

Notes

Preface: Architecture and Disciplinary Crises

- 1 Reinier de Graaf, *On Hold* exhibition catalogue (Rome: The British School at Rome, 2010).
- 2 One notable article documents Ungers's seriousness in his studies of architecture history, addressing his library as a space for intellectual labour, and thus implicitly providing a counterfoil to the breadth of Koolhaas's often pop-culture references. Jasper Cepl, 'Ungers under seine Bücher: Die Bibliothek als Sammlung der Ideen', in: Andres Lepik (ed.), *O.M. Ungers: Kosmos der Architektur* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2006), 38.
- 3 For a general overview of OMA in terms of design and ideas, two highlights worth mentioning are: Christophe Van Gerrewey (ed.), *OMA / Rem Koolhaas: A Critical Reader from 'Delirious New York' to 'S,M,L,XL'* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2019) and Ingrid Böck, *Six Canonical Projects by Rem Koolhaas: Essays on the History of Ideas* (Berlin: Jovis, 2015).
- 4 On Dutch television, the programme *College Tour* showed how Koolhaas became flustered after a question on manifestoes. *NOVA College Tour, 'Rem Koolhaas'*, presented by Twan Huys (Vara/NPS, 22 April 2009).
- 5 Projecting a slide of an architect with his back turned to the project and examining blueprints, he notes the seriousness and necessity that emanates from the architect's stance, while observing that this is a type of building practice that has nearly disappeared from the current state of the profession. Rem Koolhaas, 'Navigating Modernization', American University Beirut, 17 May 2010. Available online at oma.eu/lectures/navigating-modernization (accessed 3 July 2020).
- 6 Thomas Wensing, 'It's the Economy, Stupid!' *Archined*, 4 May 2020. Available online at archined.nl/2020/05/its-the-economy-stupid/ (accessed 6 July 2020); Inga Saffron, 'The Latest Indulgence of the Architect and Self-Proclaimed Visionary', *Dezeen*, 17 March 2020. Available online

- at dezeen.com/2020/03/17/countryside-the-future-exhibition-guggenhe-im-museum-inga-saffron/ (accessed 6 July 2020).
- 7 Bruno Latour, 'En tapotant légèrement sur l'architecture de Koolhaas avec un baton d'aveugle', *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 361 (November-December 2005), 76-77.
 - 8 Richard Lacayo, 'Rem Koolhaas', *The 2008 Time 100*, *Time*, 12 May 2008. Available online at content.time.com/time/specials/2007/article/0,28804,1733748_1733752_1735981,00.html (accessed 5 July 2020).
 - 9 An overview of note is Jasper Cepl, *Oswald Mathias Ungers: Eine intellektuelle Autobiografie* (Cologne: Walther König, 2007). Here, Cepl particularly brought to light the mutual respect between Ungers and Koolhaas, 312-315.
 - 10 Oswald Mathias Ungers, Shadrach Woods and Stefan Wewerka (eds.), 'Team X Treffen', *Veröffentlichungen zur Architektur* 3 (June 1966); Team 10 seminar Cornell 1971-1972, team10online.org/team10/meetings/1970-71-cornell.htm; Jaquelin T. Robertson (ed.), *The Charlottesville Tapes* (New York: Rizzoli Books, 1985).
 - 11 Oswald Mathias Ungers, 'Grossformen im Wohnungsbau', *Veröffentlichungen zur Architektur* 5 (December 1966); Rem Koolhaas, 'Bigness: The Problem of LARGE', *Wiederhall* 17 (1994), 32-33. The history of 'Bigness' is slightly more complex; as the notion is present in some of the retrospective texts on three big competitions from 1989 (library Jussieu, ZKM Karlsruhe and Zeebrugge terminal), I here use 1989 as the delimiting date. Rem Koolhaas, 'Weird Science', in: OMA/Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, *SMLXL* (Rotterdam: 010 publishers, 1995), 604-661.
 - 12 Rem Koolhaas, letter to Fonds BK Amsterdam, funding proposal (Het Nieuwe Instituut (HNI) Rotterdam, archive Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMAR), clippings archive).
 - 13 Oswald Mathias Ungers and OMA, 'Roosevelt Island Housing Competition', *Lotus International* 11 (1976), 37-41.
 - 14 Hans Ulrich Obrist, *Rem Koolhaas* (Cologne: Walther König, 2006), 83-84.
 - 15 Sanford Kwinter (ed.), *Rem Koolhaas: Conversations with Students* (Houston: Rice University School of Architecture and New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), 11.

Chapter 1. The 1970s: Reclaiming Autonomy for the *Fait Social*

- 1 Rem Koolhaas in conversation with Sarah Whiting ‘Spot Check’, *Assemblage* 40 (1999), 36-55: 50.
- 2 This also calls to mind various revisions of criticality, perhaps best summarized in George Baird, “Criticality” and Its Discontents’, *Harvard Design Magazine* 21 (2004/2005), 16-21. For an earlier exploration of architecture’s complicated relation to criticism, see: Roemer van Toorn, ‘Architecture against Architecture: Radical Criticism within the Society of the Spectacle’, catalogue *Film + Arc* 2 (Graz, 1993). Available online: roemervantoorn.nl/architectureagai.html.
- 3 Oswald Mathias Ungers, ‘Architecture’s Right to an Autonomous Language’, in: Paolo Portoghesi (ed.), *The Presence of the Past* (New York: Academy Editions, 1980), 319-323.
- 4 As will be discussed further in Chapter 4, Koolhaas wrote *Delirious New York* (London: Oxford University Press, 1978) without using any typical architectural terms – this was an experimental side to the book: the desire, in a sense, to redefine how we speak and think about architecture. Rem Koolhaas in conversation with Franziska Bollerey, *Bauwelt* 17/18 (1987), 627-633. Similarly, the notion of ‘Bigness’ revolves around an urban condition of scale that transcends formal tools, it is about a condition that creates something new.
- 5 Reinhold Martin suggests that many projects of the 1970s and 1980s can be read with the spectre of Utopia hovering in the background. Reinhold Martin, *Utopia’s Ghost* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010). While he proposes that a social Utopia may be extracted from these projects to inform a present in desperate need of ideals, my suggestion here is that the turn to an autonomous discourse that remains informed by societal and cultural conditions acknowledges the limits of what architecture can do without concluding that architecture is irrelevant.
- 6 Peter Eisenman, *The Formal Basis of Modern Architecture* (Zurich: Lars Müller, 2006 [1963]).
- 7 Manfredo Tafuri, ‘Toward a Critique of Architectural Ideology’, in: K. Michael Hays (ed.), *Architecture Theory since 1968* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998 [1969]), 6-35.

- 8 Clement Greenberg, 'Modernist Painting', in: Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (eds.), *Art in Theory 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992 [1960]), 754-760.
- 9 Alexander Caragonne, *The Texas Rangers: Notes from an Architectural Underground* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995); Timothy Love, 'Kit-of-Parts Conceptualism: Abstracting Architecture in the American Academy', *Harvard Design Magazine* 19 (2003).
- 10 The legacy of Dutch modernism plays an important role both in this presence of the social and in the work of Koolhaas, as will be discussed further in Chapters 2 and 4.
- 11 With gratitude for the discussions and apologies for my reduction, I am indebted to Christine Boyer for the conversations we have had on this topic. Particular moments have brought this problem to centre stage in past decades, such as the urban renewal after the 2005 destruction of New Orleans by hurricane Katrina, followed by the silence of many urban thinkers on the topic. M. Christine Boyer, 'Projective Mappings', paper presented at 'The Projective Landscape' conference, 16-17 March 2006, Delft University of Technology, courtesy of author. While these immediate issues of social concern demand attention, this book is concerned with the manners of thinking that are embedded in architecture discourse, particularly in the opposition between social concern and formalism.
- 12 Charles Jencks identifies the advent of postmodernism as coinciding with the demolition of the Pruitt-Igoe housing complex in St Louis in 1972. Although this is a reductive synopsis of a contested debate in architecture, the topic of this book is directed at its effects more than its (ideological) nametag – so whether we choose to consider contemporary discourse as 'modern', albeit exacerbated (Habermas), 'postmodern' (Lyotard), or to give it any other label, the defining features of complexity, interconnectedness and speed are more or less uncontested.
- 13 Colin Rowe, 'The Architecture of Utopia', in: Colin Rowe, *The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa and Other Essays* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1976 [1959]), 205-223.
- 14 Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter, *Collage City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1978).
- 15 Both 'The Welfare Palace Hotel' and 'The Story of the Pool' are included as a fictional appendix in: Koolhaas, *Delirious New York*, 304-311. The MoMA devoted an exhibition to many of these images, noting: 'The 1970s saw an

