Greek at the time. By the mid-1980s,

Papadolampakis's insight was accurate. In the mid-1980s, Yorgos Simeoforidis (1985: 15) characteristically noted the mythologisation of the term 'postmodern' and the irreconcilable polemical debates it instigated in the Greek architectural context, especially after 'the massive arrival' of Greek graduates who had studied architecture abroad. However, this did not practically affect the postmodern debate in Greece. By the end of the decade, Savvas Condaratos (1989: 82) still bemoaned the 'absence of theoretical ferment and critical debate' in Greece. This superficial engagement with the postmodern problematic could only result in a merely iconographic Greek 'transplant' of forms and collages borrowed from the international scene. Despite the occasionally heated rhetoric, the supposed debate was a stale repetition of virtually unchanged arguments and counterarguments throughout the decade. Hardly advancing a nuanced understanding, the debate was also unsuccessful in alleviating the stigma that came with the term 'postmodern' in mainstream Greek architectural discourse. Architects and critics of the period were still hesitant to ascribe the label to the work of their Greek peers. Even when the referents were obvious (as in Giacumacatos 1990: 19), implicit allusions remained the 'politically correct' order of the day for referring to the work of a third party.

Yorgos Simeoforidis and Yorgos Tzirtzilakis had anthologised and translated excerpts from seminal texts of the international postmodern debate (including the contributions of Lyotard, Habermas, Jencks, Stern, Portoghesi, Eisenman, Maldonado, Frampton, Tafuri, Venturi & Scott-Brown, Rossi, Krauss, Vidler, Cooke) for an edited feature in *Design + Art in Greece* 16 (1985). They had also invited Greek architects and artists (including Condaratos, Christofellis, Porphyrios, Martinidis, Papadopoulos, Georgiadis, Tzonis) to intervene in the discussion. The Modern/Postmodern conference that took place at the French Institute of Athens (see Aristinos et al. 1988) constituted the most comprehensive discussion of the postmodern tropes across the Greek cultural field. Finally, in 1989 Doumanis asked architectural critics and practitioners to discuss the emerging tendencies of architecture in Greece. His invitation served as an ideal platform for a retrospective evaluation of the postmodern in Greek architecture of the 1980s. The discussion carried on for two issues of *Architecture in Greece* (23/1989, and 24/1990).

After this tumultuous but practically ineffective postmodern debate of the 1980s, Greek architectural discourse returned to the familiar grounds of relating modernism with the Greek *topos* (see Antonakakis 1996). By the end of the decade, Constantopoulos (1990: 21) had already noted the incipient 'danger of postmodernism'. According to his account, the Greek turn to the postmodern could cause a 'rupture [...] from the recent tradition of fertile concerns around the modern and the autochthonous' (Constantopoulos 1990: 21). By the 1990s, the discussions concentrated on 'the Greek version of the modern' (Condaratos 1996).[57] In fact, this was the culmination of a discursive trend that had unfolded in parallel with the modern/postmodern debate of the 1980s. It was largely instigated by the celebrated reception of critical regionalism in the mid-1980s. Yorgos Simeoforidis's (1983b: 18) proffered return to the 'paradox dilemma' of 'the regional shade of modernism' triggered yet another return to the intertwined questions of the modern and the regional. In the meantime, architectural historians had already mythologised the 1960s as the 'short-lived spring' of Greek post-war modernism before the imposition of the military junta in 1967 (see Fessas-Emmanouil 1984: 45-48, and 2001: 166-

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[57] The texts anthologised by Tournikiotis for the 30th anniversary issue of *Architecture in Greece* in 1996, as well as his purview of the last three decades of twentieth-century architecture in Greece in terms of relating the modern to the locus (in Tournikiotis 2000), best exemplify this discursive trend (see especially Moraitis 1996, Philippidis 1996, Condaratos 1996, Antonakakis 1996). Tzirtzilakis (1989) offered another clear signal of this return to the question of Greek modernisation, its contradictions and its unfulfilled potential. Finally, Dimitris Philippidis's (1984) history of architecture in modern Greece from 1834 to 1980 had already established the deeper historical association of the modern with the regional. His project was predicated upon the continuous return of the question of Greekness from one historical period to the next. 'Metamorphoses of the Modern: The Greek Experience', a major exhibition at the National Gallery in Athens, recorded the return to the regional modernist discursive trend in the wider cultural field of the period (see Kafetsi 1992).

211).[58] Andreas Kourkoulas's (1989: 61-62) concerns are characteristic of the attitude at the start of the 1990s. Kourkoulas (1989: 61-62) shared the same concerns about a 'frivolous' postmodern 'rupture with the post-war architectural tradition' of Pikionis, Konstantinidis, Zenetos, and Valsamakis. Once again, the discussion was ready to return to the most familiar grounds for Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, and the revered generation of the 1960s.

After the mid-1990s, the architectural couple omitted the Rhodes Bank from their subsequent monographic exhibition catalogues, just like Frampton had done a decade earlier for the Rizzoli monograph. However, the association of their later work with postmodernism left its deep historiographical mark. In their more recent account, Alexander Tzonis and Alcestis Rodi referred to the work of the Antonakakis from the 1980s onwards as

> 'collages' of themes that make allusions to a Greek 'past', especially a rural past, and a Greek 'place', but without any grounding to their site; thus [Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis] lost the crucial critical dimension that was so effective for the success of their earlier work. (Tzonis & Rodi 2013: 232)

Architectural historians thus keep returning to the earlier projects of the Antonakakis, as if their later and more personal work is not as interesting. In other words, a 50-year-old architectural practice is today confined to the first two decades of its history. To sustain the coherent myth of critical regionalism, the Benaki Street apartment building remained the 'poster child' of the Antonakakis' oeuvre. Hidden in

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[58] On the international plane of architectural historiography, Richard Scoffier's (1992) systematic interest in post-war Greek modernism coincided with the neo-modern tendencies of the 1990s.

the shadows for more than two decades now, the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank is the other side of this story.

However, this building was not a parenthesis in the history of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' architectural practice. Without this project also in sight, it is more difficult to understand how the intertwined reconsideration of the modern and the regional ended up developing in vicious circles by the mid-1980s. In the specific case of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, this approach circumscribed the criticality of their work. Postmodern criticality went far beyond a feedback loop of constantly falling back from the modern to the regional, and vice versa. Increasingly personalised as a specific architectural idiom, Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' work could no longer provide a reconsideration of the critical in architecture. It was Dimitris Antonakakis's students at the National Technical University of Athens circa 1980 who started from his teaching to pursue their own postmodern concerns. In so doing, they re-ignited the postmodern ferment as a reconsideration of the critical.

Chapter 5

An Ephemeral City for the postmodern ferment

Introduction

Dimitris Antonakakis taught at the National Technical University of Athens from 1959 to 1992. Many of his former students went on to become collaborating architects or full members of Atelier 66 after their graduation. Some of them (Dina Vaiou, Aleka Monemvasitou, Boukie Babalou, and Theano Fotiou) also started teaching at the same School. Enjoying close ties, they soon formed an unofficial cluster of Leftist tutors within the School, especially after 1982 when the New Law for Higher Education 1268/1982 was put into effect. Some of them introduced 'postmodern' questions in their teaching. These included sociological analyses of design practices and matters pertaining to gender. At the same time, some of Dimitris Antonakakis's politically active students eventually contributed in shaping the emerging antagonistic movement in 1980s Athens. Focusing on architectural education in Athens from the mid-1970s to the late 1980s, this chapter therefore highlights the intergenerational aspect of the postmodern ferment. It presents Dimitris Antonakakis as a transitional figure who inspired a younger generation of politically active architects.

In this chapter, I draw from (1) student lectures and diploma projects from the late 1970s to the late 1980s; (2) my interviews with students and tutors at the

National Technical University of Athens in the same period;[1] (3) notes, sketches, and briefs for architectural theory and design modules retrieved from Dimitris Antonakakis's private archive; (4) the 8 issues of the short-lived architectural journal, *Efimeri Poli* (1983-1986). I read this material in relation to the student movements during and after the fall of the military regime. I start by retracing the main characteristics of Dimitris Antonakakis's architectural pedagogy within a School that pledged allegiance to its modernist 'tradition'. His open approach to modernism, as well as his professional and friendly ties with the Leftist hub of tutors, led to a facile association of his teaching with the postmodern trends of the period. This multifaceted reading of Antonakakis's teaching showcases its undisputed modernist basis. However, the interdisciplinary approach he encouraged in his elective modules, as well as his tendency to approach teaching as a series of open questions, allowed students to cultivate their own criticality around it. His revered status as an internationally renowned Greek architect drew some of his politically active students back to the drawing board, while others' political actions were further inspired by him. In the hands of his students, Antonakakis's understanding of tradition as a subversive force opened his modernism up to different paths of development. These could assimilate postmodern themes ranging from a turn to the historical roots of dwelling in Greece (Kotionis 1986) to poststructuralist critiques of the production of architectural knowledge and the built environment. Politically active students combined Antonakakis's social concerns with their readings of postmodern theory.

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[1] My account of the inner life of the National Technical University of Athens School of Architecture from the early 1970s to the late 1980s is based on interviews with students (Aristide Antonas (2014), Konstantinos Daskalakis (2014), Tonia Katerini (2013), Zissis Kotionis (2014), Kostas Moraitis (2013), Dimitris Papalexopoulos (2013), Annie Platanioti (2014), Stavros Stavridis (2013), Panayotis Tournikiotis (2013), and Panayotis Tsakopoulos (2013)), and tutors (Dimitris Antonakakis (2013a), Tassos Biris (2014), Nikos Kalogeras (2013), and Dimitris Philippidis (2013)). I also interviewed Dimitris Antonakakis's students who eventually became members of Atelier 66 and tutors at the School (Boukie Babalou (2014), Theano Fotiou (2014), Aleka Monemvasitou (2014), and Dina Vaiou (2014)).

Anti-commodification and anti-hierarchy, two major aims of Antonakakis's design practice, thus turned into wider political goals by the emerging antagonistic youth movement of the period.

The 1979 student squats acted as a process of theoretical ferment. They brought together the 'new anarchists' (and their postmodern references) with the student movement and their critical political practices. Postmodern readings allowed students of the period to approach their studies in a refreshed critical light. This was also their reaction to the prevailing modernist orientation of the School. During these years, political action was also transformed through a cultural turn of students' practices. A.X.A., the New Critical Left political body at the National Technical University of Athens attempted to subvert the bureaucracy of the official parties through horizontal anti-hierarchical forms of organisation. The 1979 squats rendered the School as a point of reference and identification for the emerging antagonistic movement. Alongside the Exarchia Square and the first house squats in Athens (1981), this was the nourishing ground of the short-lived architectural journal *Efimeri Poli* [*Ephemeral City*] (1983-1986). This journal offered the most consistent expression of the postmodern problematic on the production of the built environment in Greek architectural discourse.

Efimeri Poli explored alternative approaches to the built environment that drew their inspiration from the postmodern problematic. The journal adopted an experimental, performative approach that went against typological thinking and detached forms of expert architectural knowledge. It promoted a spatial turn that allowed for interdisciplinary meetings. These were in turn united in their anti-functionalist insistence on the multifarious understanding of space. The journal thus contributed to a reconsideration of the critical in architecture that moved away from the cyclical returns to the modern and the regional in the terms of the 1960s. Valuing

the quotidian as high as the avant-garde, problematising the processes of writing and representation, considering the cultural in relation to the political, and promoting a holistic understanding of an un-alienated life, the journal offered nuanced critical tools for analysing urban projects. For *Efimeri Poli*, the right for leisure time, the major demand of the youth movement, was also a right to the city. The journal spoke the language of the Greek antagonistic movement which was also its primary audience.

5.1 Dimitris Antonakakis's architectural pedagogy

During the 1980s, the National Technical University of Athens School of Architecture portrayed itself as faithful to its modernist legacy. Modernist teaching was heralded as the norm. During these years, it was elevated to the status of the 'tradition of the School'. However, this was a recent development.[2] In the account of his experience as a visiting professor in the late 1950s, Speyer had described the Athenian curriculum in terms of 'a Beaux-Arts system'.

> It was just the flimsiest kind of formalised architectural approach. [...] There was no organisation. It was an anarchical kind of exposure. [...] I realised that the Byzantine heritage was of great importance to the Greek intellectuals and certainly on a visual level. Their approach to the Byzantine was as superficial as their approach to the International Style. [...] It was the flimsiest kind of superficial formalism. [...] It was a completely eclectic architecture. They

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[2] The absence of a comprehensive history of architectural education in Greece is only partially covered by sources like Biris (1957), Kardamitsi-Adami (2002), Sariyiannis (1975: 43-96), Asimakopoulos et al. (2012, vol. 1: 67-113, 515-526; vol. 2: 227-281), and Tsakopoulos (2014: 33-64).

could put up an International facade or they could put up a Byzantine, as I say

— classical antique was a nono. (Speyer 2001: 98-100)

Fifteen years later, the situation was not that different. By the mid-1970s, modernism was more revered than taught. It was treated almost like a religion. As long as it was celebrated, it could be formally copied at will. Any need for a deeper understanding of it was simply ignored. Under these circumstances, modernism was easily converted into a virtually empty ritual. It was followed in habitual, rather than theoretically informed, terms. It was practically understood as a style. The School suddenly invented its faithful modernist 'tradition' when the postmodern critique was rising. Portrayed as a form of resistance to irreverent architectural developments, this modernist 'tradition' had to be retained at all costs. The operation was certainly successful on the symbolic level. It was not long before the School of Athens had established its self-proclaimed myth in Greece. Tutors at the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki School of Architecture confirmed the prevalence of this image. Athens was the School of 'strong continuity' and development of that 'tradition' into what their colleagues at Thessaloniki used to call 'new Athenian modernism'.

