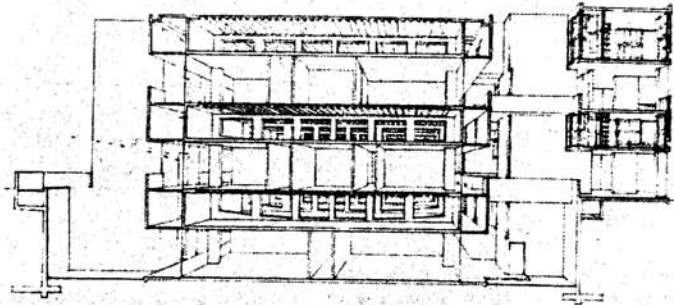
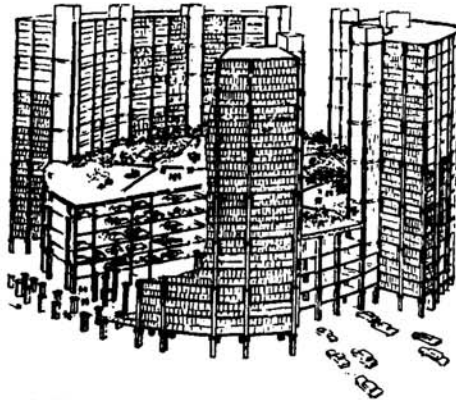


243 Kahn, Salk Institute of Biological Studies, La Jolla, Calif., 1959-65. Section through laboratory wing.



244 Kahn, 'dock, complex projected for Philadelphia, 1956, comprising a multi-storey car park surrounded by apartment and office buildings.



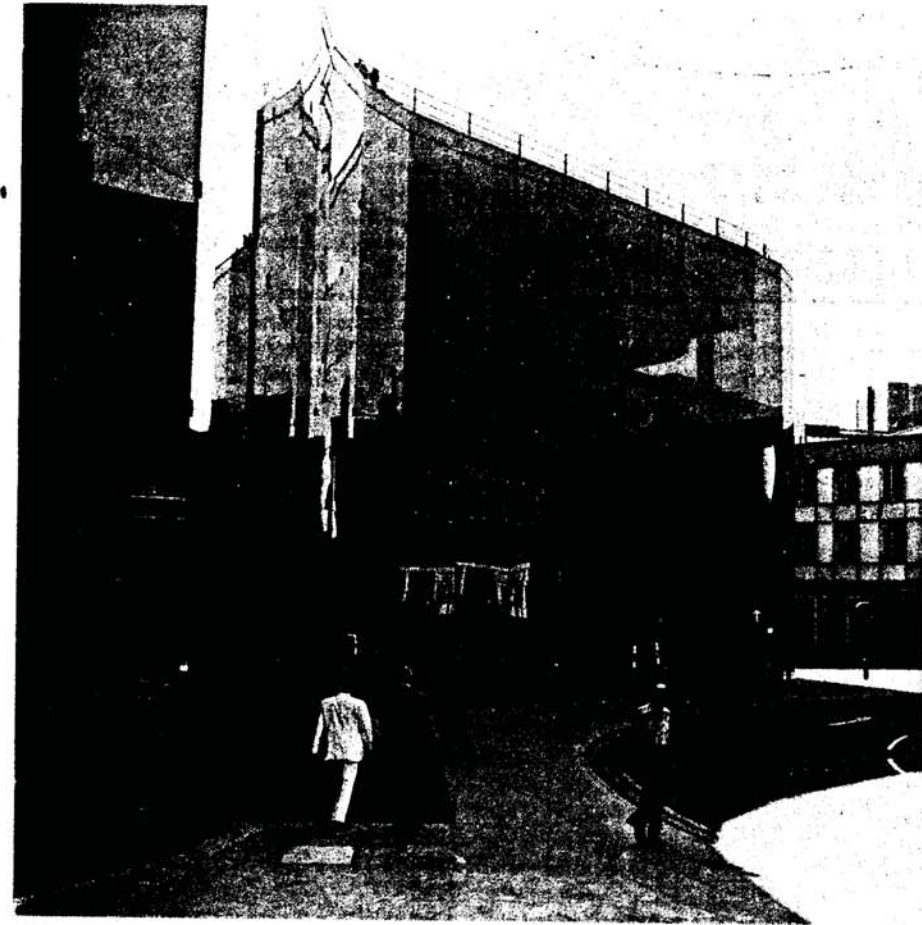
unbuilt even at La Jolla, was to become the main theme of his magnificent National Assembly Building, under construction at Dacca in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) from 1965 to 1974.

