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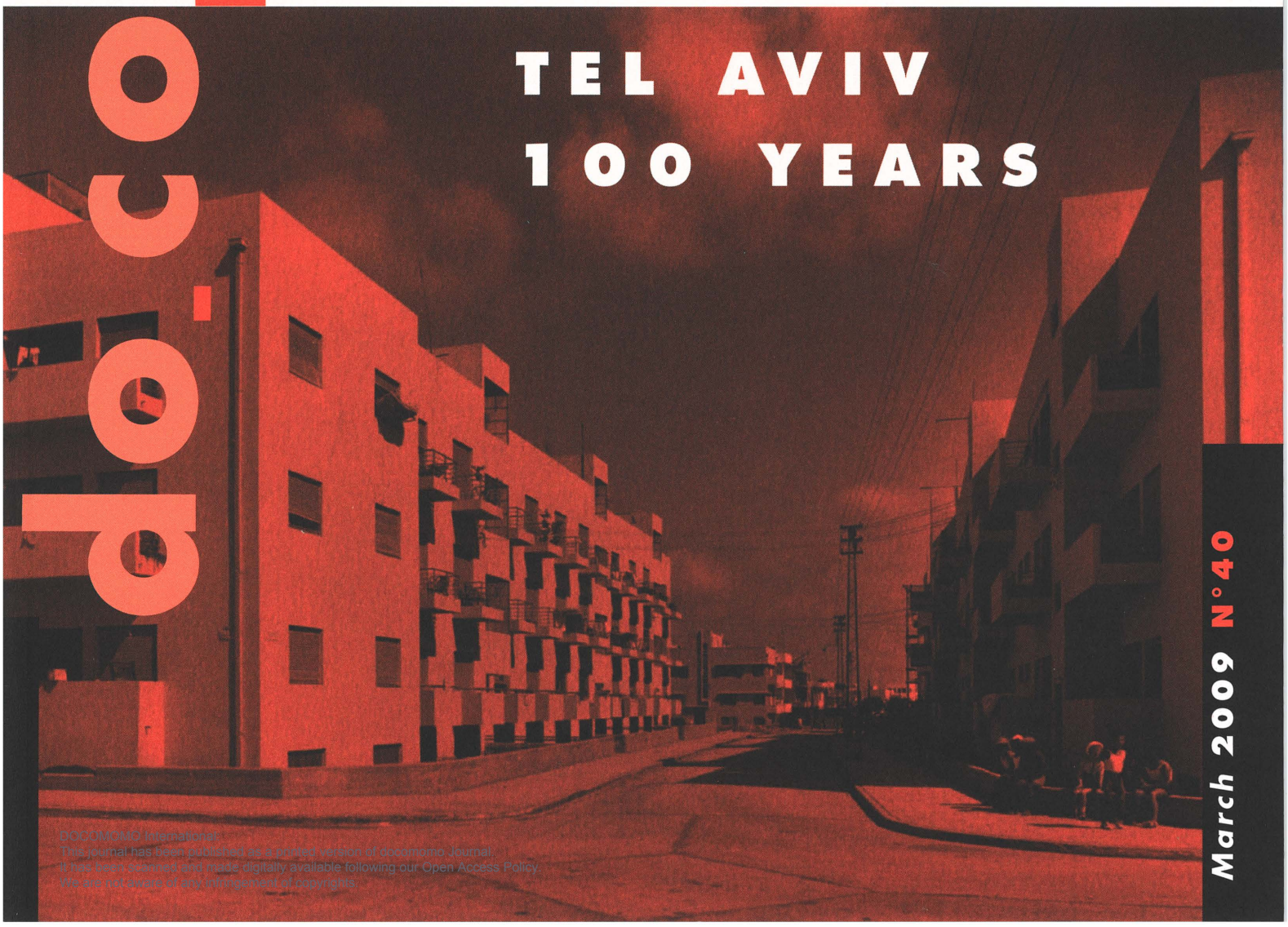
TEL AVIV 100 YEARS



March 2009 N°40

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cover page: **Arye Sharon**, *Workers' Dormitories*, 1930s

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editorial

This is the 40th issue of the *Docomomo Journal*. I remember that in September 2002, when I started my chairmanship, the publication of the *Journal* seemed a most challenging responsibility. Our aim was to publish a series of six issues, which at the time seemed a considerable accomplishment. In six years we have been able to double that number. This March issue is the best demonstration of Docomomo's growing significance considering both the relevance of the themes it addresses, and its value as a mediator between chapters and public institutions. The table of contents exemplifies at best the *Journal*'s dual character. We are very pleased, on the one hand, to celebrate in our pages the 100-year anniversary of Tel Aviv, not to mention the city's inscription on the World Heritage List. Since Tel Aviv's inscription in 2003, the city has significantly developed public awareness regarding the value of architectural landmarks. All preservation efforts are based on a recent statute that protects built areas and restricts construction in the vicinity of designated landmarks. As the Unesco declaration notes, if the entire White City project is to succeed, outlying areas around landmark buildings in Tel Aviv's White City must be preserved. By selecting authors from different disciplines and backgrounds our guest editor Jérémie Hoffmann, the architect responsible for the preservation management of the White City on behalf of Unesco, has much more than outlined governance's best practices: in fact he introduces a new reading of Geddes's master plan for Tel Aviv and of the Bauhaus legacy as a layered history leading to the creation of a new Hebrew tradition in society and culture. On the other hand, after the special issue of the *Journal* entitled "Other Modernisms" (March 2007), we are also happy to publish the Registers' selection on "Education." Thanks to the well-developed submissions of 36 chapters we are able to present a wide range of examples of kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools, academies, university campuses, laboratories, libraries and museums from the 1920s to the 1980s. The gathered documentation—the necessary condition for safeguarding endeavors—proves that the Docomomo community is fully engaged in the process, and is in itself a call for the Registers' future extension.

Dès le début de ma présidence, le Journal *m'est apparu comme l'un des enjeux les plus stimulants pour Docomomo International. Notre objectif était de faire paraître une série de six numéros : en six ans, nous avons doublé ce chiffre. Ce 40e* Journal *démontre l'importance croissante de Docomomo quant à la pertinence des thèmes traités et à sa position de médiateur entre les institutions publiques et ses sections dans le monde.*
Le contenu de ce numéro constitue la meilleure démonstration de cette double nature. Nous sommes en effet très heureux de célébrer le centenaire de Tel-Aviv, au-delà de l'inscription de la ville sur la Liste du Patrimoine mondial. Depuis cette inscription en 2003, la municipalité de Tel-Aviv n'a eu de cesse de favoriser la prise de conscience publique de la valeur de ses jalons architecturaux. Les politiques de protection de la ville se basent sur ce statut récent, qui préserve les zones classées et restreint la construction dans le périmètre alentour. La déclaration de l'Unesco l'indique, il faut protéger les zones périphériques pour que le projet de la Ville blanche dans son ensemble soit une réussite. En choisissant des auteurs de diverses disciplines, notre rédacteur invité Jérémie Hoffmann, architecte en charge de la protection de la Ville blanche pour l'Unesco, est allé bien au-delà d'une chronique restrictive de pratiques de gouvernance : il propose une nouvelle lecture du plan de Geddes et de l'héritage du Bauhaus comme celle d'une histoire par strates qui mène à la création d'une nouvelle tradition sociale et culturelle hébraïque.
Par ailleurs, dans la continuité du numéro spécial « Other Modernisms » paru en mars 2007, nous sommes heureux de publier le travail de notre comité Inventaire sur le thème de « l'éducation ». Grâce à la participation de 36 de nos sections nationales et régionales, nous sommes en mesure de présenter une sélection de jardins d'enfants, d'écoles primaires et secondaires, de campus universitaires, de conservatoires, de laboratoires, de bibliothèques et de musées, des années 1920 jusqu'aux années 1980. Ce travail de documentation démontre l'engagement de la communauté de Docomomo tout entière dans la voie de l'inventaire – condition préalable et indispensable aux efforts de sauvegarde –, et annonce son enrichissement à venir.

MARISTELLA CASCIATO, chair Docomomo International / *présidente de Docomomo International*

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Walter Gropius in England 1934–37
Adaptation, Expectation and Reality

Seventy-five years ago, Walter and Ise Gropius arrived in London at Victoria Station on the afternoon of Thursday, October 18, 1934. Adolf Hitler had been in full power as German Chancellor for less than two years, and, as Gropius had written from Germany in July 1933: "unfortunately the present state of conditions for modern architecture does not show the slightest improvement. It will take a very long time to extinguish all the false prejudices and to advance to a more objective view."[1]

JAMES **LEWIS**

Gropius's Bauhaus building[2] in Dessau, opened to international acclaim only nine years earlier in 1925, had been closed by the new authorities and Gropius, now in Berlin, was deprived of work—as were many other architects, writers, philosophers and scientists, those of Jewish origin being dismissed from their posts. Gropius had been permitted to attend a conference in Italy from where he and Ise had been able to arrange onward travel to London. As only ten marks per person could be taken out of Germany, they had little money and only Ise spoke usable English. Walter Gropius was fifty-one, Ise was thirty-seven.

Three quarters of a century later and in our very different times, it is difficult to comprehend being forced to live and work in another country—but the passing of time permits some further reflection on Gropius in England.

Architect Maxwell Fry with Jack Pritchard, met Gropius at Victoria Station, but were surprised when Gropius appeared accompanied by his wife. As Pritchard, protagonist of modernism and founder of the Isokon furniture company, had arranged accommodation at his Lawn Road Flats, some rapid rearrangement was required: "Of course I had arranged a single flat for Walter, and now I had to do something fast. I had a hurried conversation with Max and telephoned Molly (Pritchard) to find some way of changing the single flat to a double—not so simple as we were short of furniture."[3](!)

Lawn Road Flats had been completed in 1934. Designed by Wells Coates for Jack Pritchard as serviced flats, their construction was "a pioneering experiment in the use of monolithic reinforced concrete . . . with an inch of cork to provide insulation," a structure cantilevered at each end over main-line rail tunnels,[4] and since described as "the most memorable modern English building of the thirties."[5] Other tenants from time to time included Marcel Breuer, Lázló Maholy-Nagy and Arthur Korn, a social group extended by habitués of the Isobar (designed by Breuer), which included Ben Nicholson, Barbara Hepworth, Serge Chermayeff, Henry Moore and Piet Mondrian. Hampstead

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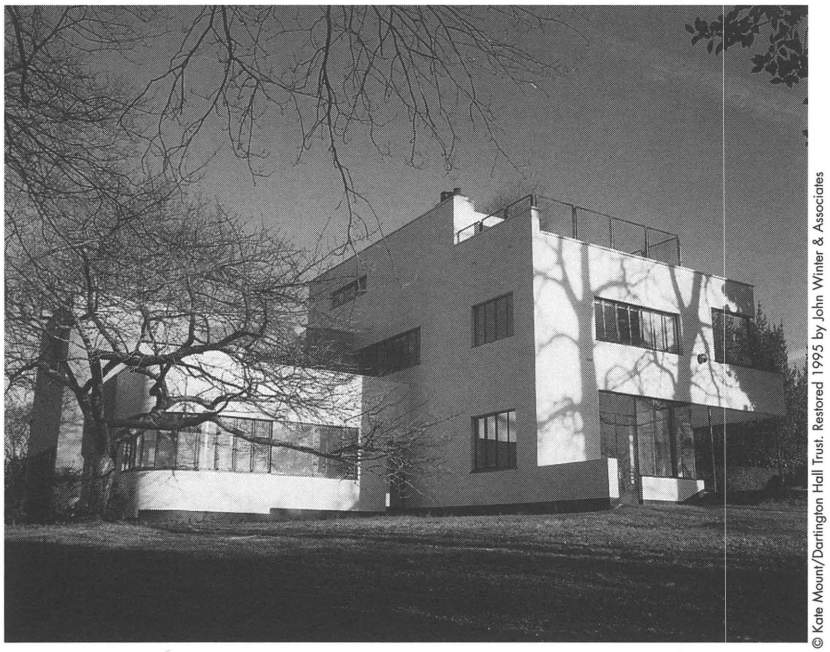

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Fig. 1. **Howe and Lescaze**, *High Cross House*, Dartington, built 1931–32

society was not only on their doorstep, it was within the building into which Walter and Ise Gropius were to live for the next two and a half years.

In May of the same year, Gropius had made an official visit to London for an exhibition of his work at the RIBA and had stayed with Maxwell Fry who had invited Gropius to work with him. Gropius became a member of the Modern Architecture Research Group (MARS), of which Maxwell Fry was a founding member, and the architectural profession extended its warm welcome "even if this was of limited practical help."[6]

Gropius's adaptation to England was therefore cushioned by the privileged personal and professional care he received. In other ways, his experiences would have been much the same as for any immigrant—of money, measurements (thirty-seven years before metrication), of driving, and of language, of which he wrote: "My knowledge of the English language is very insufficient. I understand fairly well, but I am very awkward in talking."[7]

Very much depended for Gropius upon the generous friendship of Jack Pritchard and Maxwell Fry but, at a time when war and probable invasion threatened, there was little work; Gropius's atypical reception and immediate entry into Hampstead society did nothing to change that. The declared purpose for Gropius's "visit"[8] to England was to work with Maxwell Fry on an apartment building in Manchester, with Jack Pritchard as their client, but it failed to materialize, as did another apartment project at St Leonard's Hill, Windsor.[9] There was little other work. Pritchard had appointed Gropius as controller of design for his new Isokon furniture company, Denham Film Studios was designed around an existing steel frame, and, later, the Levy house in Chelsea was completed in 1936 and Impington Village College was finally completed in 1939.

Gropius had made an earlier visit to England in 1933.[10] Leonard and Dorothy Elmhirst, owners of Dartington Hall and its estate in Devon, had visited Berlin in January and invited Gropius for "a short period, say, three weeks to a month." With Ise, Gropius visited Dartington for three weeks in June and July, at a time when several housing projects on the estate had been or were being built, or had been commissioned. Foremost of these was High Cross House by architects Howe and Lescaze of New York, built during 1931–32 as the residence of William B. Curry, Headmaster of Dartington Hall School. Curry had requested a house in the modernist idiom and had introduced William Lescaze.[11] This first Dartington visit, made before Gropius had left Germany and at a time when Dartington's development policy was uncertain, elicited no commission.

One-and-a-half years before Gropius finally left Germany, and before the realities of practice in England had become apparent, Dartington would have been of interest as a place "where experimental work was being carried on." But maybe, whilst still in Germany, Gropius had set his sights on London. In Leonard Elmhirst's letter, written to Gropius in Germany after his return, there is a touch of regret: "I was very sorry not to have seen more of you, and I realize how much of your experience could be of use to us. I hope that you and your wife will have the best of luck in the future, and that we shall see you again here some day."[12]

Significantly, Gropius replied: "Many details of the kind of human relationship between the members of your staff remembered to me the first times of the 'Bauhaus' in Weimar. Likewise the junction of all parts and details and their bringing them into relation of the whole life was my principal aim too. So I know the enormous difficulties which oppose the realization of such intentions and can estimate the energy and endurance which you have to bring up to get through."[13] Gropius did not want a repeat of what he had already achieved and been through at the Bauhaus—"learning by doing" was the maxim at Dartington Hall School as well! He appears to have preferred a "looser connection" with Dartington which he described as "a kind of English Bauhaus that is going up there."[14]

Whatever did or did not transpire during Gropius's 1933 visit to Dartington, when he was under severe personal, professional and political pressure in Germany, it is

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unlikely that the experience did not influence his eventual decision to leave Germany for England. To have found a place with a built example of English modernism and with more on site and on the drawing board, all of a kind by then disallowed in Germany, would have been as a promised land.