The official rhetoric thus prescribed a School dominated by modernist teaching. For the mainstream line of thinking within the School, the postmodern developments remained an anathema. In such an introvert educational environment, the postmodern problematic originally appeared in the final year student lectures and diploma projects (Fig. 5.1). In other words, it first developed out of the students' own initiative. As 'grassroot' developments, these student works ran counter to the dominant line of thinking within the School. They were informed by the international publications available at the neighbouring architectural bookstores (Papasotiriou and

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Figure 5.1 Final year student lectures concerning the postmodern problematic in the 1980s (National Technical University of Athens School of Architecture archive).

Studio).[3] The official School Library was not up to date. Up to the late 1980s, the history and theory modules did not go beyond Mies van der Rohe or the Modern Movement. The neighbouring architectural bookstores thus served as alternative sources of self-education for students. Imported by these bookstores, the latest architectural publications soon found their audience within the School (Fig. 5.2). For instance, it was not long before a student arrived with a copy of *The Language of Post- Architecture* in hand in 1978. 'Under the table', the book circulated from one student to the other. A mere glimpse at the illustrations sufficed to perceive this as a

[3] For a detailed account of these student lectures as a vehicle for exploring the postmodern ferment of architecture in Greece, see Giamarelos (2016).

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Figure 5.2 Papasotiriou and Studio were the major architectural bookstores near the National Technical University of Athens. The bookstores' self-promotion relied on the newest postmodern bibliographical references. Their advertisements in the Greek architectural press of the late 1980s and early 1990s (including *Tefchos*, and the *Journal of the Association of Greek Architects*) featured books by Porphyrios, Jencks, Stern, Rossi, Meier, Colquhoun, Stirling, Maki, Scarpa, Botta, as well as the latest issues of *Architectural Design*.

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novel, albeit 'profane', book. The architecture portrayed within it was not discussed in the School at all. Although Jencks was later understood as a conservative apologist of the postmodern in architecture, his books were significant in this specific context at the time. They circulated among the socially and politically conscious students, inspiring them to carry their own critiques of modernism forward. Ironically, Jencks's opposition to the norm of the School was enough for these students to ignore other aspects of his conservative thesis.

These topical developments were also situated within the long shadow of the military junta years. The student movements of the early 1970s had been instigated by the imposition of the dictatorship (Fig. 5.3). Since architectural studies inherently implied social concerns, many students were already politicised. The regime's authoritarian practices acted as a catalyst for their further radicalisation. This was also the case for some tutors of the period. They moved further to the Left when some of their students were prosecuted by the regime. 17 November 1973 marked the culmination of the student movement. Late that night, the regime's tanks crashed the gates of the National Technical University of Athens campus (Fig. 5.4). This murderous climax served as a symbolic delegitimisation of the regime. It soon became a crucial turning point in the collective memory. The student uprising was associated with the subsequent fall of the military junta only a few months later (in the summer of 1974 amid the geopolitical turbulence over Cyprus).

These dramatic political events had an enduring impact on the research interests of some students. Panayotis Tournikiotis and Thanos Vlastos's (1977) undergraduate student lecture is the most characteristic example here. The two students opted to read Athens as a fortified city (Fig. 5.5). Focusing on the topics of 'war violence, military and police violence, [and] the violence of revolt and revolution', their thesis explored how 'violence conditions [the] urban development'

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Figure 5.3 Brochures and pamphlets of the Greek student movements that were instigated by the imposition of the military junta regime on 21 April 1967. Students' resistant practices also included squatting. For students of the period, Rigas Feraios was the most popular political organisation.

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Figure 5.4 On the night of 17 November 1973, the colonels' tanks crashed the gates of the National Technical University of Athens, to repress the massive student squat.

Figure 5.5 Cover of Panayotis Tournikiotis and Thanos Vlastos' (1977) undergraduate lecture at the National Technical University of Athens (Dimitris Philippidis's private archive). Among other issues, their work registered the long shadow of the military junta years and the legacy of the student movement after the fall of the colonels in July 1974.

of Athens (Tournikiotis & Vlastos 1977: 1, 63). They thus revisited 150 years of Athenian urban planning, including the 7 recent years of the military junta and the subsequent developments of the *metapolitefsi* (Tournikiotis & Vlastos 1977: 113-123), through the lens of state and grassroot violence. It was the turbulent political history of post-war Greece that had led the critical students of 'Athenian modernism' to these questions. Their fine-grained social concerns were very different from the prevalent postmodern historicist tones of the Venice Biennale in 1980.

The student uprising of November 1973 was also marked by the advent of the spirit of the 'global 1968' in Greece. One of the slogans of the university squats of

November 1973 was "May 1968" (Souzas 2015: 62-63). Owing to the dictatorship (1967-1974), Greece was virtually disconnected from the international socio-political developments that challenged the modernist orthodoxy of the postwar decades. These included the novel problematics of the Italian Autonomy,[4] the Situationist International, Cornelius Castoriadis, and the American "Movement". These schools of thinking promoted grassroots socio-political engagement outside the established institutional forms of trade unions and political parties.[5] They arrived in Greece through graduates who returned to the country after having studied in Italy and France in the late 1960s and 1970s.[6] It was through these individuals that the self-organising practices of direct political action and urban squatting first gained currency in Greece. The gradual restoration of democratic institutions (the *metapolitefsi*) after the fall of the junta was also crucial for the internal politics of the country (Fig. 5.6). It is only then that 'Greek society seemed for the first time ready to accept the prospect of a definitive transgression of the "national divide"' (Souzas

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[4] For a class composition analysis of the Italian Autonomia and 'the politics of personal life', see Bologna (1977). For a collection of Toni Negri's theoretical contributions to the Italian movements and organisations through the series of pamphlets he circulated before his arrest, imprisonment, and trial (1971-1977), see Negri (1997). For a critical purview of the subsequent development of 'Autonomist Marxism' in the decades that followed, see Eden (2012).

[5] Although situationists and poststructuralists shared the common vision of a revolution of everyday life, they begged to differ in their anticipation of revolution. Because the situationists still aspired to revolution, their vision was incompatible to that of the poststructuralist 'new anarchists'. The dual side of this phenomenon, the simultaneous renewal and exhaustion of revolutionary aspiration, is the ambivalent legacy of the 'global 1968'. See Souzas (2015: 52).

[6] On 14 February 1973, the mainstream Greek daily newspaper, *To Vima*, mentioned that the number of architects in Greece was 2500 (cited in Philippidis 1984: 417, n97). A decade later, the Yearbook of the Association of Greek Architects posited that in 1983 their number was closer to the 9500 mark. In 1991, they were approximately 12000. In other words, within the first decade of the *metapolitefsi* after the fall of the military regime, the number had almost quadrupled. Around 5000 individuals who had studied abroad returned to the country to enter the professional architectural circles.

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Figure 5.6 The first democratic elections after almost a decade (top left), the memory of the students killed in November 1973 (right), as well as the 1974 Turkish military landing on Cyprus, still united people on the streets of central Athens (bottom left) (Photographs courtesy of *Χρονικό* 1975: 23, 25, and 27). *Metapolitefsi,* the restoration of democratic institutions, could only be a gradual process.

2015: 64) that dated back to the civil war of the mid-1940s. From 1974 onwards, the establishment of consensus became the order of the day. Within Greek academic institutions, however, there were still reasons for turmoil. During the years that followed, student movements still went strong. They were organised around demands of immediate suspension of specific academics whose acts during the dictatorship were deemed as hostile to the students' resistant practices.[7]

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[7] With the Constitutional Act of 3 September 1974 'on the restoration of legality in Higher Education Institutions', Theocharis Polychronopoulos (who taught architectural design) and F. Loizos (who taught construction technology and infrastructure) were respectively laid off,

Although Dimitris Antonakakis was not an official member of the political parties of the period, the social concerns that formed a crucial part of his teaching were Left-leaning. He also enjoyed close friendships with significant Leftist figures of the period since the difficult years of the military junta. Antonakakis's experience from this 7-year long period of political oppression and cultural introversion altered his teaching practice. In his own words, he moved towards 'a more complex approach to the architectural problems' of the time. He specifically pursued their 'organic integration in the historical, social, economic and technological context'. The modules and diploma projects he supervised explored the notion of a 'living' architecture in relation to the 'wider social and economic problems of the place in which it is produced' (Antonakakis 1978a: 10). His deliberate distance from the bureaucratic mechanisms of the official parties was attuned with the anti-hierarchical organising aspirations of his politically active students.

After the fall of the military regime in 1974, Antonakakis was also involved in the political struggle of young academics. Serving as the President of the Association of Teaching Fellows and Assistants (1975-1977), he contributed to the establishment of the New Law for Higher Education (1268/1982). The Law was put into effect by the so-called Socialist government of Andreas Papandreou, after a landslide victory of a 45% majority in the national elections of 1981.[8] Empowering the formerly impotent

and suspended for 18 months. Not satisfied with these penalties, students of the period organised around the demand of leading Stefanos Sinos (who taught Morphology and Rhythmology) to the Special Disciplinary Board. Resistant students accused Sinos of hostile deeds during the seven years of the military regime. They refused him entry to the School for at least 5 consecutive years (Antonakakis 1979: 14). The elections of Ioannis Liapis and Angelidis, halted by the colonels in 1967, were immediately put into effect after the fall of the regime.

[8] The discussions for a reform of the Greek higher education sector started right after the restoration of democracy. The relevant debates went on for eight years. The wide-ranging
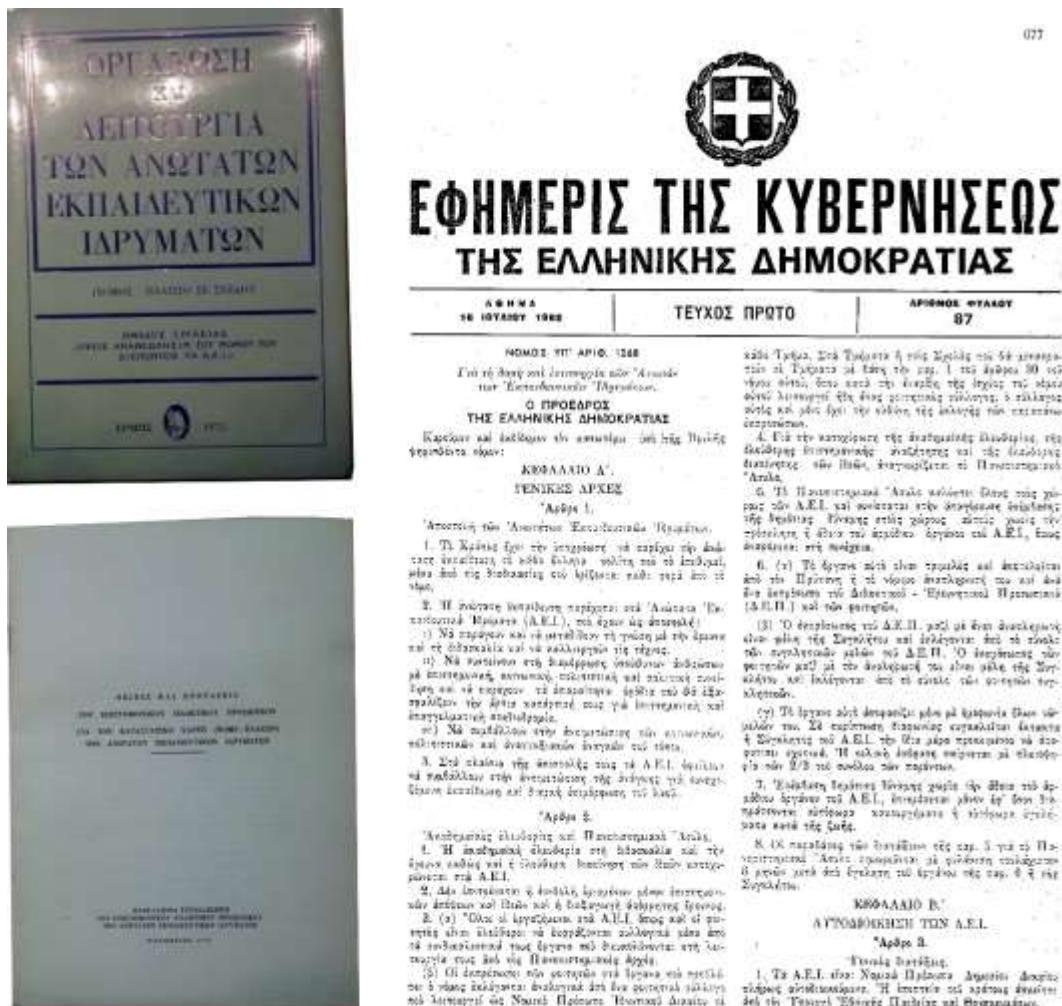
Figure 5.7 First page of the New Law for Higher Education (1268/1982) in Greece (right). The 1982 Law was the product of a series of long-term discussions initiated after the fall of the military junta in 1974. Teaching fellows and assistants played a crucial part in its formulation. They organised a series of exchanges that eventually led to specific proposals (left). The New Law was effectively an instrument for their empowerment through their academic recognition, alongside the professorial chairs.

discussions offered the opportunity for the radical reconsideration of the School's curriculum (see, for instance, Sariyiannis 1975). For a history of this reform in higher education from 1974 to 1981, see Vrychea & Gavroglu (1982: 72-106). For the evaluation of its application and the debates that ensued in the decades that followed, see Poulis (2003) and Rokos (2003).

teaching fellows and assistants, the Law also allowed new tutors to enter the School during the decade.[9] Although the New Law effectively addressed the hierarchical chasm between professors and other members of the teaching staff, the exercise of power took new forms within the School. Novel power games were triggered within a faculty that felt their position and future advancement was precarious, since it depended on their peers' review. This motivated them to form coalitions in their separate spheres of influence that extended from the teaching staff to the student body, and vice versa.[10] This turn of events alienated radical students of the period. They felt that the Association of Teaching Assistants and Fellows had sold its resistant practices out for the unionist demand of a forced professorialisation. They interpreted it as an appalling transaction, and a negative political lesson.