Kahn's rejection of a simple-minded if socially committed functionalism in favour of an architecture capable of transcending utility led him to postulate a parallel approach to urban form. Once again this shift reflected his own development, in which he progressed from projecting the Ville Radieuse onto the centre of Philadelphia – in his so-called Rational City studies of 1939-48 – to postulating, in his maturity, the need to make an explicit distinction between the architecture of the 'viaduct' and building at a human scale. This was perhaps never more dramatically expressed than in his plan for midtown Philadelphia of 1956, where he attempted to press

the forms of Piranesi's Rome of 1762 into the service of the modern city. Yet for all the rational poetry of this proposition, and the ingenuity of his subtly rearranged traffic patterns (his distinction for instance between the expressways as 'rivers' and the 'stop-go' traffic-light-controlled streets as 'canals'), Kahn's midtown planning proposals remained paradoxically unspecific when it came to imagining the precise relations that should obtain between the pedestrian and the automobile. Kahn, conscious of the profound antipathy between the automobile and the city and of the fatal link between consumerism, the suburban shopping centre and the decline of the urban core (a link that stemmed incidentally from the combined effects of the post-war federal highway subsidy and the mortgage provisions of the G.I. Bill), was no more capable than any other architect of conceiving a satisfactory interchange between the human scale and the scale of the car. His Piranesian 'dock' proposal of 1956, comprising a six-storey cylindrical silo housing 1,500 cars and surrounded on its perimeter by eighteen-storey blocks, was as deprived as any other mega-structure of the period of the necessary elements with which to establish a human scale at its base. The limits of Kahn's profound historicism were never more poignant than in his likening of his Philadelphia midtown plan to Carcassonne. It was surely a vain utopian hope to argue, as he did, that the ordering of movement within a city would of necessity assure its defence against destruction by the automobile.

Part 3

Critical assessment and extension into the present 1925-84



245 Foster Associates, Willis-Faber & Dumas Building, Ipswich, 1974 (see pp. 301-3).

tractability of the problem and of the fact that probably it can only be effectively tackled on a piecemeal basis, by responding appropriately to specific situations. Nevertheless, advocacy planning remains with us as a radical legacy of the 1960s, although the results of its application have varied widely, from the political manipulation of the underprivileged to the recent achievement of a section of low-rise housing in Terni north of Rome, designed by Giancarlo de Carlo, in accordance with a brief developed as a result of extensive discussions with the local trade union. There is no doubt that this whole undertaking has resulted in housing of remarkable quality and variety, although the manner in which the users' desires were finally interpreted remains a controversial issue.

As far as transforming the practice of the Neue Sachlichkeit was concerned, Habraken and his Foundation for Architectural Research (SAR) in Eindhoven did their technocratic best to take the promise of Yona Friedman's open infra-structural approach, his 'mobile architecture', to its logical conclusion. To this end they proposed a low-rise, multi-storey, support structure, whose plan arrangement was undetermined, save for fixed access, kitchen and bathroom zones. Outside these zones the occupant would be free to arrange the plan of his allocated volume in any way he wished. Regrettably, Habraken intended to furnish this spatial matrix with industrialized, modular components fabricated along the lines of the car industry and brought to a level of technical sophistication and structural tolerance which has yet to be attained, even in the wholesale prefabricated building programmes of the Soviet Union. Moreover, like Friedman, he tended to overlook the fact that much of the inherent 'freedom' of the system would automatically disappear once it came under the auspices of monopoly capital. Housing after all has yet to become a truly consumable item. Fortunately, the SAR concept does not stand or fall by its technology alone, and Habraken has opened up a line of research which has yet to be fully explored. A quite remarkable work apparently influenced by Habraken's thought is the distinguished 'expandable' terrace housing built in

Genterstrasse in Munich in 1971 by Otto Steidle and Doris and Ralph Thut.

Populism

The Loosian recognition of the loss of cultural identity that urbanization had brought in its wake returned with a vengeance in the mid 1960s as architects began to realize that the reductive codes of contemporary architecture had led to an impoverishment of the urban environment. The exact manner in which this impoverishment has come about however – the extent to which it is due to abstract tendencies present in Cartesian rationality itself or alternatively to ruthless economic exploitation – is a complex and critical issue which has yet to be judiciously decided. It cannot be denied that the tabula rasa reductionism of the Modern Movement has played a salient role in the wholesale destruction of urban culture; thus the emphasis that the 'Post-Modernist critique has placed on respecting the existing urban context can hardly be discredited. This anti-utopian 'contextualist' critique was already available more than a decade ago, first in Colin Rowe's neo-Sittesque approach to urban form (as taught in Cornell University and presented in his book of 1979, *Collage City*), and then in Robert Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* of 1966 in which he wrote:

The main justification for honky-tonk elements in architectural order is their very existence. They are what we have. Architects can bemoan or try to ignore them or even try to abolish them, but they will not go away. Or they will not go away for a long time, because architects do not have the power to replace them (nor do they know what to replace them with), and because these commonplace elements accommodate existing needs for variety and communication. The old clichés involving both banality and mess will still be the context of our new architecture, and our new architecture significantly will be the context for them. I am taking the limited view, I admit, but the limited view, which architects have tended to belittle, is as important as the visionary view, which they have tended to glorify but have not brought about. The short-term plan, which expediently

combines the old and the new, must accompany the long-term plan. Architecture is evolutionary as well as revolutionary. As an art it will acknowledge what is and what ought to be, the immediate and the speculative

With the publication in 1972 of *Learning from Las Vegas*, written by Venturi, Denise Scott-Brown and Steve Izenour, Venturi's sensitive and sane assessment of the cultural realities confronting everyday practice – the need to set order against disorder and vice versa – shifted from an acceptance of honky-tonk to its glorification; from a modest appraisal of Main Street as being 'almost all right' to a reading of the billboard strip as the transmogrified utopia of the Enlightenment, lying there like a science-fiction transposition in the midst of the desert!