Having been encouraged by Gropius to visit his RIBA exhibition of May 1934, the Elmhirsts invited him, with Ise, to visit again for a weekend. It was during this December visit that, after he had been in England for two months, he was commissioned to redesign the Barn Theater on which work continued into 1938.[15] Also at Dartington, Gropius designed an open-air theater (which was not built), advised on the construction of "two cottages for estate workers," and became involved in product design. This was not what Gropius had been introduced to on his 1933 visit, and, as well, had he by then recognized Dartington was not the epitome of what he might expect elsewhere in England? Reginald Isaacs states that the Elmhirsts offered Gropius a "leading position" at Dartington, but Gropius had become equivocal by the time of this re-established contact. It was not that the volume work elsewhere was reason for Gropius's disinclination. Of a recorded total of twelve projects upon which Maxwell Fry and Walter Gropius were engaged, only five came to be built and to continue in London would not have been possible without Jack Pritchard's generous provision of rent-free accommodation. That other émigrés did manage to exist would not have made the issue disappear. The possibility of going to the United States had been with Gropius since 1934[16] but he had applied to settle permanently in England; his decision to relocate again came as a surprise to his friends and benefactors who would have had some mixed feelings.

In his speech at a farewell dinner in London, Gropius said: "Nothing has impressed me more than the general principal, applied to all the general spheres of activity, of sacrificing immediate and minor progress for the sake of a more steady and more comprehensive advance. This has led to a puzzling inefficiency in many details, but has brought about a human development which is unequalled throughout the world."[17] He added, however, that as an architect he

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Fig. 2. **Wells Coats**, *Lawn Road Flats*, Hampstead, London, completed 1934

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could not understand why a nation which had expressed itself so perfectly in its Georgian architecture, was now not so "keen on taking the same chance" to create a style in accordance with its social structure and twentieth century way of living.

In 1955, Maxwell Fry reflected: "Looking back on that period of partnership with Gropius, I have the sense of not properly appreciating my good fortune for two reasons: first, because England lay outside the currents of European thought and entered when the main flood was subsiding and retreating before totalitarianism; and second, because there is in the English character a vein of anarchism, amounting at times to pig-headedness, that rejects the logical approach and the commonly shared view in favor of going through the independent experience come what may."[18]

Reginald Isaacs later referred to Gropius's experience and expertise in housing design: "Despite the complement of distinguished English and refugee architects readily available, England made little use of their talents and missed an enormous opportunity in the development of housing design. Gropius, who by 1934 had amassed extraordinary experience in research, design and construction of low-cost housing, was never asked to design or consult on such housing in England. Instead, middle-income houses and apartments, large stores, recreational structures, casinos, cinemas, zoos, schools, and factories were in demand."[19]

It is valid to conclude, however, that in spite of Gropius's achievements and reputation, a professional partnership and a place to live, he failed to make things work in England; this, as much as England failed to take advantage of his being there. More personal effort would have ensued if he had not been supported so generously but, as it was, he had no endless telephoning to fix his interviews, nor least of all, did he have to walk London's streets with his portfolio! Had he *expected* more, or, at a time when the building industry was in recession and invasion threatened, did he not try too hard because already he had in mind an invitation from Harvard? The last thing Gropius would have wanted was a German occupation of England. Gropius asked Fry to go with him to Harvard because "your country will be at war"—a statement, Fry adds, with which at that time he could not agree.

Walter Gropius, with his wife Ise, left England for the United States on March 12, 1937. England had been valuable as a place of transition between German totalitarian dictatorship and US democracy, for the learning of English, for teaching and practice, and, not least, for his adoption of non-metric units of measurement. Britain declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939, one outcome of which was that the early promise of English modernism was finally extinguished.

The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of the archivists at the Dartington Hall Trust Archive (DHTA) and at the University of East Anglia (UEA).

JAMES LEWIS *RIBA writes on architecture, construction, destruction and vulnerability to natural hazards.*
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ISAACS, REGINALD. *Walter Gropius: An Illustrated Biography of the Creator of the Bauhaus*. New York: Bullfinch, 1991.

NOTES

1 DHTA: letter from Gropius to Slater, July 29, 1933.
2 James Lewis: "How Does the Bolt Get Into the Concrete," *Docomomo Journal* 23 (August 2000): 43–49; "Window Fixings at the Bauhaus," *Docomomo Journal* 28 (March 2003): 83–93.
3 Jack Pritchard, *View from a Long Chair* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 102.
4 Pritchard, "View from a Long Chair," 84.
5 Fiona MacCarthy, "Jack Pritchard and Hampstead of the Thirties," Introduction to Pritchard *View from a Long Chair*, 14, 22. Lawn Road Flats were restored in 2003 by Avanti Architects.
6 Charlotte Benton, *A Different World: Émigré Architects in Britain* (London: RIBA Heinz Gallery, 1995), 50.
7 DHTA: letter from Gropius to Slater accepting the invitation to visit Dartington. Gropius May, 17, 1933.
8 Gropius's departures from Germany were sanctioned as "a visit."
9 Pritchard, *View from a Long Chair*, 103–4.
10 Gropius had visited England in 1908 with Peter Behrens, his employer at that time, and in 1932 to Dartington School.
11 Maggie Giraud (ed), *House for Mr Curry* (High Cross House, Dartington Hall Trust, 1995), 3. High Cross House was restored by John Winter and Associates in 1995 and is open to the public. Four other modernist residential projects, by Howe and Lescaze, were built at Dartington from 1933 to 1935.
12 DHTA: letter from Leonard Elmhirst, July 25, 1933.
13 DHTA: letter from Gropius to Leonard Elmhirst, July 21, 1933.
14 Reginald Isaacs, *Walter Gropius: An Illustrated Biography of the Creator of the Bauhaus* (New York: Bullfinch, 1991), 193: Gropius himself makes no mention of his connections with Dartington. All references are taken from biographers (Elliott 1996 first published in 1974 & Isaacs 1984) and from correspondence in the DHT Archive.
15 The Barn Theater became the base for the Michael Chekhov and Kurt Jooss Ballet; Jurt Jooss being a refugee from nazi Germany and who lived at Warren House on the Estate. The Barn Theater was restored in 1998 by Feilden Clegg Bradley Architects.
16 Isaacs, *Walter Gropius*, 180: implied in a letter from Lawrence Kocher, editor of *The Architectural Record*.
17 David Elliott, "Gropius in England: A Documentation 1934–1937," in Benton, *A Different World*, 122.
18 *The Architectural Review* (March 1955) quoted in Isaacs, *Walter Gropius*, 219.
19 Isaacs, *Walter Gropius*, 211. Gropius was at Isaacs's side during work on his biography.
20 Maxwell Fry, *Autobiographical Sketches* (London: Elek Books, 1975), 151. Maxwell Fry later joined the Royal Engineers.

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Wladimiro Acosta
Healthcare Architectural Projects
SANTA FE, ARGENTINA, 1938–42[1]

LUIS **MÜLLER**

Wladimiro Acosta, a Russian-born architect, has been one of the key figures of twentieth-century architecture in Argentina. Together with his countryman and comrade Gregori Warchavchik, Acosta migrated to South America at the end of the 1920s: Warchavchik settled in Brazil, while Acosta came to Argentina.[2]

Acosta established himself in Buenos Aires: he rapidly got in contact with intellectuals and architects of the avant-garde groups in art, architecture and politics; he started to develop his approach to modern architecture, manifested in architectural proposals, theoretical projects and studies regarding climate control, eventually published in his book *Vivienda y Ciudad*.[3]

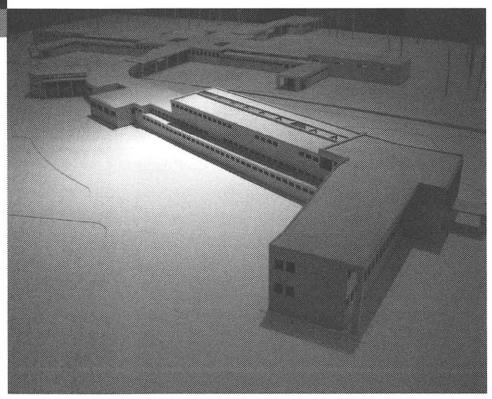

Fig. 1. **Wladimiro Acosta**, *Psychiatric Hospital*, model, Santa Fe

His research on climate control, a subject he would investigate his entire life, was formulated in a system labeled "Helios," an elaborate study about the incidence of the sun over the buildings in order to protect them, favoring instead its use as source of light and comfort as well as a therapeutic agent.
In 1938 the Government of the Province of Santa Fe launched a large and significant healthcare plan and hired Acosta as consultant to the technical offices in charge of the design of healthcare facilities. The newly created regional plan, outlined as a systematic model with innovative characteristics, gave shape to a general scheme of hospitals, and prescribed the required studies for the organization of the provincial healthcare system.

The general structure of the plan resulted from demographic evaluations (number of inhabitants, rural migration data, etc.), and geographical concerns, such as the distance of the populated centers that composed the provincial map. An analysis of the distribution of main hospitals, small-scale hospitals and rural health-care stations was eventually outlined. The plan indicated the creation of four main hospitals in the major cities of the province, two colonies for weak or sick children, two colonies for the insane (located in the proximity of Santa Fe and Rosario, the Psychiatric Hospital and the Alienated Colony, respectively), about twenty-five hospitals of thirty-to-fifty beds placed in important populated centers, large hospitals for chronic patients in Santa Fe and Rosario (with a capacity of one hundred beads each), and around sixty rural healthcare stations.
The División de Arquitectura e Ingeniería Sanitaria was created in order to design the buildings and outline their territorial distribution. Wladimiro Acosta, well renown for his ideas on new architecture and its relationship with living conditions in the modern city, was hired to lead the technical team. In documents and drawings he was referred to as "urban consultant." Several projects show clear evidence of his architectural signature: the Psychiatric Hospital in Santa Fe, a hospital for skin diseases in a rural location, and the Alienated Colony in Oliveros near Rosario, a prototype of rural healthcare stations (intended to be repeated, with little variation, around sixty times).

Among them, the Psychiatric Hospital and the Alienated Colony clearly manifest Acosta's outstanding skill as designer and thinker.
The open scheme of the Psychiatric Hospital is intended to capture the best orientation with adequate functional solutions. The urban type organization of the Alienated Colony defines the two hundred hectares that constitute the property, providing the patients with large areas of land to cultivate as part of their treatment.

Both buildings manifest the modernity of the technical, functional and aesthetic solutions, as well as the application of the principles of the "Helios" system: different galleries establish articulations and connections among diverse blocks, while over-hangings and sun breakers regulate the incidence of the rays depending on their orientations and provide plastic elements that gain large presence in the final formal result.
The Psychiatric Hospital and the Alienated Colony are among the larger projects built by Acosta,

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who was then able to provide a strong witness of his theories and thoughts: an architecture that answers social needs and conditions and fully belongs to its time.

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NOTES

1 This article is a review of a recently published book: Noemí Adagio and Luis Müller, *Wladimiro Acosta, del City Block a la Pampa. Plan de Salud de la Provincia de Santa Fe, 1938–1942* (Santa Fe: CAPSF D1, 2008).

2 Born in 1900 in Odessa (Russia) as Wladimir Konstantinowsky, in 1917 he obtained his undergraduate and construction technician degree from the School of Fine Arts in Odessa. Soon after he moved to Italy to study architecture in the newly founded School in Rome. Then he lived in Germany, where he worked and took some engineering classes in Berlin. He settled in Buenos Aires (Argentina) in 1928, but never ceased visiting different countries for short periods of time. He was one of the protagonists of modern architecture in Argentina: a very active designer, he built relevant edifices and developed a theory of sun control. Author of several books, he developed his ideas and research under the influence of a "socialising" concept aiming to provide ideological coherence to all his achievements. At the end of the 1930s the Province of Santa Fe hired him for the position of Director de Arquitectura Sanitaria. He died in Buenos Aires in 1967. See Jorge F. Liernur, "Acosta, Vladimiro," in Jorge F. Liernur and Aliata Fernando, *Diccionario de Arquitectura en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Clarín, 2004).

3 Wladimiro Acosta, *Vivienda y Ciudad* (Buenos Aires: author's edition, 1936).

Docomomo Curacao Wants to Maintain the Façade of Cinelandia

SOFIA **SAAVEDRA BRUNO**

With exception of the Mgr. P.I. Verriet Instituut (Gerrit Rietveld, 1949), most of Curacao's modernist buildings of the first half of the twentieth century were designed by architects of the Department of Public Works who received their professional education in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, Cinelandia is testimony that inspiration did not necessarily come from Europe.

Cinelandia Theater (P.A. van Stuyvenbergh, 1941), a former open-air theater, is one of the most important modernist buildings in Curacao. Despite serious decay, its façade still radiates the signs of modernity in art deco style. This is of great architectural-historic value for Curacao, since after the demolition of the West End Theater in 2000, Cinelandia is the last art deco building. Its composition and detailing are, according to Ronald Gill, a testimony to the fact that Curacao art deco has its origin in the tropical art deco of the 1930s in Miami.[1]

Both cinemas were designed by P.A. van Stuyvenbergh, employed at the Department of Water Supply. Cinelandia and West End were not Stuyvenbergh's only productions; he built water factories, reservoirs and water pump stations all over the island.
Because of its specific location at the edge of the inner city of Willemstad, Cinelandia is a real eye-catcher. It also has an important socio-cultural value: for years it was *the* cinema on the island.

In June 2008 the façade of the Cinelandia building was (for the second time) nominated as a monument, but the owner appealed against it. Ten years ago, the building was also a protected monument for a short time, but lost its status when the authorities did not make a decision within six months. A salient detail is that the same deputy of infrastructure and built environment was involved with the demolition of the West End Theater.
Docomomo Curacao opted to solicit responsibility for the building by publishing various articles on the subject in the local newspapers. Together with civil engineers and architects, different possibilities for the maintenance of the façade were explored and handed to Cinelandia's owner and local authorities. Because when restoring a building, one is never 100% sure of the technical quality, rebuilding is taken as an option. Docomomo Curacao wants to maintain Cinelandia and use this unique building to give a pulse to the architectonic history of Curacao. However, in general, modernism in Curacao has had a variable valorization that goes between academic appreciation and public unawareness.

SOFIA SAAVEDRA BRUNO, *chair of Docomomo Curacao*

NOTES

1 Ronald G. Gill, *Een Eeuw Architectuur op Curaçao. De Architectuur en Stedenbouw van de Twintigste Eeuw op Curaçao* (Stichting Het Curaçaosch Museum, 1999), 82.