- explosion of architectural thought and experimentation – with the city, and New York especially, becoming a screen for the projection of architectural fantasies and utopias.’ ‘Dreamland: Architectural Experiments since the 1970s’, MoMA, 23 July 2008 – 16 March 2009.
- 16 Jeremy Till, *Architecture Depends* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009); ‘Dreamland: Architectural Experiments since the 1970s’, MoMA, 23 July 2008 – 16 March 2009.
 - 17 Erika Mühlthaler, ‘Lernen von O.M. Ungers: Die Berliner Lehrzeit 1963-1969’, in: Erika Mühlthaler (ed.), *Lernen von O.M. Ungers* (Berlin: TU Berlin and Arch+, 2006), 23-29; Jasper Cepl, *Oswald Mathias Ungers: Eine intellektuelle Biografie* (Cologne: Walther König, 2007), 223-228.
 - 18 Excerpt from fellowship application, Rockefeller Archive Center, Commonwealth Fund Archives, Harkness Fellowship Files, Series 20.2, Box 115, Folder 941.
 - 19 Colin Rowe, *As I was Saying: Recollections and Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. 2 ‘Cornelliana’, edited by Alexander Caragone (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), 75-78.
 - 20 See, for example, the reminiscences of Koolhaas on the shared ideas and vehement animosity between Rowe and Ungers in ‘Die erschreckende Schönheit des 20. Jahrhunderts’, *Arch+* 86 (1986), 34-43.
 - 21 By his own account, he found the publications during his study trip to the Berlin Wall in 1971. Rem Koolhaas, ‘Visual Language: Architect’s notes’, in: Rem Koolhaas and Kayoko Ota (eds.), *Domus d’Autore 1* (Milan: Domus, 2006). According to Jasper Cepl, copies were likely circulating in London, either via James Stirling or Léon Krier. Cepl, *Oswald Mathias Ungers*, 295-296.
 - 22 Hans van Dijk, ‘Interview met Rem Koolhaas’, *Wonen-TABK* 11 (1978), 17-20.
 - 23 Ibid.; Aldo van Eyck, ‘Message to Mathias Ungers from Another World’, in: Francis Strauven and Vincent Ligtelijn (eds.), *Aldo van Eyck: Writings*, Vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Sun, 2008 [1979]), 530-532.
 - 24 In the introduction to *Five Architects*, this specific understanding of autonomy is identified as American, in contrast to the belief in architecture as a social instrument of the younger generation of European architects. Arthur Drexler, ‘Preface’, in: *Five Architects* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 1. In a similar polemic, Robert Stern situates European idealism in opposition to the broad field of American architecture.

- Robert Stern, 'Stomping at the Savoye: Five on Five', *Architectural Forum* 138/4 (1973), 49-53.
- 25 Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy and the United States, c.1958-c.1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 26-38, 217-229, 584-586.
- 26 See also: Donald Albrecht, *Designing Dreams: Modern Architecture in the Movies* (Santa Monica, CA: Hennessy + Ingalls, 2000 [1986]), 56-74; Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986).
- 27 For an extensive treatment of the role of architecture in shaping the European welfare state, see Mark Swenarton, Dirk van den Heuvel and Tom Avermaete (eds.), *The Architecture of the Welfare State* (London: Routledge, 2014).
- 28 Mary McLeod, 'Architecture and Politics in the Reagan Era: From Postmodernism to Deconstructivism', reprinted in: K. Michael Hays (ed.), *Architecture Theory since 1968* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998 [1989]), 678-703.
- 29 In his dissertation, Sébastien Marot argued that Ithaca and its surrounding landscape was also crucial to the development of these ideas. Sébastien Marot, 'Palimpsestuous Ithaca: Un manifeste relatif du Sub-Urbanisme', PhD dissertation, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), July 2008, courtesy of author.
- 30 Denise Scott Brown, 'On Architectural Formalism and Social Concern: A Discourse for Social Planners and Radical Chic Architects', reprinted in: K. Michael Hays (ed.), *Oppositions Reader: Selected essays 1973-1984* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998 [1976]), 317-330: 320. The article was in part a response to criticisms of *Learning from Las Vegas*, such as that by Fred Koetter, 'On Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour's *Learning from Las Vegas*', *Oppositions* 3 (May 1974), 98-104.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 320.
- 32 Drexler, 'Preface', 1.
- 33 Colin Rowe, *The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa and Other Essays* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1976), 1-28.
- 34 Koolhaas, *Delirious New York*; Bollerey, 'Conversation with Rem Koolhaas', 627-633.
- 35 Rowe and Koetter, *Collage City*, 50-85, 118-150.
- 36 Hanno Walter-Kruft, *A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994), 327-334.

- 37 Ungers, 'Architecture's Right to an Autonomous Language', 320.
- 38 Hermann Sörgel, *Einführung in die Architektur-Ästhetik: Prolegomena zu einer Theorie der Baukunst* (Munich: Piloty & Loehle, 1918).
- 39 Kim Dovey and Scott Dickson, 'Architecture and Freedom? Programmatic Innovation in the Work of Koolhaas/OMA', *Journal of Architectural Education* 56/1 (2002), 4-13.
- 40 Many insightful studies have been published on the logic of the avant-garde, and its relation to modernism. Particular books of note are, in chronological order: Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap/Harvard University Press, 1968); Matei Calinescu, *Faces of Modernity: Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977); Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).
- 41 Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, translated by Morris Hicky Morgan (New York: Dover, 1960), 181-182; John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (New York: John Wiley, 1849), 25-56, 123-145.
- 42 While architecture has often – even in the 1970s – laid claim to the status of avant-garde, its practices typically require a mode of operation within the dominant culture, which contradicts the main principles of avant-garde practice.
- 43 An interesting book in this context is one that Ungers co-authored with his wife Liselotte, *Kommunen in der Neuen Welt 1740-1972* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1972). The book is a study of various communes in the United States, from the late 1800s to the 1970s. It examines the conditions of smaller collective societies, and the social parameters that define them. It also includes urban plans of each commune and some notes on specific buildings. An article was published in English as 'Early Communes in the U.S.A.', *Architectural Design* 42 (1972), 505-512.
- 44 Reinier de Graaf, *Four Walls and a Roof* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017).
- 45 Karl Mannheim, 'The Problem of Generations', in: Karl Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, edited by Paul Kecsemeti (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952 [1927]), 276-320.
- 46 Robert Gutman, 'Architecture: The Entrepreneurial Profession', *Progressive Architecture* 5 (1977), 55-58.
- 47 Jean-Louis Cohen, *The Future of Architecture since 1889: A Worldwide History* (London: Phaidon, 2012).

- 48 Rem Koolhaas, 'Exodus, or the Voluntary Prisoners of Architecture', in: OMA/Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, *SMLXL* (Rotterdam: 010 publishers, 1995), 2-21.
- 49 Thomas A. Harris, *I'm OK – You're OK* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967). A popular self-help book of the 1960s, its title became a common phrase to refer to an overly permissive culture.
- 50 Lara Schrijver, *Radical Games* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2009), 107-117.
- 51 Kim Dovey and Scott Dickson, 'Architecture and Freedom? Programmatic Innovation in the Work of Koolhaas/OMA', *Journal of Architectural Education* 56/1 (2002), 4-13.
- 52 My thinking on this is influenced by Crimson Architectural Historians, *Too Blessed to be Depressed* (Rotterdam: 010, 2002). Another architect famously disparaged by Van Eyck for producing 'fascist' architecture was Rotterdam architect Hugh Maaskant. See Michelle Provoost, *Hugh Maaskant: Architect of Progress* (Rotterdam: nai010, 2014).
- 53 The desire of Team 10 to find social value in architecture, combined with the aversion of Aldo van Eyck to the rationalism and formal interest of Oswald Mathias Ungers, came to a head in 1979 in Van Eyck's published fulmination against more or less everything Ungers stood for, with a particular emphasis on formalism. Van Eyck. 'Message to Mathias Ungers from Another World'. Ironically, both Ungers and Van Eyck showed a predilection for the 'spiritual content' of architecture in the 1960s.
- 54 Ungers, 'Architecture's Right to an Autonomous Language'.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 319.
- 56 Over time, the spiritual or intellectual content of architecture – its transcendent qualities – have remained central. From the manifesto 'Towards a New Architecture' with Reinhard Giesemann (1960) to 'Architecture's Right to an Autonomous Language' (1980) to 'Ordo, Fondo et Mensura' (1994), the best architecture is seen to embody a content beyond the strictly functional, technical or even strictly aesthetic, a quality that appeals to essential qualities of form.
- 57 Ungers, 'Architecture's Right to an Autonomous Language', 319.
- 58 Reinhard Giesemann and Oswald Mathias Ungers, 'Towards a New Architecture', in: Ulrich Conrads (ed.), *Programs and Manifestoes in 20th-Century Architecture*, translated by Michael Bullock (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970 [1964]), 165-166.
- 59 Mühlthaler, 'Lernen von O.M. Ungers'.