† This rhetoric, which would have us see A & P parking lots as the *tapis verts* of Versailles, or Caesar's Palace in Las Vegas as the modern equivalent of Hadrian's Villa, is ideology in its purest form. The ambivalent manner in which Venturi and Scott-Brown exploit this ideology as a way of bringing us to condone the ruthless kitsch of Las Vegas, as an exemplary mask for the concealment of the brutality of our own environment, testifies to the aestheticizing intent of their thesis. And while their critical distance permits them the luxury of describing the typical casino as a ruthless landscape of seduction and control – they emphasize the two-way mirrors and the boundless, dark, disorientating timelessness of its interior – they take care to disassociate themselves from its values. This does not prevent them, however, from positing it as a model for the restructuring of urban form:

Beyond the town the only transition between the Strip and the Mojave desert is a zone of rusting beer cans. Within the town the transition is as ruthlessly sudden. Casinos whose fronts relate so sensitively to the highway turn their ill-kempt backsides towards the local environment, exposing residual forms and spaces of mechanical equipment and service areas.

The irony with which architects from Lutyens to Venturi have sought to transcend through wit

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ate into total acquiescence; and the cult of 'the ugly and the ordinary' becomes indistinguishable from the environmental consequences of the market economy. Between the lines, the authors are brought to concede the superfluity of architectural design in a society that is exclusively motivated by ruthless economic drives; a society which has nothing of greater significance to represent than the giant neon-lit sky sign of the average strip. At the end of their analysis they are almost brought to concede that the loss of the monument is an absence that can hardly be compensated for by the sophistries of the 'decorated shed':

The casino in Las Vegas is a big low space. It is the archetype of all public interior spaces whose heights are diminished for reasons of budget or air conditioning. Today, span is easy to achieve and volume is governed by mechanical and economical limitations in height. But railroad stations, restaurants and shopping arcades only ten feet high reflect as well our changing attitude to monumentality... we have replaced the monumental space of Pennsylvania Station by a subway above ground and that of Grand Central Terminal remains mainly through its magnificent conversion to an advertising vehicle.

Venturi is determined to present Las Vegas as an authentic outburst of popular fantasy. But, as Maldonado has argued in his book *La Speranza Progettuale (Design, Nature and Revolution)* of 1970, the reality would indicate the contrary, that Las Vegas is the pseudo-communicative culmination of 'more than half a century of masked manipulatory violence directed towards the formation of an apparently free and playful urban environment in which men are completely devoid of innovative will'.

Be this as it may, the Venturi faction did not take their Populist stand in isolation. On the contrary, they soon acquired a sympathetic following in both academic and professional circles – from the historian/critic Vincent Scully, who initially rallied to their cause with his laudatory introduction to Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction*, and who went on to confirm his continuing support with

his polemic *The Shingle Style Revisited* (1974), and from architects such as Charles Moore and Robert Stern, who, while adopting more varied *ad hoc* attitudes towards the manipulation of form, were nonetheless equally open to exploiting the essentially atectonic nature of the American balloon-frame.

The net effect, at least in Anglo-Saxon circles, has been to stimulate a rather indiscriminate reaction against all forms of modernist expression in architecture, a situation which the critic Charles Jencks was prompt to identify as 'Post-Modern'. In his book *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (1977), Jencks effectively characterized Post-Modernism as being a Populist-Pluralist art of immediate communicability. At the end of the first edition of this text, he hailed Gaudí's 'pre-modern' Casa Battló (1906) as an exemplary work, which was readily accessible, inasmuch as the populace could decipher and identify with the iconography of Catalan separatism which it embodied (Jencks is referring here to the lance-like tower and the dragon's back roof representing the ultimate triumph of the Catalan hero St George over the 'dragon' of Madrid). Nationalist mythologies cannot be invented overnight, however, and the sobering fact remains that many so-called Populist works have nothing more to convey than a gratifying cosiness or an ironic comment on the absurdity of suburban kitsch. More often than not Post-Modernist architects use the private house as an occasion for indulging in idiosyncratic obsessions, as is all too evident from the triviality of Stanley Tigerman's Hot Dog and Daisy houses of the mid-1970s.