Fig. 1. **P.A. van Stuyvenbergh**, *Cinelandia*

Fred Fischer © Courtesy Dennis Klaus, from *Oranje en de zes Caraïbische parelen* (Dr. W. Ch. de la Try Ellis ed)

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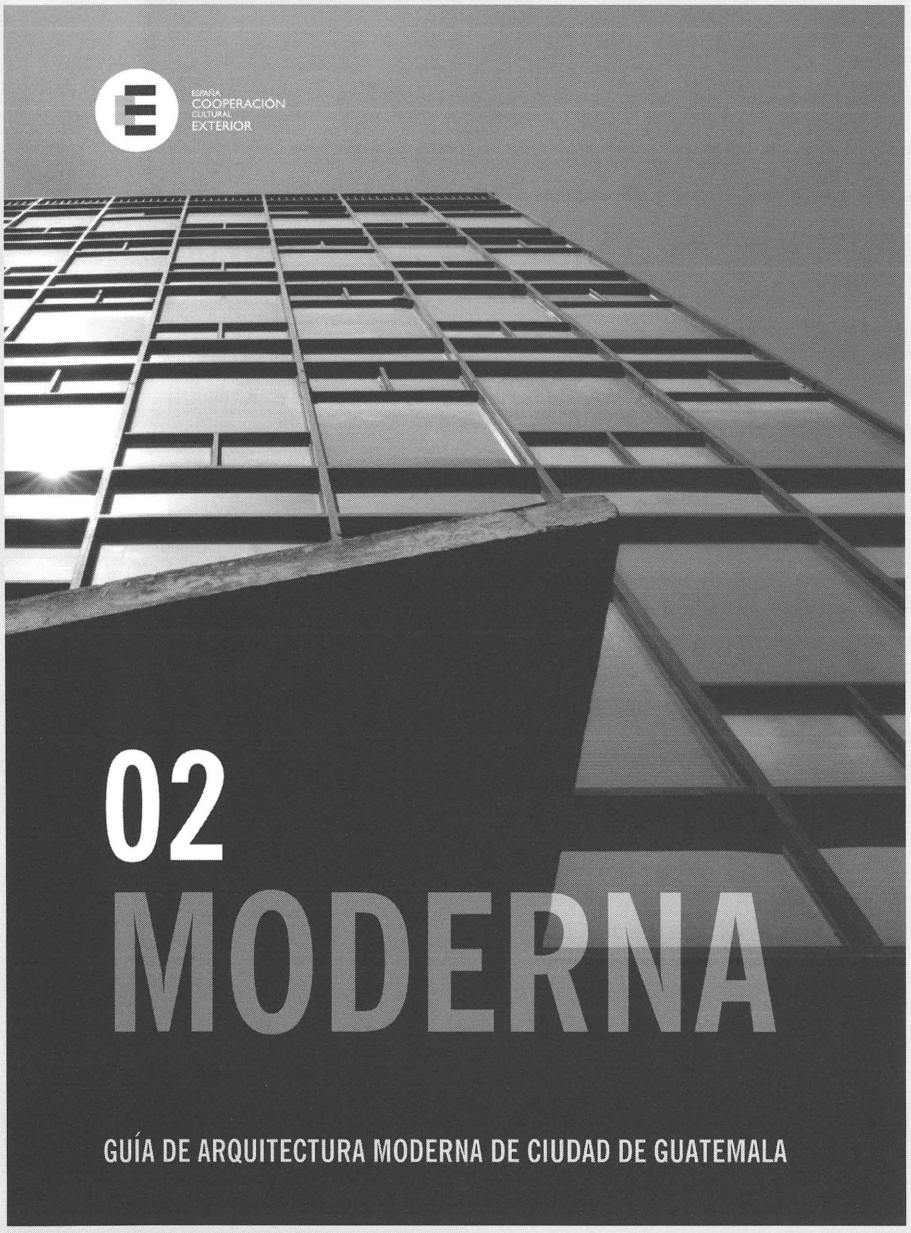
Guía de Arquitectura Moderna de Ciudad de Guatemala

Guatemala City Modern Architecture Guide

This guidebook is an open invitation to go out and walk through the city, while learning about twentieth century Guatemalan architectural history and how it changed the landscape of a city as a constructed cultural manifesto.



We present the buildings in five different walking tours, so one can discover the change and evolution of the modern architecture in this city, and can enjoy it through the spectacular photography, too.

Between 1950 and 1968, local architectural production began to formulate space alternatives for society's new needs. The most important was the conceptualization of a different direction: concrete plane roofs replaced the Spanish clay tile roofs, and the old bell towers and domes gave place to a new skyline.

This architectural legacy was possible because of the visionary work of masterful architects like Roberto Aycinena, Jorge Montes Córdoba, Carlos Haeussler, Raúl Minondo, and Pelayo Llarena, among others, who left a legacy of Guatemalan history with the construction of many of the buildings that we show in this guide, including the Civic Center and the State's University central campus.

Apart from documenting this magnificent architecture, we want people pay attention to the terrible state of some of the most emblematic MoMo buildings in Guatemala City, to make people aware of the modern cultural and architectural heritage and its great potential as a part of an integral development program.

Text: Raúl Monterroso and Gemma Gil.
Pictures: Andrés Asturias
Editorial Design: Lucía Menéndez
Publisher: El Librovisor. Ediciones Alternativas del Centro Cultural de España/Guatemala, 2008.

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BUILT FOR EDUCATION

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ARCHITECTURE FOR EDUCATION

MARIEKE **KUIPERS**

When Docomomo's International Specialist Committee on Registers (ISC/R) decided to launch a thematic approach to extend the already existing International Selection, it identified Education as one of the key themes in relation to modernity and its expression in architecture. Ever since the Enlightenment education and sciences have been regarded as essential for both social progress and technological innovation. From 1900 onwards, the 'century of the child' took shape, step by step, by new child-oriented teaching methods, such as Maria Montessori's or Dalton. These materialized from the interwar period on through new modern school buildings adapted to children's needs. During the twentieth century, national and international policy-makers have developed specific programs to enhance a universal approach, like Unesco's "Education for All," as Nataša Koselj notes in her essay.

In his study *Towards a Social Architecture, the Role of School Building in Postwar England* (Yale University Press, 1987), Andrew Saint argues that the English postwar school-building program is one of the most important fruits of the modern movement in architecture because of its outstanding contribution to the ideal of sharing technical and cultural development justly among all.

In continental Europe, the seeds of these fruits were already produced before World War II, when educators, medical doctors and city architects had started debating about the ideal teaching environment, though they did not always agree. Hygienic considerations played an important role in setting the norms and forms of new school buildings, along with new ideas about sanatoriums and social housing. For the sake of "mens sana in corpore sano," all school children were stimulated to do physical exercises in special gyms. Gradually, facilities for creative activities were also provided, in addition to the cognition-oriented lessons. Although the main aim was to give each pupil a lot of opportunities for self-development and to gain knowledge, the daily reality was the collective environment of a classroom with one teacher and a blackboard in front of about 25 to 40 children.

New aesthetics, new building technologies and spatial concepts to accommodate new teaching ideals at various levels were applied by the protagonists of the modern movement in such radical prototypes as Walter Gropius's Bauhaus building at Dessau and Jan Duiker's first Open-Air School for the Healthy Child in Amsterdam. On a personal note, I may mention here that I have been a pupil in Duiker's school in the late 1950s and I can still recall the verses of the school song that emphasize the ideals of light, air, sunshine and joy related to turnable windows and playing outdoors. Besides the regular teaching program, I was taught to appreciate the modernity and vision of Duiker's purist architecture and its compact plan with shady loggias pointing towards the South and sunny roof terraces for outdoor lessons. But I also have to admit that I sometimes had the feeling of being imprisoned because the spatial arrangement of the classrooms hardly allowed me to look through those vertical windows to the sky, let alone to the—quiet—street life at the other end of the school square and its gate-like entrance. The school itself is almost hidden from the street and completely surrounded by housing blocks with their rears towards the paved playing field. This is in contrast to the nearby Montessori school by Willem van Tijen, another example of modern architecture (and included in the Dutch national register). Nevertheless, the vertical organization of the Open-Air School—with the first class below and the sixth and seventh class for the oldest children at the fourth level—gave the feeling of making progress during the years. Now it is in urgent need of good restoration and recently it has received a large sum for this purpose by winning the TV competition 'Restoration.' Docomomo Netherlands can only hope that the documentation work done so far will encourage both the school board and the engaged architect to treat this nationally listed monument in the most careful manner and in the full understanding of its delicate architecture. Conservation has become very diverse in the Netherlands since legislation has changed recently in favor of local control.

Just two other chapters have selected open-air schools, as well: the Danish and the French. The majority, however, made other choices. In comparison to the previous cross-section of submissions, that on "Other Modernisms," the theme of Education is relatively easier to associate with modern architecture and specific typologies. Nevertheless, it is always a surprise what preferences and considerations have played a decisive role for each of the chapters when preparing their new "homework" for the International Register. Some have documented school and university buildings before, especially the 'old' chapters, some have decided to update relevant fiches with new information about restorations (e.g. Finland); others have just started. This uneven starting position, together with the 'open-ended' homework for documenting a minimum of five eligible MoMo buildings and the different sizes and histories of each country/region, makes the overall result a special

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mixture of obvious and incidental choices.
Anyhow, it is always a great adventure to inspect the submissions from all over the world. Thanks to the efforts of 36 chapters we can now group together examples of kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools, academies, university campuses, laboratories, libraries and museums from Argentina to Japan and from Norway to New Zealand, albeit that the representation is sometimes rather uneven and that some selections give reason for a new debate on what 'modern architecture' is. It is not a matter of 'style,' use of specific forms, plans or materials, but a coherent analytical approach of the challenge to create a functional and pleasant environment for teaching, studying and experimenting by means of clearly contemporary buildings where light and air can flow and modernity can be experienced.

The freedom given to each chapter to make up its own selection of MoMo buildings, neighborhoods or sites related to a theme has led to unexpected accents, but always to a motivated series that has a sort of coherence in its own right. With this selective overview and very short introductions, the ISC/R can only present a kind of 'appetizer' for the curious reader to consult the special register website and read the full motivation texts and completed fiches on www.docomomo-register.org.

Roughly speaking, six sub-themes can be noticed in the motivation texts:
- national political background (special building programs, stimuli for private or public funding);
- interaction between new teaching concepts and modern architectural features (light, open air, functional planning);
- stress on hygiene and flexibility;
- typological preferences (either a specific kind or an overall representation);
- new building technologies to enable light and quick constructions;
- new postwar developments.

To start with the chronological subdivision, only the Polish chapter focused fully on the interwar period. All other submissions have included postwar buildings, either exclusively (14) or mixed with some earlier specimens (21). In all, seven decades of the twentieth century are covered: from the 1920s up to the 1980s. The postwar period is definitely embraced by Docomomo, but the last decade is perhaps too close or too ambivalent for convincingly "modern" architecture in the sense of the modern movement.
Whereas both the Czech Republic and Greece speak of the 1930s as the "golden decade" for modern school building in their countries, the majority has documented educational facilities that date from the 1950s or 1960s. This period is politically very complex from a worldwide perspective. Various regions and countries became independent from colonial rule (e.g. Cyprus, Malta, Korea), but countries in Central Europe became strongly influenced by or even part of the Soviet Union, which had a totally different impact on the adoption of modern architecture. Interestingly, some chapters refer to new plans that evolved in these years to incorporate 'community spaces' by means of a central hall, and many address the massive need for educational facilities, for which standardization was broadly adopted.

Another remarkable development was the postwar 'boom' of the university campus, often located outside the urban cores and forming a nucleus of its own with huge faculty buildings, libraries and laboratories in a relatively 'green' environment. This development was regarded of such importance by the chapters of Colombia, Puerto Rico and Scotland that they only submitted 'academic fiches.' The US has widened that scope by also including academic museum buildings and academies for dramatic and fine arts—from Eliel Saarinen to Louis Kahn (in fact, the chapter has submitted nine fiches, just as Mexico).
Perhaps the distinction between universities and academies of fine arts or other types of tertiary education, such as maritime academies, is too rigid, but I do so because several motivation texts refer to the creation of new university campuses as a typical phenomenon of modernization, both in the political-educational context and the architectural manifestations. In contrast, eleven chapters have concentrated intentionally on pre- or non-university buildings (Austria, Cyprus, France, Greece, Iberia, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Turkey, UK), for various reasons. Most particular is the Swiss documentation of five kindergartens to the design of Aurelio Galfetti, thus continuing its recent focus on specific modern architects working in the lesser-known canton of Ticino. Nine other chapters have also documented kindergartens (Austria, Belgium, Chile, Czech Republic, Estonia, Italy, Mexico, New Zealand and Slovenia), but only one or two and mostly built in the postwar period. Personally, I was impressed by the child-friendly and colorful interiors of the Estonian 'Trall' when I paid a visit (in 2006) to that remote kindergarten and its elongated and symmetrically laid out housing estate of the 1970s, when the country was still under the Soviet rule.
The representation of primary schools is a bit larger and that of secondary schools again a bit more. It seems, thus, as if the last category has been more suitable for modern architecture, but this would be a wrong conclusion. Firstly, because several early (primary) school buildings have been documented already in the International Selection, and secondly, because the postwar governments stimulated much more building

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of educational facilities in general, and the application of modern building methods was preferred for its speed. As for typologies, 20 chapters have decided to present a fine representation of the most relevant categories. In most cases, they have documented at least one university building or campus. Most dramatic in this respect is the loss of the Faculty of Architecture of the Technical University of Delft by the fire of May 13, 2008. The Dutch chapter had in mind to document this characteristic tower of concrete and glass of the 1970s in addition to the five other fiches, and in the near future it will do so as a memento, but in the end it decided to spend all its energy on a series of still-remaining educational facilities that are not widely known but deserve special attention for their innovative qualities, such as Herman Herzberger's Delft Montessori School (his first school design) and Sjoerd Schamhart's Grotiuslyceum, at The Hague, with colorful applied arts. Both belong to the postwar critics of the 'technocratic functionalism,' just as Peter and Alison Smithson and their UK schools. They stressed that the purpose of architecture is to enable human activities, creativity and social contacts. The former catholic boys 'School for Living' Pater Fortis in Maastricht, with its apparent use of reinforced concrete, is one of the first examples in the Netherlands in which modern educational concepts merged with a modern architectural design within a Roman catholic setting. This last element is something that has also been addressed by other chapters in their motivation texts (e.g. Cuba), because for a long time teaching has been in the hand of certain religious groups, and it was one of the ideas of the modern movement to open the minds for universal values and prepare the young generations for a modern society without discrimination of class, race or religion. From these ideals grew the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Unesco organization.
All in all, the 2007 submissions with regard to the theme Education invite further exploration and documentation, and discussion about modern architecture and modern architects as well. In several cases we find well-known architects in the files, from Alvar Aalto to Grete Schüte-Lihotzky and Oscar Niemeyer to mention but a few, but it seems to me that most chapters have defined their selections by typological criteria and sometimes also actuality, for some of these embodiments of educational ideals are currently at risk. At the same time, they underline the ongoing necessity of our documentation work and appeals for further extension. Consequently, there will be new homework to do in the future while knowing that this serves a good goal. For now we can share all collected documentation more easily thanks to common efforts and new technologies.

MARIEKE KUIPERS *is vice-chair of Docomomo ISC/Registers.*

EDUCATION FOR EVERYBODY

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN RELATION TO THE MODERN MOVEMENT

NATAŠA **KOSELJ**

"The role of the educator is to teach children, not subjects." Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827)

The Bauhaus in Weimar is celebrating its ninetieth anniversary in 2009. Since its inauguration, it has been described as the embodied vision of "the cathedral of the future," the cradle of the modern movement, and the first school where modern teaching and learning principles were thought of as a synthesis based on the idea of art and education reform. In our contemporary society driving towards the biggest class differentiation since ancient Egypt, according to philosopher Slavoj Žižek, the achievements of the Bauhaus offer us an appropriate frame to re-think the 'success' of the modern utopia. The aim of this essay is to demonstrate to what extent modern teaching and learning principles were aligned to the construction of modern school buildings.

In 2007, the Docomomo Registers Committee chose to connect the Education theme with the international modern movement debate. It resulted in assigning Education as the homework topic to chapters. The committee hoped that chapters would focus on new models and (sub)typologies adopted for development, or transfer of knowledge in a modern and healthy way. The selection might include school buildings, university campuses and research laboratories, as well as teachers' houses and academic institutions.

It is worth recalling that the theme of Education is an ongoing project started in 1996 by Unesco under the slogan "Education for All" (EFA), with the aim of improving educational possibilities around the world

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by 2015. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 asserted that "everyone has a right to education." At the international level the UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966 guarantees this right under its article 13. Despite these stances in the early 1990s, figures showed a negative trend: more than 100 million children had no access to primary school; more than 960 million adults were illiterate; and more than 100 million children failed to complete basic education programs.

