

# Resisting Postmodern Architecture

*Critical regionalism before globalisation*

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# Introduction: Four decades

I am writing these lines in 2021, exactly forty years after the first coupling of the words ‘critical’ and ‘regionalism’ appeared on a printed page to discuss the work of Greek architects Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis in Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre’s article ‘The Grid and the Pathway’ of 1981.<sup>1</sup> Introduced by them then, the architectural theory of critical regionalism was recapitulated by Kenneth Frampton in 1983.<sup>2</sup> It originally aimed to offer an alternative way out of the crisis of ‘international style’ modern architecture that begged to differ from the postmodern architecture of the 1980s then being propagated as the main solution to the problem. As the large-scale projects of reconstruction that followed the Second World War were changing the face of entire European cities by the 1960s, the sense that these modernist buildings produced an anonymous built environment intensified. Local communities increasingly perceived them as alienating generic technological ‘boxes’ that neglected their specific cultural identities or needs.<sup>3</sup> Critical regionalism aimed to address these issues by looking at the ‘periphery’ of the First World to promote architectures that sustained their ties with the specific climatic, topographic, historical, cultural and sociopolitical conditions of their sites. It supported socially engaged practices that addressed the crisis of modern architecture without rejecting its progressive sociopolitical agenda. As such, critical regionalism envisioned an ‘architecture of resistance’ that could reconcile universal modernisation with the cultural identities of local communities. It promoted civic architectures and practices that retained their ties with specific places to resist both the commodification of the modern built environment and its converse postmodernist transformation into scenography.

Disseminated by the Western European and North American ‘centres’ of architectural-theory production in the 1980s, critical regionalism enjoyed a positive worldwide reception. The 1990s reinforced its pertinence as an architectural theory which defends the cultural identity of a place that resists the homogenising onslaught of

globalisation. In the same decade, it started to be adopted by a wide array of other disciplines, ranging from film theory to philosophy, as a useful framework to explore related questions in these non-architectural fields.<sup>4</sup> Critical regionalism is still popular as an architectural approach today, especially among architects in parts of the world that face resonating challenges as their cities turn into vast metropolises, alienating local communities.<sup>5</sup> Today, its main principles (such as acknowledging the climate, history, materials, culture and topography of a specific place) are integrated into architects' education as hallmarks of good design. This is partly owing to the current teaching practices of architects and academics who were themselves trained by the original theorists and architects of critical regionalism over the past four decades, but also to a younger generation's interest in ecological approaches to architecture and their history.

This book celebrates the fortieth anniversary of critical regionalism as a popular architectural theory of the recent past that can be reappraised for the twenty-first century. It is written in an age of climate emergency at a moment of crisis of globalisation. After Donald Trump's election in the USA and the Brexit vote of 2016 in the UK, the resurgence of insular nationalisms across the globe – from Jair Bolsonaro's Brazil and Viktor Orbán's Hungary to Narendra Modi's India and Rodrigo Duterte's Philippines – seems to have become the norm of the late-2010s world. This challenge to the incessant globalisation since the 1990s arrives precisely when the alarming signals of the climate emergency demand outward-looking and globally just solutions. In 2020, the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak served as an additional reminder of the fragility of this world system, as closed borders exerted unforeseen pressure on just-in-time global supply chains. As the pandemic instigated soft-power antagonisms, from the crisis-management nationalism of 2020 to the vaccination nationalism of 2021, it also foregrounded the persistently unjust hierarchical structure of the world order. But this was just the most recent symptom of a longer-standing process. It fed into critiques that have, over the past decade, favoured a retreat from globalisation in order to make separate nation states 'great again', as an increasing number of Euro-American citizens feel left out at the losing end of the globalising economy of the last three decades.

In this context, this first study of the overlooked cross-cultural history of critical regionalism, a theory that moved beyond static national identities before globalisation, becomes especially pertinent. The book resituates critical regionalism within the wider framework of debates around postmodern architecture, the Western European and North

American contexts from which it emerged and the cultural media complex that conditioned its reception. In so doing, it explores the intersection of three areas of growing historical and theoretical interest today: postmodernism, critical regionalism and globalisation. Reassessing their intrinsic connections, it goes on to chart significant transformations of regional understandings of architecture in the broader sociopolitical context of the last decade of the Cold War. Based on more than fifty in-depth interviews and previously inaccessible or unpublished archival material from six countries, it transgresses existing barriers to integrate sources in other languages into anglophone architectural scholarship. Accordingly, it also foregrounds overlooked figures whose work has been historically significant for the development of critical regionalism. As such, it demonstrates how, at that time, the 'periphery' was not just a passive recipient but also an active generator of architectural theory and practice. Originally introduced to resist the globalising thrust of postmodernism, critical regionalism was situated within a range of related discourses and practices that were also developed in the course of late twentieth-century globalisation. As such, it is not a theory limited to straightforward rejections of globalisation and postmodern architecture; it is instead part of them, in a cross-cultural circuit that resists master narratives to explore different globalised worlds and outward-facing futures for regional architectures. Through a historically informed critique, the book challenges long-held notions of supposedly 'international' discourses of the recent past, as it offers a rare exposition of the cross-cultural interactions of architectural theory and practice.

The book starts from the original intention of the theorists of critical regionalism to resist the propagated architecture of postmodernism of the 1980s. But as I show in the following chapters, while postmodernism could be resisted as a stylistic preference, critical regionalism could not as easily resist the postmodern condition and the modes of producing architecture in the global context of late twentieth-century capitalism. As such, what these theorists ended up advocating was indeed a variant of resisting postmodern architecture. Similarly, when the narrative of critical regionalism was modified to adapt to the shifting world order of the 1990s, it presented itself as a preferable alternative option: should one have to choose between them, critical regionalism would come before globalisation. But this book argues that there is another, chronological, way in which critical regionalism came before globalisation – as it historically appeared a decade before the globalising 1990s. Returning to this early history of critical regionalism is additionally

pertinent at this moment of the twenty-first century, when the globalising thrust of the 1990s seems to be entering another phase of transition. As the recent nationalist isolationist movements are directly related to the processes of globalisation of the past decades, this earlier cross-cultural history of critical regionalism offers a more nuanced response to the current challenges than those suggested by its schematic 'anti-globalisation' iterations after the 1990s.