- 60 Ungers, 'Architecture's Right to an Autonomous Language', 321.
- 61 Joseph Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art papers, 1972). Koolhaas appears to have been familiar with this work.
- 62 Oswald Mathias Ungers, 'Das Recht der Architektur auf eine autonome Sprache', as cited in Martin Kieren, *Oswald Mathias Ungers* (Zurich: Artemis, 1994), 21. Kieren notes the prominence of form in the work of Ungers, which is unmistakably central. Kieren's citation differs slightly from the English version of 'Architecture's Right to an Autonomous Language'.
- 63 Koolhaas, *Delirious New York*, 100.
- 64 *Ibid.*, 173.
- 65 Kieren, *Oswald Mathias Ungers*, 22.
- 66 Rem Koolhaas, lecture 19 October 2012, at receiving an honorary doctorate from the VU Amsterdam. A number of lectures have incorporated a retrospective gaze towards his own biography as formative for his architectural approach.
- 67 Years later, in the *Harvard Guide to Shopping*, Koolhaas reminisces on the impact of a study of Las Vegas. The study on Levittown offered a different view of the value of pre-packaged symbolism, while Koolhaas's interest in Rockefeller Center may well have suggested the name 'City within the City' for the Berlin studios of 1977. David Loth, *The City within a City: The Romance of Rockefeller Center* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1966).
- 68 'Koolhaas: Und eigentlich sagen Sie auch in jeder Arbeit, dass es für diese Dinge formal und morphologisch Lösungen gibt, aber nicht sozial. . . . Ungers: Ich bin der Meinung, dass die sozialen Probleme von Architektur nicht gelöst werden können. Wir haben keine Mittel dazu. Sie können architektonische Probleme lösen. Genauso kann Kunst die gesellschaftlichen Fragen nicht lösen.' 'Oswald Mathias Ungers im Gespräch mit Rem Koolhaas und Hans Ulrich Obrist', *Arch+* 179 (2006), 10, author's translation.
- 69 Oswald Mathias Ungers, *City Metaphors* (Cologne: Walther König, 1982), 11-12.
- 70 For an overview of what is becoming known as 'new materialisms', see: Diana Coole and Samantha Frost (eds.), *New Materialisms: Ontology, Agency, and Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

- 71 Ungers, 'Das Recht der Architektur auf eine autonome Sprache', as cited in Kieren, *Oswald Mathias Ungers*, 21.
- 72 *Veröffentlichungen zur Architektur* issues 8 'Plätze und Strassen' (1967), 21 'Snellbahn und Gebäude' (1968) and 27 'Berliner Brandwände' (1969).
- 73 A case in point is the IJplein project, which Koolhaas himself notes as a moment in which the project was overtaken by a full transformation of the reality around it. From an underwriting of the socialist principles underlying it, the new references became private/corporate developments in Baltimore and San Francisco's Bay Area. Rem Koolhaas, untitled contribution, in: Bernard Leupen, Wouter Deen and Christoph Grafe (eds.), *Hoe modern is de Nederlandse architectuur?* (Rotterdam: 010 publishers, 1990), 13. See also Christophe Van Gerrewey, 'A Weissenhofsiedlung for Amsterdam: OMA's IJplein', *LOG* 44 (2018), 82–93.
- 74 Interview Rem Koolhaas, *Radical Philosophy*, 47.
- 75 Koolhaas, *Delirious New York*, 152.
- 76 Alan Colquhoun, 'Form and Figure', *Oppositions* 12 (1978), 29–37.
- 77 Ungers, 'Architecture's Right to an Autonomous Language', 320.
- 78 Robert E. Somol, '12 Reasons to Get Back in Shape', in: Rem Koolhaas and Brendan McGetrick (eds.), *Content* (Cologne: Taschen, 2004), 86–87.
- 79 Madelon Vriesendorp also comments that she could not 'read' people by their clothing in America in the same way she could in the Netherlands. Beatriz Colomina, interview with Madelon Vriesendorp part II 'Disaster Follows Ecstasy Like Form Follows Function', in: Shumon Basar and Stephan Trüby (eds.), *The World of Madelon Vriesendorp* (London: AA Publications, 2008), 40–59: 49.
- 80 Colquhoun, 'Form and Figure'.
- 81 Rem Koolhaas, 'Dali, the Critical Method and Le Corbusier', lecture 1976, in: Brett Steele (ed.), *Supercritical: Peter Eisenman and Rem Koolhaas*, 'Architecture Words I' series (London: AA Publications, 2009), 88–93.
- 82 John Seabrooks, *NoBrow: The Culture of Marketing the Marketing of Culture* (London: Methuen, 2000).
- 83 David Cunningham and Jon Goodbun, 'Interview Rem Koolhaas and Reinier de Graaf', *Radical Philosophy* 154 (2009), 35–47. Available online at <https://staging.radicalphilosophy.com/interview/rem-koolhaas-and-reinier-de-graaf> (accessed 9 November 2020).
- 84 Koolhaas states: 'I doubt I would have written [*Delirious New York*] had I not met him or read *Mythologies*.' *Ibid.*, 39.

- 85 Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, translated by Annette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), 109, note 1.
- 86 Katrina Heron, 'From Bauhaus to Koolhaas', interview with Rem Koolhaas, *Wired* (July 1996), available online at <https://wired.com/wired/archive/4.07/koolhaas.html> (accessed 1 July 2020).
- 87 Vittorio Lampugnani, 'Tolerant Normality', in: Arie Graafland and Leslie Jay Kavanaugh (eds.), *Crossover* (Rotterdam: 010, 2006), 294-311.
- 88 Kieren, *Oswald Mathias Ungers*, 16.

Chapter 2. From Delirium to Archipelago, the Postmodern Collective in the City

- 1 Oswald Mathias Ungers et al., 'Cities within the City', *Lotus* 19 (1977), 86.
- 2 Hans Ulrich Obrist, *Rem Koolhaas*, The Conversation Series 4 (Cologne: Walther König, 2006), 52.
- 3 Georg Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life', in: Neil Leach (ed.), *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory* (London: Routledge, 1997 [1903]), 69-79. As I argue in *Radical Games*, the city is not only the *locus* of architecture, it is also one of its primary conceptual issues. This remains so even today, notwithstanding Koolhaas's recent turn to the countryside with the 2020 exhibition at MoMA.
- 4 Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life', 78-79; Robert Park, *The Crowd and the Public and other Essays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972 [1904]).
- 5 Rem Koolhaas, 'The Terrifying Beauty of the Twentieth Century', in: OMA/Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, *SMLXL* (Rotterdam: 010 publishers, 1995), 204-209.
- 6 Rem Koolhaas, 'Generic City 6.1', in: OMA/Koolhaas and Mau, *SMLXL*, 1238.
- 7 Patrice Goulet, 'Interview with Rem Koolhaas', *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 238 (1985), 1-14.
- 8 Aldo Rossi and Vittorio Gregotti travelled to Cologne to visit the house in 1960, which led to the first Italian publication on Ungers. Aldo Rossi, 'Una giovane architetto tedesco: Oswald Mathias Ungers', *Casabella* 244 (1960), 22-35.

- 9 'Maelstrom' is the word that Marshall Berman uses to characterize the modern experience, which Koolhaas regularly refers to. Marshall Berman, *All that Is Solid Melts into Air* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982).
- 10 Simmel, 'The Metropolis and Mental Life', Ferdinand Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag, 1887). Robert Park's work remained less widely known until its translation into English in 1972.
- 11 The interest of Koolhaas in the theories and practice of urbanism are reflected in his course selection at Cornell, which was primarily in the field of urban design, as proposed in his initial application. He also took (and did not complete) an introductory reading course in Russian. Rockefeller Archive Center, Commonwealth Fund Archives, Harkness Fellowship Files, Series 20.2, Box 115, Folder 941. Item: Transcript Cornell, academic year 1972-1973.
- 12 Ungers won first place in the 1974 competition for the area of Berlin-Lichterfelde, which was never realized. OMA's 1994 master plan for Lille was perhaps the first on such a great scale. The city centre for Almere (also 1994) is more architectural in scale but is based on ideas of congestion.
- 13 Thomas Schumacher, 'Contextualism', *Casabella* 359-360 (1971), 79-86; according to Gargiani, this is the first use of contextualism. Roberto Gargiani, *OMA/Rem Koolhaas: The Construction of Merveilles* (Lausanne: EPFL Press, 2011), 88, ff. 33.
- 14 Rem Koolhaas, 'Imagining Nothingness', in: OMA/Koolhaas and Mau, *SMLXL, 198-203*. The notion arguably also relates to OMA/AMO's Venice Biennale exhibition of 2010, *CronoCaos*, which addresses the problem of heritage and transformation. While the 'City within the City' was concerned with the decreasing need for architecture due to the population drop, *CronoCaos* suggests a different problem: that increasing preservation diminishes the space for new buildings, causing architecture to lose its relevance.
- 15 While the mutual influence of Ungers and Koolhaas in terms of urban thinking was noted as 'overlooked' in 2006 by Peter Eisenman in *Supercritical* (London: AA Publications, 2010), 31, this no longer holds. Between the writings of Jasper Cepl, Roberto Gargiani, Pier Vittorio Aureli, Sébastien Marot and my own work, this collaboration can no longer qualify as overlooked. At the same time, this book is an attempt to situate their particular contribution as a key to understanding today's transitions in architecture.