The idea of "Education for All" lies at the very heart of the modern movement, whose origins go back to the Enlightenment and to the French revolution, at least. The quote that opens this article refers to the real pioneer of modern education: the Swiss pedagogue and educational reformer Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, who taught Swiss orphans during the French revolution. His ideas are elaborated in books such as *Leonard and Gertrude* (1781) and *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children* (1801), and were taken over by modern movement architects and modern school reformers such as Walter Gropius, Alfred Roth, and Max Bill. The trope of fresh air, natural light and sun to be embodied in a healthy body urged modern architects to design schools like single storey, corridor-free, and open-air pavillions. Industrial technologies and the wide availability of new materials, mostly concrete and glass, enabled the emphasis on hygiene and open composition.

Alfred Roth (1903–1998), one of the most important theoreticians and practitioners of modern school building, published his handbook *Das Neue Schulhaus* in 1950. According to Roth, the child is a center and a measure from a spiritual, rational and physical point of view (homo mensura). Education should deal with children's whole personality in a healthy environment (differentiation of spaces, flexibility, movable furniture, lighting). Individual and small group teaching is preferable, and differentiation of school buildings is suggested. The shape of a new class unit should be closer to the square. A modern school should be seen as an extension of home education, and the class as an extended living room.
New pedagogical programs were at the core of the modern school reform. German architect Hans Scharoun saw the most important task of education to be the incorporation of the individual into the community. He believed the school should communicate a way of life sympathetic to the universal principle of democracy. Dealing with new methods of architecural education, Walter Gropius's final statement at the VIII CIAM congress in Hoddesdon (England, 1951) explained that the existing tradition of learning should give way to more research and experimentation. For the integration of arts and sciences, the most successful study plan would be to include a basic course for artists, architects and engineers. His Bauhaus vision was still alive.
The development of the modern school building exemplifies different generations of modern architects. The pioneers, co-founders of CIAM or interwar modernists, such as Taut (teacher at the Music Academy in Turkey), Gropius (Bauhaus Dessau), Mies van der Rohe (IIT), and Neue Sachlichkeit architects from all over Europe were mostly preoccupied with ideas of purification, hygiene, light, industrialization, standardization, minimalization and functional divisions. Later generations, postwar modern architects, gathered around Team 10, emphasized the importance of other sensibilities based on French structuralism, searching for answers to the modern problems in the nature and life of the early civilizations (cluster forms). Architects such as Alvar Aalto and Dimitris Pikionis adapted modern principles with a regional touch and use of natural forms and materials.

It is clear that the early modern school paradigm focused extensively on issues of perfection, ratio and hygiene, on the idea of the scientific approach supported by new materials, and on the challenges of industrial production and economy. It had undoubtely neglected the basic needs of human nature as well as the moral and ecological responsibilities, mentioned before by pre-modern pioneers like Ruskin and Morris. Ruskin's statement about the importance of the imperfection, which explains that human architecture as an architecture of imperfection, was premonitory: "You must either make a tool of the creature, or a man of him. You cannot make both." In the education process, and even more so in the training of architects, there has always been a gap between the two: the discipline on the one hand and the creativity on the other.
Most of the outstanding examples in school architecture or pedagogical methodologies presented here were able to overcome this gap, and I am glad to share the Docomomo ISC/Registers Education collection from 36 countries all over the world with all of you.

NATAŠA KOSELJ, *architect with a PhD in the history and conservation of modern architecture, studied in Slovenia, Finland and UK. Docent at the University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Architecture, she is the author of* Architecture of the 60s in Slovenia, Architect Danilo Fürst *and the architectural guide* Atlas Ravnikar. *She is coordinator of Docomomo Slovenia and a member of Docomomo ISC/Registers.*

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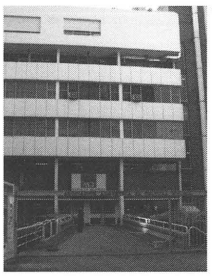
ARGENTINA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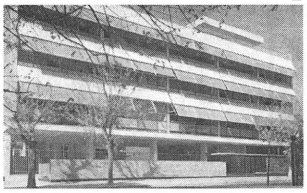
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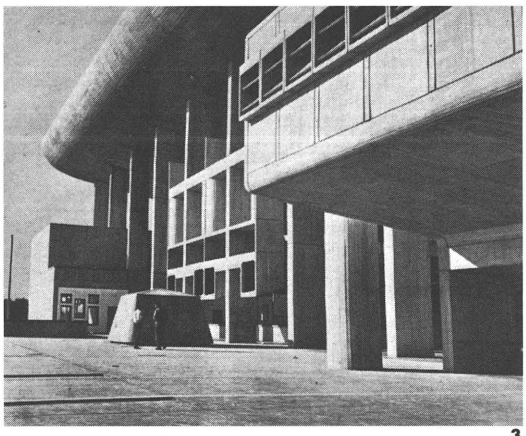
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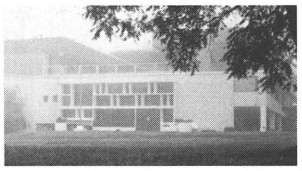
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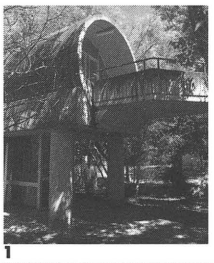
MARKS OF THE MARCANTE PLAN

Coordinator: STELLA MARIS CASAL

From mid-century on modern principles were applied in educational programs across Argentina. An example is the so-called "Plan Mercante" (Province of Buenos Aires, 1948), whose urban schools were generally given a modernist expression, while suburban or rural buildings were generally designed with a picturesque expression.

1 Aslan Jorge & Ezcurra Héctor, *Association of English Culture*, Buenos Aires, 1967–68. © Andrea Morello
2 Mario R. Alvarez & Associates, *Belgrano Day School*, Buenos Aires, 1966. © *Summa* (June 17, 1969)
3 Osvaldo Bidinost, Jorge Chute, Mabel Lapaco & Martín Mayer, Manuel Belgrano, *Commerce High School*, Córdoba, 1960–71. © *Summa* (June 17, 1969)
4 Department of Architecture and Construction NUT, *Nurses Residence at the National University of Tucumán Campus*, Horco Molle, 1947. © Stella Maris Casal
5 Technical Staff of the Provincial Ministry of Public Works, *School built through the Mercante Plan in Ensenada*, Buenos Aires, 1948. © Alfredo Conti

AUSTRALIA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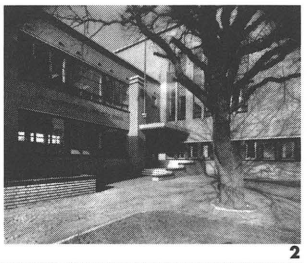
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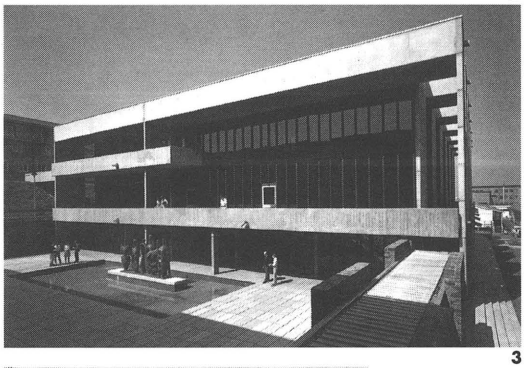
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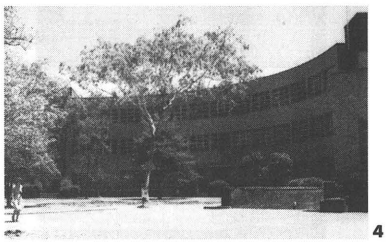
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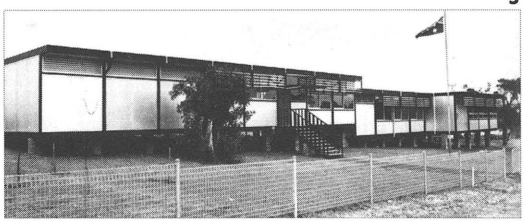
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REGIONAL REPRESENTATIONS

Coordinators: DOUGLAS EVANS, SCOTT ROBERTSON

Docomomo Australia selected examples from Victoria and New South Wales. The Victorian selection reflects the early and high quality uptake of modernism for school buildings before World War II, as well as the more avant-garde expressionist architecture of the 1970s. The New South Wales (NSW) selection shows the important role played by the Government Architect's office, fostering the course and use of modern architecture.

1 Kevin Borland, Former Clyde Cameron, *Trade Union Training Academy*, Wodonga, Victoria, 1975–77. © Douglas Evans
2 Norman Seabrook, *Macrobertson Girls' High School*, Melbourne, Victoria, 1933–34. © photographer unknown
3 NSW Government Architect (E.H. Farmer), design Peter Hall, *Goldstein College, University of NSW*, Sydney, NSW, 1962–64. © photographer unknown
4 NSW Government Architect (Cobden Parkes), design Harry Rembert, *Hunter Institute of Technology*, Newcastle, NSW, 1934–40. © Peter Webber
5 NSW Government Architect (E.H. Farmer), *Demountable Classrooms*, various locations, 1966. © NSW Dept of Education

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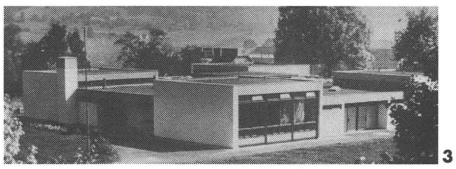
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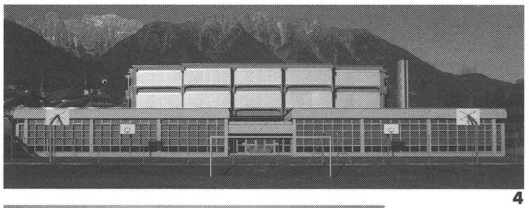
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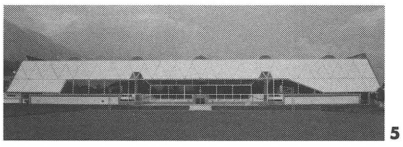
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SYMMETRY AND SOS

Coordinators: UTE GEORGEACOPOL, BRUNO MALDONER

Docomomo Austria has selected postwar schools and kindergartens which all have a symmetrical composition in plan, amongst which two also have a so called "corridor-free central plan." The residential project The City for Children, a model for SOS Kinderdorf, resulted after the competition to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Republic of Austria, was unfortunately thorn down in 2008.

1 Anton Schweighofer, *City for Children*, Vienna, 1969–74. © Archive O. Österreicher
2 Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, *Fröbel Kindergarten*, Vienna, 1952. © Catalogue TH Graz
3 Ferdinand Schuster, *Kindergarten*, Kapfenberg, 1964–67. © *Der Aufbau*, 1953
4 Franz Kiener & Ferdinand Kitt, *BRG Imst*, Imst, 1970–73. © Archive W. Salcher
5 Josef Lackner, *Ursulinen-Schule*, Innsbruck, 1971–79. © Archive W. Salcher

BELGIUM

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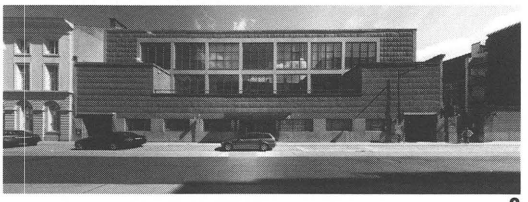
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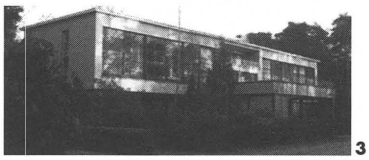
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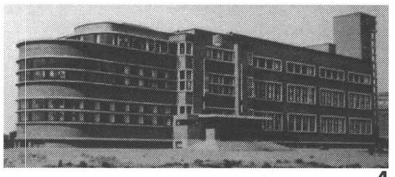
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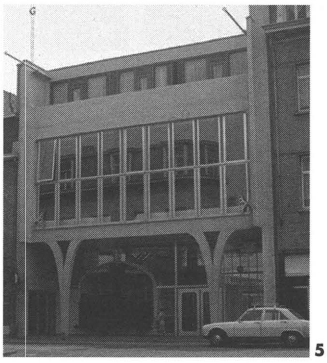
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TOPOGRAPHY AND TYPOLOGIES

Coordinator: INGE BERTELS

The focus of the Belgian listing is on other typologies, ranging from the Maritime Academy to a boarding school. Renaat Braem's kindergarten, built between 1957 and 1972 in one of the poorest areas of Antwerp, stands out as a 'children's palace,' a way of fighting class divisions.

1 Raymond Lemaire, *Auditorium Lemaire*, Heverlee, 1961–64. © KU Leuven, University Archives, R. Lemaire Collection
2 Henry Van de Velde, *Technische School Van de Velde*, Leuven, 1936–42. © City Archives Leuven
3 Léon Stynen, *Hof ten Bos Boarding School*, Brasschaat, 1937–38. © Anne Gorlé
4 Josse & Maurice Van Kriekinge, *Maritime Academy*, Antwerp, 1929–33. © *L'Émulation*
5 Renaat Braem, *Municipal Pre-School Kindergarten*, Antwerp, 1957–72. © VIOE, J. Weemaels

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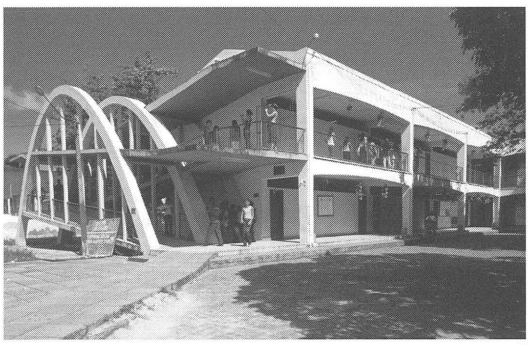
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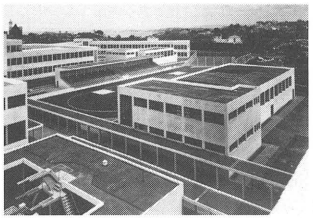
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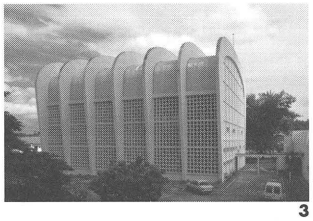
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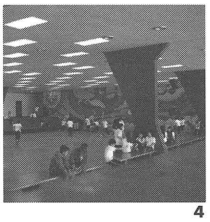
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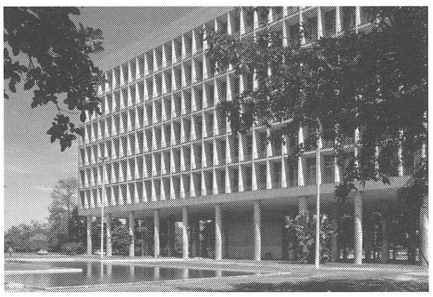
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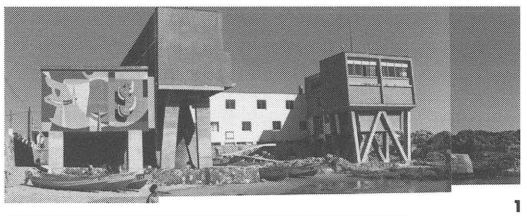
MODERNIZATION IN TEACHING AND TECHNOLOGY

Coordinators: MIRTHES BAFFI, HUGO SEGAWA

Educational public buildings in Brazil symbolize the search of a new cultural, scientific and technological condition. The selection includes a pioneering rural grade school of the 1930s, large urban high schools, an aircraft technological college and a university campus from the 1940s to the 1960s.