## Globalisations

Focusing on critical regionalism before globalisation does not, of course, imply that disparate areas of the world were not connected before the 1990s. Numerous historians of imperialism and colonialism have traced the emerging capitalist world economy alongside the rise of the modern world further back to 'the long sixteenth century'.<sup>6</sup> But interconnected world economies are not exclusively related with the modern world either, since similar phenomena can be traced in former historical periods stretching back to the expansive empires of antiquity.<sup>7</sup> However, significant differences in terms of scale, investment and growth, intensity, modes of long-distance trade, extraction, migration, outsourced production and the sectors that develop interdependently in each historical period justify the distinction between different phases within this long-standing process of developing world-economic systems. In this long-term perspective, what became known as 'globalisation' in the 1990s and 2000s, when the term was widely circulated and debated as the phenomenon itself intensified, was the latest phase of an ongoing process that developed in different forms and at a slower pace in previous historical periods. The 'global' perspective of the world is increasingly developed after the end of the Second World War and the establishment of international, intergovernmental organisations and initiatives such as the United Nations in 1945 or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. The development of cybernetics and systems theory, and the related discussions of the 'problem of the great number' by built-environment professionals in the 1960s, echo the trend to adopt this global vantage and discuss these issues systemically from the perspective of the world as a whole.

When the term 'globalisation' became increasingly current following the implosion of the Second World Soviet Bloc and the triumphant march of First World capitalism in the early 1990s, the theorists of critical regionalism adapted their rhetoric to present their approach as one of

resisting globalisation. After 1990, Tzonis and Lefaivre returned to their original term in an attempt to both reinforce its historical depth and define the approach that they had in mind in more detail. But this has also meant that when scholars such as Mark Crinson revisit critical regionalism today, they tend to favour this later approach, outlined in their essay ‘Why Critical Regionalism Today?’ of 1990.<sup>8</sup> In this text, the couple’s emphasis shifted to consolidate critical regionalism in the design techniques of ‘defamiliarisation’ and ‘metastatements’. Appropriately explored by architects who want to avoid literal reproductions of both local and international architectural forms, these stratagems produce architectures that challenge standard conceptions of both globalisation and regionality. As such, Tzonis and Lefaivre’s criticality was intended to go both ways; it does not favour the ‘local’ over the ‘global’, or vice versa:

An essential characteristic of critical regionalist buildings is that they are critical in two senses then. In addition to providing contrasting images to the anomic, atopic, misanthropic ways of a large number of current mainstream projects constructed world wide, they raise questions in the mind of the viewer about the legitimacy of the very regionalist tradition to which they belong.<sup>9</sup>

But the distorted reception of the critical regionalist message created a rather schematic opposition of ‘the global’ with ‘the local’,<sup>10</sup> at best summarised in mottos such as ‘think globally, act locally’ and ‘glocal’ architectures and urbanisms.

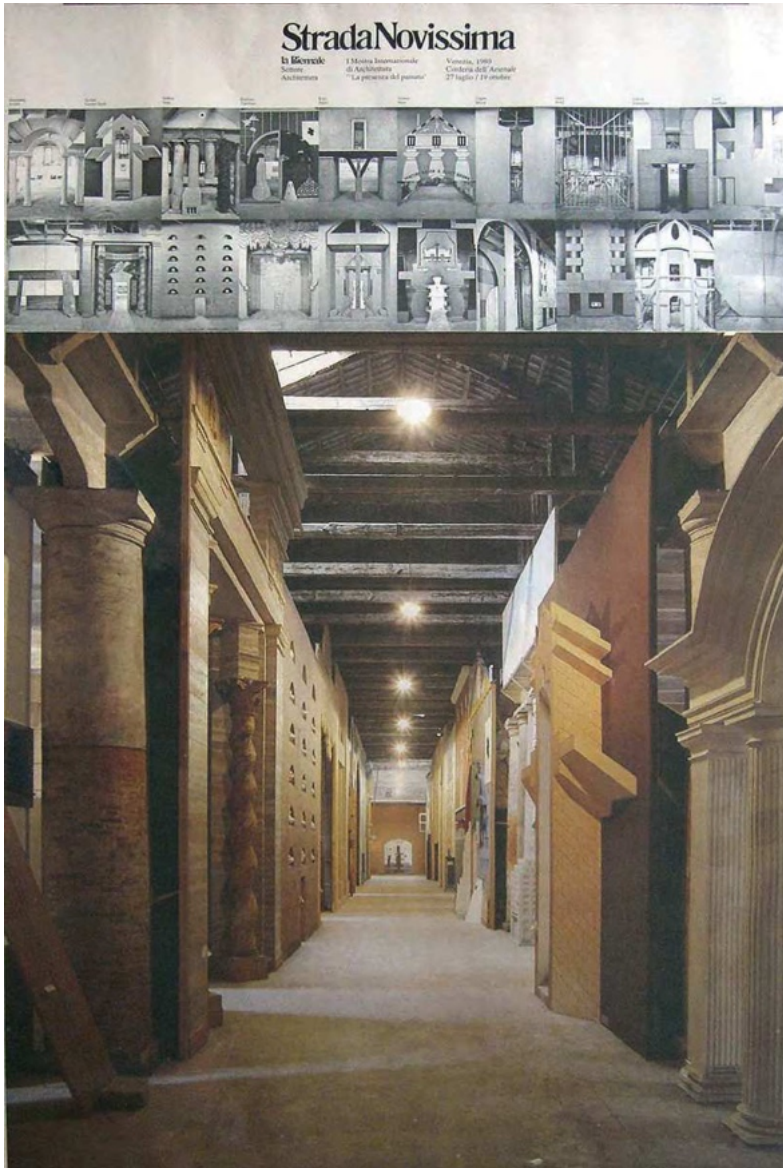
Critical regionalism did not originally develop as a response to globalisation after the demise of postmodern architecture and Deconstructivism, as suggested in the early 1990s. Tzonis and Lefaivre’s earlier and more historically significant formulation of critical regionalism has remained relatively ignored. Their first essay on the subject, ‘The Grid and the Pathway’, may have been cited much more than it has actually been read, understood and adopted to affect architectural practice in the anglophone world. This has practically meant that this direction has also been relatively overshadowed in the history of critical regionalism. Returning specifically to the 1980s, this book attempts to retrieve what was lost in this shift of the rhetoric of critical regionalism from the 1990s onwards. In so doing, it also explores the ways in which this earlier cross-cultural history can help one rethink critical regionalism as an unfulfilled project for the twenty-first century on the fronts of architectural theory and practice, history and historiography. I summarise my thoughts on these three fronts in the Epilogue.

## Postmodern architectures

For historians of the recent past, postmodern architecture represents the dominant trend of the 1980s following the international impact of the First Biennale of Architecture exhibition in Venice at the start of that decade (Fig. 0.1).<sup>11</sup> Reacting to the large-scale projects of Western European reconstruction, postmodern architects focused instead on the expressive, public face of buildings and the ways in which these communicate with the people on the street to offer them a sense of belonging and identity. The tolerant, pluralist society that emerged after the Second World War needed an inventive architectural language to go with it. This language could profit from the rich architectural past to develop playfully and freely towards the future. In so doing, it would also escape from the austere dictates of the modernist architecture of postwar reconstruction.