- 16 Koolhaas, *Delirious New York* (London: Oxford University Press, 1978), 100, 173.
- 17 Ungers et al., 'Cities within the City', 82, 84.
- 18 For an analysis of the developmental stages of the text, see the critical edition of the 'City within the City': Florian Hertweck and Sébastien Marot (eds.), *The City in the City: Berlin, a Green Archipelago* (Zurich: Lars Mueller, 2013).
- 19 Ungers later bears the brunt of Van Eyck's anger at neo-rationalism. Van Eyck, 'Message to Mathias Ungers from Another World'. *Grossform* was originally received with interest by Team 10 and translated as 'megaform'.
- 20 Rem Koolhaas, untitled contribution in Bernard Leupen, Wouter Deen and Christoph Grafe (eds.), *Hoe modern is de Nederlandse architectuur?* (Rotterdam: 010, 1990), 11-22. The text sharply criticizes the nostalgia for the historical core as well as what he sees as nondescript Dutch modernism.
- 21 As will be discussed later in Chapter 4, perception and Gestalt theory are important touchstones in the work of Ungers, and in this period likely also contribute to his conversations with Koolhaas.
- 22 As noted earlier, there are varying accounts of how Koolhaas came to be familiar with these publications (Chapter 1, note 21).
- 23 The series, comprising 27 issues, also included publications of guest lectures, symposium proceedings and other architectural studies. Some of the highlights in the series include a report on the Team 10 meeting in Berlin of 1965, Ungers's Moscow lecture on 'Grossformen im Wohnungsbau' in 1966, the proceedings of the architecture theory conference organized by Ungers at the TU Berlin in 1967, and the 'Berlin 1995' studio at Cornell in 1969. An overview of the issues is published in: Erika Mühlthaler (ed.), *Lernen von O.M. Ungers* (Berlin: TU Berlin and Arch+, 2006), 82-169.
- 24 Harkness Fellowship Files, Series 20.2, Transcript Cornell (note 11).
- 25 Subtitle of: David Loth, *The City within a City: The Romance of Rockefeller Center* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1966). The book is an ode to the construction of Rockefeller Center and the manner in which it was run, singing the particular praise of the role of the Rockefeller family in upholding a level of quality and maintaining a large percentage of public space within the complex (more than was typically deemed financially profitable). As the book was listed as a source for *Delirious New York*, the phrase 'City within the City' may have derived from Loth's work as an

- apt description for the urban concepts already circulating in the work of Ungers and Koolhaas.
- 26 The City of the Captive Globe was initially developed in 1972, published in *Lotus International* 11 (1976) and *Architectural Design* 5 (1977), and republished in an adapted form in *Delirious New York* in 1978. The City within the City was originally proposed in 1977 during the Cornell summer studio of the same name. Rotterdam also recurs in the texts of Koolhaas as a city without character, but it does not seem to have generated a specific concept, unless it is in the notion of 'nothingness', also based on Berlin.
 - 27 'Roma Interrotta', *Architectural Design* 49/3-4 (1979).
 - 28 Koolhaas, 'Imagining Nothingness'. The studio he refers to incorporated the work of many different people, including himself and Ungers, but also Hans Kollhoff.
 - 29 The 'City within the City' was first published as *Die Stadt in der Stadt*, (summer academy 1977), in German only. It was subsequently published in Italian and English in *Lotus*, bringing it to a broader audience. Much of the work of Ungers follows this trajectory of a German language publication with an English translation about a year later. Koolhaas even now refers to this work as important and relevant. For example, in an interview with Hans Ulrich Obrist, he points out how Ungers understood the artificiality of Berlin and consequently used it as a laboratory, setting up a number of design seminars that systematically explored various dimensions of its urban and architectural condition, artnode.se/artorbitt/issue4/i_koolhaas/i_koolhaas.html (accessed 11 April 2006).
 - 30 Koolhaas, 'Imagining Nothingness', 201.
 - 31 Koolhaas, *Delirious New York*, 294-296.
 - 32 Oswald Mathias Ungers, *Die Stadt in der Stadt: Berlin das grüne Stadtarchipel* (Cologne: Studio Verlag für Architektur, 1977). The publication was completed in collaboration with Rem Koolhaas, Peter Riemann, Hans Kollhoff and Arthur Ovaska, and republished entirely in *Lotus* 19 (1978), extending its audience with this bilingual (Italian/English) publication. Oswald Mathias Ungers, Hans Kollhoff and Arthur Ovaska, *The Urban Villa: A Multi-Family Dwelling Type* (Cologne: Studio Verlag für Architektur, 1977). The summer academies were set up like the earlier TU Berlin studios, isolating specific conditions of the Berlin 'laboratory'.
 - 33 Fritz Neumeyer and Francesca Rogier, 'OMA's Berlin: The Polemic Island In The City', *Assemblage* 11 (1990), 36-53.

- 34 Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City* (New York: Rizzoli, 1984 [1966]).
- 35 Ungers, *Die Stadt in der Stadt*, these 6. The references in this passage are translated from the original German publication, which in some cases diverges from the English translation in *Lotus* 19 (1977); 'design knowledge' here refers to the original 'Gestaltungserkenntnisse'.
- 36 Ungers, *Die Stadt in der Stadt*, these 4 (author's translation).
- 37 Ibid., *schlussfolgerung*.
- 38 Ungers, *Die Stadt in der Stadt*, these 5 (author's translation).
- 39 Ibid., *schlussfolgerung*.
- 40 The condition of heterogeneity is a general issue in reflections on post-modernity, most notably in David Harvey's *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1989) and Jean-Francois Lyotard's *La Condition Postmoderne* (1979). It appears that the most direct philosophical influence on Koolhaas in this area is Michel Foucault, however. M. Christine Boyer, 'Projective Mappings', courtesy of author.
- 41 George Baird, 'Les Extrêmes qui se Touchent', *Architectural Design* 5 (1977), 326-328.
- 42 It seems fair to say that both ideas were developed during a period of regular discussions on architecture between Koolhaas and Ungers. The available evidence suggests that the City within the City was developed primarily by Ungers, with input from Koolhaas, although Peter Riemann suggestively notes that Koolhaas got off the plane with the idea of Berlin as a green archipelago. Peter Riemann, 'OMU and the Magritte Man', in: Mühlthaler, *Lernen von O.M. Ungers*, 176.
- 43 Koolhaas left for Manhattan in the fall of 1973. At the IAUS, there was a continual stream of lectures and visiting scholars.
- 44 In this sense, the work itself resonates with what Venturi and Scott Brown did in *Learning from Las Vegas* (also published in 1972), examining the environment that was already there in order to reassess the tools and vocabulary of the discipline.
- 45 Koolhaas, *Delirious New York*, 296.
- 46 Following his time at Cornell, Koolhaas also worked on two competition entries for Ungers in 1974 and would on occasion assist with the Cornell summer studios through 1977. It is not surprising that the strongest resonance between the ideas of Koolhaas and Ungers are to be found in the mid-1970s.
- 47 Ungers, 'Die Stadt als Kunstwerk'. An important observation is made by Jasper Cepl in his extensive study of Ungers, where he notes that

- Ungers was so driven to morphology that he in essence considered everything scalable. Jasper Cepl, *Oswald Mathias Ungers: Eine intellektuelle Biografie* (Cologne: Walther König, 2007). This point forms a crucial distinction with the approach of Koolhaas. Ungers's morphological focus on architecture is notably visible in the Berlin lectures from 1964-1965, published in *Arch+ 179* (2006).
- 48 Reinhard Gieselmann and Oswald Mathias Ungers, 'Towards a New Architecture', in: Ulrich Conrads (ed.), *Programs and Manifestoes in 20th-Century Architecture*, translated by Michael Bullock (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970 [1964]), 165-166.
- 49 Schweizer taught at the TH Karlsruhe when Ungers was studying there, from 1947 to 1950. Schweizer was invited to the CIAM meeting 1951 in Hoddesdon – this may have been why Ungers was present at the CIAM meeting in Aix-en-Provence.
- 50 Otto Ernst Schweizer, *Die Architektonische Grossform: Gebautes und Gedachtes* (Karlsruhe: G. Braun, 1957). Ungers's lecture 'Grossformen im Wohnungsbau' was originally given in Moscow and published as the fifth issue of his TU-Berlin series *Veröffentlichungen zur Architektur*. Its propositions are present in: Alison Smithson, *Team 10 Primer* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1973), where it was translated into 'megaform'; in this book I retain the original German term for its specific connotations.
- 51 Kollhoff identifies Egon Eiermann and Otto Schweizer as the two main influences on Ungers. Hans Kollhoff, 'Die Sache mit den Quadraten', *Die Welt*, 12 July 2006.
- 52 Kollhoff, 'Die Sache mit den Quadraten', identifies the distinction between the two as a focus on typology (Schweizer) versus the visual (Ungers).
- 53 Schweizer, *Die Architektonische Grossform*, 56. He sees the development as a shift from the 'architektonische Bedeutung des einzelne bauten to the Grossordnung des Gebauten'.
- 54 Schweizer, *Die Architektonische Grossform*, 55 (my italics).
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Ungers, 'Grossformen im Wohnungsbau', 4.
- 57 Koolhaas, 'Bigness: The Problem of LARGE', *Wiederhall 17* (1994), 32-33.
- 58 Otto Ernst Schweizer, 'Über das Wesen des Architektonischen', in: Schweizer, *Die Architektonische Grossform*, 183. Schweizer specifically refers to considerations of society, technology and economics (*Gesellschaft, Technologie, Wirtschaft*) as foundations for a modern approach to ar-