1 Luiz Nunes & Department of Architecture and Building, *Alberto Torres Rural School*, Recife, 1936. © Hugo Segawa
2 Alexander Buddeus, *Isaias Alves Educational Institute*, Salvador, 1936–40. © Anna Beatriz Galvão
3 Oscar Niemeyer & Saturnino de Brito, *Aeronautics Technical Center*, São José dos Campos, 1946–50. © Hugo Segawa
4 João Batista Vilanova Artigas & Carlos Cascaldi, *Conselheiro Crispiniano State School*, Guarulhos, 1959–62. © Ana Clara Giannecchini
5 Jorge Moreira & Team, *Rio de Janeiro University City*, Rio de Janeiro, 1949–62. © Hugo Segawa

CHILE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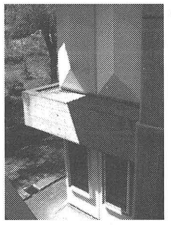
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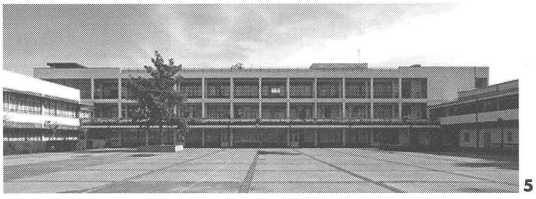
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INCORPORATING LANDSCAPE AND ARTS

Coordinators: MAXIMIANO ATRIA, ANDRÉS TÉLLEZ

The Chilean selection focuses on mid–twentieth-century architecture. It presents a wide range of typologies as highly relevant trends in educational architecture. The buildings seek a relationship between architecture and landscape, pavilion and patio; they incorporate works of art into the buildings and respond to new educational tendencies. An interesting example of standardization and prefabrication in educational architecture is also included.

1 Enrique Gebhard, *Marine Biology Station*, Montemar, 1940–59.
2 Sergio Larraín, Emilio Duhart, *Lycée Antoine de Saint-Exupéry* (former kindergarten), Santiago, 1952–56. 1/2 © Centro de Información y Documentación Sergio Larraín García-Moreno, PUC
3 Sociedad Constructora de Establecimientos Educacionales (SCEE), *University of Chile, Former Normal School*, Santiago, 1970–71. © José Manuel Casas
4 Alberto Piwonka & Patricio Schmidt, *Saint Ignatius High School*, Santiago, 1958–70. © Alberto Piwonka
5 Sergio Larraín, Emilio Duhart, Mario Pérez de Arce & Alberto Piwonka, *Verbo Divino High School*, Santiago, 1947–75. © P. Mutis

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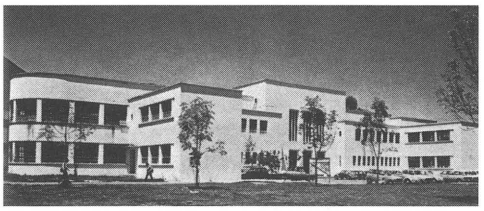
COLOMBIA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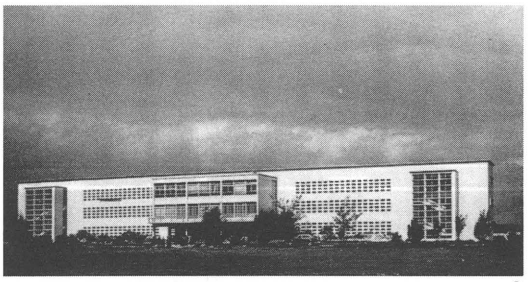
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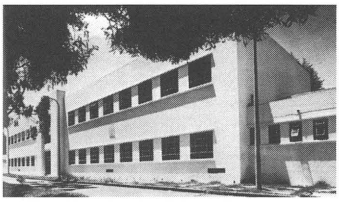
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WHITE CITY CAMPUS

Coordinators: PAULA ECHEVERRI M., ROBERTO LONDOÑO N.

Docomomo Colombia is presenting five buildings in the National University of Colombia Campus (NUC) in Bogotá. President and liberal reformer Alfonso López Pumarejo promoted this governmental project in 1934. The German architect Leopoldo Rother was responsible for the design of the overall plan and of some buildings. Other important architects were: Bruno Violi, Erik Lange, Ernst Blumenthal, Alberto Wills, Fernando Martínez and Guillermo Bermúdez.

1 Erik Lange & Ernst Blumenthal, *Fine Arts School NUC*, Bogotá, 1937–46. © *Guía de Arquitectura, Bogotá* (Universidad de Los Andes, 1994). Photo Germán Téllez
2 Leopoldo Rother & Bruno Violi, *Faculty of Engineering NUC*, Bogotá, 1940–42. © *Arquitectura y Estado* (Edición Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 2003). Photo archivo MOPT
3 Alberto Wills Ferro, *Faculty of Law NUC*, Bogotá, 1938–40.
4 Samuel García, *Faculty of Medicine NUC*, Bogotá, 1949–54.
5 Leopoldo Rother, *Faculty of Sciences, Department of Chemistry, NUC*, Bogotá, 1945–47. 3/4/5 © Luz Amorocho, *Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Planta Física 1867–82* (Ediciones Proa, 1982)

CUBA

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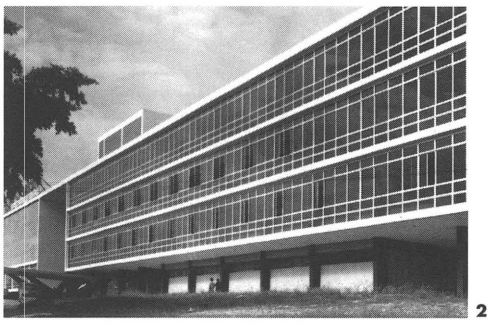
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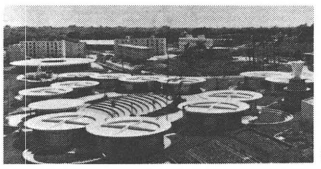
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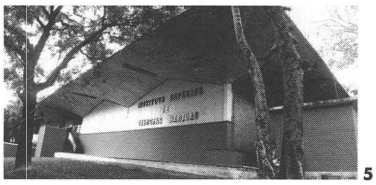
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POST-COLONIAL PROGRESS

Coordinators: MARIA VICTORIA ZARDOYA, ANGEL MANUEL ALVAREZ

The educational facilities built in Cuba during the first decades of the twentieth century originated from colonial religious architecture, convents in particular. During the 1950s, however, when modern architecture became the formal vocabulary for most architectural public programs, educational architecture in Cuba evolved both functionally and visually.

1 Clementino J. García, Justo Pérez Díaz, Aníbal Simón Camacho & Juan Tandrón Machado, *Central University Marta Abreu of Las Villas*, Santa Clara, 1952–58.
© Expediente de Propuesta de Declaratoria como Monumento Nacional de la Universidad Central Marta Abreu de Las Villas
2 Eduardo Cañas Abril & Nujim Nepomechie, *Rectory of Santiago de Cuba University*, Santiago de Cuba, 1956–59. © Santiago de Cuba University's Historical Archive
3 Rafael Mirabal, *Gustavo Pozo Primary School*, Havana, 1961. © Thesis on "UIA 7th Congress" (Havana: 1963)
4 Vittorio Garatti, *André Voisin Technological Institute*, Guines, 1963. © Vittorio Garatti
5 Rodrigo Tascón & Jorge Vinueza, *Santiago de Cuba Medicine School*, Santiago de Cuba, 1961–63. © Flora Morcante

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CYPRUS

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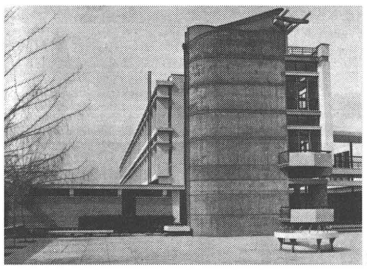
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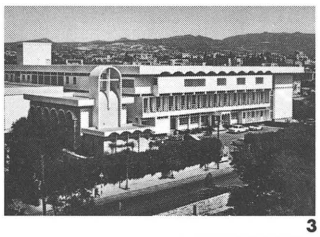
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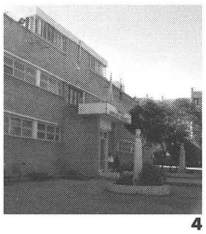
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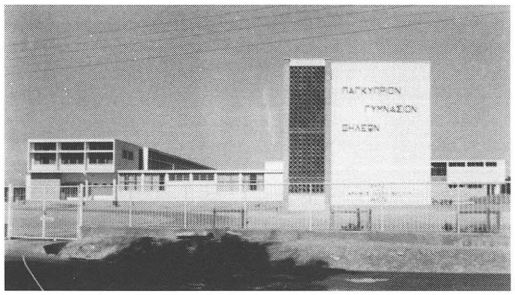

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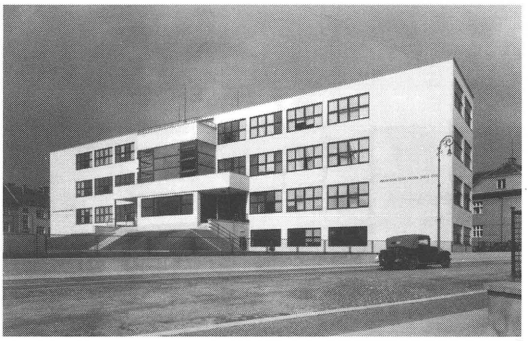
MEETING PLACES OF LOCAL SOCIETY AND INTERNATIONAL MODERNITY

Coordinator: PETROS PHOKAIDES

The construction of modern educational buildings in Cyprus was restricted mainly to the period after World War II in the last decade of British colonial rule. It was one of the first steps towards the assessment of the new national identity. Educational buildings became the main places where local society met modern architecture.

1 Fotiades and Sons, *Arthur Rimbaud French School*, Nicosia, 1952–54. © Petros Phokaides
2 I + A Filippou, *Kykkos High School*, Nicosia, 1960. © *Arhitektoniki* 58 (1966), Filippou Bros Archive
3 Stauros Economou, *Terra Santa School*, Limassol, 1960–65. © *Arhitektoniki* 58 (1966), Economou Archive
4 Polys Michaelides, *Dianellou and Theodotou High School*, Nicosia, 1935. © Stefanos Fereos
5 Dimitris Thymopolulos, *Pallouriotissa High School*, Nicosia, 1956–62. © Thymopoulos Archive

CZECH REPUBLIC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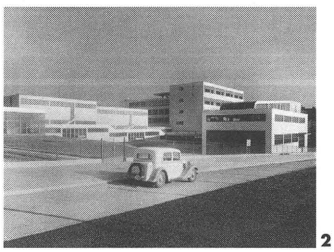
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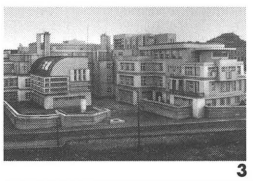
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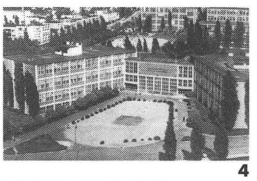
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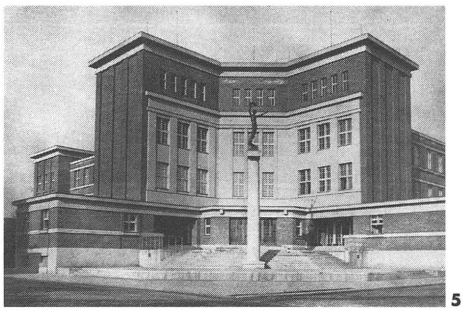
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SCHOOLS OF THE FIRST REPUBLIC

Coordinators: JAKUB KYNCL, IVETA CERNA, DAGMAR CERNOUSKOVA

In Czech Republic the first decade after World War I was the golden age for new school buildings, mostly elementary ones. It coincided with the first decade of the new State where functionalism became the official style of the new republic.

1 Mojmir Kyselka, *Masaryk Czech Primary School for Boys and Girls*, Brno, 1930–31. © Archive of Brno City Museum
2 Jan Gillar, *French Schools* (nursery and primary), Prague, 1931–34. © Archive of Jakub Kyncl
3 Jiri Kroha, *Regional Engineering School*, Mlada Boleslav, 1922–27. © Archive of Jakub Kyncl
4 František Lydie Gahura & others, *Masaryk Schools and School Campus*, Zlin, 1927–35. © Archive of Jakub Kyncl
5 Josef Gocar, *Josef Gocar Schools*, Hradec Kralove, 1923–26. © Archive of Jakub Kyncl

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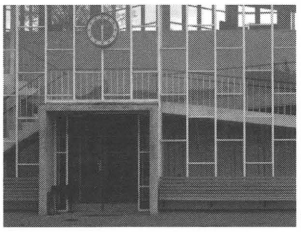
DENMARK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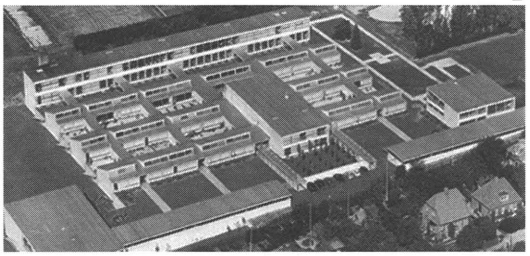
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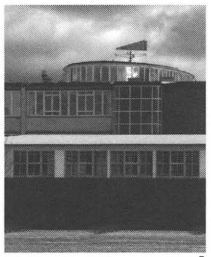
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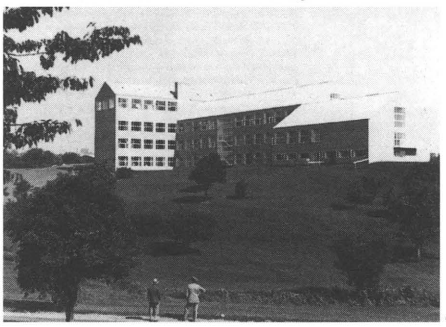
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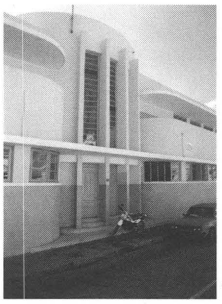
VARIETY AND FUNCTIONAL TRADITION

Coordinator: OLA WEDEBRUNN

The Danish selection covers educational buildings of the 1930s and 1950s. Typologies include an open-air school, a structuralist school, a pavilion school in a park, a school with curtain wall construction, and an example of "functionalist tradition" represented by the Århus University complex.

1 Kai Gottlob, *Open-Air School*, Copenhagen, 1937. © Ola Wedebrunn
2 Arne Jacobsen, *Munkegårdsschool*, Copenhagen, 1957. © Archive of The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts
3 Peer Hougaard Nielsen & Carl Johan Nørgaard Pedersen, *Grådybschool*, Esbjerg, 1951–52. © Mogens Amsnæs
4 Kay Fisker & Christian Frederik Møller, *Århus University*, Århus, 1933. © Archive of The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts
5 Kai Gottlob, *School by the Sont*, Copenhagen, 1937. © Ola Wedebrunn

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC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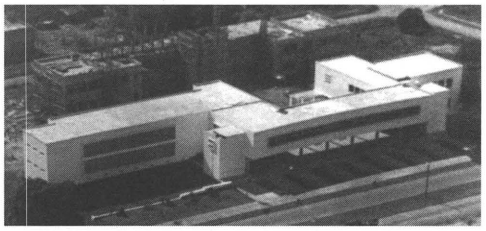
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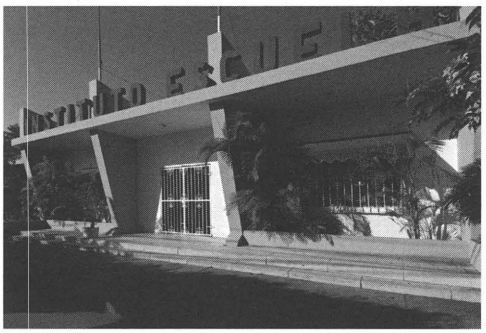
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TROPICAL ADAPTATIONS OF MODERNITY

Coordinators: GUSTAVO LUIS MORÉ, MAURICIA DOMÍNGUEZ, JOSÉ ENRIQUE DELMONTE

Dominican Republic undertook a vast program of public buildings to celebrate the first centennial of its independence in 1944. At this time architects were following modern pedagogical orientations based on the Hostos model, inspired by European and Mexican precedents and adapted to the tropical climate and local seismic conditions.