The work of practising architects and theorists was already in turmoil before the appearance of the term 'postmodern' in architectural circles, and its subsequent popularisation in the 1980s.<sup>12</sup> Although lacking a name that would unify them at the time, architectural attempts to respond to the crises of modernism after the Second World War flourished. These were historically understood in successively different framings, ranging from the debates on 'monumentality' in the mid-1940s to the 'crisis of meaning' in the early 1970s.<sup>13</sup> In the final instance, however, all these cases addressed a single common enemy that went by many names. The 1960s introduction of systems analysis and cybernetics to debates on the future of the built environment intensified the techno-scientific positivism of architectural production.<sup>14</sup> By the early 1960s, and especially after the publication of Jane Jacobs's influential critique of modernist urban planning in 1961,<sup>15</sup> the main object of architectural criticism was this positivist functionalism: the idea that architectural form follows clearly determined functions that respond to the same universal, scientifically defined, human needs, which can in turn be satisfied by modern technology. 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 after the Second World War (from architects' outward-looking turns to disciplines such as social and structural anthropology, philosophy, linguistics and semiology to inward-looking pursuits of the autonomous language of architecture).<sup>16</sup> Rather tellingly, Peter Eisenman framed his avant-gardist design pursuits of the mid-1970s in terms of





**Figure 0.1** Official poster, 'Strada Novissima', First International Architecture Exhibition 'The Presence of the Past', Corderie dell'Arsenale, Venice, 27 July–19 October 1980. B&W photographs by Antonio Martinelli, colour photographs by Mark Smith, artwork by Messina e Montanari

Courtesy of Archivio Storico della Biennale di Venezia, ASAC

‘post-functionalism’.<sup>17</sup> As the architectural historian Hanno-Walter Kruft also noted in 1985, “Post-Modernism” signifies nothing more than a series of heterogeneous attempts to break loose from the functionalist grip’.<sup>18</sup> All these diverging approaches shared the assumption that functionalism 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 the eclectic, playful and ironic, historicist pastiche that came to be associated with postmodern architecture in the decades that followed. As such, what is usually understood by the term ‘postmodern architecture’ does not cover the diversity of architectural developments of the second half of the twentieth century that critically responded to functionalism. As this book progresses from the first to the last chapters, the ‘Postmodern Classicism’ of the Biennale becomes only one strand within a more complex field of architectural theory of the time. Whilst several 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.<sup>19</sup> What philosopher Jean-François Lyotard had heralded as an epochal shift in the production of knowledge in 1978 was reduced to the dominant stylistic fad of a decade in the architectural circles of the 1980s and the 1990s.<sup>20</sup> Implicit in the recent accounts of the period, this outlook in turn leads to an abbreviated notion of postmodern architecture, which is frequently approached as a momentary lapse of modernist reason. Among others, this book aims to redress this short-sighted stylistic understanding of postmodern architecture by exposing it as a product of a specific historical process.

## Revisionist histories

My work is situated within a scholarly field of recent revisits of postmodern architecture. The 2010s witnessed the appearance of new publications on the subject by key figures of this history, such as Charles Jencks and Sir Terry Farrell, who restate their well-known ideas to cement their place in it;<sup>21</sup> by curators, such as Glenn Adamson and Jane Pavitt, who reappraise ‘postmodernism’ as the reigning style of the 1980s;<sup>22</sup> by historians, such as Geraint Franklin and Elain Harwood, who stress the need to preserve exemplary projects of this architectural style;<sup>23</sup> by theorists, such as Reinhold Martin and K. Michael Hays, who retheorise postmodern projects, practices and discourses in an attempt to emancipate their latent

radical potential;<sup>24</sup> and, more recently, by scholars, such as Claire Jamieson and Esra Akcan, who approach key projects and practices of the same period in their specific historical, cultural and sociopolitical terms.<sup>25</sup>

The studies that focus on 'postmodernism' tend to reproduce its historically prevailing, but rather reductive, interpretation as a style, with its established canon of renowned practitioners.<sup>26</sup> It is therefore left to the retheorising and historicising approaches to advance disciplinary knowledge. These scholarly works effectively revise the current understanding of postmodern architecture. The theorists' intention to reactivate the latent implications of postmodern architecture for contemporary critical thinking is certainly commendable. But more theory seems less than apposite to address the question of postmodern architecture today. After all, the original debates of the 1970s and the 1980s historically coincided with the 'gilded age of theory',<sup>27</sup> and such books do not focus on the historical context that rendered the canonical projects of postmodern architecture possible.<sup>28</sup> Studies that share a similar intent to retheorise postmodern architecture but that support their case with solid historical research are less common.<sup>29</sup> As such, I posit that current understandings of the subject suffer not from insufficient theorisation but from inadequate historicisation.<sup>30</sup>

Most of these recent works of postmodern revisionism are still based on debunking and recontextualising what have so far been established as canonical references in Western Europe and North America.<sup>31</sup> As such, they serve as subtle reaffirmations of the same canon. Yet, these well-known references form only the tip of the postmodern iceberg. While these studies have elucidated overlooked characteristics of postmodern architecture, its more contested aspects are practically irretrievable by revisits of the same canon – however critical these may be. Writing the history of minor, silenced or counter-movements within the postmodern framework is a wholly different task, perhaps more apposite for the second wave of studies of postmodern revisionism that has surfaced more recently. A growing number of scholars have recently revisited postmodern architecture not only in wider cultural, sociopolitical and historical terms but also in contexts beyond those of the established canonical references.<sup>32</sup> The proliferation of similar historical studies will enable architects to re-enter the nuanced turmoil of the period and recover more socially and culturally conscious debates in different contexts. Among these, they will be able to retrieve influential feminist, anti-racist, postcolonial, ecological and participatory, as well as early digital, approaches to architecture. Although they were originally muted by the media onslaught of 'postmodernism' after the First Venice Biennale

of Architecture exhibition in 1980, such directions seem especially pertinent today. Hence, after a decade of postmodern revisionism, this seems like the end of yet another beginning as these *other* histories of postmodern revisionism await their authors.

*Resisting Postmodern Architecture* tangentially builds on these studies to reignite the discussion away from its established 'centres'. Since the limited, stylistic understanding of postmodern architecture also prevails in the work of its 'militant' polemicists such as Owen Hatherley,<sup>33</sup> this book focuses on critical regionalism – the first sustained attempt to resist and provincialise these 'central' constructs of postmodern architecture in the 1980s by foregrounding the architecture of 'peripheral' sites and practices within Western architectural historiography. In this context, and especially in the second part of the book, Suzana Antonakaki (1935–2020) and Dimitris Antonakakis (b. 1933), the Greek architectural couple of 'critical regionalism', and their collaborative practice Atelier 66 serve as a fulcrum for the discussion of 'postmodernism' as one strand within a conglomeration of disparate architectural discourses. Underscoring the cross-cultural exchanges between these discourses, the book uniquely highlights their historical interactions, overlaps and dissonances with architectural practice.