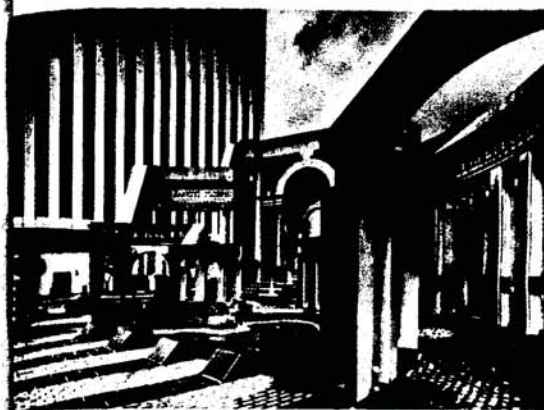


290 Stern, Ehrman House, Armonk, N.Y., 1975.



291 Jahn, Bank of the South West, Houston, 1982 ff.

Each year American Populism seems to grow increasingly diffuse in its eclectic parodies from the Art Deco conceits of say Venturi's Brant House at Greenwich, Connecticut (1971) and Stern's closely related Ehrman House at Armonk, New York (1975) to the self-styled 'Popular Machinism' (in effect, neo-Art Deco) of Helmut Jahn's typical crystal skyscraper, the high-rise, curtain-walled structure rendered as a giant Wurlitzer organ. These and other Populist divagations indicate that the purging simplicity of 'the dumb



292 Moore, Piazza d'Italia, New Orleans, 1975-79.

and the ordinary' (in Venturi's phrase) has now been left behind, along with the sparsely elegant Trubeck and Wislocki houses which Venturi realized on Cape Cod in 1970.

By scenographically simulating the profiles of classical and vernacular and thereby reducing the architectonics of construction to pure parody, Populism tends to undermine the society's capacity for continuing with a significant culture of built form. The consequence of this for the field as a whole has been a seductive but decisive drift towards a kind of 'tawdry pathos', to use Jencks's felicitous yet ambivalent assessment of the theatrical effects created by Moore and Turnbull in their designs for Kresge College on the University of California's Santa Cruz campus (1974). The cynicism which ultimately motivates such scenographic operations has since been openly conceded by Moore, above all in his account of the design process which led to the Piazza d'Italia in New Orleans (1979). In 1981 he wrote:

I remembered that the architectural orders were Italian, with a little help from the Greeks, and so we thought we could put Tuscan, Doric, Ionic and Corinthian columns over the fountain, but they overshadowed it, obliterating the shape of Italy. So instead we added a 'Delicatessen Order' that we thought could resemble sausages hanging in a shop window, thus illustrating its transalpine location. But now I think there is going to be an

Italian restaurant and no sausages. . . . there was a little bit of money left over so we thought we would bang up a temple out front to show that our piazza was behind it. There was enough money too to make a campanile beside the temple to show off our existence and to make more patterns with the verticals of the skyscraper behind. Someday there will be shops around it, like Ghirardelli Square, but for the moment it is just sitting by itself and a little lonesome.

In contrast to the flaccid eclecticism of Moore (who abandoned the constructional purity of his Sea Ranch complex in Sonoma County, California (1964-66) as soon as it was completed), Frank Gehry's domestic work, above all his own deconstructed 'anti-house' (cf. Marcel Duchamp's 'anti-painting') built in Santa Monica in 1979, introduced a genuinely subversive element into the complacent decadence of American Populist architecture. However, this creative resistance has been more than balanced by the uncritical absorption of American Populism into the European mainstream, a cultural transfer effected by Paolo Portoghesi's architectural section of the 1980 Venice Biennale which bore the seductive double title 'The Presence of the Past' and 'The End of Prohibition'. It is significant that the full-size façades of Portoghesi's 'Strada Novissima' in the Arsenal (fig. 309) were realized by scene-builders from the Italian film industry. The only exception was the design by Leon Krier, who, no doubt out of 'moral' deference to his beloved Heinrich Tessenow (see the latter's *Handwerk*



293 Gehry, Gehry House, Santa Monica, Calif., 1979.

bank built at Oliveira de Azemeis in 1974, are topographically structured.

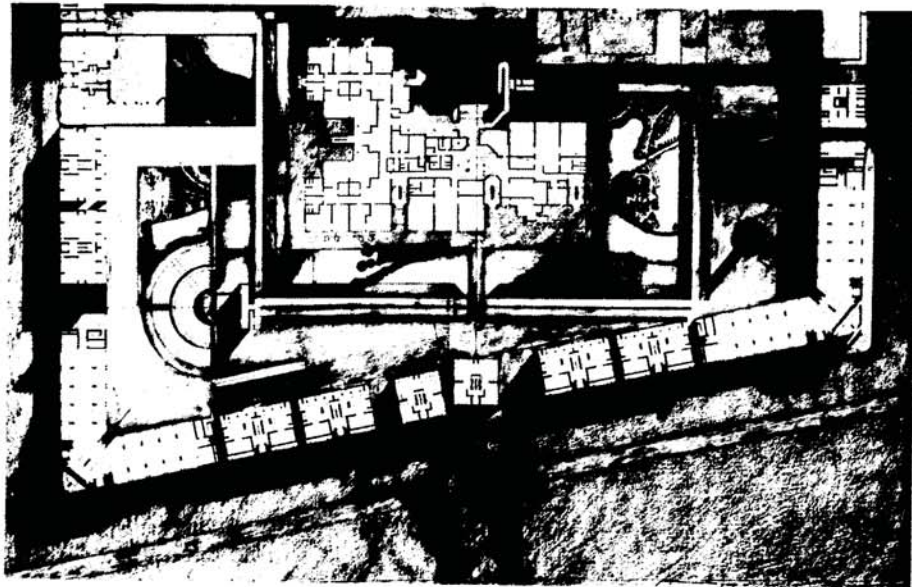
The projected work of the New York-based Austrian architect Raimund Abraham seems to be informed by similar concerns, inasmuch as this architect has always stressed place creation and the topographic aspects of built form. The House with Three Walls (1972) and the House with Flower Walls (1973) are typical of his pieces of the early 1970s, wherein the project evokes an oneiric image while insisting on the inescapable materiality of building. This concern for tectonic form and for its capacity to transform the surface of the earth has been carried over into Abraham's recent designs made for the International Building Exhibition in Berlin, above all into his recent project for South Friedrichstadt designed in 1981.