- chitecture. His appeal to modern architectural unity (*zeitentsprechenden architektonische Einheit*) is founded on historical examples, appealing specifically to the qualities of the Gothic for its structural solutions (the dematerialization of the inside, shifting support to outside), and the Baroque for its spatial forms (open spaces).
- 59 Schweizer, *Die Architektonische Grossform*, introduction.
- 60 Michel Foucault, 'Des Espaces Autres: Hétérotopies' (1967), *Architecture Mouvement Continuité* 5 (1984), 46-49.
- 61 Ungers, *Die Stadt in der Stadt*; Ungers, Kollhoff and Ovaska, *The Urban Villa*; Oswald Mathias Ungers, Hans Kollhoff and Arthur Ovaska, *The Urban Garden: Student Projects for the Südliche Friedrichstadt* (Cologne: Studio Verlag für Architektur, 1978) (see also note 32).
- 62 For a more specific elaboration on the idea of the City within the City, see my article 'The Archipelago City: Piecing together Collectivities', *OASE* 71 (2006), 18-36.
- 63 Neumeyer and Rogier, 'OMA's Berlin: The Polemic Island In The City'. In this article, Neumeyer and Rogier are attuned to the encompassing ambivalence that is expressed in pairs of oppositions, noting the references to the 'shocking beauty of the 20th century', the 'minimal architectural interventions' (with reference to Leonidov) combined with the 'absolute sensual delight' in OMA's early projects.
- 64 For Ungers, exploring form is fundamental to architecture. According to Heinrich Klotz, his interest in form is situated between autonomy and a more embedded position, which allows him to transcend mere formal experimentation: 'Die Gefahr der Formbeliebigkeit schwindet; an deren Stelle tritt ein Formprinzip.' From: Heinrich Klotz (ed.), *O.M. Ungers: 1951-1984: Bauten und Projekte* (Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1985), 29.
- 65 As Zenghelis notes, Exodus should have been concerned with 'pure architecture and its autonomy' instead of its underlying social programme. Koolhaas himself remarks on the 'overwrought insistence on collectivity'. Hilde Heynen, 'The Antinomies of Utopia: Superstudio in Context', in: Valentijn Byvanck (ed.), *Superstudio: The Middelburg Lectures* (Middelburg: De Vleeshal and Zeeuws Museum, 2005), 61-74.
- 66 Koolhaas, 'Bigness: The Problem of LARGE'.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Although many of these studies no doubt arise from the need to find new clients, one might argue that the full cultural significance of architecture does not necessarily derive from its intentions – whether that is building

- on a tight budget, client acquisition or any other 'banal' motivation – but in its reception and reproduction in the realms of media. In other words, in its accruing cultural significance *after the fact*.
- 69 Philipp Oehmke and Tobias Rapp, 'Und immer ein Atrium!', *Der Spiegel* 50 (2011), 136-139. The liberation Koolhaas here suggested as inherent to the generic may have reached its limits, which is perhaps why OMA has now turned to the countryside as an object of inquiry that escapes urban logic.
- 70 OMA/AMO, 'Cronocaos', Venice Biennale 2010, exhibition text.
- 71 Russell Jacoby, *Picture Imperfect: Utopian Thought for an Anti-Utopian Age* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005). Central to Jacoby's argument is that Utopian proposals often fail when they try to provide a 'blueprint' for their ideal, which includes a hyper-definition of features, rather than a 'sketched' ideal that allows for adaptation.
- 72 Oswald Mathias Ungers and Liselotte Ungers, *Kommunen in der Neuen Welt 1740-1972* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1972). This project, though co-authored, was primarily Liselotte's research and work (conversation with Sophia Ungers, May 9, 2007).
- 73 Fredric Jameson, 'Postmodernism, Or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism', *New Left Review* 146 (1984), 59-92.
- 74 Ungers and Rossi are likely the architects in mind as examples. Goulet, 'Interview with Rem Koolhaas'.
- 75 Ibid.

Chapter 3. The House: Crystallized Architecture Thinking

- 1 Hans Ulrich Obrist, *Rem Koolhaas, The Conversation Series 4* (Cologne: Walther König, 2006), 93. In the interview, this is positioned as little more than an offhand comment.
- 2 Alan Colquhoun, 'Symbolic and Literal Aspects of Technology', *AD* 32/8 (1962), 508-509.
- 3 Reinhard Bentmann and Michael Müller, *Die Villa als Herrschaftsarchitektur: Versuch einer kunst- und sozialgeschichtlichen Analyse* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1970).
- 4 Bart Verschaffel notes this striking reticence about the houses, in combination with their extensive documentation in 'De overlevingsethiek van Rem Koolhaas: De eerste huizen van OMA'. in: Véronique Patteeuw (ed.),

- Wat is OMA: Betreffende Rem Koolhaas en het Office for Metropolitan Architecture* (Rotterdam: NAI publishers, 2003), 153-163. Ungers, in contrast, is remarkably candid about the houses he built for himself in the article 'Aphorisms on Building Houses', *Lotus* 90 (1996), 7-35.
- 5 While mass housing was significant to the ideological programme of modern architecture, it was in the villas that many of the ideas of modernism were elaborated. Colquhoun, 'Symbolic and Literal Aspects of Technology'.
 - 6 Joseph Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise* (New York: Museum of Modern Architecture papers, 1972); Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994 [1958]); Reinhard Bentmann and Michael Müller, *The Villa as Hegemonic Architecture* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1992 [1970]); Witold Rybcynski, *Home: A Short History of an Idea* (New York: Penguin, 1987).
 - 7 The Farnsworth House by Mies van der Rohe stands as testimony to the vulnerability of the architect-client relationship, culminating in a well-known lawsuit over budget overruns and the general frustration of Edith Farnsworth that the house was not liveable.
 - 8 Koolhaas, 'Obstacles', in: OMA/Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, *SMLXL* (Rotterdam: 010 publishers, 1995), 133-193. The piece is a constellation of brief statements that together mythologize the process, from the desperation of the client to find the 'right' architect to the contradictions within the brief, naturally exacerbated in the design.
 - 9 The 1998 Maison à Bordeaux by OMA provides an interesting example in relation to the developments over time of the programme: the arrangement of the children's rooms was conceived when they were rather young, and their separation from the parents' part of the house provided space to create their own world. By the time they moved in, they were adolescents, at which point the internal continuity between the rooms may have posed some challenges, as they seem to lack the privacy one would imagine to be preferable during adolescence.
 - 10 Again, the Maison à Bordeaux provides some interesting details that show an ambivalence in Koolhaas's position: according to the owner, even many years after its completion Koolhaas would be irritated by the disconnection in the tile seams between inside and outside. At the same time, he seemed to care less about the more mundane facts of use, such as the crumbling concrete at the edge of the elevator (conversation with the author, May 2010).

- 11 'Small' is used in this case as a reference to the categorization in *SMLXL*, which does exclude some projects.
- 12 Distinct omissions from this section are the design for the Spear Villa in Miami (1974), the competition design for the Irish Prime Minister's Residence (1979), and the Dutch House (1995). The Maison à Bordeaux (1998) was completed after the publication of *SMLXL*. Other more recent projects that would fall under the category 'small' include the addition to the Chemosphere for Benedikt Taschen (2000), the Distributed House in the Bahamas (2000), and the Ascot Residence (2003).
- 13 Koolhaas, 'The Terrifying Beauty of the Twentieth Century', in: OMA/Koolhaas and Mau, *SMLXL*, 204-209. Koolhaas regularly refers to the clinical and factual description of the journalists at the Haagse Post in retrospective conversations. Bart Lootsma also refers to the influence of the Nul movement in art in the Netherlands and the artists' interest in the registration of reality without commentary. Bart Lootsma, 'Koolhaas, Constant und die Niederländische Kultur der 60er Jahre', *disKO* 1 (2006), 7-41. See in particular his reference to John Jansen van Galen and Hendrik Spiering: *Rare Jaren, Nederland en de Haagse Post 1914-1990* (Amsterdam, 1993), 17 ff.
- 14 Ungers, 'Das Recht der Architektur auf eine autonome Sprache', as quoted in Martin Kieren, *Oswald Mathias Ungers* (Zurich: Artemis, 1994), 21.
- 15 Ungers, 'Aphorisms on Building Houses'. Here, Ungers notably advises all architects against building their own house, speaking of his intellectual rather than financial ruin (see pages 15-16).
- 16 These two types were articulated in corrugated iron, rough wood, sand (in the patio) and a collage of pictures. As such, they subverted the modern references they made use of. See also Ben Highmore, 'Rough Poetry: *Patio and Pavilion* Revisited', *Oxford Art Journal* 29/2 (2006), 269-290. For a fuller account of the Smithsons' projects for modern houses, see Dirk van den Heuvel and Max Risselada, *From the House of the Future to a House for Today* (Rotterdam: 010, 2004).
- 17 HNI Rotterdam, OMA archive (OMAR), inv.no. 2120.
- 18 The archive shows that the original design intended to include marble for the stairs, but that budget constraints required amendments. Design development 1984-1986, sketches and memos, HNI Rotterdam, OMAR inv.nos. 1079, 2120, 2124.