## Postmodern architecture in Greece

Despite the recent proliferation of revisionist studies of this period, Greece is conspicuously absent from histories of 'international postmodernism'.<sup>34</sup> Perry Anderson's passing reference to Athens as one of the originary loci of postmodernity is the rare, albeit brief, exception to this general rule.<sup>35</sup> As such, the Greek context has not yet significantly contributed to an international discussion of postmodernism.<sup>36</sup> Architecture in Greece in the late 1960s and the 1970s was no exception to this wider cultural trend. It was also absent from the relevant developments in Western Europe and North America, owing to the turbulent history of the country after the Second World War. The civil war of the late 1940s and the ensuing political turmoil that culminated in a seven-year military dictatorship (1967–74) certainly account 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. Rather crucially, the rule of the colonels coincided with the 'global 1968' moment

– one of the most intense periods of critique of the modern project in its entirety.

A history of postmodern architecture in Greece is therefore conditioned by the long shadow of the junta years, since the lost ground was only partially covered after the fall of the colonels by the international news pages of *Architecture in Greece*, the major annual review of architecture in the country.<sup>37</sup> Greek architects were, of course, inclined to understand and discuss recent Western European and North American developments as they emerged from the seven insular years of the junta regime. But in the decade of growing European integration that followed the restoration of democracy and the full accession of the country to the European Community, postmodern practices developed ambivalently in Greece. They encountered resistance at the same time, in that they were adopted by architects who rejected them in theory.

This ambivalence was reflected in the subsequent historiography of postmodern architecture, which registered it as an absence. In his overview of twentieth-century architecture in Greece, for instance, Andreas Giacumacatos referred only to the ‘supposed spread of so-called “Greek postmodernism”’.<sup>38</sup> Earlier in the 1980s, Dimitris Philippidis had also noted that ‘[t]ruly post-modern architecture does not seem to exist in Greece’.<sup>39</sup> At the end of the 1980s, Panayotis Tournikiotis criticised the Greek architectural scene for its theoretical deficiency and its tendency to receive international influences ‘as a spectacle, emancipated from its mode of production’. In his opinion, Greek architecture amounted merely to a ‘management of established images’ of foreign origins that did not constitute a locally defined agenda for the future of the built environment in the country.<sup>40</sup> As such, postmodern architecture in Greece was a contentless endeavour, or a critique without an object, that superficially mimicked Western European and North American developments.

All these accounts by Greek architectural historians share the underlying assumption that the necessary and sufficient conditions for the development of postmodernism were simply absent from the local context; in other words, they are based on an idealised form of modern and postmodern architecture. But as they were constantly measured against this gold standard, most related developments in the Greek architectural milieu were bound to be found lacking almost by definition. Since the Western European model of postmodern architecture did not fully apply to the Greek case, architecture in Greece could not have been ‘truly’, but only superficially, postmodern. Related attempts could only be regarded as deductive, inauthentic appropriations of the standards set by

the Western European and North American ‘centres’ of architectural production.

But these local developments were not actually lacking a regional version of modern architecture against which to rebel. In the 1980s, Greek architects inexorably developed their own postmodern problematic in intertwined transnational and local contexts. This was even more emphatically so in the case of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, who reacted to the postmodern architecture of the Biennale as active authorial agents of the critical regionalist discourse. Because critical regionalism enjoyed a special relationship with Greece from the outset, the work of Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis became an ideal case study for this book.

In Greek historiography, the work of the Antonakakis has been only vaguely associated with postmodern architecture. When Elias Constantopoulos, for instance, notes in passing that the two architects historically ‘travers[ed] the labyrinthine parts of modern, post-modern and contemporary Greek architecture’,<sup>41</sup> he does not clarify exactly how they did so. And while Dimitris Fatouros attempted to steer their 1980s university campus buildings on Crete (Fig. 0.2) away from any association with postmodernism, more recently the same projects were heralded by Dimitris Philippidis as a major exemplar of an otherwise ‘hysterically rejected’ Greek postmodernism.<sup>42</sup> The Antonakakis’ critical regionalism is defined in the interstices of such contested discourses as have been construed around their projects over the past few decades. This book shows how the couple’s work both contributed to shaping critical regionalism and was subsequently affected by such theoretical post-rationalisations.

After ‘The Grid and the Pathway’ was recapitulated by Frampton in 1983, Tzonis and Lefaivre rightfully argued that ‘Greek architecture is slowly finding its place in the international scene’.<sup>43</sup> 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 to follow its own trajectory, ideally without any distorting contact with foreign developments. Since the local architectural scene had found the answer to the crisis of ‘international style’ modernism on its own, 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. But at



**Figure 0.2** Atelier 66 (Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis, Aleka Monemvasitou, Boukie Babalou, Antonis Noukakis, Theano Fotiou), Technical University of Crete campus in Akrotiri, Chania, 1982

Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis' private archive

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 seven years of the military junta. As I show in chapter 7, the obfuscated message of critical regionalism provided the alibi for them both to push their respective progressive and conservative agendas forward by promoting another unproductive inward-looking turn in the local architectural culture.

## Forty years of critical regionalism

The empowering effects, alongside the undesired consequences, of critical regionalism were therefore already evident in 1984. Tzonis and Lefaivre regretted this reading of their work that resulted in a reinforcement of traditional borders. The inward-looking, and eventually self-referential, reading of critical regionalism in the Greek milieu short-circuited their original intentions. By the mid-1980s, Frampton had also expressed his dissatisfaction with the 'unfortunate' term 'critical regionalism',<sup>44</sup> as the conservative associations of regionalism with the *Heimatstil* architecture of the Third Reich distorted the critical, progressive dimension of his project.



Meanwhile, the international popularity of critical regionalism was on the rise.<sup>45</sup> This was registered at the first International Working Seminar on Critical Regionalism at Pomona in 1989. Its main organiser, Spyros Amourgis, heralded critical regionalism as ‘the most coherent astylistic thesis to emerge in the last twenty years’, a genuine alternative to the waning echo of the Biennale’s Postmodern Classicism on North American shores.<sup>46</sup> Joined by more than thirty fellow theorists, academics and practising architects, the Seminar offered Frampton, Tzonis and Lefaivre an opportunity to revisit and enrich their discourses.<sup>47</sup> A similar occasion was provided by the seminar ‘Context and Modernity’ at Delft in 1990. But this was also the last time that the three main theorists of critical regionalism could exchange their views on their shared interests, precisely when their project was gaining momentum on both sides of the Atlantic.