In the eyes of staff and students of the late 1970s, Dimitris Antonakakis was the leading figure of the unofficial 'Leftist hub' of tutors at the National Technical University of Athens. This 'hub' included tutors like Theano Fotiou, Aleka Monemvasitou, Boukie Babalou, and Dina Vaiou, who were also members of Atelier 66. Politically active architects like Annie Vrychea and Eleni Portaliou were also regarded as members of this unofficial 'hub'.[11] Frequently working together as tutors, their teaching also emphasised collective work. Their practical and theoretical focus

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[9] Speyer's comments document the status quo before the implementation of the New Law in 1982: 'It was a case of a professor getting the appointment and then giving the absolute minimum of attention to his classes or his students. And he was able to get assistants to work with him and for him. The average professor used his position to advance himself personally as a distinguished intellectual or architectural businessman, whichever discipline he was involved in. I would say that most of the architecture teachers and professors were rarely in the school. If they were there once a week, it would be quite impressive' (Speyer 2001: 97).

[10] The content of Dimitris Philippidis's in-house journal, *Φωνή Βοώντος* 7 (January 1987), is characteristic here.

[11] Most of them (Fotiou, Monemvasitou, Babalou and Portaliou) started teaching in Athens in 1971. Their synchronised entry to the School also reinforced the impression of the 'hub'.

on collectivity reinforced the impression of the formation of a distinct 'hub' within the School. However, Portaliou's leading role in organising the major event on postmodern architecture in the aftermath of the Biennale in Venice, had stigmatised her work within the School. A few years later, her work was openly characterised as 'postmodern' in the official documents for her election at the School (Fig. 5.8). This fear of stigmatisation also prevented tutors who accommodated the political concerns of their students from encouraging their postmodern debates. Within the introverted School of Athens, the 'modern' and the 'postmodern' had become mere labels for internal politics. These labels practically demarcated friends from enemies in opposing fractions. In this opposition, the hegemony of the discourse within the School was at stake. The 'modernist' tutors were informally led by Tassos Biris and the others by Dimitris Antonakakis.[12] However, the dividing lines were not that easy to draw. The architectural language of their students' diploma projects in the 1980s explored elements of both worlds (Figs. 5.9-5.15). Antonakakis did not consider himself a postmodern. However, he appeared more open to the questions raised by the postmodern critiques of modernism. The School promoted such a rigid understanding of the modern and the postmodern as oppositional categories that it

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[12] Following the critical regionalist account, Biris seemed to assume the role of Konstantinidis, and Antonakakis the role of Pikionis within the School. Tassos and Dimitris Biris posited that the regional tradition carried the lessons of modernism 'outside and between the known opposing battlefields of [their] times'. However, they still understood their work in relation to the main concerns of modernism, postmodernism, and critical regionalism. They thus tried to combine: (a) 'the functional and constructional principles of the modern movement [with] the simple primordial [...] spatial configurations [...] of [Greek] traditional architecture' (b) 'the late – strongly plastic – impulsive architecture of Le Corbusier [with] the ascetic order of Konstantinidis'; (c) the postmodern architects' critique of 'the isolation of the building from the urban fabric' with their attempt to 'connect private with public space' (Biris 1989b: 127).

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Figure 5.8 First page of Eleni Portaliou's tenure-track election at the National Technical University of Athens (19 January 1986) (Benaki Museum Neohellenic Architecture Archives). Signed by Dionysis Zivas, the 2-page document cautiously notes Portaliou's embracement of 'postmodern architecture' which nonetheless does not abandon the established principles of 'functional architecture'.

clouded their actual relations and overlaps.[13] Student lectures of the period reproduce this mutually exclusive understanding of the terms. For Angelika Stamatopoulou and Denia Kassimati (1985), for instance, it was clear that architects could be either modern(ists) or postmodern(ists). One had to take sides. Their lecture reproduced the familiar tropes of the critique of postmodern architecture that was prevalent in the 'traditionally modernist' School.[14] However, these theoretical terms had practically been reduced to thin veils for the power games within the School. Dimitris Antonakakis's (2011) retrospective account of his turbulent relations with Tassos Biris within the School confirms this. Starting from '"theoretical and ideological" positions', their supposedly general discussions soon degenerated into 'personal polarising confrontations'. These confrontations in turn 'nurtured oppositions, manipulated students, and fettered their critical thinking' (Antonakakis 2011: 14). Hence, the question that the 'modern' and the 'postmodern' answered was not at all intellectual or theoretical. It was clearly a question of power and supremacy within the School. It is in this context that the loose association of Antonakakis's teaching

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[13] As he retrospectively noted, it took Dimitris Antonakakis many years to be able to see Tassos and Dimitris Biris' work without 'the distorting filter of personal and collective tensions that were so harmful to the School after the *metapolitefsi*' (Antonakakis 2011: 14).

[14] Supervised by Tassos Biris and Konstantinos Dekavallas, Stamatopoulou and Kassimati's lecture echoed familiar tropes of Biris's critique, including: (a) the refusal of postmodern architects to state their position (Stamatopoulou & Kassimati 1985: 4); (b) the partial validity of the postmodern critique of modernism (Stamatopoulou & Kassimati 1985: 7); (c) the belief that a revival of the heroic 1920s, an existing trend within the National Technical University of Athens in the mid-1980s, could constitute a thread of Late-Modern architecture apposite for the Greek landscape (Stamatopoulou & Kassimati 1985: 10); (d) the belief that postmodern architecture cannot serve as a good model for architectural education, as it lacks generalisable principles. However, it is such principles that ensure a minimum level of architectural design quality (Stamatopoulou & Kassimati 1985: 14-15); and (e) the modernist orthodoxy that architectural design can function as a therapeutic struggle for modern man (Stamatopoulou & Kassimati 1985: 16). Other students, like Chrysoula Moustaka (1987), addressed postmodern architecture merely as a means for the retrospective vindication of the modern movement.

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Figure 5.9 Eleni Amerikanou's (1985) diploma project, supervised by Tassos Biris and Konstantinos Dekavallas (National Technical University of Athens School of Architecture archive).

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Figure 5.10 D. Antoniou & Ioannis Moustakas's (1989) diploma project, supervised by
Tassos Biris (National Technical University of Athens School of Architecture archive).

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Figure 5.11 Eftychis Bitsanis's (1987) diploma project, supervised by Konstantinos Dekavallas and Georgios Gerakis (National Technical University of Athens School of Architecture archive).

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Figure 5.12 Athina Iasemidou, Maria Moira & Dimitra Tigginanga's (1986) diploma project, supervised by Boukie Babalou and Konstantinos Dekavallas (National Technical University of Athens School of Architecture archive).

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Figure 5.13 Marianna Teske's (1984) diploma project, supervised by Tassis Papaioannou, worked on an Athenian block (National Technical University of Athens School of Architecture archive).

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Figure 5.14 Eirini Kleogeni & Panayotis Tsikos's (1985) diploma project, supervised by Dionysis Zivas and Yannis Koukis (National Technical University of Athens School of Architecture archive).

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Figure 5.15 Angela Georganta's (1987) diploma project, supervised by Konstantinos Dekavallas and Spyros Rogan (National Technical University of Athens School of Architecture archive).

with the 'Leftist hub' of tutors had wider implications. The implicit understanding was that Antonakakis was accommodating to the postmodern trends that threatened the reflexively fabricated modernist 'tradition' of the School. That Antonakakis was inadvertently perceived as the unofficial leader of this 'hub' was a contributing factor for his non-election at a professorial chair in 1981. A positive electoral outcome would only reinforce the popularity of his studio in the School. In conjunction with his established fame in Greece and abroad, it would render his unofficial 'hub' and its postmodern-friendly practices hegemonic within the School.

In the eyes of his students, Dimitris Antonakakis's teaching was open and critical. In many ways, it served as a counterpoint to the 'modernist' pole of design tutors. For students who followed Antonakakis, this dominant modernist discourse was conservative and rigid. They felt it set strict limits on their architectural imagination. They thus welcomed Antonakakis's attempts to open it up. Student feedback from Dimitris Philippidis's modules of the late 1980s are characteristic here. Pleas for 'foreign speakers' and 'more lectures from people […] outside the School' (Philippidis 1991: 77, 80), document the young undergraduates' understanding of their School as introverted. In an undergraduate essay, Stavros Stavridis (1981: 2) also referred to the postmodern theories of Robert Venturi as 'relatively unknown'. This was already fifteen years after the original publication of *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* in 1966. Dimitris Antonakakis was one of the few tutors who actively promoted an opening up of this introverted School.[15] He cultivated collaborations with other institutions like the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki. This process was catalysed by his long friendship with the Dean of the School of Thessaloniki, Dimitris Fatouros. The open seminar they co-organised in Kolymbari in 1977 brought many of Antonakakis's design concerns together. This 3-week seminar originated in his 'traumatic experience from [his] contact with the periphery through [his] work […] and [his] pursuit of methods to correlate higher education with the problems of the place' (Antonakakis 1978a: 18). It focused on participatory design and the problems of its application in practice. The seminar involved intensive fieldwork research in a parochial town. It attempted to

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[15] Antonakakis (1979: 10) had noted the problematic isolation of the School not only from the international trends of the period, but also from other Greek architectural institutions (like the Technical Chamber and the Association of Greek architects). In addition, the School did not address the future quotidian concerns in the students' professional life.

combine the different levels of design and spatial research on the peripheral, urban, residential, and architectural scales (Antonakakis 1978a: 81-82).

As a tutor, Antonakakis did not pick up the pencil to draw his solution to a student's specific design problem. His mentoring was subtle and suggestive. Frugal with words, Antonakakis encouraged students to think for themselves. Asking helpful questions, he enabled them to locate problems in their designs, consider alternative solutions, and refine their projects. He intended to reinforce the development of the critical capacity of each student. This is why he did not orient them towards stereotypical perceptions. He did not offer his own clear suggestions or 'correct' solutions to the problem at hand. Antonakakis was more interested to understand why his students thought of the problem in their specific way. He encouraged them to define what they were aiming at, and what they intended to achieve with their design proposals. 'Why did you do this?' was his trademark question to students. Its repetition signaled that the student was on track. Antonakakis tried to open discussions about his own major design concerns (including the transition from the urban cluster to the architectural unit, the nuanced relation of public and private spaces, etc.). He then left the students translate these concerns in their own way. It was a teaching method based on questions and doubts. It stirred things up instead of confirming pre-established certainties. This is how his teaching opened novel horizons for the students. Combined with his friendly attitude, his pedagogical practice made students feel they were also contributing to a creative ferment that produced architectural knowledge. In Antonakakis's studio, one was not only the student who listened, but also the student who inspired the tutor. His teaching reproduced the anti-hierarchical terms of collaboration in Atelier 66. Antonakakis intended his teaching practice to be opened up by the proactive contribution of his students.

He also believed that 'students needed to have the possibility to explore theoretical subjects whose limits extend beyond architecture [...] and be able to discuss design problems and their implications in theoretical terms'. He thus worked with them under general themes like 'The Bridge in Space and Time' (1985-1986), 'Elaboration as an Element of Interpretation of Architectural Design' (1987-1989), 'The Organisation of Movement as an Element of Architectural Design' (1988-1989), 'Variations', 'Movement and Elaboration' (Figs. 5.16-5.17), 'Entry-Boundary-Exit' (1989-1990), 'Problems of Typology-Archetype-Type' (1989-1990), 'Critical Presentation and Representation of Architectural Work' (1991-1992) .[16] The generality of these themes allowed Antonakakis to open up architectural design teaching to the diverse cultural fields it formed part of. He invited artists from different fields to talk about the meaning of the specific theme in their own discipline (Figs. 5.18-5.19). This series of elective modules thus served as an opportunity to

> rethink the timeworn words of the architectural vocabulary [...] [, to] explore the relations between construction, use and expression [...] [and] the threads that connect and associate the different forms of expression of human activities [...] that cultivate the "experiential substratum" of the creative act. (Antonakakis 1988a: 9)

Antonakakis's elective modules were distinct within the School. The final deliverables were not architectural drawings, but essays. These modules promoted architectural thinking, not designing.