- 19 Walter Benjamin, 'Experience and Poverty' in: Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland and Gary Smith (eds.), *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings vol.2, 1927-1934*, transl. Rodney Livingstone et al., (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1999), 731-736. 'It is no coincidence that glass is such a hard, smooth material to which nothing can be fixed. A cold and sober material into the bargain. Objects made of glass have no "aura."'
- 20 HNI Rotterdam, OMAR inv.no. 2124. Notes to this effect are to be found in numerous places in the archive, such as a memo on an early sketch in this folder, noting: 'basics as cheap as possible, finishing as good as possible'.
- 21 Oswald Mathias Ungers, 'Ordo, Fondo et Mensura: The Criteria of Architecture', in: Henry A. Millon (ed.), *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo: The Representation of Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 306-317. The title refers to a biblical passage that suggests everything is determined by weight, order and measure, typically referred to with 'ordo, pondo et mensura'.
- 22 Sörgel: 'Architecture, in a general sense, is the formation of our entire spatial environment; from the vastness of space in nature right down to the smallest spatial unit of furniture.' from *Architekturaestetik* (1918), as quoted in Oswald Mathias Ungers, 'The Janus Face of Architecture', *Architectural Design* 6 (1986), 11.
- 23 Ungers, 'Aphorisms on Building Houses', 13.
- 24 Oswald Mathias Ungers, *Sieben Variationen der Leuchter der Baukunst von John Ruskin* (Stuttgart: Gerd Hatje, 1985).
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Oswald Mathias Ungers, 'Designing and Thinking in Images, Metaphors and Analogies,' in: Hans Hollein (ed.), *Man TransFORMS* (New York: Smithsonian Institution, 1976), 96-113.
- 27 Kieren, *Oswald Mathias Ungers*, 33.
- 28 Oswald Mathias Ungers, *Quadratische Häuser* (Stuttgart: Gerd Hatje, 1986), based on: Bruno Munari, *Discovery of the Square* (New York: George Wittenborn, 1962).
- 29 Munari, *Discovery of the Square*, 80.
- 30 Ibid., 51.
- 31 Kieren, *Oswald Mathias Ungers*, 90 (italics in original).
- 32 Jasper Cepl, 'Ungers und seine Bücher: Die Bibliothek als Sammlung der Ideen', in: Andres Lepik (ed.), *O.M. Ungers: Kosmos der Architektur*

- (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2006), 31-40: 34. 'Auch in seiner Anlage ist die Bibliothek der Pol der Konzentration und der geistigen Ordnung.'
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 'Zwischen Ordnung und Konflikt: Oswald Mathias Ungers im Gespräch mit Klaus-Dieter Weiss', *Werk, Bauen + Wohnen* 76/9 (1989), 4-11: 4-5.
- 35 Ungers, 'Aphorisms on Building Houses', 12.
- 36 It is tempting to follow Koolhaas's own suggestion that this sensitivity is related to his early childhood in Indonesia, where the domains of adults and children were quite separate in his recollection. Rem Koolhaas, lecture 19 October 2012, at receiving honorary doctorate from the VU Amsterdam.
- 37 Kim Dovey and Scott Dickson, 'Architecture and Freedom? Programmatic Innovation in the Work of Koolhaas/OMA', *Journal of Architectural Education* 56/1 (2002), 4-13. In the case of the Maison à Bordeaux, the later emptiness of the elevator platform required a change of the habitus in the house, rethinking the form of the habitat.
- 38 In 2010, the platform was filled with beanbag chairs and pillows as a space for reading books and viewing films.
- 39 Ungers, 'Aphorisms on Building Houses', 17. Here, Ungers not only positions the three houses as specific explorations of architectural ideas, but also implies the relation with the social, not as a political construct, but as an individual quest.
- 40 Lepik, *O.M. Ungers: Kosmos der Architektur*, introduction. Lepik also makes note of the fact that in both cases, the architect is both client and user, the central point in his self-constructed world.
- 41 Ibid., 15.
- 42 It was primarily its sculptural quality and its materialization that suggested a relation to Banham's idea of the New Brutalist architecture. This view was not shared by Ungers, who was more engaged with the house as a small city.
- 43 Ungers, 'Aphorisms on Building Houses', 13.
- 44 The importance of 'how we conceive the world' to the building of a house is prominent in the Belvederestrasse house and forms the foundation for Ungers's ideas on the 'spirit' of architecture. He makes reference to a manifesto 'written in that house after it was finished'. This seems most likely to be the 1960 'Towards a New Architecture', co-authored with Reinhard Giesemann, in which the spirit of a new architecture is central, regardless of its scale. Ungers, 'Aphorisms on Building Houses', 7.

- 45 There were two apartments available for rent. Notes in the archive show that at least one was rented out. See also Cepl, *Oswald Mathias Ungers*, 52-53.
- 46 'als die beiden Einliegerwohnungen im Haus aufgelöst wurden', in: Cepl, 'Ungers und seine Bücher', 34.
- 47 The most salient feature of the client in this story is his passion for architecture. The story comprises a number of anecdotes, including his argument with a policeman while waiting for Koolhaas to arrive at the airport, and fights with neighbours over the design of their house. This version of the facts emphasizes the mythical proportions of architecture as a battleground.
- 48 Conversation with H el ene Lemoine, May 2010. She recalled that Jacques Herzog, also in the running for the commission, was focused on designing the most beautiful one-storey home with no obstacles. Around the same time, Koolhaas in a phone conversation stated that he was actually more interested in the commission now, as it offered a more challenging programme.
- 49 From the OMA website: 'Contrary to what you would expect,' he told the architect, 'I do not want a simple house. I want a complex house, because the house will define my world. . .' The Lemoine family bought land on a hill with panoramic views over the city. See: oma.eu/projects/1998/maison- -bordeaux (accessed 8 December 2011).
- 50 Ungers, 'Aphorisms on Building Houses', 12.
- 51 Again recalling the argument by Alan Colquhoun that the modernist focus on standardization is contradicted by its actual production of unique objects. Alan Colquhoun, 'Symbolic and Literal Aspects of Technology'.
- 52 Munari, *Discovery of the Square*.
- 53 Paul von Naredi-Rainer, 'Introduction', in: Ungers, *Quadratische H auser*, unpaginated, first page.
- 54 Sophia Ungers, 'Afterword', in: Ungers, *Sieben Variationen*. 'Eine Zelle als Mikrokosmos des Lebens, in der Jede Funktion eines Lebewesens existiert – eine besch utzende Haut, innere Strukturen, ein Nukleus. Ein Mikrokosmos, der das Leben widerspiegelt, der in der Reduktion ein Symbol des Lebenden wird. So auch ein Hotel als Zelle, als Archetyp einer Stadt – mit einer besch utzenden Mauer, inneren Elementen, einem Mittelpunkt. Ein Geb aude, ein Hotel als Stadt: als Mikrokosmos im Makrokosmos.' There is a striking resemblance to the work of Charles

- and Ray Eames in this analogical function – the manner in which they make scale and space tangible in their film *Powers of Ten*.
- 55 Peter Blake, *No Place Like Utopia: Modern Architecture and the Company We Kept* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996).
 - 56 Bachelard, *Poetics of Space* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994 [1958]). Bachelard also discusses the safety and warmth of the home that is expressed through the lamp at the window in a hut in the woods – which may in this case be applicable to the patio itself, glowing at the heart of the patio villa.
 - 57 Michel Jacques (ed.), *OMA Rem Koolhaas: Living* (Bordeaux: arc en rêve centre d'architecture and Basel: Birkhäuser, 1998), 6. The catalogue largely gathers material that is known, but draws interesting comparisons between the houses.
 - 58 Jacques Lucan, 'The Pleasures of Dissymmetry', in: *ibid.*, 18-21.
 - 59 François Chaslin, 'The Gay Disenchantment', in: *ibid.*, 12-16.
 - 60 The iterations of the Rotterdam Patio Houses confirm this in showing both canonical infills like those of Mies, as well as more light-hearted versions of pop-culture houses and California modern. HNI Rotterdam, OMAR, inv.nos. 2120, 2123, sketches and typological diagrams.
 - 61 Chaslin, 'The Gay Disenchantment', 15-16.
 - 62 Does it also suggest the potential to break away from the house, swimming elsewhere, as described in *Delirious New York's* 'Story of the Pool'?

Chapter 4. Elements, Rules and Conventions: Architecture as Material Knowledge

- 1 Oswald Mathias Ungers, 'Aphorisms on Building Houses', *Lotus* 90 (1996), 7-35: 12.
- 2 Jeremy Till, *Architecture Depends* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009).
- 3 Jean-Louis Cohen, *The Future of Architecture Since 1889: A Worldwide History* (London: Phaidon, 2012), 321, Cohen notes that modernism is the only historical period to engage with mass housing; Robert Gutman, 'Architecture: The Entrepreneurial Profession', *Progressive Architecture* 5 (1977), 55-58.
- 4 See also Léa-Catherine Szacka, *Exhibiting the Postmodern: Venice 1980 Architecture Biennale* (Venice: Marsilio, 2017).