1 Marcial & Leo Pou Ricart, *Instituto Salomé Urena de Henríquez*, Santo Domingo, 1944. © Luis Nova
2 José Antonio Caro Alvarez, *Faculty of Civil Engineering and Architecture*, Santo Domingo, 1955. © UASD Archives
3 Marcial & Leo Pou Ricart, *Santo Domingo University, Facultad de Odontología*, Santo Domingo, 1947. © UASD Archives
4 José Antonio Caro Alvarez, *Dr. Deffiló School of Medical Science during construction*, Santo Domingo, 1944. © UASD Archives
5 Tomás Aunón & Joaquin Ortiz, *'Instituto Escuela' Private Elementary School*, Santo Domingo, 1944. © Mauricia Domínguez

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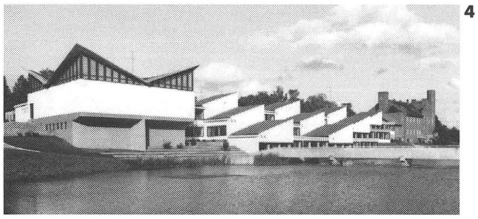
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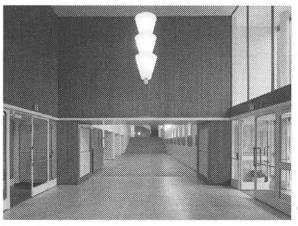
BALTIC SCHOOLS

Coordinator: EPP LANKOTS

Docomomo Estonia is presenting buildings from the 1930s to the 1970s. In the interwar period schools were widely built around the country and showed Scandinavian influence in terms of the use of natural materials and settings. In the decade of 1970s neo-functionalist influences became a shared mark.

1 Herbert Voldemar Johanson, *Russian Secondary School*, Tallinn, 1933–35. © Epp Lankots
2 Alar Kotli, *Rakvere Secondary School*, Rakvere, 1935–39. © Estonian History Museum
3 Uno Tölpus, Olga Kontchaeva & Henno Sepmann, *Tallinn University of Technology*, Tallinn, 1959–71. © Tallin City Museum
4 Valve Pormeister, *Technical School of Jäneda State Farm*, Jäneda village, 1968–74. © Museum of Estonian Architecture
5 Toomas Rein, *Trall Kindergarten*, Pärnu, 1975–78. © Estonian Film Archive

FINLAND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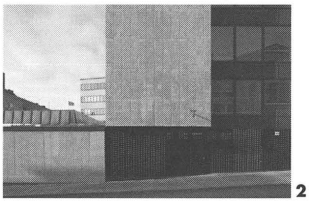
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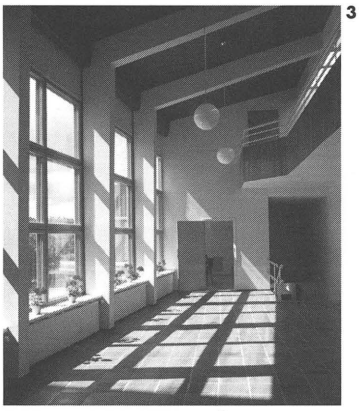
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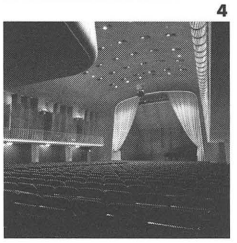
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SCHOOLS OF THE FIRST REPUBLIC

Coordinator: HANNI SIPPO

Docomomo Finland has already listed eleven education buildings in previous years. For this selection two new items are added: Aalto's Inkeroinen School and Ruusuvuori's Roihuvuori School. The records of three previously listed buildings are updated with information after the restoration.

1 Jussi Paatela, *Helsinki University, Metsätalo Building*, Helsinki, 1936–39. © Davidson Architects
2 Arne Ervi, *Porthania Building*, Helsinki, 1949–57. © Antti Luutonen
3 Alvar Aalto, *Tehtaanmäki Primary School*, Anjalankoski, 1938–40. © Alvar Aalto Museum
4 Hugo Harmia & Woldemar Baeckman, *Helsinki School of Economics*, Helsinki, 1941, 1948–50. © NRT Architects
5 Aarno Ruusuvuori, *Roihuvuori Primary School*, Helsinki, 1967. © The City of Helsinki

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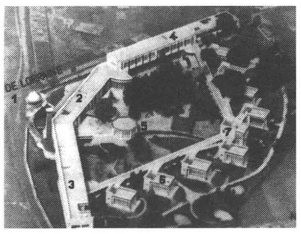
FRANCE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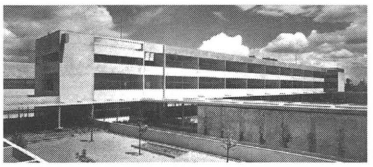
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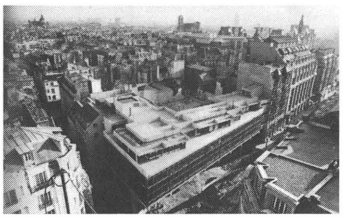
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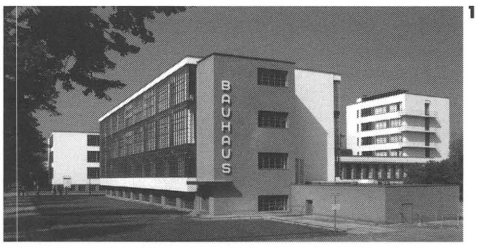
GREEN SPACES IN DENSE AREAS

Coordinator: AGNÈS CAILLIAU

The French chapter submits education buildings located in dense and urban areas of Paris and its outskirts. Each of them includes interior spaces skillfully related to open-air green playgrounds or terraces. The green spaces bring landscape and seasonal changes into education and classrooms. The schools are designed with concerns for hygiene and healthiness, and respond to sustainability, economical maintenance, natural ventilation and light.

1 Eugène Beaudouin & Marcel Lods, *Open-Air School*, Suresnes, 1930–35. © Archives INSHEA Suresnes
2 Roger-Henry Expert, *Rue Kuss School Complex*, Paris, 1931–33. © *École rue St-Merri, un Équipement Intégré de Quartier* (Paris: Centre Pompidou, Mundiprint, 1973)
3 André Lurçat, *Karl-Marx School Complex*, Villejuif, 1930–33. © André Lurçat, Groupe Scolaire de l'Avenue Karl-Marx à Villejuif
4 Alain Gamard, Daniel Lombard & Édouard-Marc Roux, *Saint-Merri School*, Paris, 1971–74. © Olivier Nouyrit 2008
5 Christian de Portzamparc, *Paris Opera Dance School*, Nanterre, 1983–87. © Olivier Nouyrit 2008

GERMANY



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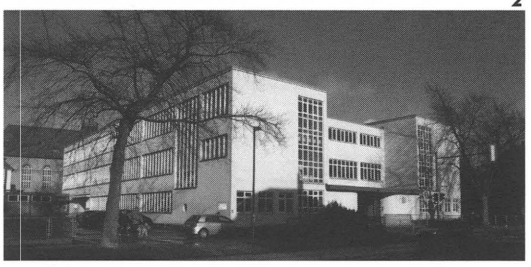
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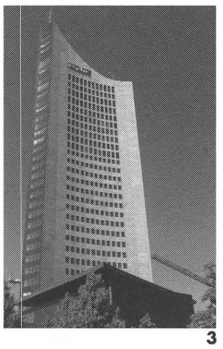
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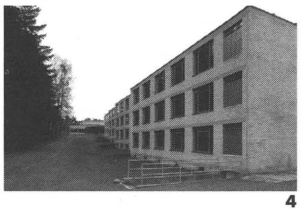
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IMPORTANT IMPULSES

Coordinator: MONIKA MARKGRAF

In the 1920s German schools grew out of the increasing housing development and the demand for the renewal of town planning and architecture under the urgency of hygienic and healthy social life. Schools built after World War II reflected the new start and new requirements in design and society.

1 Walter Gropius, *Bauhaus Dessau*, Dessau, 1926. © Stiftung Bauhaus Dessau
2 Otto Haesler, *Altstädter Schule*, Celle, 1928. © Dietrich Klatt
3 Hermann Henselmann, *City-Hochhaus* (former University building), Leipzig, 1972. © Juliane Vierich
4 Hannes Meyer & Hans Wittwer, *BIZWA Handwerkskammer Berlin* (former ADGB School), Bernau, 1930. © Winfried Brenne Architects
5 Hans Scharoun, *Geschwister-Scholl-Gesamtschule*, Lünen, 1956–62. © Spital-Frenking + Schwarz

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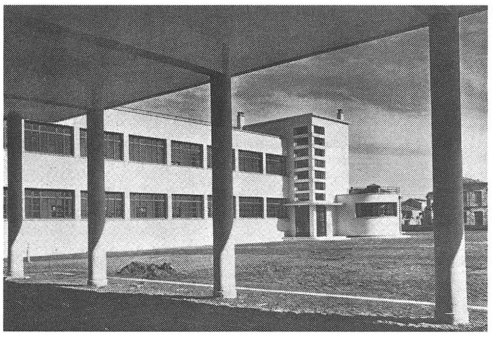
GREECE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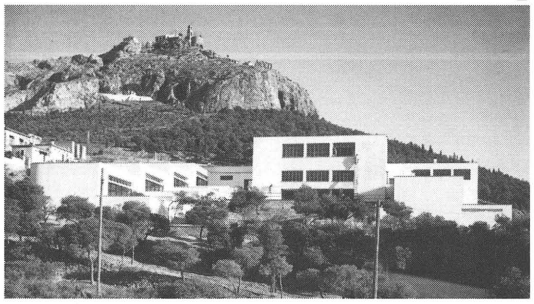
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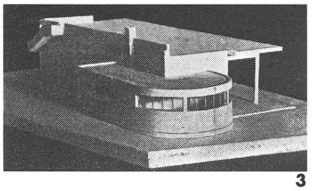
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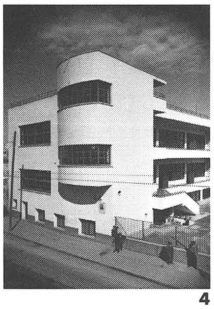
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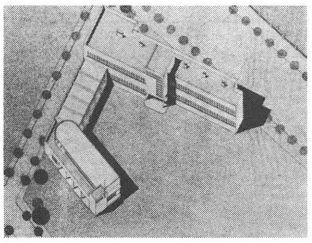
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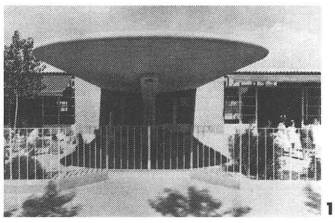
NEW POLITICS FOR SOCIAL AND CULTURAL MODERNIZATION

Coordinator: PANAYOTIS TOURNIKIOTIS

More than 3,000 modern school buildings, simple in form and composition, easy to construct and economical, were implemented throughout Greece from 1928 to 1932. The 'school program' was a leading project of the State's new politics for social and cultural modernization. It was directed by a new generation of young architects, affiliated to the Ministry of Education.

1 Pericles Georgakopoulos, *1st High School*, Messolonghi, 1931. © P. Karantinos, *The New School Buildings* (Athens, 1937)
2 Dimitris Pikionis, *Primary schools 14 and 116*, Athens, 1930. © Neohellenic Architecture Archives, Benaki Museum
3 George Zongolopoulos & Panagis Metaxas, *Primary School of Atalanti*, Atalani, 1931. © P. Karantinos, *The New School Buildings* (Athens, 1937)
4 Kyriakoulis Panayotakos, *Primary Schools 54 and 55*, Athens, 1931. © Neohellenic Architecture Archives, Benaki Museum
5 Nikolaos Kakouris, *High School of Aigio*, Aigio, 1932. © P. Karantinos, *The New School Buildings* (Athens, 1937)

IBERIA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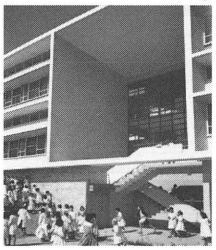
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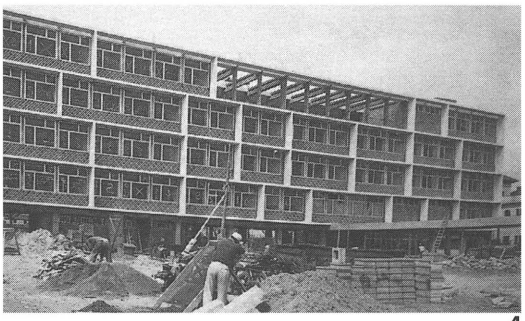
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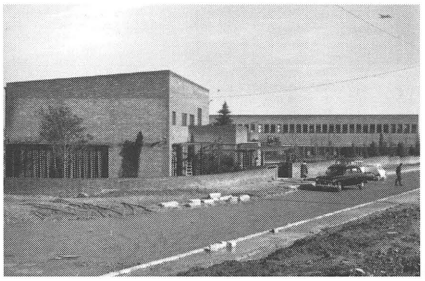
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EXAMPLES OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Coordinators: SUSANA LANDROVE, JOSEBA ESCRIBANO, CARMEN JORDÁ, MAR LOREN, ANA TOSTÕES, SANDRA VAZ COSTA

All selected buildings have comparable programs in primary and secondary education. As a whole they show important aspects of the introduction and development of the modern movement in Spain and Portugal.

1 Carlos Arniches Moltó & Martín Domínguez, *Instituto Ramiro de Maeztu*, Madrid, 1933–35. © Patón & Tellería
2 Pedro Ispizua, *Grupo Escolar Luis Brinas*, Bilbao, 1932–33. © COAVN
3 Victor Palla & Bento de Almeida, *Escuela Primaria do Alto da Eira*, Lisboa, 1954–56. © Câmara Municipal de Lisboa/Arquivo Fotográfico Municipal Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian
4 Pablo Navarro Alvargonzález, Julio Trullenque, E. Becker & D. Weise, *Colegio Alemán*, Valencia, 1958–61. © COACV
5 Antonio Fernández Alba, *Colegio Santa María*, Madrid, 1959–62. © COAM

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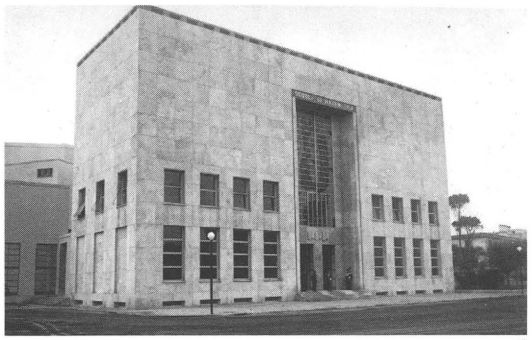

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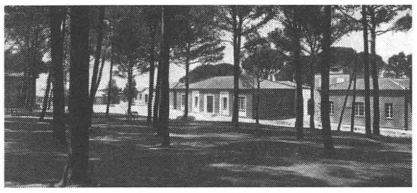

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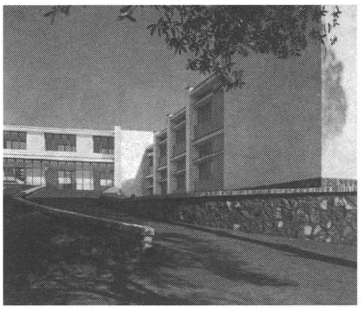

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INDIVIDUALITY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

Coordinators: CRISTIANA MARCOSANO DELL'ERBA, MARINA SOMMELLA GROSSI

The educative methods of the so-called "active school," which took form during the first decade of the twentieth century, fully responded to the goals of renovating Italian architectural culture. The care for the needs of each individual student and the search for a well-defined relationship with the surrounding landscape were the main characteristics that denoted Italian identity.