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[16] References included seminal articles by Rafael Moneo (1978) and Anthony Vidler (1977).
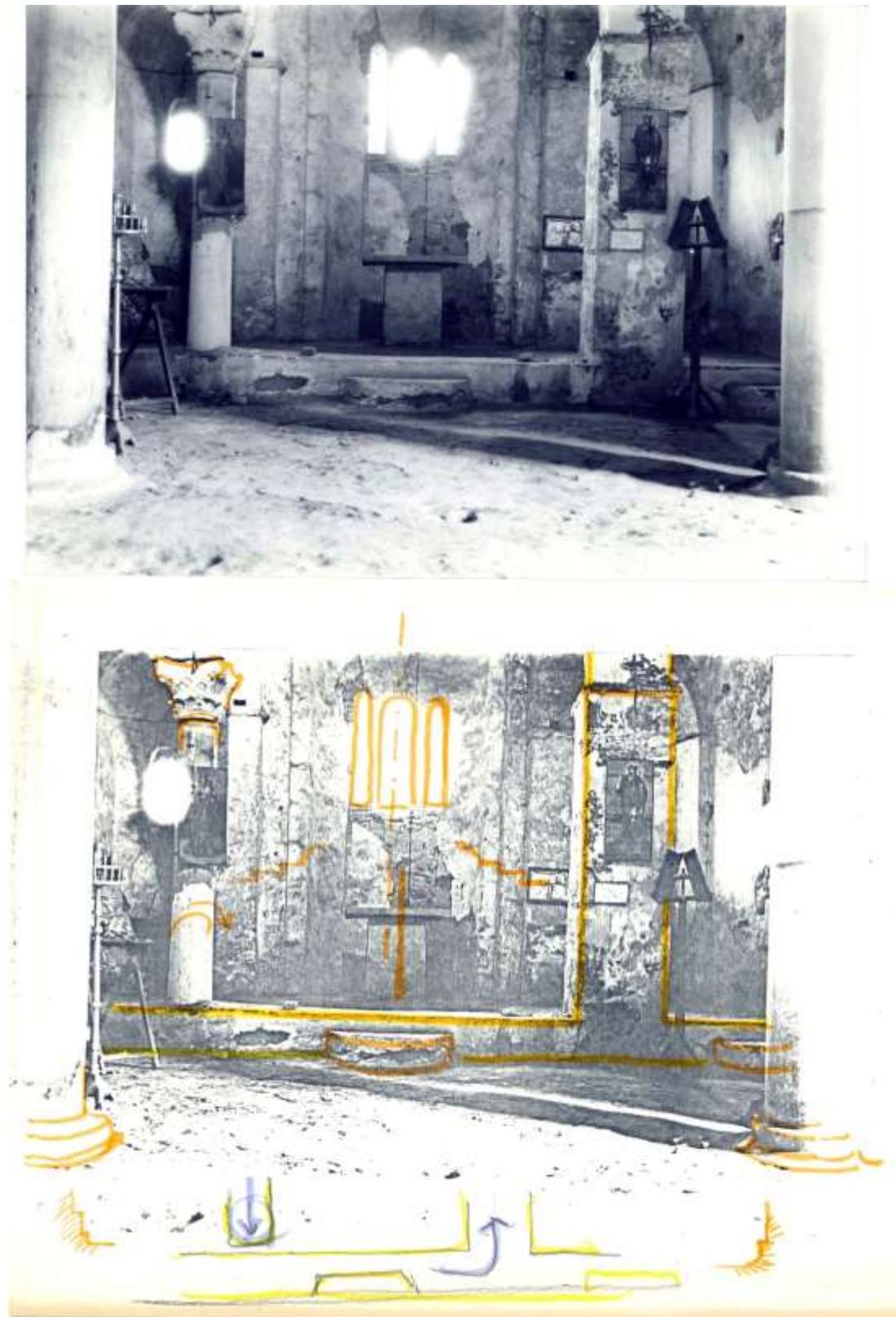
Figure 5.16 Dimitris Antonakakis's diagrammatic analysis of religious spaces for his elective

modules on 'Movement and Elaboration' at the National Technical University of Athens

(Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). Antonakakis used coloured pencils to

highlight spatial elements and architectural gestures of special interest.
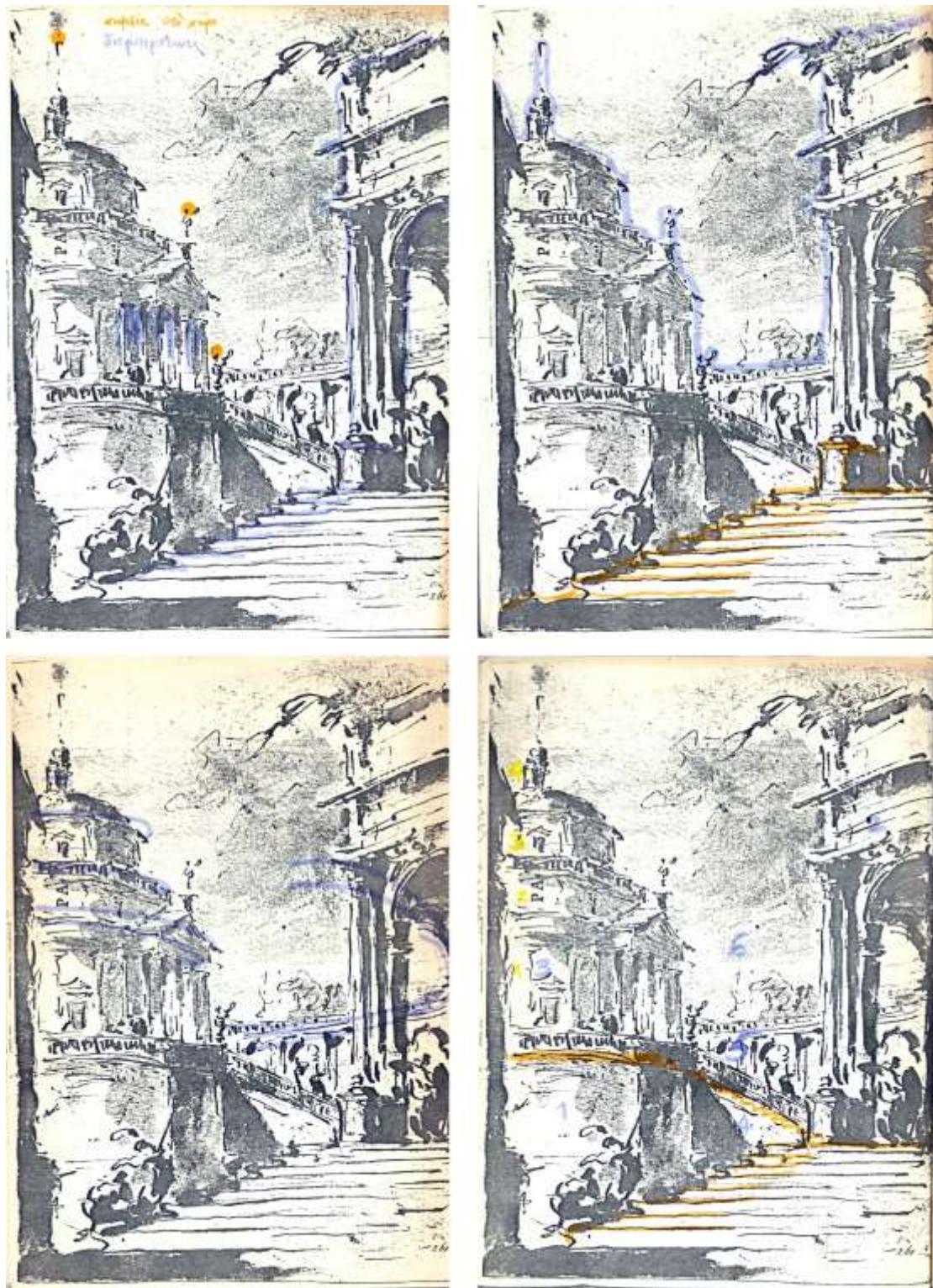
Figure 5.17 Edmund N. Bacon's (1967) elements of 'involvement' in architecture and urban design in Francesco Guardi's *Architectural Capriccio*, employed in Dimitris Antonakakis's elective modules on 'Movement and Elaboration' at the National Technical University of Athens (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

«Η ΕΠΕΞΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΟ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΝΘΕΤΙΚΗΣ ΙΔΕΑΣ»
(η περίπτωση ΚΙΝΗΜΑΤΟΓΡΑΦΟΣ),

Λεωνίδας ΚΑΚΑΡΟΓΛΟΥ
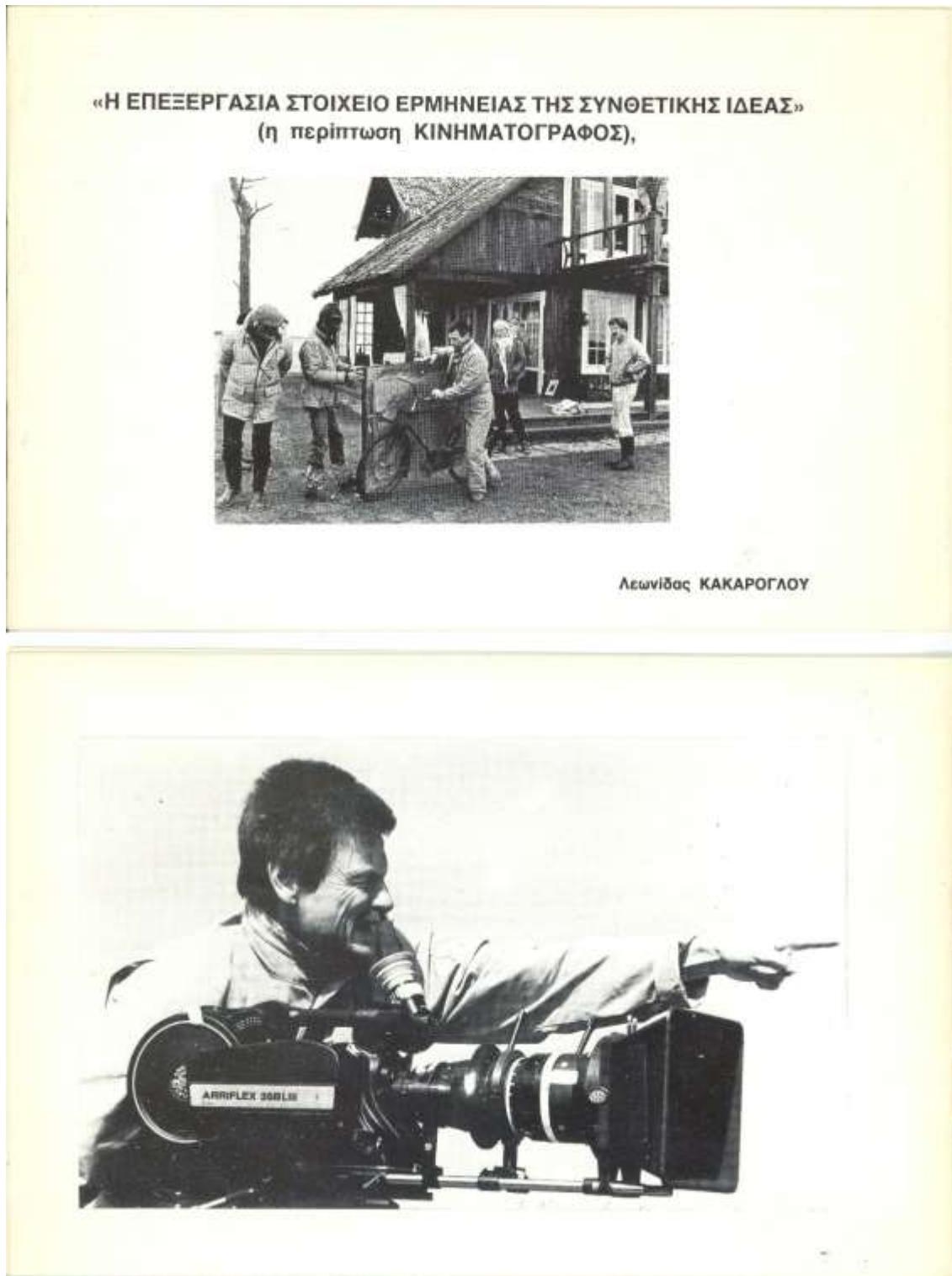
Figure 5.18 In his elective modules, Dimitris Antonakakis invited artists and thinkers from other disciplines. They discussed their approach to concerns common to their arts and architecture. The Greek director, Leonidas Kakaroglou, talked about elaboration as an element of interpretation of his main ideas in cinema (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).
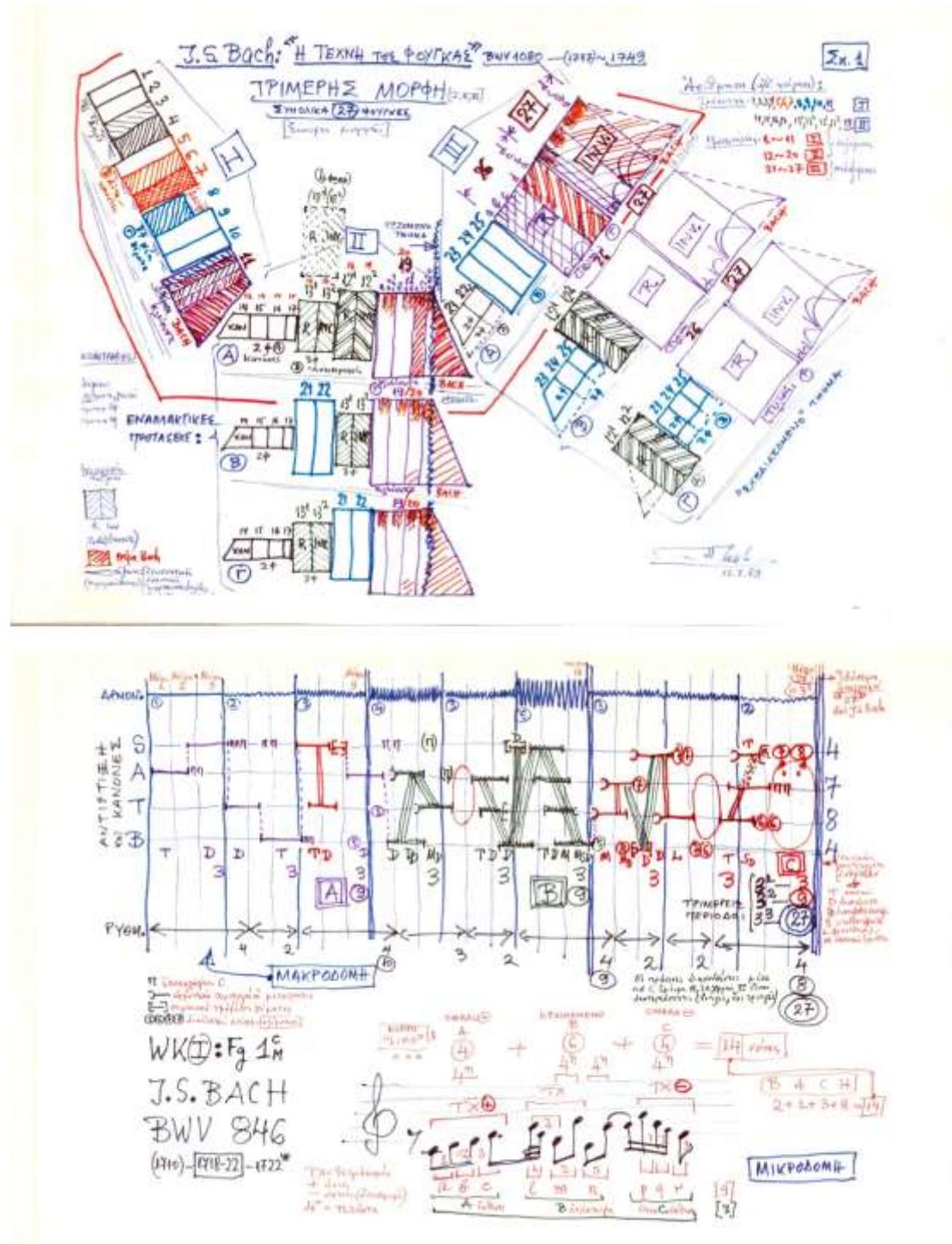
Figure 5.19 Interdisciplinary exchanges extended to issues of musical composition like Johan Sebastian Bach's 'art of fugue', analysed by Yiannis Papaioannou for Dimitris Antonakakis's elective module on 'Elaboration' (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive). Ideas like the counterpoint, and the establishment of rhythm soon revealed their affinities to the students' architectural concerns.