An equally tactile attitude obtains in the work of the veteran Mexican architect Luis Barragán, whose finest houses (many of which have been erected in Mexico City, in the suburb of Pedregal) assume a topographic form. As much a landscape designer as an architect, Barragán has always sought a sensual and earthbound architecture; an

architecture compounded of enclosures, stelae, fountains and water courses; an architecture laid into volcanic rock and lush vegetation; an architecture that refers indirectly to the Mexican *estancia*. Of Barragán's feeling for mythic and rooted beginnings it is sufficient to cite his memories of the apocryphal *pueblo* of his youth:

My earliest childhood memories are related to a ranch my family owned near the village of Mazamitla. It was a *pueblo* with hills, formed by houses with tile roofs and immense eaves to shield passersby from the heavy rains which fall in that area. Even the earth's color was interesting because it was red earth. In this village, the water distribution system consisted of great gutted logs, in the form of troughs, which ran on a support structure of tree forks, 5 meters high, above the roofs. This aqueduct crossed over the town, reaching the patios, where there were great stone fountains to receive the water. The patios housed the stables, with cows and chickens, all together. Outside, in the street, there were iron rings to tie the horses. The channeled logs, covered with moss, dripped water all over town, of course. It

323 Abraham, project for South Friedrichstadt, Berlin, 1981: detail showing half the site.



gave this village the ambience of a fairy tale. No, there are no photographs. I have only its memory.

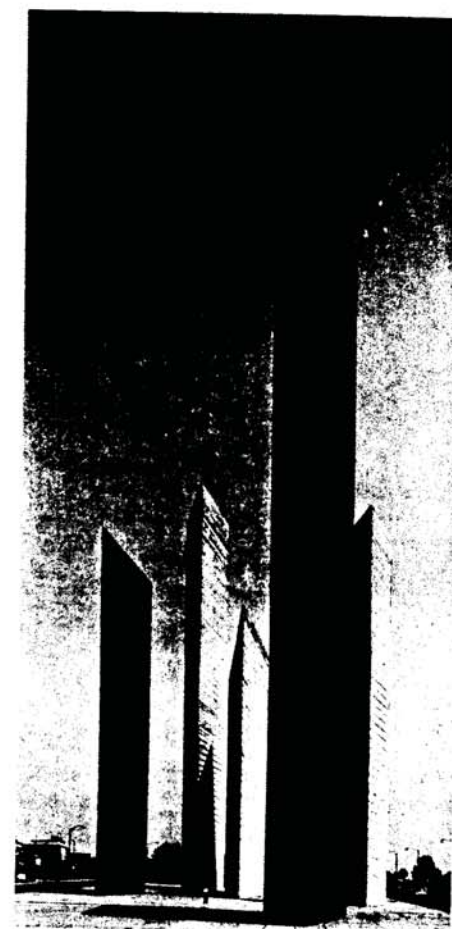
This remembrance was surely influenced by Barragán's life-long involvement with Islamic architecture. Similar feelings and concerns are evident in his opposition to the invasion of privacy in the modern world and in his criticism of the subtle erosion of nature which has accompanied post-war civilization:

Everyday life is becoming much too public. Radio, TV, telephone all invade privacy. Gardens should therefore be enclosed, not open to public gaze. . . . Architects are forgetting the need of human beings for half-light, the sort of light that imposes a tranquility, in their living rooms as well as in their bedrooms. About half the glass that is used in so many buildings – homes as well as offices – would have to be removed in order to obtain the quality of light that enables one to live and work in a more concentrated manner. . . .

Before the machine age, even in the middle of cities, Nature was everybody's trusted companion. . . . Nowadays, the situation is reversed. Man does not meet with Nature, even when he leaves the city to commune with her. Enclosed in his shiny automobile, his spirit stamped with the mark of the world whence the automobile emerged, he is, within Nature, a foreign body. A billboard is sufficient to stifle the voice of Nature. Nature becomes a scrap of Nature and man a scrap of man.