Frampton became increasingly disillusioned with the progressive political front and its potential to withstand the late twentieth century. Especially after Fredric Jameson’s devastating critique of critical regionalism as a political project in the Delft seminar of 1990, Frampton practically abandoned the development of his discourse to focus more emphatically on tectonic culture, the other recurring theme in his work in the 1980s.<sup>48</sup> In the following decades, building culture gradually prevailed over the stronger sociopolitical aspirations of his work of the 1970s. In his critique, Jameson noted both the geopolitical impossibility of the project of resistance of regional cultures and the danger of a late-capitalist recuperation of regional authenticity – e.g. as a commodified product of the tourism industry.<sup>49</sup> As such, any attempt at an authentically resistant critical and regional architecture is bound to succumb to the market forces of late capitalism. There is no way that the architectural clusters of resistance to megalopolitan expansion could withstand this recuperation: their refreshing difference to their globally commodified urban surroundings renders them more attractive to capitalist exploitation. In the fourth, revised edition of his critical history of modern architecture of 2007, Frampton concurred that his discussions of the 1980s appeared less relevant at the dawn of the twenty-first 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.<sup>50</sup>



A few years later, in 2013, he referred to the critical regionalism of the 1980s as his 'naïve proposition of 30 years ago'.<sup>51</sup>

But these developments in Frampton's discourse are not just symptoms of the waning criticality of a time past.<sup>52</sup> The criticality of his regionalist discourse was rather problematic from the outset, as I show especially in the second part of the book. To start with, Frampton's relationship with the 'periphery' was mediated. Effectively an outsider to the locales of his favoured regionalist architects, most of his accounts of the related contexts could only be second-hand – relying on the work of other scholars, such as Tzonis and Lefaivre, or his graduate students in New York, such as Dimitris Varangis. Frampton did not have a way to double-check the validity of his trusted regional mediators. Despite his declared intentions, his analyses of the early 1980s thus glossed over the actual political reality of architectural discourse and production in the locales of critical regionalism. His phenomenological reading of technology and his universalist notion of cultural difference further undermined the generative potential of his discourse. In addition, the structural position of Frampton at the 'centres' of architectural-theory production meant that the local repercussions of his discourse ran against his intended aims. Endowing the 'marginal' figures of remote regions with the aura of the 'internationally famous' architect, critical regionalism ended up reproducing, on the regional level, the effects of the 'star system' that it was originally supposed to resist. Frampton's own accounts of his critical regionalists thus led to an idealised interpretation of their work. As a result, his discourse did not historically fulfil its potential to explore the spaces of debate that it was opening up.

Many of these problems were identified in critiques of critical regionalism that emerged on the architectural, political, postcolonial and globalising fronts across these four decades. Joseph Rykwert expressed his reservations as early as 1983. He questioned the potential viability of the 'dialect regionalism' project of architects such as Álvaro Siza and Gino Valle, since he could foresee the imminent disappearance of the dialect cultures that underpinned it. He therefore concluded, 'that kind of dialect regionalism seems almost as remote as Mr [Quinlan] Terry's classicism'.<sup>53</sup> Since Frampton's approach could easily degenerate to an empty word, it could not serve as a viable alternative to the Postmodern Classicism of the Biennale. Two decades later, Keith Eggner underscored the latent colonialist aspect of Frampton's discourse. He showed how critical regionalism ended up actively marginalising the architectural cultures that it was allegedly vindicating. Rendering regional identity synonymous with the work of an individual architect,

critical regionalism ‘absorb[ed] culturally and geographically situated activities within an overarching, Euro-American-generated discourse, one bearing relatively little interest in local perspectives on local culture’, including the architects’ own understandings of their work as ‘a response to local circumstances’.<sup>54</sup> More recently, Murray Fraser argued that critical regionalism falls back on the ‘homogenisation fallacy’ about globalisation. He 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’. For Fraser, globalisation is not ‘smoothing out everything and creating a single world order’; rather, it is ‘constantly creating new kinds of difference and heterogeneity, and in ways that will never be uniform or consistent’.<sup>55</sup> Sharing Eggener’s and Fraser’s concerns, this book returns to the early history of this discourse to advance a historically grounded critique and reappraise critical regionalism along similar lines, complementing its more recent revisits by other scholars.<sup>56</sup>

Such positive and negative reactions to critical regionalism have led to its development in diverging directions over the last four decades. To cite just two related examples, Vincent Canizaro’s comprehensive account of regionalist discourses in architecture reportedly grew out of his ‘disaffection for critical regionalism’ in the early 2000s. This drove him to consider other regionalisms, including aspects of ‘regional planning, bioregionalism, and the lost legacy of regional modernism’.<sup>57</sup> However, as I show in chapter 2, many of these approaches inform the earlier but more overlooked part of the constructive history of regionalism pursued on North American grounds by Anthony Alofsin (b. 1949). Other architects and critics tested Frampton’s points of critical regionalism against buildings that seemed to address them, including the Menil Collection project in Houston, Texas, which was analysed in these terms by Richard Ingersoll in 1991.<sup>58</sup> Canizaro has noted that Ingersoll’s analysis confirmed the actual possibility of an architecture prescribed by the tenets of critical regionalism.<sup>59</sup> But my historical account of the gradual articulation of this theory begs to differ. In the first part of the book, I show how Frampton’s points were related with specific architectural examples from the outset. These buildings as actual possibilities of an architecture of critical regionalism were integral parts of the development of this discourse in the 1980s. More specifically, such projects and the set of relations that developed around them conditioned the development of critical regionalism as an artefact of cross-cultural authorship. In addition, my revisiting of this rare and important intersection of postwar architecture in Greece with the ‘international’ discourse of critical regionalism in the

second part of the book unveils its misalignments with its local origins. Lastly, I show how the distanced theoretical constructs of ‘critical regionalism’ and ‘postmodernism’ acquired historical agency, as they had serious and lasting consequences on the Greek architectural culture with which they originally dealt. As such, this book advances a more nuanced and historically contrasted understanding of critical regionalism, as it follows the globalising branches that grew out of its cross-cultural roots.

## Globalising branches

The idea that critical regionalism foregrounded a Greek ‘architecture of resistance’ as a role model for future architectural developments in the 1980s might not be as surprising from the vantage of professional historians. In his 1953 overview of the 130-year history of modern Greece, Nicolas Svoronos had already stressed the people’s ‘resistant ethos’ as the essential characteristic and driving force of the country.<sup>60</sup> Mark Mazower, a British historian whose work has consistently revisited Greece and the Balkans over the past four decades, has also repeatedly suggested that over its 200-year lifecycle, modern Greece found itself at the forefront as either an unexpected pioneer or testbed of large-scale developments in the European continent and beyond.<sup>61</sup> Given that both British historians’, Mazower’s and Frampton’s, outlook was shaped between the 1960s and the 1980s, their shared interest in ‘peripheral’ sites is a symptom of the historic waning of the British Empire. Interest in the margins historically reflects a crisis of the dominant ‘centre’, which conversely ignores the ‘periphery’ in periods of confident growth.