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Figure 5.20 Chrysafo Stamatopoulou's 1986 diploma project published in *The Journal of the Association of Greek Architects* 20 (April-May 1989: 59). It was one of the first diploma projects in the National Technical University of Athens to be inspired by the feminist problematic.

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Figure 5.21 Chrysafo Stamatopoulou's 1986 diploma project published in *The Journal of the Association of Greek Architects* 20 (April-May 1989: 60).

Figure 5.22 Dimitris Antonakakis's diagrammatic analysis of Pikionis's Heyden Street apartment building (1936) for his elective modules at the National Technical University of Athens (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive).

Other tutors of Antonakakis's unofficial 'hub', like Dina Vaiou, followed a similar approach. The elective modules she organised in the early 1980s introduced feminist thinking as an additional concern for architectural design students (Figs. 5.20-5.21).[17]

Drawing from his own lessons from Speyer, Antonakakis favoured an analytical systematic approach to design. In other words, his openness was sturdily

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[17] Some of these feminism-inspired student lectures and diploma projects (from 1985 onwards), were later published in a special feature of the *Journal of the Association of Greek Architects* in 1989. See Viriraki (1989), Goufa & Soundia (1989), Stamatopoulou (1989), and Tzanou (1989).

based on his underlying modernist outlook. His lectures were usually illustrated by his sketches and diagrams that interpreted published drawings (Fig. 5.22). Through his teaching, Antonakakis intended to provide his students with a specific system of approaching architectural problems. This would enable them to offer satisfactory solutions to these problems, irrespectively of their contingent superior or inferior design skills. This system was the basis of the architectural knowledge Antonakakis wanted to impart. His systematic approach to architectural design is clearly recorded in Dimitra Georgantopoulou and Vaios Zitonoulis's diploma project (1987).[18] To ensure the overall coherence of their proposal for a tourist residential complex in Aeghion, Antonakakis's students resorted to the grid of construction zoning as their organising design principle (Fig. 5.23). They devised a systematic set of rules and types for the various semi-open-air and interior spaces, courtyards and fences. Design variations of these basic tropes were associated with the different uses around the complex. Students worked similarly in their plan, section and façade drawings (Fig. 5.24). They designed the modular units and their main variations (Fig. 5.25), and they organised a typology of design details like window openings. Once this system was set up, every distinct design piece just had to fall into its allocated place within the overall scheme. The apparent complexity of the final design result thus arose from a series of predefined rules.

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[18] Antonakakis's peculiar status within the School renders the work of the contemporary architectural historian more difficult. After the negative outcome of his candidacy for the professorial chair in 1981, and his refusal to become a lecturer after the New Law for Higher Education was put into effect in 1982, Antonakakis practically occupied a non-existent institutional post. This is why he could not officially appear as the supervisor of diploma projects, or the leader of elective modules. He always had to work with one of his peers (usually Fotiou and Babalou, but also Deste Pechlivanidou) that effectively served as the institutional decoy. A considerable part of Antonakakis's teaching is therefore 'invisible' in the archive of the National Technical University of Athens. An equally significant part of it still resides in the private archives of his former students.

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Figure 5.23 Antonakakis's construction zoning applied in Dimitra Georgantopoulou and Vaios Zitonoulis's (1987) diploma project (National Technical University of Athens School of Architecture archive). The students produced a comprehensive matrix of the significant design elements and their variations.

Alongside his interest in the work of the great modern masters, Antonakakis was often resorting to examples from a street on Naxos and other images of Greekness. In 1991, he described this as the main characteristic of a 'tradition' that ran across the School of Athens. According to Antonakakis, the School had the

intention of interpreting the Greek architectural tradition through the contemporary trends and contemporary architectural theory [...] in an intense effort not to lose contact with the Greek constructional specificities, the place and its scale. (Antonakakis 1991: 4)

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Figure 5.24 The phenomenal complexity of Dimitra Georgantopoulou and Vaios Zitonoulis's (1987) diploma project (bottom) is the result of an application of rules that control variation (top) (National Technical University of Athens School of Architecture archive).

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Figure 5.25 Variations of the modular dwellings in Dimitra Georgantopoulou and Vaios Zitonoulis's (1987) diploma project, supervised by Dimitris Antonakakis (National Technical University of Athens School of Architecture archive).

His typological analysis of the regional examples allowed him to keep his clear distance from the folklore. He presented traditional forms of building in their wise relation with their setting, as a form of condensed experience of the human interaction with the place. This approach shared affinities with the politically motivated interest in vernacular and anonymous 'architecture without architects' in the School in the mid-1970s. From the working-class self-made constructions without

a building permit in Perama to the vernacular settlements of the Cyclades, this was an architecture of 'real needs' that resisted commodification and consumerism. Antonakakis was the leading figure of this interest in revisiting traditional architecture. As he clarified, Antonakakis (1989c: 65) understood tradition as 'the living everyday reality […] the continuities and discontinuities […] that express the presence of novel forces that challenge the status quo'. In other words, he highlighted the subversive potential of tradition. His reading thus exceeded the limited confines of the built environment. He attempted to understand architecture as part of a broader culture. Based on technologies of non-industrial and non-standardised making, this broader traditional culture was also expressed in clothing, for instance. Antonakakis consciously attempted to highlight the affinities behind the design logics of modernism and that of the anonymous craftsmen of traditional architecture. The grid and his late 1950s pursuits of Le Corbusier's Modulor in the Greek island settlements thus found their way in his short lectures on relevant design subjects. His related observations ranged from the typology of erecting a wall to the way of opening a window in it.

Antonakakis's concerns were characteristically echoed in student lectures he supervised. This means that Antonakakis could integrate and channel the preliminary concerns of his students in a subtle, but persistent, way. However open-ended he intended his teaching to remain, this was not just a case of students autonomously exploring their interests. Fani Stathaki and Evi Stamatopoulou's (1991) discussion of the character of the (architectural) shell is a first characteristic case in point here (Fig. 5.26). Their text featured prevailing concerns of Antonakakis's approach to dwelling, place and time. These were also evident in the students' references to the works of Michelis, Bachelard, and Valéry. Their discussion concluded that the shell is the ambiguous surface between inside and outside, a semi-open being (Stathaki & Stamatopoulou 1991: 20). This idea clearly reflected Antonakakis's own interest in

intermediate spaces and the multiple permeations of privacy and publicity. V. Lazaris's (1992) lecture on the experience of listening to music documents the impact of Antonakakis's interdisciplinary teaching. It enabled his students to associate architectural thinking with their personal cultural interests. In his lecture, Lazaris explored the idea of rhythm and the passing of time, another crucial concern of Antonakakis's approach to place. Clearly inspired by his reading of Heidegger, Lazaris (1992: 2) asserted that 'the "essence" of space is time', and music is 'the temporal art par excellence'. Hence, 'to conceive time, we need to resort to [...] spatial relations' (Lazaris 1992: 4). In his discussion, he therefore treated harmonic tonal relations as a 'geometry of time' and tonal harmony as a 'musical perspective' drawing (Lazaris 1992: 10, 22). Eleni Katsoufi & Spyros Mpoutis's (1991) lecture on the transitive role of semi-open-air spaces in residential architecture is the most characteristic case in point. The students resorted to some of Antonakakis's favourite motifs from the thinking of Aldo van Eyck: his conception of 'twin phenomena', as well as his metaphor for an architecture that breathes in and out (Katsoufi & Mpoutis 1991: 1, 6). Katsoufi & Mpoutis (1991: 5) also used Antonakakis's terminology of 'transitive semitones' (1973) to refer to the relationship of open-air exterior with closed interior space, and the transition from public to private space. Their illustrations throughout the lecture adopted the style of Antonakakis's own diagrams from the same article (Fig. 5.27). The students were more interested in semi-open-air spaces as spaces of transition, not as spaces per se. Their specific interest lay in the relations of these spaces with the extremes of interior/private and exterior/public space. They focused on spaces of pre-industrial agricultural Greek communities as characteristic examples. This was the most recent architecture that retained a dialectical 'organic' relation with its environment. Their conclusion that contemporary architecture needed to reconsider the basic priorities of this open-air model of life (Katsoufi & Mpoutis 1991: 22) echoed the architectural concerns of their

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Figure 5.26 Fani Stathaki & Evi Stamatopoulou's (1991) lecture project (National Technical University of Athens School of Architecture archive).

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Figure 5.27 Illustrations from Eleni Katsoufi & Spyros Mpoutis's (1991) lecture (National Technical University of Athens School of Architecture archive). Compare with Antonakakis's 1973 diagrams (Fig. 2.27).

mentor. At the same time, such conclusions were further evidence of the stale discussion of the Greek architectural tradition in the essentialist terms of the 1960s.

Antonakakis's elevated status in the eyes of his students was also owing to his ability to combine his discourse with an already realised architectural oeuvre. This enabled him to carry his theoretical ideas forward on the plane of practice. His familiarisation with the realities of building in 1960s and 1970s Greece allowed him to explore novel typological models of dwelling in public and private space. These pursuits rendered Antonakakis's teaching as an on-going research seminar. He also gave his students the opportunity to work within the confines of the existing building regulations. They thus explored the effects of this legislation on architectural design and the formation of the urban built environment (Antonakakis 1988a: 5). The historical dimension of this type of work was also highlighted. Collaborating with his peers Boukie Babalou and Theano Fotiou, Antonakakis's students took on the task of surveying Athenian apartment buildings before and after the Asia Minor disaster and the ensuing flows of approximately one million refugees in 1922 (Antonakakis 1988a: 8). This was Antonakakis's significant contribution to the debates on architectural education that ensued after the dramatic political events of the period. After the students' revolt and the eventual fall of the colonels, the methods and aims of architectural education were also questioned. The stronger socio-political concerns of the period had to find their way in the architectural pedagogies of the School. Focusing on the Athenian apartment building, Antonakakis introduced the absent architecture of everyday life in the School's curriculum. The problem of questioning, reinforcing, adapting and converting the existing built fabric came to the fore.

Antonakakis's teaching did not involve explicitly postmodern themes. However, the growing interest of students of the period enabled them to recuperate their lessons from him in this direction. Antonakakis's appeals to the regional

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Figure 5.28 Models from Zissis Kotionis's diploma project at the National Technical University of Athens, supervised by Dimitris Antonakakis (1986) (Zissis Kotionis's private archive).

vernacular were still rooted in the problematic of the generation of the 1960s. He essentially attempted to update Pikionis's teachings in the urbanised context of postwar Greece. Owing to their postmodern readings, however, some of his students understood these appeals to the regional as furthering critiques to modernism. Antonakakis's teaching was intertwined with the developments in the politically active student community. He both inspired his students' political actions and drew some of them back to the drawing board. In the case of Zissis Kotionis, Antonakakis rekindled his interest in design after a period of intense political involvement.

Kotionis's diploma project in 1986 (Fig. 5.28) shows how Antonakakis's openness to the postmodern debates led to a reinterpretation of the historical roots of architecture in Greece from the archaic Cycladic settlements to the modern age.[19] Kotionis used his work on the free transformations of archaic dwelling to produce generic structures towards a contemporary architectural expression. His work mixed a modern programme with historical material. When he later published his diploma project in *Architecture in Greece*, Kotionis noted the concerns behind his project. He was mainly interested in the 'elusive and invisible type of dwelling' (Kotionis 1991: 50). He attempted to explore it through formal transformations and conceptual translocations of the archaic paradigms. However, this approach was reproducing the inward-looking formalist approach that already plagued the Antonakakis' architectural work in the mid-1980s.

Antonakakis's teaching enabled his students to question and think for themselves about the topics that concerned them the most. His politically active students retrieved the strand of the socially and theoretically elaborate open-mindedness from his architectural practices. Antonakakis had expliciltly supported the students' 'participation in the production of knowledge' (1983: 41). However, his own analysis was not socio-political. His definition of criticality as a form of 'doubt that rises from an unsatisfied responsibility and becomes a stance towards life' (Antonakakis 1983: 41) is characteristic here. Antonakakis's main reference was the

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[19] Once again, Antonakakis's interest could be traced back to his lessons from Pikionis. As he noted in an interview with Dolka (2002: 3, 7): 'Pikionis simply brought his knowledge and experience about ancient cultures to his draftsman underlined and discussed with the same seriousness about a common building, a Byzantine or an Ancient one. […] It was like transporting the ancient cultural experiences onto the draftsman's drawing table […] Pikionis's interpretations are so original and placed in the Tradition, in his work, so that if you try to copy them, you overcome them and you are launching to their prototypes, to the Macedonian Mansion and its variation, to the Delphi benches, or the Japanese construction.'

work of J. L. Ambercrombie on *The Anatomy of Judgement* (1960). He was especially interested in the creative involvement of the individual in group work. This creative involvement also challenged the boundaries between research and teaching. When his students challenged their role in the mechanisms of the production of knowledge, however, they did so following their own recent postmodern readings. In other words, Antonakakis's teaching inspired his students who creatively assimilated it through their readings of postmodern theories. The 'anti-commodification' and 'anti-hierarchical' aspirations of Atelier 66 were especially attuned with the central demands of the youth movement that emerged from the squats of 1979.