By the time of his first house and studio built around an enclosed court in Tacubaya, Mexico D.F., in 1947, Barragán had already moved away from the syntax of the International Style. And yet his work has always remained committed to that abstract form which has characterized the art of our era. Barragán's penchant for large, almost inscrutable abstract planes set into the landscape is perhaps at its most intense in his gardens for the residential districts of Las Arboledas (1958–61) and Los Clubes (1961–64) and in his freeway monument, Satellite City Towers, designed with Mathias Goeritz in 1957.

Regionalism has, of course, manifested itself in other parts of the Americas; in Brazil in the 1940s in the early work of Oscar Niemeyer and Affonso



324 Barragán and Goeritz, Satellite City Towers, Mexico City, 1957.

Reidy; in Argentina in the work of Amancio Williams, above all in Williams's bridge house in Mar del Plata of 1943–45 and more recently perhaps in Clorindo Testa's Bank of London and South America, Buenos Aires (1959); in Venezuela, in the Ciudad Universitaria built to the designs of Carlos Raúl Villanueva between 1945 and 1960; on the West Coast of the United States, first in Los Angeles from the late 1920s in the work of Neutra, Schindler, Weber and Gill, and then in the Bay Area school founded by William Wurster



329 Schnebli, Castioli House, Campione d'Italia, 1960.

always displayed strong regionalist tendencies. The cantonal principle of admission and exclusion has always favoured extremely dense forms of expression, with the canton favouring local culture and the Federation facilitating the penetration and assimilation of foreign ideas. Dolf Schnebli's Neo-Corbusian vaulted villa at Campione d'Italia on the Italo-Swiss frontier (1960) may be seen as initiating the resistance of Ticinese architecture to the influence of commercialized modernism. This resistance found an echo immediately in other parts of Switzerland, in Aurelio Galfetti's equally Corbusian Rotalinti House in Bellinzona (1961) and in Atelier 5's assumption of the Corbusian *béton brut* manner, as this appeared in Siedlung Halen, built outside Berne in 1960 (fig. 314).

Today's Ticinese Regionalism has its ultimate origins in the pre-war protagonists of the Italian Rationalist movement in Switzerland, above all the work of the Italian Alberto Sartoris and the Ticinese Rino Tami. Sartoris's main realizations were in the Valais, most notably a church at Lourtier (1932) and two small concrete-framed houses, built in association with viticulture and under construction between 1934 and 1939, of which the most renowned is the Morand-Pasteur residence at Saillon (1935). Of the compatibility between Rationalism and rural architecture Sartoris wrote: 'Rural architecture, with its essentially regional features, is perfectly at home with today's rationalism. In fact it embodies in practice all those

functional criteria on which modern building methods are essentially based.' Where Sartoris was primarily a polemicist keeping the Rationalist precepts alive throughout the Second World War and its aftermath, Tami was mainly a builder, and the Ticinese architects of the 1960s were able to take his Cantonal Library at Lugano (1936-40) as an exemplary Rationalist work.

Ticinese practice in the mid-1950s, with the exception of Galfetti, was oriented towards the work of Frank Lloyd Wright rather than the pre-war Italian Rationalists. Of this period Tita Carloni wrote: 'We naively set ourselves the objective of an "organic" Ticino, in which the values of modern culture were to be interwoven in a natural way with local tradition.' Of Ticinese Neo-Rationalism in the early 1970s we find him writing:

The old Wrightian schemata were superseded, the chapter of 'big commissions' for the State, with good reformist intentions, was closed. It all had to be begun all over again, from the ground upwards: housing, schools, minor didactic restorations, competition entries as an opportunity to investigate and critically assess the contents and forms of architecture. In the meantime cultural confrontation in Italy, political commitment, and the exacting confrontation with our own native intellectuals, especially Virgilio Gilardoni, meant that history books started to appear on our desks, and above all faced us with the challenge of critically reappraising the whole evolution of modernism, most especially that of the 1920s and 1930s.

As Carloni suggests, the strength of provincial culture resides in its capacity to condense the artistic and critical potential of the region while assimilating and reinterpreting outside influences. The work of Carloni's prime pupil, Mario Botta, is typical in this respect, with its concentration on issues which relate directly to the specific place while adapting methods and approaches drawn from outside. Formally educated under Scarpa, Botta was fortunate enough to work, however briefly, for both Kahn and Le Corbusier during the short period when they projected civic works for Venice. Evidently influenced by these men, Botta went on to appropriate the Italian Neo-Rationalist methodology as his own, while simultaneously



330 Botta, house at Riva San Vitale, 1972-73.

retaining, through Scarpa, an unusual capacity for the craft enrichment of his form. One of the most exotic examples of this occurs in his application of *intonaco lucido* (polished plaster) to the fireplace surrounds of a converted farmhouse at Ligrignano in 1979.