1 Gio Ponti, *Guido Castelnuovo School of Mathematics*, Rome, 1924–34. © Istituto Luce Historical Archive, Rome
2 Ignazio Guidi, *Outdoor Primary School*, Monte Mario, Rome, 1929–30. © *Opere Pubbliche, Rassegna Mensile Illustrata* (October 1932)
3 Mario Ridolfi & Volfango Frankl, *Nursery School*, Poggibonsi, Siena, 1955–64. © *Casabella Continuità* 249 (1961)
4 Luigi Cosenza, *Nursery and Primary School*, Naples, 1957–59. © *L'Architettura Cronache e Storia* 55 (1960)

JAPAN

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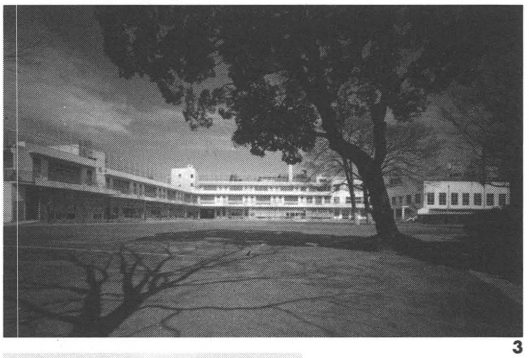

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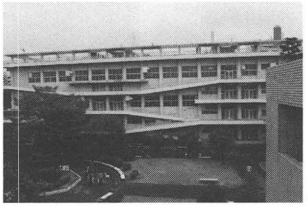

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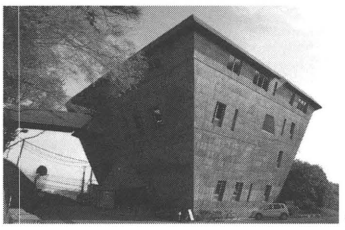

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VANGUARD OF MODERNIZATION

Coordinators: MITSUO OHKAWA, KENJI WATANABE

Educational buildings in Japan served as a vanguard for the modernization of architecture. Pivotal points for modern educational buildings were the 1923 earthquake and the city development responding to an increase in the student population after 1960.

1 Masatsune Matsumura, *Hizuchi Elementary School*, Yawatahama, 1956–58. © Takeshi Kirihara
2 Junzo Yoshimura & A. Okumura, *Aichi Prefectural University of Fine Arts*, Aichi-gun, 1966–71. © Kazuto Kasahara
3 Yoshiro Taniguchi, *Keio Gijuku Yochisya Elementary School*, Shibuya-ku, 1937. © Jo Shimizu
4 Sutemi Horiguchi, *Meiji University, Izumi Campus*, B. No. 2, Suginami-ku, 1960. © Takeshi Kirihara
5 Takamasa Yoshizaka, U Atelier, *Inter-University Seminar House*, Hachioji, 1965. © Kenji Watanabe

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KOREA

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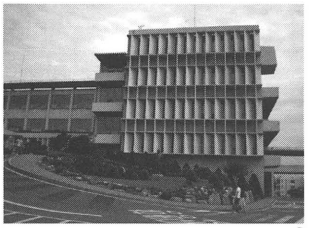
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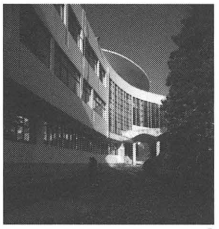
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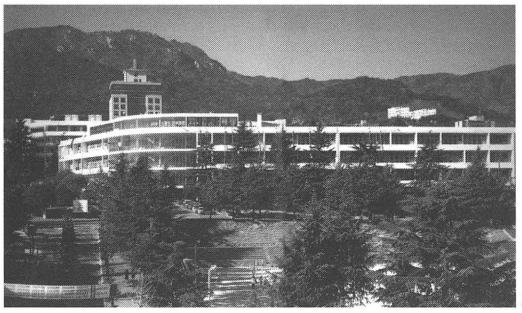
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NATIVE RATIONALISM AND POSTWAR CORBUSIANISM

Coordinator: KIM KI-SOO

It was after 1930 that native architects started to design schools in Korea; previously foreign architects were involved. The composition of school buildings was no longer symmetrical as in earlier periods: a rational and pragmatic style was in favor. After the Korean War (1950) many schools were reformed. A former disciple of Le Corbusier, Kim Jung Up, introduced the Modulor, pilotis, roof gardens, and round walls through the design of Korean education buildings.

1 Architect unknown, *Gwangju Jungang Elementary School*, Dong-Ku, 1930. © Docomomo Korea
2 Lee Gil-Seong, *Chosun University*, Dong-ku, 1954. © Docomomo Korea
3 Kim Jung Up, *Sogang University Administration Building*, Mapo-Gu, 1958. © Docomomo Korea
4 Kim Jung Up, *Konkuk University Language Institute*, Gwangjin-Gu, 1958. © Docomomo Korea
5 Kim Jung Up, *Busan University College of Humanities*, Keum Jung Gu, 1959. © Docomomo Korea

MALTA

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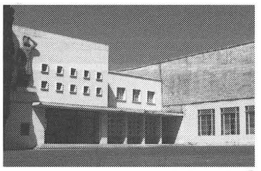
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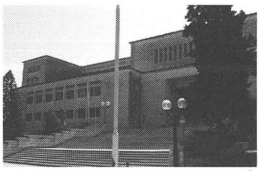
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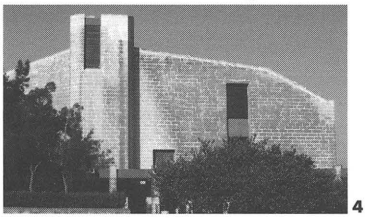
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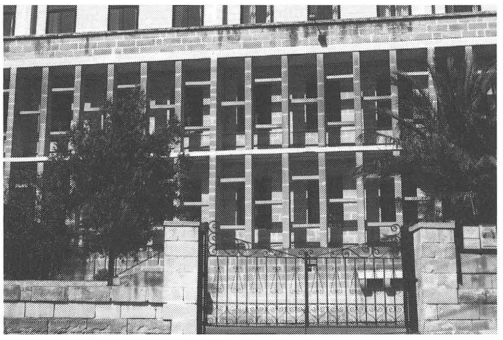
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REFERENCE POINTS OF POSTWAR INDEPENDENCE

Coordinators: JEVON VELLA, MALCOM BORG, SAMANTHA FABRY

The educational buildings from the postwar period are the reference point in the socio-political development of Malta. The chosen architectural complexes reflect the change in the transition of the Maltese islands from a British colony towards independence.

1 Joseph Huntingford, *Qala Primary School*, Qala, 1959–65. © Conrad Thake
2 Joseph Consiglio, *Corradino Secondary Technical School*, Paola, 1958. © Jevon Vella
3 Public Works Department, *Junior College*, Msida, 1965. © Jevon Vella
4 Norman & Dawburn, *Royal University of Malta Campus*, 1961–71. © Jevon Vella
5 Joseph Borg Grech, *Marsascala Primary School*, Marsascala, 1969. © Jevon Vella

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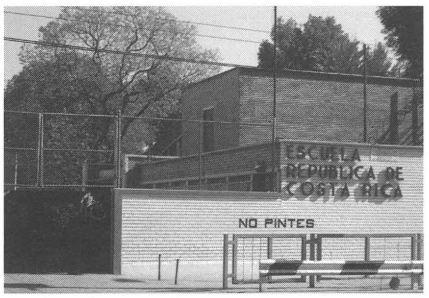

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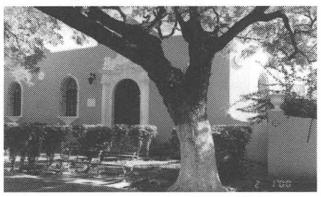
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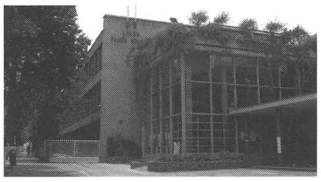
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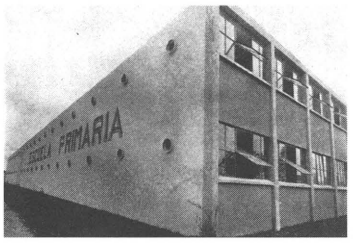

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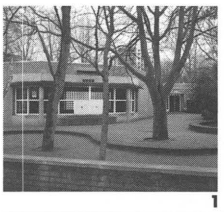
NEW TRENDS AFTER REVOLUTION

Coordinator: LOUISE NOELLE GRAS

When Mexico came out of the Revolution, the new heads of the government geared their policies to social and nationalistic fulfillment. In relation to the architecture, they took into account the popular demands for housing, health, and education, all within the new trends belonging to the modern movement.

1 José Villagrán, *República de Costa Rica School*, México City, 1945. © Manuel Berumen
2 Carlos Castillo Montes de Oca, *Escuela Modelo*, Yucatán, 1925–26. © Enrique Urzaiz Lares
3 Vladimir Kaspé, *Liceo Franco Mexicano*, México City, 1950. © Gabriela Lee Alardin
4 Enrique Yáñez, *Escuela Secundaria Anexa a la Normal Superior*, Santa María la Ribera, 1944–46. © Lourdes Diaz
5 Juan O'Gorman, *Primary School Carlos A. Carrillo*, Mexico City, 1932. © Arias Montes, Victor Juan O'Gorman, *Arquitectura Escolar* (México: UAM-A, UNAM, UASLP, 2006)

THE NETHERLANDS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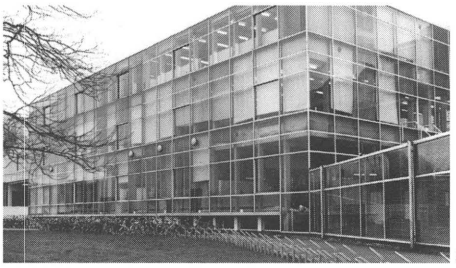
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PLURIFORMITY AND TRANSPARENCY

Coordinators: DANIELLE TAKENS, MARIEKE KUIPERS

The phenomenon of Dutch multicultural society is unique for its support of all kinds of educational buildings based on different worldviews or teaching methods like Montessori's or Dalton. The selection—from five different towns and typologies—focuses on the postwar period and the wide range of typologies that reflect the ambitions to build a broadly trained community for a modern future.

1 Herman Hertzberger, *Primary School for Montessori Education*, Delft, 1966. © Municipality of Delft
2 Theo Boosten, *Former 'Levensschool' Pater Fortis – Catholic Education for Working Boys*, Maastricht, 1959. © Marieke Kuipers (July 2008)
3 Sjoerd Schamhart & Willem Rozendaal (artist), *Grotiuslyceum*, The Hague, 1951–55. © RACM, Zeist
4 Hugh Maaskant & Karel Appel (artist), *Technikon*, Rotterdam, 1955–70. © Jon van Rooijen
5 Gerrit Rietveld, *Academy of Arts*, Arnhem, 1963. © Hans Vroege

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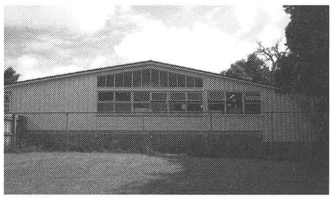
NEW ZEALAND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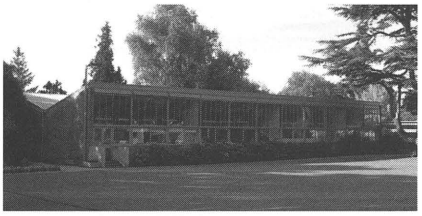
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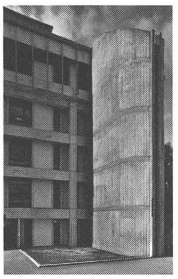
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GOVERNMENTAL SUPPORT

Coordinator: JULIA GATLEY

New Zealand's selection covers different school typologies, scales and geographic locations, all chosen within the post-WWII period. The strongest government investments in educational buildings occurred in the 1960s and 1970s. Therefore three of the selected buildings date to this decade.

1 Group Architects, *Milford Kindergarten*, Takapuna, 1956–59. © Julia Gatley
2 Warren & Mahoney, *Dentral Nurses' Training School*, Christchurch, 1957–59. © Julia Gatley
3 Haughton & Mair, *Central Institute of Technology*, Heretaunga, 1965–74. © Julia Gatley
4 Desmond Ivor White, *New Plymouth Boys' High School*, Ryder Hall, New Plymouth, 1965–72. © Julia Gatley
5 Gabites, Alington & Edmonson, *Wellington High School*, Wellington, 1972–83. © Michael Dudding

NORWAY

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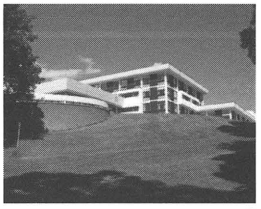
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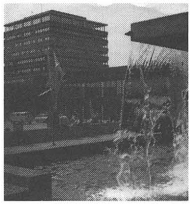
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DEMONSTRATIONS OF DEMOCRATIZATION AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Coordinators: UNNI TANDBERG, LINDA VEIBY, ESPEN STANGE

Docomomo Norway's selection stresses out that education buildings do not only shape the way we teach and learn but also reflect the role of the student in the society. Two of the selected buildings represent social thinking, where a student is "democratized and institutionalized." The selection is focused on the 1960s and 1970s when education was part of the evolving social democracy.

1 MNAL Dogger & Djurhuus, *Student Housing at Fantoft*, Bergen, 1966–71. © Espen Stange
2 Sverre Fehn, *Skådalen School*, Oslo, 1969–75.
3 PAM Mellbye & Sverre Nistov, *Bredtvet Kompetansesenter*, Oslo, 1961–66.
4 Finn Bryn and Johan Ellefsen, *Blindern Campus, University of Oslo*, Oslo, 1931.
2/3/4 © Docomomo Norway
5 Harald Ramm Østgaard, *Realfagbygget*, Bergen. © Erlend Hofstad

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POLAND

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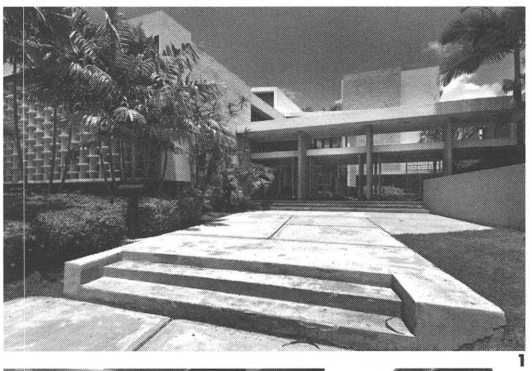
INTERWAR INNOVATIONS

Coordinator: JADWIGA URBANIK

During the interwar period, school buildings were not a priority in Poland. The selected schools show innovative solutions as far as form, function and materials are concerned.