This book has followed a similar approach to more recent works by Greek historians, focusing on the interplay between the details of regional developments in relation to the broader global picture to discuss the early history of critical regionalism. To cite just two related examples, Kostas Kostis has stressed the ‘special nation’ status that Greece enjoys in the eyes of the Western world and the ways in which this has in turn affected the fate of this ‘spoiled’ modern nation.<sup>62</sup> But it is Antonis Liakos’s account of ‘the Greek 20th century’ that more clearly situates his national history within wider global trends and transnational shifts in the Western world, the Balkans, the Mediterranean basin and the Middle East.<sup>63</sup>

As a Greek-born architectural historian writing from the distance of a British academic institution, I combine my nuanced insider’s view of Greece with an awareness of the ‘normalisations’ that this view entails. The organisation of my material in two parts reflects my conviction that

local architectural developments of interest can only be fully understood from the perspective of the structural position of related sites in the interlocking globalised context of the critical regionalist debates. This context is transnational, if not transcontinental. As such, the two parts of this book recount the process of globalising critical regionalism as a significant intervention in the Western European and North American architectural debates of the 1980s before returning to its cross-cultural roots in Greece. Starting from 'The Presence of the Past' exhibition in Venice, the first part constantly zooms out to expand on the transatlantic development and global dissemination of the discourse of critical regionalism. Conversely, the second part starts from the long-term, zoomed-out perspective of the special place that Classical and modern Greece holds in the European imaginary in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and constantly zooms in to culminate in a discussion of two specific buildings by Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis. Serving as two sides of the same coin, both the 'international' and the 'Greek' parts of the book adopt equally cross-cultural or 'global' perspectives. As such, they are both integral to the book's main argument that a geographic opening should apply both to the 'international' and 'regional' sides of any meaningful history of critical regionalism today.

The First Venice Biennale of Architecture exhibition is widely regarded as the show that both established and globalised the canon of postmodern architecture. But in so doing, it also silenced alternative responses to the long-standing impasse of 'international style' modern architecture from the 1960s onwards. The polyphony in theory did not register in practice on the exhibition floor, despite the participation of renowned international critics who represented diverse positions in the debates around postmodern architecture. Chapter 1 sets the scene for the book by focusing on the overshadowed sides of this story. It demonstrates how this original diversity was reduced to a narrowly defined canon of postmodern architecture. It presents the North American architect Robert A.M. Stern (b. 1939) as the crucially overlooked protagonist of the exhibition. Not immediately evident, Stern's agenda of 'traditional postmodernism' nonetheless prevailed to define the main message of the show. In so doing, it also propagated 'postmodernism' as a 'global' phenomenon that could now be allegedly traced from Japan to Western Europe. Chapter 1 resists Stern's 'central' historical construct in order to retrieve the original diversity of debates around postmodern architecture. It revisits the exhibition through the eyes of Greek architects Suzana and Dimitris Antonakakis and their 'peripheral' collaborative practice Atelier 66. Documenting their negative reaction to the show, it aligns the Greek

architects' approach with that of Kenneth Frampton, who withdrew from the committee of international critics before the opening of the Biennale. Frampton believed that the unsentimental regionalism of 'provincial' cultures could offer a more constructive response to the enduring crisis of modern architecture. In so doing, it could also resist Stern's 'central' but effectively superficial, nostalgic and scenographic construct of 'traditional post-modernism'.

Frampton was certainly not alone in his critique of Stern's approach to postmodern architecture and the constructive potential of regionalism. From the late 1960s, he had established collegial ties with Tzonis who was also teaching in North American Ivy League institutions around that time. Later, in the 1970s, Tzonis and Lefaivre shared their critical thoughts on 'populist' and 'narcissist' architectural developments with Frampton. It was indeed from their 1981 article 'The Grid and the Pathway' that the British architectural historian borrowed the term 'critical regionalism' in 1982. But Frampton's own theoretical interests have in turn overshadowed the earlier history of regionalism in the architectural debates of the 1980s. Chapter 2 documents Frampton's and Tzonis and Lefaivre's exchanges in the 1960s and the 1970s, and retraces the earlier history and overlooked protagonists of constructive regionalism. Tzonis and Lefaivre wrote their first article on 'critical regionalism' having just finished working on a paper on 'The Question of Regionalism'. This was their response to an invitation by the Swiss sociologist and economist Lucius Burckhardt – an influential figure in architecture, urban planning and landscape design in the German-speaking parts of the world – who was more widely known as the founder of 'strollology' and for his emphasis on the significance of walking in producing knowledge of specific places. But because this first article on 'The Question of Regionalism' was published in German, it has not yet found its proper place in the history of critical regionalism. As a result, its third contributing author, Anthony Alofsin, who was then a graduate student of Tzonis at Harvard University, has also been historiographically overshadowed. The chapter retraces Alofsin's contribution to this article through his earlier paper on 'Constructive Regionalism', focusing on his interest in the work of Lewis Mumford and the possibility for a distinctly North American variant of modern architecture that would not be a direct import of Bauhaus modernism. Hence, the chapter foregrounds the currently overlooked cross-cultural Euro-American roots of regionalist discourses of the 1980s that conditioned the later development of Tzonis and Lefaivre's critical regionalism.

Frampton borrowed the term ‘critical regionalism’ from Tzonis and Lefaivre’s ‘The Grid and the Pathway’ (1981), their seminal article on the work of the Antonakakis. Chapter 3 shows the ways in which critical regionalism bears the cross-cultural marks of Alofsin’s interest in Mumford’s modern regionalism; Tzonis and Lefaivre’s interest in participatory design; the Antonakakis’ appreciation of the architectural work of Team 10; and Frampton’s foregrounding of tectonic culture. These cross-cultural roots of critical regionalism also retrieve the socially conscious debates that were muted at the Biennale. Promoting the potential contribution of a regionalism that has not yet emerged elsewhere to the global future of modern architecture, Frampton also intended to unsettle the transatlantic ‘centre/periphery’ hierarchy that was reaffirmed in Venice. Through his recapitulation of Tzonis and Lefaivre’s theorisations, Greek architects’ projects became significant as the buildings that wrote critical regionalism alongside more well-known projects by Alvar Aalto and Jørn Utzon. In the final instance, the cross-cultural authorship of critical regionalism embodied its main theoretical assertion: that the relation of the ‘periphery’ to the ‘centre’ is not merely assimilative but also productive and generative. Resisting ‘postmodernism’ in order to offer a way forward for modern architecture, the ‘peripheral’ backwaters of architectural historiography reclaimed their precious relevance for the present. They became the marginal but still progressive ‘arrière-gardes’ of the 1980s that held the solutions to problems instigated by the progressive but equally marginal modernist ‘avant-gardes’ of the 1920s.