- 5 Stanford Anderson, 'Rational Reconstructions and Architectural Knowledge', in: *Architecture in the Age of Empire*, 11th International Bauhaus Colloquium Weimar (Verlag der Bauhaus-Universität Weimar, 2011), 160-173. Anderson's argument is founded on the ideas of Imre Lakatos. In 2002, Robert Somol and Sarah Whiting provide a diagram that depicts architecture as a fluid field between and overlapping with economy, technology and other areas, while also arguing that there is some kind of core related to the projective capacities of architecture. Robert Somol and Sarah Whiting, 'Notes around the Doppler Effect, and the Many Moods of Modernism', *Perspecta* 33 (2002), 72-77.
- 6 Nathan Glazer, 'The Schools of the Minor Professions', *Minerva* 12/3 (1974), 346-364.
- 7 Kazys Varnelis, 'Is There Research in the Studio?', *Journal of Architectural Education* 61/1 (2007), 11-14.
- 8 Vittorio Lampugnani, 'Tolerant Normality', in: Arie Graafland and Leslie Jay Kavanaugh (eds.), *Crossover* (Rotterdam: OIO, 2006), 294-311.
- 9 Reinhard Gieselmann and Oswald Mathias Ungers, 'Towards a New Architecture', in: Ulrich Conrads (ed.), *Programs and Manifestoes in 20th-Century Architecture*, translated by Michael Bullock (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970 [1964]), 165-166.
- 10 K. Michael Hays, 'Critical Architecture: Between Culture and Form', *Perspecta* 21 (1984), 14-29.
- 11 Till, *Architecture Depends*.
- 12 Karsten Harries, *The Ethical Function of Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997).
- 13 Gilbert Ryle, 'Knowing How and Knowing That', *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* (1946).
- 14 Michael Polanyi, *The Tacit Dimension* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966). The notion was presented in his article 'Tacit Knowing: Its Bearing on Some Problems of Philosophy', *Rev. Mod. Phys.* 34/4 (1962), 601-616, and further developed in the book.
- 15 Bruno Latour in particular notes the irreducibility of reality to models and argues that reality is worth treating with care. Bruno Latour, 'Why has Critique Run out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern', *Critical Inquiry* 30 (2004), 225-248.
- 16 Nikolaus Kuhnert, 'Vorbemerkung: Auf dem Weg zu einer neuen Architektur', *Arch+* 237 (2019), 3-4.
- 17 Martin Kieren, *Oswald Mathias Ungers* (Zurich: Artemis, 1994), 16.

- 18 M. Christine Boyer, *Not Quite Architecture: Writing around Alison and Peter Smithson* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2017).
- 19 Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004).
- 20 Christof Thoenes, 'Introduction', in: *Architectural Theory from the Renaissance to the Present* (Cologne: Taschen, 2003), 8-19.
- 21 Rem Koolhaas, 'Learning Japanese', in: OMA/Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, *SMLXL* (Rotterdam: 010 publishers, 1995), 88-125.
- 22 While some of this might now be attributed to Koolhaas's celebrity status, it is also visible in early receptions of his work. One of the evaluations of the work done for the Harkness fellowship of 1971-1972 clearly articulates an uncertainty on how to appraise the work. Evaluation letter by Sir Frederick Dainton, January 1975. Rockefeller Archive Center, Commonwealth Fund Archives, Harkness Fellowship Files, Series 20.2, Box 115, Folder 941.
- 23 As Andres Lepik notes in a retrospective on his work: 'Kein anderer Architekt Deutschlands hat nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg das Nachdenken über die Grundlagen der Architektur so gründlich und so grundsätzlich betrieben wie Oswald Mathias Ungers.' Andres Lepik (ed.), *O.M. Ungers: Kosmos der Architektur* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2006), 17. Lepik also makes a point of his resistance to fashions and trends.
- 24 In particular, 'Oswald Mathias Ungers Architekturlehre: Berliner Vorlesungen 1964-65', *Arch+* 179 (2006), and an overview of the *Veröffentlichungen zur Architektur* and the summer academies in: Erika Mühlthaler (ed.), *Lernen von O.M. Ungers* (Berlin: TU Berlin and *Arch+*, 2006). The summer academies have drawn attention for some time already, as Koolhaas has often referred to the City within the City summer academy of 1977.
- 25 Kieren, *Oswald Mathias Ungers*, 25.
- 26 Marot, 'Palimpsestuous Ithaca', 451.
- 27 Herbert Simon, *The Sciences of the Artificial* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1969).
- 28 Marot, 'Palimpsestuous Ithaca', 453.
- 29 Rem Koolhaas, 'Less Is More', in: OMA/Koolhaas and Mau, *SMLXL*, 46-51: 49.
- 30 The book was a German-English publication with the German title simply *Morphologie*, which does more justice to its intellectual premise. Oswald Mathias Ungers, *Morphologie / City Metaphors* (Cologne: Walther König, 1982).

- 31 See especially the *Gebäudelehre* of the TU Berlin lectures, 1964-1965, republished in *Arch+* 179 (2006).
- 32 Oswald Mathias Ungers, *Architecture as Theme/Architettura come tema*, Quaderni di Lotus 1 (Milan: Electa, 1982), 57. This theme frequently recurs in the work of Ungers and is to be found in many different sources.
- 33 For a full history of the institute, see Kim Foerster, *The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, New York (1967-1985): A Cultural Project in the Field of Architecture* (PhD dissertation, ETH Zurich, 2011). For an insider's perspective, see Suzanne Frank, *IAUS: An Insider's Memoir* (New York: Author House, 2010). Two important legacies from the Institute are the *Oppositions* journal, and the ANY conferences.
- 34 Turpin C. Bannister, 'The Research Heritage of the Architectural Profession,' *Journal of Architectural Education* 1 (1947), 5-12.
- 35 Robert Gutman, 'Architecture: The Entrepreneurial Profession,' *Progressive Architecture* 5 (1977), 55-58.
- 36 Koolhaas, 'Less Is More', 49.
- 37 A number of remarkable teaching experiments in architecture in the 1960s and 1970s are presented online at radical-pedagogies.com (accessed Dec. 18, 2020). The website is the result of an extended collaborative project with PhD students supervised by Beatriz Colomina.
- 38 Elia Zenghelis, 'Text as Architecture and Architecture as Text', in: Martin van Schaik and Otakar Mäčel (eds.), *Exit Utopia: Architectural Provocations 1956-76* (Munich: Prestel, 2005), 262.
- 39 Ungers, 'Aphorisms on Building houses', 7.
- 40 Rem Koolhaas, 'Visual Language: Architect's Notes', in: Rem Koolhaas and Kayoko Ota (eds.), *Domus d'Autore* 1 (Milan: Domus, 2006).
- 41 Rem Koolhaas, 'Urban Operations', *Columbia Documents* 3 (1992). Edited transcript of lecture given by Koolhaas at Columbia University on 19 October 1992, 25.
- 42 Koolhaas at Festival of Architecture in Cagliari, 2007. Fragment 'writing vs architecture', youtube.com/watch?v=P35DRxgIz8M (accessed 15 October 2014). His conclusion is that fewer architects write, and they now simply make shapes.
- 43 Koolhaas at Festival of Architecture in Cagliari, 2007. Fragment 'very few architects write these days', youtube.com/watch?v=eKzek_DijeI (accessed 15 October 2014).
- 44 See, for example, Oswald Mathias Ungers, 'Ordo, Fondo et Mensura: The Criteria of Architecture', in: Henry A. Millon (ed.), *The Renaissance*

- from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo: The Representation of Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 306-317.
- 45 For an extensive discussion on the tension between the sciences and the crafts, see Paola Bertucci, *Artisanal Enlightenment: Science and the Mechanical Arts in Old Regime France* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017).
- 46 See, for example: Bryan Lawson and Kees Dorst, *Design Expertise* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2009).
- 47 Andrea Deplazes, *Architektur Entwerfen*, 3rd edition [2010], 11. Translation from the German by Stefan Koller. Deplazes goes on to position his book as a guideline not meant as clear rules, but rather as a springboard for students to develop their own position in architecture: 'Many of the themes in the current book are theses that aren't true simply because they are written "black on white" in a handbook. Rather, the handbook is better perceived as a tentative accumulation of known and contemporary questions, both architectural and technological – as a platform one can use to reflect on the complex *métier* of architecture.'
- 48 Kazys Varnelis offers a brief overview of research questions in various studios in his article 'Is There Research in the Studio?'
- 49 Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1972); Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, *Venturi Scott Brown & Associates on Houses and Housing* (London: Academy Editions, 1992).
- 50 A full study of how the two offices work would require further research, but there are a number of notable details to be found in the archives and the publications.
- 51 The less hierarchical structure also presented problems at times. Matthias Sauerbruch remarked in a letter to Koolhaas that the office had 'too many colonels, not enough foot soldiers!' HNI Rotterdam, archive OMAR, clippings.
- 52 Robert Kloosterman, 'Walls and Bridges: Knowledge Spillover between Superdutch Architectural Firms', *Journal of Economical Geography* 8/4 (2008), 545-563.
- 53 Oswald Mathias Ungers, 'Architekturtheorie', *Veröffentlichungen zur Architektur* 14 (1968).
- 54 Rem Koolhaas in conversation with Franziska Bollerey, *Bauwelt* 17-18 (1987), 627-633.