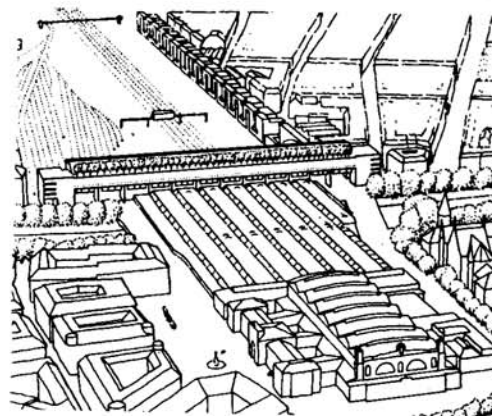
Two other traits in Botta's work may be seen as critical: on the one hand, his constant preoccupation with what he terms 'building the site', and on the other, his conviction that the loss of the historical city can only be compensated for by 'cities in miniature'. Thus Botta's school at Morbio Inferiore is interpreted as a micro-urban realm – as a cultural compensation for the evident loss of civic life in Chiasso, the nearest large city. Primary references to the culture of the Ticino landscape are also evoked by Botta at a typological level, such as the house at Riva San Vitale, which refers obliquely to the traditional tower-like country summer houses or 'rocoli' which were once plentiful in the region.

Aside from these references, Botta's houses serve as markers in the landscape – as indicators of limits or boundaries. The house in Lignoretto, for example, establishes the frontier where the village ends and the agrarian system begins: its main aperture (a large 'cut-out' opening) turns away from the fields and towards the village. Botta's houses are often treated as bunker/belvederes, where the fenestration opens onto choice views in the landscape, concealing the rapacious suburban development that has taken place in the Ticino since 1960. Instead of being terraced into the site, they 'build the site', after the thesis advanced by

Vittorio Gregotti in *Il territorio dell'architettura* (1966). They declare themselves as primary forms, set against the topography and the sky. Their capacity to harmonize with the partially agricultural nature of the region stems directly from their *analogical* form and finish; that is to say, from the fair-faced concrete block of their structure and from the silo or barn-like shells in which they are housed, these last alluding to the traditional agricultural structures from which they are derived.

Despite this feeling for a domestic sensibility which is at once modern and traditional, the most critical aspect of Botta's achievement resides in his public projects; in particular in the two large-scale proposals which he designed in collaboration with Luigi Snozzi. Both of these are 'viaduct' buildings and as such owe something to Kahn's Venice Congress Hall project of 1968 and to Rossi's first sketches for Gallarate. The 1971 Botta/Snozzi project for the Centro Direzionale, Perugia, is projected as a 'city within a city', and the wider implications of this design clearly stem from its potential applicability to many megalopolitan situations throughout the world. Had it been realized, this centre, conceived as a 'viaduct-megastructure', could have established its presence in the urban region without compromising the historic city or fusing with the chaos of the surrounding suburban development. A comparable clarity and appropriateness obtained in their Zürich Station proposal of 1978, where a multi-level bridge concourse would not only have

331 Botta and Snozzi, project for the alteration of Zürich Station, 1978: the original station building (bottom) and bridge across the tracks.



accommodated shops, offices, restaurants and parking but would also have constituted a new, head building while some of the original functions were retained in the existing terminus.

It is no accident that Tadao Ando, who is one of the most regionally conscious architects in Japan, should be based at Osaka rather than Tokyo and that his theoretical writings should formulate more clearly than any other architect of his generation a set of precepts which come close to the idea of Critical Regionalism. This is most evident in the tension that he perceives as obtaining between universal modernization and the idiosyncrasy of rooted culture. Thus we find him writing in an essay entitled 'From Self-Enclosed Modern Architecture toward Universality':

Born and bred in Japan; I do my architectural work here. And I suppose it would be possible to say that the method I have selected is to apply the vocabulary and techniques developed by an open, universalist Modernism in an enclosed realm of individual lifestyles and regional differentiation. But it seems difficult to me to attempt to express the sensibilities, customs, aesthetic awareness, distinctive culture, and social traditions of a given race by means of an open, internationalist vocabulary of Modernism . . .

By 'enclosed modern architecture' Ando intends the literal creation of walled enclaves by virtue of which man is able to recover and sustain some vestige of his former intimacy with both nature and culture. Thus he writes:

After World War II, when Japan launched on a course of rapid economic growth, the people's value criteria changed. The old fundamentally feudal family system collapsed. Such social alterations as concentration of information and places of work in cities led to overpopulation of agricultural and fishing villages and towns (as was probably true in other parts of the world as well). Overly dense urban and suburban populations made it impossible to preserve a feature that was formerly most characteristic of Japanese residential architecture: intimate connection with nature and openness to the natural world. What I refer to as an enclosed Modern Architecture is a restoration of the unity between house and nature that Japanese houses have lost in the process of modernization.

In his small courtyard houses, often set within dense urban fabric, Ando employs concrete in such a way as to stress the taut homogeneity of its surface rather than its weight, since for him it is the most suitable material 'for realizing surfaces created by rays of sunlight . . . [where] walls become abstract, are negated, and approach the ultimate limit of space. Their actuality is lost, and only the space they enclose gives a sense of really existing.'