5.2 The antagonistic movement in 1980s Athens

When the academics who were accused of collaborating with the colonels were eventually suspended, the anti-dictatorship student movement of 1973 had no major political cause to fight for. Thus, it gradually dissipated to give its place to a wider youth movement. The political cause that ignited this new movement was the proposed New Law for Higher Education (815/1979). Students of the period regarded it as a law that intensified their studies and assimilated their leisure time. Hence, they actively resisted its implementation. The student squats of December 1979 were the most massive since the restoration of democracy (Fig. 5.29). They also represented a short-lived victory for the new movement. In early January 1980, Prime Minister Constantinos Karamanlis addressed a TV message to the Greek people to announce the withdrawal of the Law.

The 1979 squats served as the meeting point of the student movement with the 'new anarchists'. These individuals used to 'frequent the Exarchia Square, without

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Figure 5.29 Student squats at the National Technical University of Athens in December 1979. The squats represented a novel iteration of the student movement (Photos: kanali.wordpress.com).

being organised of course; they had a very strong theoretical background'. Some of them had previously studied philosophy and science in Italy and France during the years of the military junta in Greece. However, they could hardly be regarded as activists. 'There was a [reciprocal] toleration with the other [i.e. unofficial, or critical] parties of the Left, quite often a connivance, and an informal synergy' (Michalakis 2010). The theoretical underpinnings of this 'alternative' antagonistic sphere[20] included postmodern references tied with the Italian Autonomy movement, and the thought of early Toni Negri and Félix Guattari. Especially influential were Guattari's takes on the 'molecular revolution' of everyday life (1984) and the 'new spaces of freedom' (1985). The 'new anarchists' had resorted to these readings in their attempt to transgress the classic anarchist problematic. These individuals thus served as the first agents of postmodern theory within the student movement of 1979. These first postmodern debates within the squats offered students the occasion to reconsider criticality itself. The lively debates enriched the students' flourishing philosophical, social and political concerns after the fall of the junta. Before 1979, the politicised youth of Greece had to go with the essential theoretical parcel that came with their membership to one of the official Leftist parties. Their theoretical readings covered variants of Marxism that ranged from the classic to the structural interpretations of Louis Althusser and Nicos Poulantzas.[21] 1979 added situationism, anthropology, structuralism, post-structuralism, and psychoanalysis on the table of their political debates. Students of the period embraced these novel readings, ranging from Derrida

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[20] Antagonistic movements are the successors of class movements. They are no longer exclusively constituted in the sphere of production, but on the grounds of a wide array of social conflicts, including those pertaining to the cultural field.

[21] Apart from his classic study *State, Power, Socialism* (1978), Poulantzas's popularity was also owing to his pertinent theoretical work on the dictatorships in the European South (Portugal, Spain, and Greece) in the mid-1970s (see Poulantzas 1976). For Althusser's interpretations and extensions of Marxist thinking, see Althusser (1969), and Althusser & Balibar (1965).

and Foucault to Lévi-Strauss and Lyotard. They expected these thinkers to offer them critical interpretations and novel ways out of the traditional concerns of the Left. In the words of Kostas Gavroglu (1980: 3), the students 'opted to express themselves in a language very few wanted to understand'. The 1979 squats and their open practices of self-organisation represented a youth culture that was opposing the sclerotic bureaucracies of the official parties of the Left. Students demanded an alternative mode of knowledge production and an anti-hierarchical, directly democratic, form of political organisation. In the words of Kostas Gavroglu, again, these students

> challenged the pedagogical function of the university, the content of the proffered knowledge, the practice of the unionist leadership of the student movement. In addition, this challenge implicated the dead-end practices of specific progressive parties of the last five years, for others it was the culminating crisis of an institution that enjoys the privilege of being constantly in crisis over the last 30 years, and for some others it expressed the need to change the framework of the questions that situate the crisis and the terms we use to understand it. (Gavroglu 1980: 3)

For the radicalised students of architecture, this was also a reaction to the prevailing modernist discourse and organisation of the School at the time. Confident students of the late 1970s used to learn from each other by discussing and sharing international books and magazines. They actively pursued their theoretical interests in a School that lacked any kind of systematic theoretical teaching at the time.[22] Their postmodern readings enabled them to approach their studies in a refreshed critical light. They showed them how politics and pedagogy were inseparable, and how the content of their studies was related with ideological critique and class struggles.

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[22] This would have to wait until Panayotis Tournikiotis's arrival at the School in the early 1990s, after a long period of postgraduate studies in Paris.

Architectural pedagogy was yet another ideological field, closely related to politics. Not only did their pedagogy have political implications, but it was also being shaped by politics. That the School did not elect Antonakakis in 1981 rendered his radical students even more suspicious of the professorial status quo. The students' critique to architectural pedagogy was combined with political action, through programmes like 'functional' squats. Students also attempted to employ alternative anti-hierarchical pedagogies that opposed the standard evaluation of students' artistic projects. They organised exhibitions that showcased all the student projects of the year, irrespectively of their final grades. The students of the period were thus 'producing a novel culture through their unionisation'. Their fight against conservatism was not restricted to their critique of the Communist Leftists in the student assemblies. Their political action involved 'throwing parties, organising concerts, publishing journals' (Michalakis 2010).

This was the time when A.X.A. (Ανεξάρτητος Χώρος Αρχιτεκτονικής) was formed in the School. This unofficial Critical Leftist group included students like Stavros Stavridis, Nikos Belavilas, Yorgos Metaxas, Yorgos Anagnostopoulos, Maria Kopanari, Theoni Xanthi, and Petros Zervos. Their radical politics introduced the postmodern thematic as a discussion of the modes of architectural production and the disciplinary mechanisms of professionalisation. A.X.A. was the only political group of the School that was neither dependent from the Stalinist Communist parties nor part of the New Left. It thus formed the first collective subjectivity that was not guided by the standard Greek political powers. Through its cultural activity, the group proposed a new way of understanding and organising politics in the School. Their political practices were not limited to radical Leftist critiques of the 'critical support' offered to the Socialist Party government after 1981 by the major parties of the Left. On their own initiative, they translated texts of reference and distributed them across the School as brochures or autonomous publications. A.X.A. were also

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Figure 5.30 Among other texts of reference, *Art History and Class Struggle* by Nicos Hadjinicolaou (1973) and *The Housing Question* by Friedrich Engels (1872) were translated in Greek and disseminated as pamphlets by the Critical Left (A.X.A.) students of architecture at the National Technical University of Athens in the late 1970s (Stavros Stavridis's private archive).

strongly involved in the student squats of 1979. What came to be known as the antagonistic youth movement of 1980s Greece was the product of this 'cultural turn' in their politics. It arose when the students' critical political practices met with the postmodern theoretical references of the 'new anarchists'. The 1979 squats cemented the symbolic significance of the National Technical University of Athens as a major point of reference and identification for the emerging movement.

The first Athenian house squat in 1981 and the neighbouring Exarchia Square were the other founding moments and places of reference and identification for the antagonistic youth movement. Over the years, the Square became the locus for a diverse series of political causes. Feminists and ecologists, cyclists and 'pirates' of the radio frequencies all promoted their political agendas through their active presence in the Square. Despite this diversity, the Square was primarily associated with the major demand of the youth movement: 'alternativity'. The term signalled a plea for another culture of leisure time. More specifically, it foregrounded the right to leisure time. This right was exercised in direct association with a specific public space. Students and other young people who used to frequent the Exarchia Square practically embodied this alternative way of life that slowed down when everybody else was speeding up. They favoured leisure and idleness over effectiveness and productivity. It was a youth demand for practically having the time to be young in what they regarded as a society of passive consumerism and ubiquitous competition. The various antagonistic movements gradually coalesced around three key causes: anti-hierarchy, anti-media, anti-consumerism (Souzas 2015: 19). As a technical term, anti-hierarchy denoted both matters of internal organisation of the movement, and the dissolution of power relations in the interpersonal contact of its members (Souzas 2015: 165-166). Intertwined with these causes were questions concerning the relations between the public and the private, the open and the closed, the unmediated and the artistic, in the context of everyday life. Rather crucially, the 'new anarchists' of the student squats no longer subsumed the means to their goals. In addition, they did not sacrifice the present on the altar of a post-revolutionary ideal. On the contrary, they insisted on the immediate actualisation of the different forms of social organisation and ways of life they promoted. In other words, they attempted to introduce the utopian element as a major factor of their everyday life (Souzas 2015: 42-43). These movements were not conditioned by theoretical debates. They were practically constituted through the specific contexts that supported alternative ways

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Figure 5.31 The Athenian house squat of Villa Amalia (1991) (Photos: Gerasimos Domenikos's private archive). Squatters attempted to actualise their political demands in their everyday life.

of life beyond the existing status quo (Souzas 2015: 103). Unlike similar developments in Europe at the time, for instance, the house squats in 1980s Greece were not triggered by a burgeoning housing problem. The strong familial bonds and networks still offered ad hoc solutions to such matters. The Athenian house squats were thus meant to actualise a critique of the qualitative impoverishment of dwelling in the city (Souzas 2015: 116). Students of architecture played an active role in these developments. They were usually leading figures of house squats, as in the case of 91 Harilaou Trikoupi Street in 1985 and 37 Lelas Karagianni and Drosopoulou Streets (Souzas 2015: 122, 124) (Fig. 5.31). In the early years of the *metapolitefsi*, Exarchia thus became the locus of the politicisation of every aspect of quotidian life. Critical discussions of the period ranged from the prisoners' rights and antimilitarism to antipsychiatry and counterculture (Souzas 2015: 69).

5.3 The postmodern as an ephemeral city

All these concerns were far removed from Antonakakis's teaching at the School of Athens. The work of these students is not the obvious legacy of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' architectural practice. The two architects' self-evident legacy would be limited to the numerous peers of their collaborative practice, Atelier 66. However, as I already showed in chapter 4 (see section 4.3), this legacy could not go further than what Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis had already established. Their leading presence in the office meant that their distinct design signature was still discernible in the work of their peers, even after they had left Atelier 66. Since their collaborative practice could not effectively be renewed from within, this could only be a short-lived legacy. This is why it is not a matter of my concern here. Although more indirect and subtle, Antonakakis's teaching in the National Technical University of Athens paves

the way to a more interesting 'legacy'. Entering the more open and experimental

sphere of academic education, Antonakakis's teaching was recuperated by his

students in ways he could not have expected. By combining his open aporetic

approach to modernism with their readings of postmodern theorists, Antonakakis's

students pushed their own political critiques of modernism forward. Although his

mark is hardly discernible in their ensuing discourses, many of these students like

Stavros Stavridis (2013) retrospectively referred to Antonakakis as their most

significant mentor in the School. In his words, Antonakakis taught them to think for

themselves. He did not dictate, but enabled them to carry their own thinking forward.

Just like the settled stylistic version of the Biennale postmodern had acted as an

inadvertent catalyst for the alternative development of critical regionalism,

Antonakakis's teaching was also inadvertently generating a novel alternative

postmodern critical discourse when Frampton's regionalism was showing clear signs

of rigidity. This is why the work of these students is also an ideal coda for a thesis that

aimed to rethink the postmodern as a proliferation of complementary discourses on

the modern, the regional, and the critical in architecture. The postmodern classicism

of the Biennale was but one of these discursive strands, and so was critical

regionalism. Antonakakis's students developed their own postmodern critical

discourse that further radicalised the socially conscious aspects of the earlier

critiques of modernism.

The 'alternative' constituency of the antagonistic movement in 1980s Athens

was the nourishing ground of the architectural journal *Efimeri Poli* [*Ephemeral City*]

(1983-1986) (Figs. 5.32-5.33). Through the pages of this journal, the former members

of A.X.A. carried their productive readings of the 1979 squats forward. Hosting a

'critical, living and imaginary discourse on space', *Efimeri Poli* embodied the

reconsideration of the critical in 1980s Greece. Its eight issues documented the

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Figure 5.32 Affiliate groupings of *Efimeri Poli* in its 'advertisement' pages (Stavros

Stavridis's private archive). These included the wider Left and the rising ecological movement,

publishing houses, specialised architectural and alternative bookstores, and bars in Exarchia.

[Third party copyright material]

Figure 5.33 'Alternative' journals of the Wider Left in 1980s Greece depicted as a Lernaean Hydra in *Σχολιαστής* 13 (April 1984): 28-29.

alternative practices and attitudes to the built environment that were inspired by the postmodern problematic (Fig. 5.34).[23]

From the outset, Stavros Stavridis (1983a: 17) clarified the experimental approach of the journal. He personally intended to use it as a testing ground for the

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[23] The editors retained their active individual affiliations with other groups of the extraparliamentary Left. The journal is therefore to be read in its dialectical relation with other pamphlets and journals of the 'alternative' sphere – especially with the ones whose contribution to the postmodern debate in 1980s Greece has been historically significant (like *Convoy*, *AutonoMEDIA*, and *Riksi*).