- 55 Ungers, 'Ordo, Fondo et Mensura', in: Henry A. Millon (ed.), *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo: The Representation of Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 306-317.
- 56 Rem Koolhaas and Brendan McGetrick (eds.), *Content* (Cologne: Taschen, 2004).
- 57 Ibid.; Koolhaas, *Delirious New York* (postcard illustrations); OMA/Koolhaas and Mau, *SMLXL, Villa dall'Ava/'The Void'* (Japanese porn).
- 58 Cepl refers to the intellectual weight of the reading material in Ungers's library, from an unpublished interview, noting that Ungers does not read comic books, but that they can also be read anywhere. Jasper Cepl, 'Ungers under seine Bücher: Die Bibliothek als Sammlung der Ideen', in: Andres Lepik (ed.), *O.M. Ungers: Kosmos der Architektur* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2006), 38.
- 59 Charles Jencks, 'Pop – Non Pop', *Architectural Association Quarterly*, 1/1 (1969), 48-64. Patricia Phillips, 'Why is pop so unpopular?' in: Lawrence Alloway (ed.), *Modern Dreams: The Rise and Fall and Rise of Pop*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988). At the same time, the cryptic texts make some of these references seem more self-enclosed than those of Pop Art.
- 60 During the stay in Ithaca, Vriesendorp had a well-received exhibition of her work, where the sensual elements were explicitly referenced in a review, as well the explosion of color. Review, exhibition Madelon Vriesendorp, newspaper clipping, Rockefeller Archive Center, Commonwealth Fund Archives, Harkness Fellowship Files, Series 20.2, Box 115, Folder 941.
- 61 Albená Yaneva, *OMA: An Ethnography of Design* (Rotterdam: 010, 2009), 85.
- 62 Ungers, *Architecture as Theme*.
- 63 Andres Lepik, 'Vorwort', in: *O.M. Ungers: Kosmos der Architektur*, 16-17. Especially the specific reference to the multiplicity not only recalls the *Cusanus* idea of the *Coincidentia Oppositorum* that Ungers sets stock by, but also recalls one of the early statements by OMA, in which the 'permissive melting pot' of Manhattanism is identified in contrast to the 'puritanical dogma' of the Modern Movement. OMA, 'The Discovery of Manhattanism', *Lotus* 11, 34.
- 64 Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art Papers, 1966).
- 65 Aside from Venturi, Rowe, Ungers and Rossi, a notable contribution is Alan Colquhoun's article 'From Bricolage to Myth, or How to Put Humpty-Dumpty Together Again', *Oppositions* 12 (Spring 1978).

- 66 Ungers, *Architecture as Theme*, 33.
- 67 Ibid., 31.
- 68 Ibid., 31, my italics.
- 69 F. Scott Fitzgerald, 'The Crack-Up', *Esquire*, February, March and April 1936.
- 70 Freudian connotations were set squarely centre stage in Anthony Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992).
- 71 Cepl, 'Ungers under seine Bücher', 34. He refers to a 'geistigen Ordnung' as a determining feature of Ungers's library.
- 72 Ungers, *Architecture as Theme*, 75.
- 73 Ibid., 77.
- 74 The projection of possible futures is one of the standard approaches of OMA/AMO, as visible for example in the project Europe 2050, where Europe becomes a continent of energy generation, addressing sustainability issues by becoming self-sufficient with wind parks and solar farms.
- 75 Kieren, *Oswald Mathias Ungers*, 11.
- 76 Chaslin, 'The Gay Disenchantment', 14.
- 77 See for example Christopher Alexander, Sara Ishikawa and Murray Silverstein, *A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Construction* (London: Oxford University Press 1977); Donald A. Schön, *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think In Action* (New York: Basic Books, 1984).
- 78 Denise Scott Brown, 'On Architectural Formalism and Social Concern: A Discourse for Social Planners and Radical Chic Architects', *Oppositions* 5 (1976), 99-112.
- 79 Koolhaas acknowledges the influence of Barthes' *Mythologies* in an interview with *Radical Philosophy*. Jon Goodbun and David Cunningham, Interview with Rem Koolhaas and Reinier De Graaf, *Radical Philosophy* 154 (2009), available online: staging.radicalphilosophy.com/interview/rem-koolhaas-and-reinier-de-graaf
- 80 Ibid.
- 81 In terms of 'contributing factors', this argument is indebted to Polanyi's argument on tacit knowledge – particularly the part resting on the *Gestalt* theory of perception, where the individual characteristics are not apprehended as attributes in themselves, but for how they contribute to the whole. Michael Polanyi, *The Tacit Dimension* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).
- 82 Ungers, *Quadratische Häuser*, author's translation.

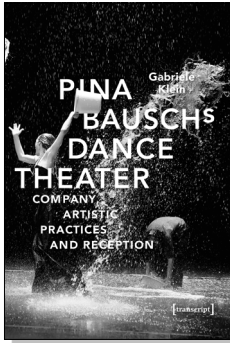
- 83 Koolhaas, 'Less Is More'.
- 84 Rem Koolhaas in conversation with Sarah Whiting, 'Spot Check', *Assemblage* 40 (1999), 36-55: 49.
- 85 This is also indebted to Polanyi's argument on contributing features that are understood by their relation to the whole.
- 86 This not only picks up a typical argument along the lines of biological (Darwinian) metaphor, but also appeals strongly to Ludwig Wittgenstein's suggestion that certain categories are identified more by virtue of family resemblances than by clear rules. He develops this notion in relation to games, which are defined by various overlapping similarities, but include no single feature that is common to all. This idea shares a number of elements with Polanyi's idea on the apprehension of contributing features.
- 87 M. Christine Boyer, *Le Corbusier: Homme de Lettres* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2011).
- 88 Bernard Leupen, 'Interview Koolhaas', in: Bernard Leupen (ed.), *IJ-plein Amsterdam* (Rotterdam: O10, 1992), 67; Lara Schrijver, 'Stubborn Modernity: IJ-Plein Amsterdam', *OASE* 94 (2015), 109-115.
- 89 Viollet-le-Duc, *Entretiens sur l'Architecture* (1863).
- 90 'Man transForms', exhibition at Cooper-Hewitt 1976. Later, Ungers published his installation with an accompanying essay on images and metaphors, as *Morphologie / City Metaphors*.
- 91 'People can inhabit anything. And they can be miserable in anything and ecstatic in anything. More and more I think architecture has nothing to do with it. Of course that's both liberating and alarming.' Interview in *Wired* magazine, July 1996, see: wired.com/wired/archive/4.07/koolhaas.html.

Epilogue: Recalibrating the Profession

- 1 Bernard Tschumi, 'Advertisements for Architecture', project, 1976-1977.
- 2 While the age difference between Koolhaas and Ungers was nearly 20 years, they can be considered to share a sociological generation as defined by Karl Mannheim, who argues that substantial societal shifts or experiences can equally define a generation. Karl Mannheim, 'The Problem of Generations', in: Karl Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of*

- Knowledge*, edited by Paul Kecsemeti (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952 [1927]), 276-320.
- 3 The full report and the summary for policymakers, which lays out the main conclusions, are available online at <https://www.ipcc.ch/sr15/>. The reports since have underscored the further intensification of these issues.
 - 4 Reinier de Graaf, *Four Walls and a Roof* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018).
 - 5 Saskia Sassen, *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014); Fredrik Gertten, *Push* (documentary film, 2019); Reinier de Graaf, *Four Walls and a Roof* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018).
 - 6 The Toronto rent strikes in the Parkdale neighbourhood are shown in Fredrik Gertten's documentary *Push* (2019). A variety of television series and documentaries show individual approaches to housing security, such as *Living Mortgage-Free*, and *Tiny House Nation*.
 - 7 Anna Tsing, lecture UCSC Center for Cultural Studies, 28 October 2020, culturalstudies.ucsc.edu/2020/09/23/october-28-2020-anna-tsing-feral-atlas-the-more-than-human-anthropocene/.

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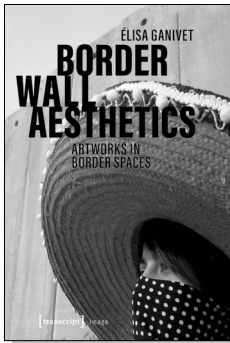
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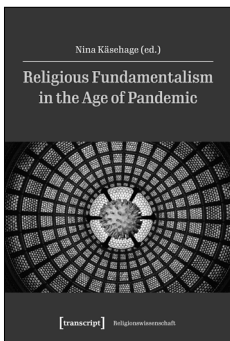
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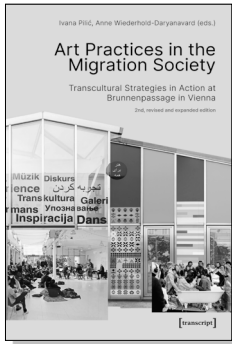
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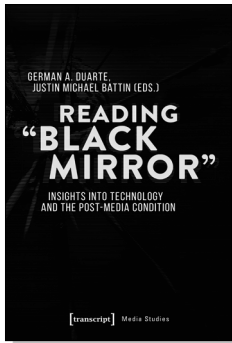
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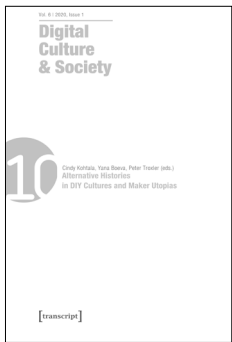
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