Originally published in an inaccessible annual review of architecture in Greece, it was only after Tzonis and Lefaivre’s ‘critical regionalism’ was recapitulated by Frampton that it had a worldwide impact. But Frampton’s own structural position in the international media complex did not serve his goal of turning attention from the ‘centres’ to the ‘periphery’ of cultural production. Frampton mainly intended to dissociate critical regionalism from the postmodern architecture of the Biennale. But architectural publishers of the period also sought to establish their standing in the market by investing in opposing aspects of the wider postmodern debates. As diverging agendas of different publishing venues distorted the reception of Frampton’s work, his fundamental disagreement with Stern was misconstrued as an inconsequential hair-splitting debate on regionalism. Chapter 4 highlights the inherent media problem of critical regionalism. It shows how the self-perpetuating propaganda of the architectural avant-gardes was reinforced by a vicious circle of risk-averse publishing practices. This would not be broken unless a whole network of related practices was also modified. But this proved difficult even for

Frampton, a scholar with an exceptionally influential position at the Western ‘centre’ of architectural production. Setting up a publishing strategy of his own, Frampton outlined a series of eighteen monographs on critical architectural practices of ‘unsentimental regionality’. By 1985, however, when the series was supposed to have been completed, only two out of his originally proposed eighteen monographs had been published (focusing on the architecture of Tadao Ando, and the Antonakakis). While Frampton was also working on a broader book project on critical regionalism in the same period, he eventually abandoned it.

The retrospective canonisation of the critical regionalist discourse and its eventual summation in three projects and six points does not do justice to Frampton’s original aspirations from the 1980s. As I argue in chapter 5, critical regionalism hails from a time when buildings used to write architectural theory. Frampton understood his role as that of an operative critic who could guide and influence the future of architectural practice. His critical regionalism aimed to serve as a useful tool, a unified construct built on diversified architectural practices. Conversely, the way in which Frampton interpreted specific projects enables me to read his critical regionalist project as a whole. To do so, the chapter starts from his 1981 proposal for the series of eighteen books on ‘unsentimental regionalist’ practices and his later book project on critical regionalism of the late 1980s. While both initiatives were eventually discontinued, parts of them survived or morphed into shorter essays for other projects. Their sporadic and disconnected appearance in an unorganised succession of other publications limited the potential of these projects and architects to contribute to the still developing discourse of critical regionalism in the 1980s. Combining previously unpublished archival material with Frampton’s sporadic publications on the architects of critical regionalism from the late 1970s to the mid-1990s, the chapter reconstructs his unfinished book in order to portray critical regionalism as a project of cross-cultural exchange in architecture. But Frampton’s rather idealised understanding of this process hinders a more nuanced development of the globalising branches of critical regionalism. This in turn ignites a more focused return to its cross-cultural roots in Greece in the second part of the book.

## Cross-cultural roots

Chapter 6 explicates the celebrated reception of critical regionalism in Greece. Until the 1980s, architectural historiography had supported a dual self-image of Greece as the founding Classical centre of modern

Europe and as a marginal site whose architectural endeavours are only validated by their adherence to modern European developments. The history of architecture in Greece had also developed in these dual terms of a modern margin in the Classical centre. Effectively the latest product of the same margin/centre schema, critical regionalism became Greek architects' most celebrated moment in twentieth-century architectural history. It signalled that the marginalised modern architectural production of the country was now restored in the eyes of Western observers. Written between the mid-1960s and the late 1970s, the first histories of architecture in modern Greece emphasised local practitioners' attempts to appropriate regional traditions within their modernist designs. It was in this context that Tzonis and Lefaivre's first article on critical regionalism presented the work of Atelier 66 as a successful combination of the Antonakakis' lessons from Dimitris Pikionis (1887–1968) and Aris Konstantinidis (1913–1993). But with his theoretical ambition to advance a wider critical-design practice across cultures, Frampton generalised Tzonis and Lefaivre's ideas beyond the specific historical context that gave rise to them. Although Frampton's mediated outsider's account of Greek architecture reflected his variegated ties with the region, it effectively short-circuited the original intentions of critical regionalism. Instead of advancing a focused return to the region, it reflected the broader concerns of Western architectural discourses of the 1980s.

Chapter 7 highlights the unforeseen effects of the 'return' of critical regionalism as an 'international' theoretical construct to its originating locus. The competing (local and global) agendas invested in critical regionalism enabled Greek architects to recuperate it either as an unreflective modernist haven from the global sirens of postmodernism or as a plea for nostalgic traditionalism that went against modernism. What aimed to expand the global reach of Greek architecture in theory had the opposite effect of turning the local architectural culture inwards in practice. Since its publication in 1981, Tzonis and Lefaivre's 'grid and pathway' account has also been established as the standard interpretation of the Antonakakis' work for local and global audiences. But this account was intuitive rather than analytical. Although they wrote about Greek architectural culture as informed insiders, Tzonis and Lefaivre also prioritised the dictates of the Western agendas over the specificity of their local material. The chapter shows how the Antonakakis practically used Tzonis and Lefaivre's 'grid' as a means of controlling their allegedly non-hierarchical collaborative practice, Atelier 66. Underlying their building designs, these grids guaranteed the fine-tuned appearance of their architecture. Through the common use of the grid, the presence of the



Antonakakis became so strong that it was difficult for their younger colleagues to rise to co-equal levels of design control. As such, Atelier 66's pursuit of an elusive ethos of non-hierarchical collaborative design in theory became structurally impossible to achieve in practice. Lastly, critical regionalism did not escape a structurally generated media 'star-system' problem of its own. When the Antonakakis became 'internationally renowned' figures of critical regionalism, their personal relations with other Greek architects were negatively affected – culminating in the implosion of Atelier 66 in 1986.

In 1981, Tzonis and Lefaivre traced a local genealogy that combined Konstantinidis's 'rationalist grids' with Pikionis's 'topographically sensitive pathways' in order to inform the work of the Antonakakis. Chapter 8 shows how this account still holds architectural historians' imaginations captive in an inward-looking discussion. But it was in fact an outward-facing cross-cultural genealogy that historically sustained the Antonakakis' critical regionalism. Focusing on their architectural education at the National Technical University of Athens in the late 1950s, this chapter draws out the elements that conditioned the Greek architects' modern understanding of regional traditions. While their strong biographical connection with Pikionis sustained his influence on their work, Konstantinidis's impact was rather limited. In addition to Pikionis's teaching, the factors conducive to their architectural formation lay in their lessons in architectural theory from Panayotis Michelis (1903–1969); the drawing and painting classes of Nikos Hadjikyriakos-Ghika (1906–1994); and the systematic but open-ended modernist teaching of the disciple of Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, A. James Speyer (1913–1986). These cosmopolitan mentors enabled the Antonakakis to rethink the local architectural tradition in a way that rendered their work significant in the critical regionalist framework. This cross-cultural genealogy is aligned both with the original programmatic aims and principles of critical regionalism, and with the two architects' historical formation. But it is also further proof that, in the final instance, critical regionalism represents the 1980s return of the 1960s in global architectural culture.