Figure 5.34 Covers of *Efimeri Poli*, the journal of a 'critical, living and imaginary discourse

on space' (1983-1986) (Stavros Stavridis's private archive).

theory of space he was then developing for his PhD dissertation.[24] Starting from a critique of functionalism, his theory was in development since his student years at the National Technical University of Athens. In one of his unpublished undergraduate essays in 1981, Stavridis had critiqued of Robert Venturi's seminal postmodern theories (1966 and 1972). More specifically, Stavridis was concerned with Venturi's methodology. He found that it precluded any 'external' view of architecture. With its restrictive resort to a practical empiricism, Venturi's theory thus left many of his own ideological assumptions unaddressed. In addition, this theory could not address the relation of architecture to society and technological developments. To counter these shortcomings in Venturi's theory, Stavridis (1981: 18-19) promoted his own interest in linguistic-semiological approaches. Situating architecture in a social orbit, he posited that the work of architects did not concern autonomous artistic objects. Architecture consisted of (social) events born out of conflicts of interests, power games and resistances. Hence, the architect was not the mythologised artistic figure that produced formal ingenuity, but an active agent in the social process. Stavridis's (1981: 20) critical framework thus rendered 'the purism of Modern Architecture lost for ever and the innocence of its 1920s social messianism suspect'. It pursued a holistic human experience and expression that ran counter to the systematic fragmentation of human life, and its evaluation in terms of optimal effectiveness (Stavridis 1981: 22-23).[25] In his final year lecture in 1982, Stavridis furthered his

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[24] When his dissertation was later published as a stand-alone book, Stavridis characteristically noted: 'I feel that my own endeavours were also marked by the debates within the editorial group of *Efimeri Poli*, a journal that aimed to develop a multifarious problematic concerning matters of space and the city. Although this effort ended long ago, the echo of those debates is still feeding in my work' (Stavridis 1990: 14).

[25] The social relevance of Stavridis's (1981: 22) pursued cultural approach was accompanied by a revealing reference to Amos Rapoport's *House Form and Culture* (1969). He also referred to *American Pop Art* by Lawrence Alloway (1974) (Stavridis 1981: 30). In addition, he read the second edition of Jencks's *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* in tandem with Venturi (Stavridis 1981: 25-26, 32).

critique of modernist functionalism. The functionalist dictum for the house as 'a machine for living in' was not an objective, but an evaluative-signifying model itself. In other words, the supposedly objective character of uses propagated by functionalist building programs was in fact only relative to a specific significative and exchange value. The model itself and its embedded assumptions already prescribed the anticipated solution (Stavridis 1982: 13).[26] Hence, any aspired social emancipation could not be the aftermath of a different design of space in these terms. The propaganda of the architect as a generator of social change only served to mythologise the profession. To escape from this functionalist grip, Stavridis (1982: 23) resorted to the emancipatory potential of art. He posited that cultural emancipation played a decisive role in the success or failure of any other struggle for social emancipation.

In her first text for the journal, Theone Xanthi characteristically situated *Efimeri Poli* within an overall postmodern framework:

Now that many myths are no more manically followed, now that the crisis of science is mainly caused by questions concerning Rational Knowledge and Language and their demystification is anticipating a novel myth, now that progress does not match technological development, [now] that architecture does not want to take the enormous responsibility of creating a better world upon its shoulders, [now] that form does not closely follow function, now that

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[26] The assault on modernism (specifically addressed to its supposed objectivity and the accompanying austere mode of production) went on in the lecture (Stavridis 1982: 27). Tafuri's *Architecture and Utopia* (1969) was also called upon (Stavridis 1982: 33-34). Stavridis's postmodern references included Venturi, Scott-Brown & Izenour's *Learning from Las Vegas* (1972) (Stavridis 1982: 36), Roland Barthes's *Mythologies* (1957) (Stavridis 1982: 39-40), and Jean Baudrillard's *Pour une critique de l' Economie Politique du Signe* (1972) (Stavridis 1982: 11, 26).

neither "less is more" nor "Moore is more" is convincing. Now that the universally accepted solutions of the experts have been abandoned, [now] that the notorious user is not a pledge for visions, now that the progressive [dimension] has been incorporated in the modernisation of the technocrats, now that some pursue the new myth of that which can be collectively transmitted, whilst the novel visions are undermined by the dystocia of social logic and the consecutive collapse of their precedents, now that a 'new pluralism is shaped so that the sum of significant human experience can be used again and history can become once again a dimension of substantial significance' [...] let us write what follows acknowledging our precedents even if their exact association or consistency can never be traced [...] now that we approach Space and Time as precious stones – but still stones – as we wrote in the first two texts (Xanthi 1983: 27-28)

Many of the texts featured in *Efimeri Poli* retained their links with the National Technical University of Athens. They were usually revised excerpts of projects and essays produced during the student years of the editorial group.[27] Most characteristic was the extensive 1983 publication of work done within the student squats of 1980 (in between clashes with the police, and the official youth party of the Communist Left). The dominant performative aspect of the journal was expressed through a street theatrical play for Omonia Square (Belavilas & Metaxas 1983: 89-91). Is architecture truly capable of relating with the people it supposedly serves? This was a major concern of the students of the squats of 1980. It guided their pursuit of an alternative design practice that opposed typological thinking and other detached forms of expert architectural knowledge (Fig. 5.35). *Efimeri Poli* thus attempted to study the production of space in ways that were not the norm during the student

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[27] See, for instance, Pangalou & Kopanari (1983), and Zervos, Xanthi & Orfanou (1983).

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Figure 5.35 Work on Omonia Square during the 1980 student squats, published in *Efimeri Poli* 3 (December 1983): 66-91 (Stavros Stavridis's private archive).

years of its editors at the National Technical University of Athens. In the journal, space became the main object of study. The editors and contributing authors strived to overcome its austere functionalist approaches. This spatial turn that took place on the pages of *Efimeri Poli* rendered the problematic of space itself a locus of interdisciplinary meetings. Space was neither subject, nor object. It was rather understood through an analogy with language. Space accommodated bodily acts in much the same way that language accommodated thinking.[28] Linguistics, semiology, post-Marxist emancipatory politics and psychoanalysis soon combined to form the theoretical background of *Efimeri Poli* (Fig. 5.36). This background, alongside the editors' anti-functionalist insistence on the multifarious nature of space,[29] rendered the journal a veritable child of the postmodern condition.

The journal offered ample evidence of the postmodern themes that formed its theoretical substratum. Taken together, they all contributed to a reconsideration of the critical in the architectural discourse of the period. Yorgos Anagnostopoulos's and Stavros Stavridis's essays on Athenian bars and fast-food restaurants were characteristic of a postmodern concern. Their authors clearly intended to bridge the 'great divide'[30] and value the quotidian as high as the avant-garde. However, this thematisation of the everyday was not as celebratory as that of Venturi. Stavridis's critical position prevailed over both his assault on modernism and his evident

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[28] This thesis (that space is to human action what language is to thinking) was a recurring theme in Stavridis's texts in *Efimeri Poli*. See, for instance, Stavridis (1983a).

[29] This multifarious nature of space was pitted against one-way or direct, well-defined and unequivocal causal relations. These could be grounded on supposedly stable biological needs, for instance. This concealed the role of these needs in a specific web of social values and beliefs. Needs could not be so stable, since they were also culturally determined.

[30] For an understanding of the postmodern as a challenge to the 'great divide' between 'high' and 'low' culture, see Huyssen (1986).

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Figure 5.36 Characteristic pages and features from the short published life of *Efimeri Poli* (1983-1986) (Stavros Stavridis's private archive).

postmodern concerns. He thus refused to celebrate the consumerist orientation of the fast-food standardisation, just because their spaces were colourful, as opposed to the prevailing grey of a modernist metropolis (Stavridis 1983c).[31] Aristides Mazis (1983) was also attuned with this interest in the quotidian, especially in cases where this could prove as fulfilling as any celebrated architectural project.[32] On the pages of *Efimeri Poli*, the quotidian and the ordinary were consistently perceived as a challenge to the functionalist and hygienist assumptions that underlay the editors' architectural education. Equally systematic was *Efimeri Poli*'s attention to marginal spaces 'in the shadow of the official city' (as in Pangalou 1984). Besides, this specific architectural concern was already evident in the student works of the editorial team during the squats of 1980 (Belavilas & Metaxas 1983: 89-91). The editorial piece for the second issue was equally characteristic. Rallying against the one and only interpretation, and the uniformity of the norm, it favoured an opening up to alternative significations (*Efimeri Poli* 2, June 1983: 2-3). Yorgos Anagnostopoulos's (1983b) account of the turn to the popular as the construction of a myth also echoed the techniques of Derridean deconstruction. These were especially evident in Anagnostopoulos's proffered counterexamples against any attempt to define the 'popular' as a category.[33] Petros Zervos's and Theone Xanthi's (1983) experimental writing style developed along similar lines. Instead of offering a dispassionate account of 'the irrational', they preferred to write about it after having 'dived' into it.

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[31] Cf. thematisations of the highway that leads from Athens to Thessaloniki (by Nikos Belavilas), the lighthouses (by Maria Pangalou) and the Municipal Market in Athinas Street (by Yorgos Metaxas) in *Efimeri Poli* 2 (June 1983): 50-52, 54-55, and 56-59.

[32] Mazis's was also the first explicitly stated 'external contribution' to the journal. The standard practice was for the editors to prescribe or suggest pieces for the contributing authors. Issue 3 also documents the developing bonds of the journal with Thessaloniki. Besides Mazis's essay, *Efimeri Poli* 3 also hosted Yorgos Amyridis's comment on an exhibition at a gallery in Thessaloniki in *Efimeri Poli* 3 (December 1983): 93.

[33] Interestingly, the word 'deconstruction' itself occurs twice in Anagnostopoulos (1986).

In their text, they were also attentive to the free association play of similarly-sounding words. Both writing tactics evoked a Derridean feeling of the notorious endless play of signifiers. The problematision of writing itself, as expressed by Anna Georgiadou and Vassilis Alymaras (1983: 52), was another major postmodern motif of the journal. In a similar vein, Yorgos Anagnostopoulos's short text in *Efimeri Poli* 4 (August 1984: 28-29) was a poetic take on a focal postmodern question: the problem of (escaping) representation.[34]

Stavridis used to stress that such theoretical experimentations did not concern architectural design *per se*. Such an interdisciplinary approach to space could not be easily reduced to a specific practice of architectural design. *Efimeri Poli* encouraged a multitude of approaches. Literary, theatrical, cinematic and choreographic works became the loci of expression of lived, remembered and imaginary relations to space.[35] These diverse expressions were united in their overarching pursuit of the un-alienated life. In *Efimeri Poli*, the 'cultural' was not considered in isolation from the political.[36] The practical goal of this theoretical approach was emancipatory. *Efimeri Poli* aimed to unleash the expressive potential that lay dormant in the modernist perception of space as an empty vessel for

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[34] In a previous text, Anagnostopoulos (1984) had already provided a Barthesian analysis of the use of space as a mythology built in postcards and political advertising.

[35] Petros Zervos's (1983) essay on Kafka's treatment of space could be read as the fulfilment of a promise latent in Stavridis's (1983b) developing theory of space. Cf. Papanikos (1985) who also followed a performative route to sketch out the details of a play about space in two acts. The short bibliographical note at the end of Stavridis's documents the journal's awareness of the rising problematic of gender studies and the relevant discussions in the journal, *Amphi*. Stavridis's (1986) last text for *Efimeri Poli*, clearly an excerpt from his finalised doctoral dissertation, raised gender issues in the semiotics of the advertising imagery. A thematic that was latent in previous issues thus came to the spotlight for the last issue.

[36] Yorgos Anagnostopoulos (1985: 6) summed up the spirit of 'the cultural' that *Efimeri Poli* stood for: 'auto-nomous expression, the pleasure of the endless anti-productive feast'.

scientifically specified, hence stable, human needs. It was a plea for emotion against austere logic, an evocation of desire for an aesthetically enriched enjoyment of life.[37]

Despite the editors' theoretical priorities, the discourse of *Efimeri Poli* was not devoid of practical implications. It offered nuanced critical tools for analysing urban projects that stirred up debates between the state and the local residents. In this respect, the extensive feature on the 'new face of Plaka', one of the oldest Athenian neighbourhoods, in *Efimeri Poli* 4 (August 1984: 42-59), was characteristic. Through discourse analysis, the journal showed how the popular Athenian press propagated their support for the state intervention. The journal's critical texts also interpreted the state project as a transformation of the neighbourhood into a postcard of itself. Plaka was in the process of becoming an image directed to high-class tourist consumption. Its form was preserved at the expense of its living memory and its actual urban life. *Efimeri Poli* thus critiqued the rising postmodern trend of preserving historic city centres as tourist theme parks, like those that had inspired Portoghesi's Strada Novissima at the Biennale (1980: 12).

By 1985, the journal had found its own voice. It offered original contributions to Greek political and theoretical discourse of the period.[38] In a clearly political text, Stavridis (1985) saw through the supposedly aesthetic legitimisation of the banishment of posters around the city. In his eyes, this was in fact an attempt to control the political momentum of alternative movements of the extra-parliamentary

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[37] Cf. Yorgos Anagnostopoulos's (1983a) anti-Cartesian defence of the 'space of desire'.

[38] The political dimension of the journal was already expressed in the first issue. See Trova's (1983) article on house squats in West Germany. This thematic was also featured on the pages of 'sister' journal, *Riksi*. The political dimension of *Efimeri Poli* was also explicitly expressed in the short Comments section on the last pages of each issue.

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Figure 5.37 Exarchia as the mythologised locus of 'alternativity' and the poster that was attached to walls around the neighbourhood in *Efimeri Poli* 5-6 (April 1985). (Stavros Stavridis's private archive).

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Left.[39] Designed by Petros Zervos, the *Efimeri Poli* poster against these state interventions was posted on walls around Exarchia (Fig. 5.37). At this moment, a new kind of practice was initiated by the editorial team. The poster on the wall was an exodus from the pages of the journal into the everyday life of the neighbourhood. It was another kind of political intervention in the wider public sphere. In the same issue, the editorial group also critiqued the mythologisation of Exarchia as the central headquarters of Athenian alternativity. By 1984, this act of mythologisation was evidently supported by the state. The symbolic confinement of the antagonistic movement in Exarchia served the purposes of the state apparatus. Through the mythologisation of the neighbourhood, the state indirectly controlled the division of socially acceptable behaviour. Exarchia found its place on the map as a locus of socially unacceptable behaviour (from 'bag snatchers' to 'terrorists'). In addition, the mythologisation legitimised stronger police interventions in the area. These were only considerably reinforced by the activists' own resistant practices.[40] Seeing through this vicious circle, *Efimeri Poli* also offered a critique to the 'alternative' antagonistic movement. If it were to be significant, the movement should no longer concentrate its activities and practices around Exarchia. This practice could only reinforce the contours of this well-defined urban island. It was easier for the state to focus on a single neighbourhood to keep it under control. If this state control was to be subverted, 'alternative' practices needed to be scattered around the city. They needed to blend in and stay in contact with 'normal' neighbourhoods, whose inhabitants were increasingly turning to political apathy. This was the only way the 'alternative' sphere could retain a significant subversive potential (Kopanari, Stavridis & Anagnostopoulos 1985: 13). In the next issue, the journal consciously

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[39] Once again, Stavridis resorted to an analysis of the origin of social norms and their legitimation (as well as their mythological function). This was another sign of his strong influences from Foucault and Barthes.