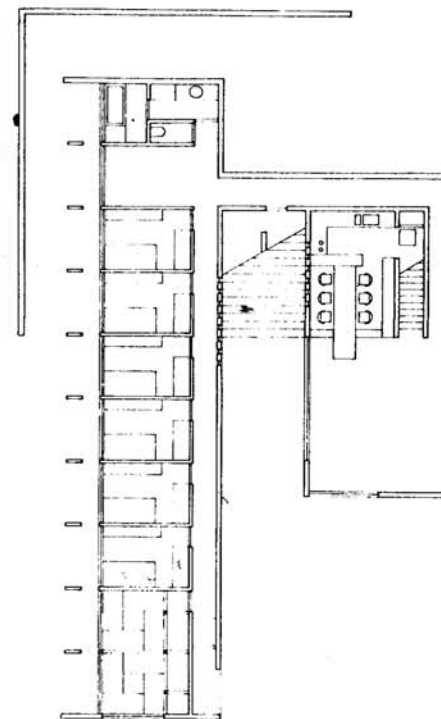
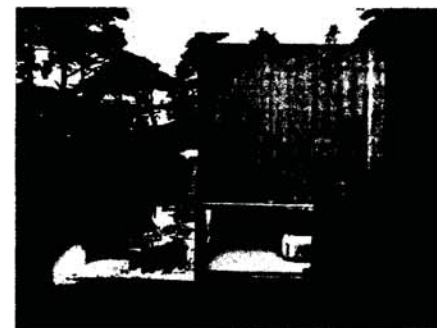
While the cardinal importance of light is stressed in theoretical writings of both Kahn and Le Corbusier, Ando sees the paradox of spatial limpidity emerging out of light as being peculiarly pertinent to the Japanese character and with this he makes explicit the broader meaning which he attributes to the concept of a self-enclosed modernity:

Spaces of this kind are overlooked in utilitarian affairs of everyday and rarely make themselves known. Still they are capable of stimulating recollection of their own innermost forms and stimulating new discoveries. This is the aim of what I call closed modern architecture. Architecture of this kind is likely to alter with the region in which it sends out roots and to grow in various distinctive individual ways. Still, though closed, I feel convinced that as a methodology it is open in the direction of universality.

What Ando has in mind is the development of an architecture where the tactility of the work transcends the initial perception of its geometric order. Precision and density of detail are both crucial to the revelatory quality of his forms under light. Thus he wrote of his Koshino House of 1981:

Light changes expressions with time. I believe that the architectural materials do not end with wood and concrete that have tangible forms but go beyond to include light and wind which appeal to our senses. . . . Detail exists as the most important element in expressing identity. . . . Thus to me, the detail is an element which achieves the physical composition of architecture, but at the same time, it is a generator of an image of architecture.

In their article on the Critical Regionalism of the Greek architects Dimitris and Susana Antonakakis, entitled 'The Grid and the Pathway'



332, 333 Ando, Koshino House, Osaka, 1981: view and ground plan.

(*Architecture in Greece*, 1981), Alex Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre demonstrate the ambiguous role played by the *Schinkelschüler* in the building of Athens and the founding of the Greek state:

In Greece historicist regionalism in its neo-classical version had already met with opposition before the arrival of the Welfare State and of modern architecture. It is due to a very peculiar crisis which explodes around the end of the nineteenth century. Historicist regionalism here had grown not only out of a war of liberation; it had emerged out of interests to develop an urban élite set apart from the peasant world and its rural 'backwardness' and to create a dominance of town over country; hence the special appeal of historicist regionalism, based on the book rather than experience, with its monumentality recalling another distant and forlorn élite. Historical regionalism had united people but it had also divided them.

The various reactions which followed the proliferation of the 19th-century Greek Nationalist Neo-Classical style varied from the vernacular historicism of the 1920s to the committed modernism of the 1930s as this became manifest in the work of such architects as Stamo Papadaki and J.G. Despotopoulos. As Tzonis points out, a consciously regionalist modernism emerged in Greece with the earliest works of Aris Konstantinidis (his Eleusis house of 1938 and his Kifissia garden exhibition of 1940), and this line was developed further by Konstantinidis in the 1950s, in various low-cost housing schemes and in the hotels he designed for the Xenia national tourist organization between 1956 and 1966. In all of Konstantinidis's public work, a tension appears between the universal rationality of the trabeated reinforced concrete frame and the autochthonous tactility of the native stone and blockwork which is used as infill. A much less equivocal regionalist spirit permeates the park and promenade that Dimitris Pikionis designed for the Philopappus Hill in 1957, on a site adjacent to the Acropolis in Athens. In this archaic landscape, as Tzonis and Lefaivre point out,

Pikionis proceeds to make a work of architecture free from technological exhibitionism and compositional conceit (so typical of the mainstream of architecture of the 1950s), a stark naked object almost dematerialized, an ordering of 'places made for the occasion', unfolding around the hill for solitary contemplation, for intimate discussion, for a small gathering, for a vast assembly. . . . To weave