Chapter 9 focuses on the Antonakakis' apartment building at 118 Benaki Street (1972–5), which was heralded as a flagship project of critical regionalism in the mid-1980s. For its architects, the block embodied a critique of the standard Athenian building typology. But crucially, it also subverted existing design hierarchies, standard modes of production and everyday practices of sharing a collective life within an Athenian apartment building. Revisiting the lived history of this project from the moment of its initial conception to the present, this chapter

unveils the multifarious, resilient and dissipating aspects of resistance at 118 Benaki Street. In so doing, it also highlights the tensions that arose between the original resistant intentions and their implementation in practice over four decades. The historically short lifespan of the architects' original intentions also highlights the contradictions involved in attempts to orchestrate unconventional ways of living. Greek developers' reactions, in particular, show how an architecture of resistance can also be received as its exact opposite – a generator of elite circles of the happy few and their indulgent idealisations. Similar problems emerge from residual hierarchies and operative modes that remain unchallenged or resist change. These long-standing tensions unsettle the ways in which this project has been appropriated in order to theorise critical regionalism. As Frampton bypassed the nuanced history of this project, he offered only an idealised image of architectural resistance. But it is only a return to the fullness of the historical image, to the social world as the Antonakakis wanted to see it transformed alongside the contingent fate of their actions, that foregrounds the political core of resistant architectures for the present.

Chapter 10 further exposes critical regionalism as a rigid, idealising discourse that could not follow the transitions of an active architectural practice such as Atelier 66. It focuses on the Antonakakis' Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank (1983–6), an overlooked project designed and built at the peak of Frampton's advocacy of critical regionalism. But at the same time that their ten-year-old Benaki Street project was being celebrated as an exemplar of critical regionalism in 1985, the Antonakakis' most recent reworking of the Athenian modern building typology in the Ionian Bank was not clearly 'resisting postmodernism'. For this reason, the Bank project was omitted from Frampton's monograph. To save the coherence of his critical regionalist discourse around the Antonakakis' work, the British architectural historian could not include a project that verged towards that which his theory was meant to resist. As a result, he glossed over the intricacies of a flourishing practice in full flow at the time of his writing. Beyond the architects' control, the Rhodes branch of the Ionian Bank represented their turn from 'benign' modernist revisionism to 'regressive' postmodernism. In Greece, 'postmodernism' had been resisted to the point that it had effectively become a taboo word – at least, in theory. The ensuing stigma could only be shaken off by returning to the question of relating modernism with the regional tradition. But this cyclical return to the modernity/tradition schema of the 1960s became a vicious circle that undermined the future relevance of the Antonakakis' work for the wider project of critical regionalism.

The book's epilogue uses the historical insights from the preceding chapters to update critical regionalism for the twenty-first century on three fronts: theory, history and historiography. From Frampton's Lifetime Achievement award in Venice in 2018 to more recent *Festschriften*, critical regionalism is now reappraised as a theory for architectural design. But the 'returns of the 1960s' that remain inherently embedded in this theory, including the fetishisation of concrete as the main building material, can no longer hold in the age of climate emergency. A twenty-first-century update of critical regionalism as a design theory should instead emphasise its close ties with questions of sustainability, towards local futures with a global outlook. If it is indeed to survive as a theory, the study of critical regionalism's forty-year history can also bring to the surface more of its blind spots. As this book shows, the writing of critical regionalism itself was a cross-cultural process that was not limited to the influential texts by Tzonis and Lefaivre, and Frampton. In addition, the positive reception of critical regionalism turned it into a historical agent that affected architects who engaged with it. Hence, critical regionalism's space of authorship is an ever-expanding cross-cultural network that branches out from humans to buildings and texts across decades, and needs to be further explored by historians. As such, even if one accepts that critical regionalism closed its historical circle and failed as theory, it may still survive as history. Through historically informed critique, it can be reinvigorated no longer as a theoretical but as a pertinent historiographical agenda for the twenty-first century. Like Frampton, I have opted to conclude this book with my proposed seven points of critical regionalism as historiography.

## Notes

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- 3 See Miles Glendinning, *Mass Housing: Modern Architecture and State Power – A Global History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2021), pp. 81–522.
- 4 See Martin McLoone, 'National Cinema and Cultural Identity: Ireland and Europe', in *Border Crossing: Film in Ireland, Britain and Europe*, ed. by John Hill, Martin McLoone and Paul Hainsworth (Belfast: Queen's University Belfast, 1994), pp. 146–73; Douglas Powell, *Critical Regionalism: Connecting Politics and Culture in the American Landscape* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); José E. Limón, 'Border Literary Histories, Globalization, and Critical Regionalism', *American Literary History*, 20.1/2 (2008), 160–82; Thorsten

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  - 6 See Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974).
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  - 10 Among others, see *Architecture and Identity*, ed. by Peter Herrle and Erik Wegerhoff (Berlin: LIT, 2008).
  - 11 See Léa-Catherine Szacka, *Exhibiting the Postmodern: The 1980 Venice Architecture Biennale* (Venice: Marsilio, 2016).
  - 12 See Charles Jencks, 'The Rise of Post Modern Architecture', *Architectural Association Quarterly*, 7 (1975), 3–14.
  - 13 See Louis I. Kahn, 'On Monumentality', in *New Architecture and City Planning*, ed. by Paul Zucker (New York: Philosophical Library, 1944), pp. 77–88; *Meaning in Architecture*, ed. by Charles Jencks and George Baird (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1969).
  - 14 See Adam Sharr, 'Leslie Martin and the Science of Architectural Form', in *Quality Out of Control: Standards for Measuring Architecture*, ed. by Allison Dutoit, Juliet Odgers and Adam Sharr (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 67–78.
  - 15 See Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).
  - 16 See Andreas Kourkoulas, 'Linguistics in Architectural Theory and Criticism after Modernism', unpublished doctoral thesis, University College London, 1986.
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  - 18 Hanno-Walter Kruft, *A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present*, trans. by Ronald Taylor, Elsie Callander and Antony Wood (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994), p. 446.
  - 19 See *The Postmodern Moment: A Handbook of Contemporary Innovation in the Arts*, ed. by Stanley Trachtenberg (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985).
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  - 25 Claire Jamieson, *NAT0: Narrative Architecture in Postmodern London* (London: Routledge, 2017); Esra Akcan, *Open Architecture: Migration, Citizenship and the Urban Renewal of Berlin-Kreuzberg by IBA 1984/87* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2018).
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- 28 Aron Vinegar, *I AM A MONUMENT: On Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008); Emmanuel Petit, *Irony; or, the Self-critical Opacity of Postmodern Architecture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013).
- 29 See Felicity D. Scott, *Architecture or Techno-utopia: Politics after Modernism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007).
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