[40] See Kopanari, Stavridis & Anagnostopoulos (1985).

moved away from the symbolic epicentre of the antagonistic 'alternativity' in Exarchia. It attempted to connect with community movements in other parts of the city, and highlight their significant micro-histories.[41]

Efimeri Poli consistently examined issues of the built environment under a political light. The last issue opened with an extensive feature on the proposed state intervention in Exarchia (*Efimeri Poli* 8, July 1986: 2-23). The publication of material relevant to the dissenting movements in the neighbourhood confirmed the journal's steady presence in the area. It also reaffirmed the connection of all these movements with the National Technical University of Athens. The feature concluded with a proposal to start a pirate radio-station in Exarchia Square. Coming from the students, the proposal alluded to the radio-station originally ran by the revolting students in the anti-dictatorship squats of 1973. The proposed student radio-station, 'a cause that simultaneously fulfills what it demands' was clearly post-1968 political activism. It was also a distinguishing characteristic of the antagonistic 'alternative' movement of the 1980s. Such political practices contrasted with the norms of the official parties of the Left. Written by Yorgos Anagnostopoulos, the last words of *Efimeri Poli* 8 (July 1986: 72) reaffirmed the central demand of the youth movement. The reconsideration of the critical in the pages of *Efimeri Poli* showed how the plea for the right to leisure time was also a plea for the right to the city. Born out of the same culture, the journal spoke the language of the Greek antagonistic movement which was also its primary audience.

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[41] Hosting two relevant articles, *Efimeri Poli* 7 (December 1985) presented the short history of a neighbourhood movement defending a park over the expansion of an avenue in Zografou (Giannopoulos 1985), and a similar social issue concerning an electric power plant in Keratsini (Belavilas & Stavridis 1985).

The postmodern problematic, categories and attitudes abounded in the journal. However, the very word 'postmodern' occurred only twice within its short history. Its first occurence coincided with the only extensive design analysis to be featured in *Efimeri Poli*. In this text, Zissis Kotionis (1985: 20) attempted to subvert the canonical reception of the modernist building par excellence, Le Corbusier's Villa Savoie-Poissy. His analysis revealed the tensions hidden within the built form, despite the architect's original intentions.[42] However, Kotionis used the term rather conventionally within the confines of architectural theory. When the term appeared once again in the same issue, Thanos Daskarolis (1985) employed it in a negative sense. His reference to 'postmodern' critical distance that implied a self-referential narcissistic dimension. Just like Kotionis before him, Daskarolis did not uncover the postmodern undercurrent of *Efimeri Poli* as a reconsideration of the critical. In other words, the journal that had adopted the most straightforwardly postmodern practices in 1980s Greece did not actually resort to the term to describe itself. The term 'postmodern' was not universally welcome in the Greek Left circles of the 1980s. It had to be used with caution, since the 'postmodern' was also interpreted as a novel iteration of bourgeois ideology. Specific variants of Marxist thinking, as well as some of the editors of *Efimeri Poli*, were not theoretically comfortable with the proclaimed end of grand narratives. Once again, the postmodern problematic was the repressed undercurrent. It could be there only if it remained unnamed. Just like the legacy of the global 1968, the postmodern problematic could only be received with a sense of ambivalence by the wider Left.[43] However, this ambivalence was also the driving

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[42] Kotionis's major methodological premises implied a phenomenological approach to the building. This was also a first for *Efimeri Poli*.

[43] This ambivalence is also evident in contemporary historical accounts of the postmodern years in architectural theory. While Michael K. Hays (1998) attempted to recuperate 1968 as the symbolic starting point of the age of theory, Felicity D. Scott (2007) recently implied that 1968 in fact marks the cadaveric spasm years of modernism. It is the period of a 'modernist endgame' that gradually dissipates. It marks the time when the 'brief social moment' of

force behind the postmodern ferment in Greece. It was this unnamed undercurrent that informed both the emergence of the antagonistic movement of the 1980s, and the most critical lines of thinking that developed within it.

However, in their personal writings, some editors of *Efimeri Poli* also welcomed the postmodern problematic as ferment for architectural thinking. In his book on quotidian space, Yorgos Metaxas (1983) explicitly interpreted the postmodern as a critical move to the right direction. The only problem was that this was a necessary but not sufficient move against functionalism. The early postmodern thought left the role of the modern architect practically unchallenged. Like their modernist predecessors, postmodern architects also complied with the power complex of multinational capitalism. Nonetheless, postmodern architects were moving towards a desirable direction. This move had to be further radicalised now.

This ambivalent appropriation of postmodern tropes by the architectural circles of the Greek Critical Left has wider implications. It shows that the postmodern is not exclusively associated with the architecture of Reaganism (see McLeod 1989).[44] In 1980s Greece, the postmodern was also cultivated as a reconsideration of the critical in architecture. The development of the postmodern problematic opened up to the multifarious spatial practices entailed in architectural design and the quotidian built environment. Far from the stylistic postmodernism of the Strada Novissima, this was an understanding of the postmodern that also challenged the simplistic socio-political concerns of critical regionalism.

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architecture in the early 1970s gives its place to neoliberal Reaganism (which is regarded as practically co-terminous with postmodernism by Scott), who obviously follows McLeod (1989) here.

[44] For a related reading of postmodernism in terms of architectural ideology, see Speaks (1993).

By the end of the 1980s, Dimitris Philippidis (1990: 27-28) could acknowledge the significance of *Efimeri Poli*. However, he also portrayed it as the swansong of a Leftist discourse whose social relevance was on the wane. At the end of the decade, this fatigue with Leftist discourse was indeed discernible in Greek public discourse. After the fall of the military junta in 1974, the subsequent ascension of the so-called Socialist Party in power in 1981, reflected the ideological dominance of Left-leaning discourse in 1980s Greece. As the years went by, the Socialist Party moved towards the centre without losing support from its electoral base. In this context and within less than a decade, a radicalised Leftist discourse appeared increasingly irrelevant. However, this was also the moment of an important transformation within the wider Left. The emerging 'alternative' youth movement moved away from the understandings of the (Communist and Socialist versions of the) Greek Left that dominated the 1980s. Again, as I showed earlier in the chapter (see section 5.2), Antonakakis's students did so through a transcultural exchange with their peer graduates from Italian and French universities. A subtle thread in Antonakakis's teaching, this transcultural approach to the critical might well be one of the most significant legacies of the postmodern ferment. Writing its history is only one of the ways to reinvigorate its contemporary relevance.

This thesis focused on the 1980s to explore the postmodern tumult of the period as a closed historical experience. This is one of the preconditions of writing history. However, as a process, history is open, and this thesis also intended to retrieve the historical open-endedness of the postmodern. This is why it can only end with a plea for the future. My historical account of the postmodern as a proliferation of complementary discourses revealed one of its weakest points: the tendency of each discourse to settle within a certain circle, become more self-referential and turn stale. This is the case for all the discourses explored in this thesis, from the 'postmodern classicists' of the Biennale, to the 'critical regionalists' of Frampton, Tzonis &

Lefaivre, and from there on, to the radical postmodern critiques in *Efimeri Poli*. Although all three of them illuminate transitory instances of ferment, they did not historically converse with each other, or open to other milieus. However, this is how the discursive ferment originally worked. My thesis accounted for a series of inadvertent catalysts for the proliferation of alternative postmodern discourses: from the Biennale in Venice to Frampton's critical regionalism, and from Antonakakis's teaching to his students' postmodern radicalism. Partly owing to the polemical oppositions established after the Biennale, however, the era that held the banner of pluralism so high ended up multiplying the silos between these discourses. This ferment within the postmodern has yet to happen, and, in this sense, this thesis revisited an unfinished past. This is also why writing its history now can reactivate and fuse it with the present moment. My historiography enabled me to fill up the missing picture, to recover a fuller, enriched spectrum of postmodern architectural discourse after the Biennale. The historical divisions it also revealed in the process need to be opened up now. Reaching its conclusion, my historiography thus turns into a plea for tolerance. It explores the possibility for an anti-hierarchical and enriched transcultural understanding of the architectural predicament in the present. This can in turn redress the numerous nostalgic parochialisms of the past.

An obvious starting point would be Greek architectural historiography. My nuanced critique of critical regionalism showed how the local reception of the work of the Antonakakis has been deeply conditioned both by Tzonis & Lefaivre's and Frampton's discourse, and the ineffectively polemical 'postmodern debate' in 1980s Greece. This has restricted the attention of Greek architectural historians only to the first two decades of the practice's already 50-year-long history. As I showed in chapters 3 and 4 (see sections 3.1, and 4.4), the only reason for this is saving the face of Greek 'modernists' and critical regionalism as a coherent discourse around specific architectural practices. This thesis foregrounded the need to liberate Suzana and

Dimitris Antonakakis' work from these uncritically established interpretative limits. My historical research was only a necessary first step. It therefore paves the way for more interesting studies in this direction in the future.

However, my transcultural microhistory of the postmodern ferment was not limited to the regional discussions. This is why it may also have wider implications for the 'international' present. If a postmodern ferment can be reignited today, this is also because the most recent roots of the present lay in the 1980s. Contemporary historiography and public discourse in Greece now adopt a negative outlook to return to this decade. The dual deficits produced by the policies of the Socialist Party over this decade are condemned as the starting point of the current, and still on-going, debt crisis of the country. However, the 1980s also served as the founding moment of the welfare state and the stabilisation of democratic institutions in Greece. It also marked the entry of the country to the European Economic Community, the precursor to the European Union, in 1981. The same deficit-producing policies established a series of public institutions that were long overdue in the country by Western European standards.[45] Owing to its turbulent post-war history (from the civil war to the rise and fall of the colonels in 1974), Greece effectively experienced three decades of Western European history (from the 1950s to the 1980s) in fast-forward.[46] It was therefore both out of sync with the emergent policies of Ronald

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[45] For comprehensive purviews of the Greek *metapolitefsi* (from 1974 onwards), see Voulgaris (2008), and Avgeridis, Gazi & Kornetis (2015).

[46] In addition, this was a period of cataclysmic change. As Eric Hobsbawm (1994) characteristically noted, the 1950s marked the end of the Middle Ages for 80% of humanity. In this new world, media had practically annulled the long distances of the past, agriculture was no longer the main source of wealth, and the population was mostly urbanised. Looking at the same period from the perspective of consumerism, Victoria de Grazia (2005) also noted a significant shift in the living conditions of the Western European majority. Before 1950, they lived in houses without showers, and their main expense was their subsistence costs. After

Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, and in line with the increasing atomisation of consumerist societies. The country's entry to the European Community also necessitated a novel transcultural understanding of the regional tradition.[47] In 1980s Greece, McLeod's (1989) conservative 'architecture of Reaganism' coincided with the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis that was rooted in the 1960s, and the critiques of the radical students that followed their postmodern readings of the 1970s. This transculturally and temporally fused historical horizon is an additional reason why the case study of Greece also helped recuperate the more socially conscious sides of the postmodern architectural discourses. Again, this is not only important for future historiographical work on the 'international' postmodern. Traces of this misaligned tension between the Greek and the Western European context still survive today. In 2016, the nostalgic appeals to a glorious regionalist past prevailed in British and North American politics. In Greece, by contrast, some of the members and critical supporters of the current government are the students who also played an active role in the antagonistic movement in 1980s Athens. Attempting to keep a distance from both the nostalgic and negative revisits of the 1980s, my history adopted an affirmative tone. This was based on my conviction that the postmodern questions of the 1980s foreshadow certain concerns of the present. To conclude, I will cite just one relevant example.

For Reinhart Koselleck (1965), historical time is produced at the meeting point of the field of experience with the horizon of expectations. With the current resurgence of nostalgic patriotic appeals to the region in Western Europe and North

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1970, they usually lived in apartments with central heating, telephone, refrigerator, washing machine, and a car parked in their garage.

[47] This also took place in the shadow of the advent of new media and their 'international, and interlinguistic standardisation of culture' noted by Hobsbawm (1975: 65): '[W]ith at best a slight time-lag, the same films, popular music styles, television programmes and indeed styles of living [were now distributed] across the world'.

America, critical regionalism today finds itself at this meeting point. The expectation that seemed to be lost in the past thus acquires a new meaning in the context of the present. Tzonis & Lefaivre's discourse was always intended as an alternative to the current regionalist tendencies to insulate nations behind reinforced borders. This 'unsentimental' regionalism of the 1980s becomes a useful precedent for retaining an transcultural understanding of regionalism today. This is also where my nuanced critique of Frampton's discourse, and my emphasis on its transcultural authorship through the situated practices of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, acquire a renewed significance. The transcultural dimension of this authorship shows that this is not an opposition of conflicting values, but an opening to pluralist spaces of recognition beyond static national identities. Now that it has been foregrounded, this transcultural aspect of critical regionalism needs to break its historical silo to develop further into the present. The interplay between regionalism as an artefact of transcultural authorship, critical modernism, and a possible opening to post-colonialist discourse, seems promising as a direction for future studies. This historiographical project can therefore only end with a plea to break more of these silos of the past and the digital echo chambers of the present, especially when the dominant line of thinking insists that there is no alternative. And this seems to be the most pertinent message of the transcultural postmodern ferment of the 1980s for the present.

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