1 Waclaw Tomaszewski, *Naval Academy*, Gdynia, 1928–30. © Maria Soltysk
2 Max Schirmer, *Secondary School No. 2*, Wroclaw, 1927–30. © *Atlas Architectury Worclawia* Vol. 1
3 Waclaw Krzyzanowski, *Jagiellonian Library*, Krakow, 1928–39. © M.J. Zychowska
4 Adolf Szysko-Bohusz, *Seminary of the Paulite Convent*, Krakow, 1931–36. © Archive of The Paulite Convent
5 Zbigniew Rzepecky, *School of Commerce*, Katowice, 1937–39. © Ryszard Nakonieczny

PUERTO RICO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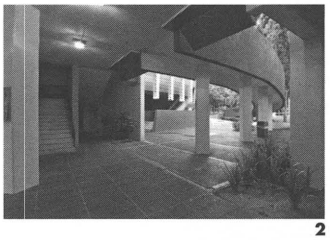
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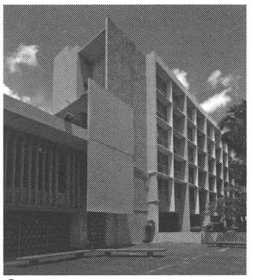
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SHOWCASES OF POST-COLONIAL MODERNITY

Coordinator: ENRIQUE VIVONI FARAGE

Puerto Rico is presenting postwar buildings mainly through the scope of the University of Puerto Rico and the work of Henry Klumb. These give a concrete representation of the axiom "Puerto Rico, the showcase of the Americas."

1 Henry Klumb, *Escuela de Derecho*, Río Piedras, 1958–63. © Ivonne María Marcial
2 Toro y Ferrer Architects, *Facultad de Estudios Generales*, Río Piedras, 1965–70. © Ivonne María Marcial
3 Henry Klumb, *Biblioteca Hosé M. Lázaro*, Río Piedras, 1948–69. © Ivonne María Marcial
4 Henry Klumb, *Centro Universitario*, Río Piedras, 1948–63. © Ivonne María Marcial
5 José Firpi, *Residencia Torre del Norte*, Río Piedras, 1968–71. © Ivonne María Marcial

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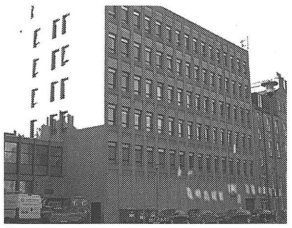
SCOTLAND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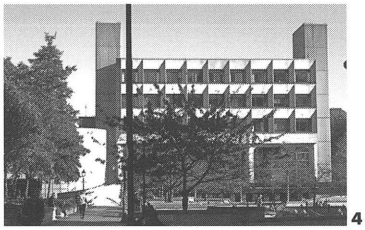
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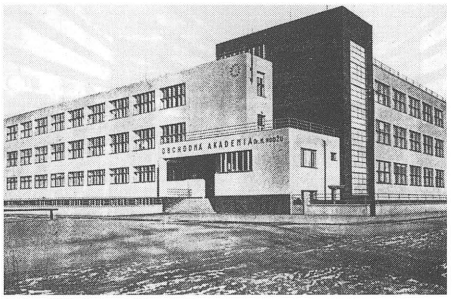
POSTWAR EXPANSION OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

Coordinators: CLIVE FENTON, JESSICA TAYLOR

Each item of the Scottish selection plays an integral part in the historic postwar expansion of university education end therefore are of supreme social importance to Scotland. Further to this, the university expansion ushered in modernist architecture to Scotland, and by doing so introduced many technical innovations.

1 Rowand Anderson, Kininmonth & Paul (Ian C. Gordon, designer), *University of Edinburgh Pfizer Foundation and Lister Institute of Postgraduate Medicine*, Edinburgh, 1962–65, 1965–67. © Clive Fenton
2 Rowand Anderson, Kininmonth & Paul (Jack MacRoberts, designer), *Student Union Extension*, Edinburgh, 1962. © Clive Fenton
3 Alan Reiach & Eric Hall, *Royal Veterinary College Extensions (Block D & B)*, Edinburgh, 1969–72. © Clive Fenton
4 Morris & Steedman, *Student Center*, Edinburgh, 1967–75. © Clive Fenton
5 Basil Spence & Partners, *University of Glasgow Institute of Virology*, Glasgow, 1957–62. © Clive Fenton

SLOVAKIA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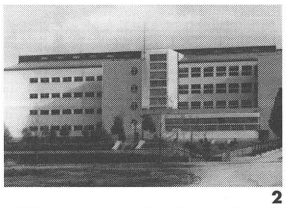
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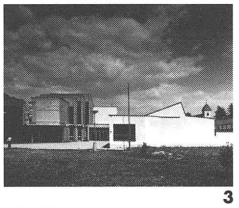
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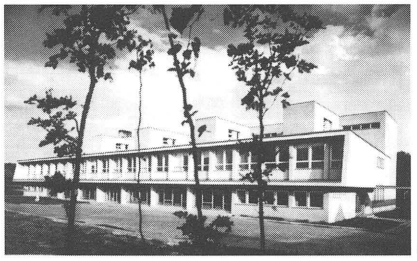
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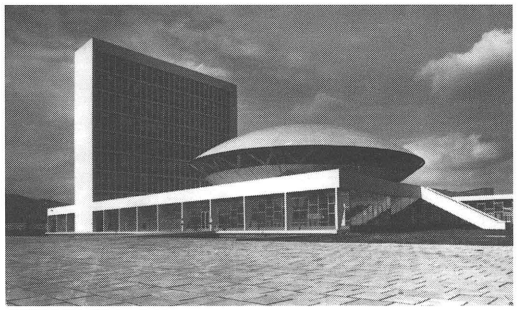
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FUNCTIONALITY AND FIGURATIVENESS

Coordinator: HENRIETA MORAVCIKOVÁ

Twentieth-century architecture in Slovakia was directly connected with the modernization of the country and the building up of the national culture. Two periods—the 1930s and 1960s—have been most significant in the sense of architecture and education. Ideas of functionalism influenced the school projects in the 1930s, while new discoveries in psychology and monumental figurativeness in architecture affected the concepts of the 1960s.

1 Ferdinand Silberstein, *Trade Academy Dr. Milan Hodza*, Trencin, 1932–38. © Forum
2 Bohuslav Fuchs, Klement Silinger & L. Rado, *Secondary School*, Martin, 1931–40. © Slovensky Stavitel
3 Peter Csellágh & Jan Lupták, *Elementary School – Memorial*, Nemecká, 1969–72. © Archive of ZSA
4 Marian Marcinka, *Elementary School*, Bratislava, 1958–61. © L. Borodac
5 Vladimir Dedecek & Rudolf Minovský, *University of Agriculture*, Nitra, 1959–66. © Archive of V. Dedecek

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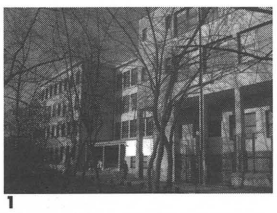
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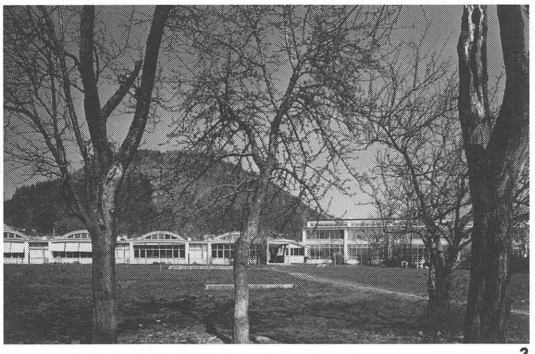
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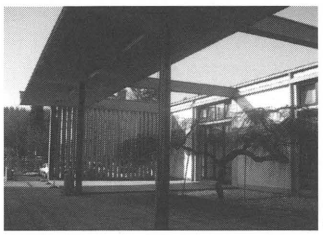
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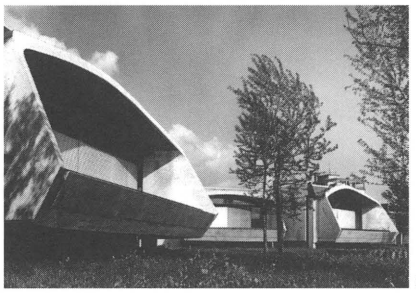
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AWAY FROM LONG AND DARK CORRIDORS

Coordinator: NATAŠA KOSELJ

Education has had national importance since the first ideas of the independence appeared in Slovenia. The development of modern school building arose out of the fear of the long and dark corridors of the Austro-Hungarian schools. The first modern school was a corridor-free building in the 1930s. A symposium "From an Old to the New School" gave wings to the pavilion school in the park in the 1950s.

1 Emil Navinšek, *Bežigrad Secondary School*, Ljubljana, 1936. © Nataša Koselj
2 Edvard Ravnikar, *Faculty for Civil Engineering*, Ljubljana, 1960–66. © Nataša Koselj
3 Danilo Fürst, *Stražišče Primary School*, Kranj, 1954–59. © Janez Kališnik
4 Ivan Štrukelj, *Ljubljana University Student Campus Canteen*, Ljubljana, 1955–57. © Nataša Koselj
5 Stanko Kristl, *Kindergarten Mladi Rod*, Ljubljana, 1972. © Janez Kališnik

SWEDEN

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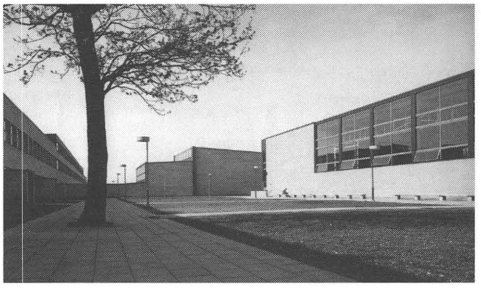
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DAYLIGHT AND DIFFERENTIATION

Coordinators: CLAES CALDENBY, LOTTA LANDER

The Swedish selection consists mainly of secondary schools, one from each decade from 1930s to 1970s. They show a gamut of recurring typologies: functional differentiation and search for daylight in the 1930s and 1950s; flexibility, a generic section, and daylight in the 1960s; and interior covered spaces emphasizing social aspects of school life in the 1940s and 1970s.

1 Nils Ahrbom & Helge Zimdal, *Sveaplan Girls High School*, Stockholm, 1936. © Lotta Lander
2 Nils Tesch & Lars Magnus Giertz, *Solna High School*, Solna, 1945–47. © Lotta Lander
3 Carl Nyrén Architects Office, *Malmö Teachers College*, Malmö, 1963. © Sune Sundahl
4 Jörgen Michelsen Architects Office, *Märsta Secondary School*, Märsta, 1978–80. © *Arkitektur* 3 (1981)
5 Brolid & Wallinder Architects, *Jättesten Primary School*, Göteborg, 1953–55. © Krister Engström

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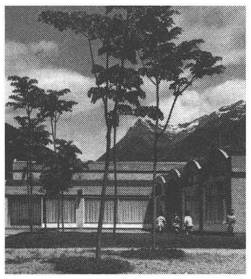
SWITZERLAND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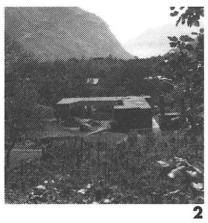
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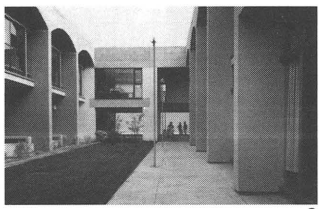
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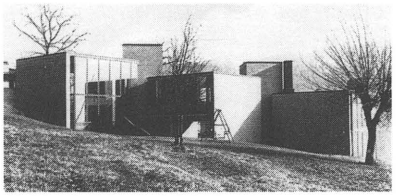
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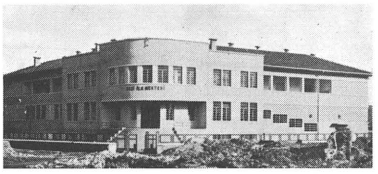
KINDERGARTENS IN TICINO

Coordinator: MONICA SCIARINI

Docomomo Switzerland has chosen to register five kindergartens, mostly from the 1960s, by Aurelio Galfetti in Canton Ticino. They represent the first attempts to interpret and embody the new program of spaces in architecture, based on the principle that each internal space should correspond to a specific teaching function.

1 Aurelio Galfetti & Fredi Ehrat, *Biasca Kindergarten*, Canton Ticino, 1962–64
2 Aurelio Galfetti & Ivo Trümpy, *Ludiano Kindergarten*, Canton Ticino, 1962–64
3 Aurelio Galfetti, Flora Ruchat-Roncati & Ivo Trümpy, *Viganello Kindergarten*, Canton Ticino, 1966–70
4 Aurelio Galfetti & Ivo Trümpy, *Riva San Vitale Kindergarten*, Canton Ticino, 1967–68
5 Aurelio Galfetti, *Bedano Kindergarten*, Canton Ticino, 1970–72

TURKEY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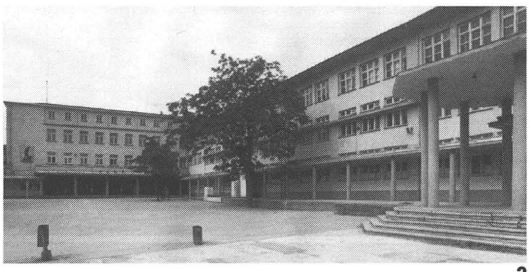
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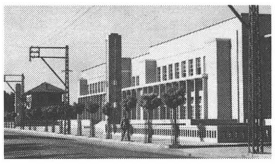
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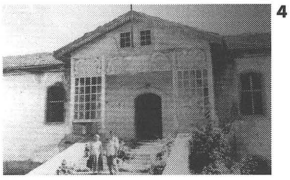
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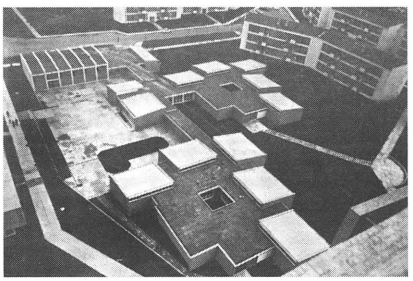
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STANDARDIZATION AND SECULARIZATION

Coordinators: NILÜFER YÖNEY, YILDIZ SALMAN, EBRU OMAY

The first modern movement building in Turkey was a school: the Music Teachers' Academy. Modern education for the masses was one of the national bases of the socio-cultural revolution program of the young Turkish Republic. The standardization and secularization of national education was the first step of this program.

1 Necmettin Emre, *Gazi Primary School*, Izmir, 1932–33. © *Arkitekt* (1934)
2 Bruno Taut, *Atatürk Primary School*, Ankara, 1938–40. © Nicolai 1998
3 Seyfi Arkan, *Adana People's House*, Adana, 1939. © postcard c. 1940
4 Mualla Eyüboğlu Anhegger, *Pazarören Rural Education Institute*, Kayseri, 1940. © Ali Salman
5 Muhteşem Giray, Ataköy Primary School, Istanbul, 1962–65. © *Arkitekt* (1965)

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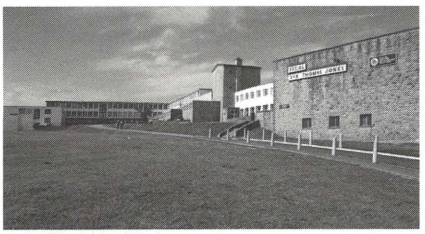
UNITED KINGDOM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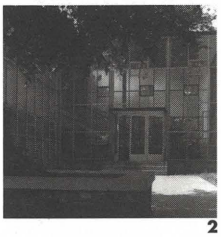
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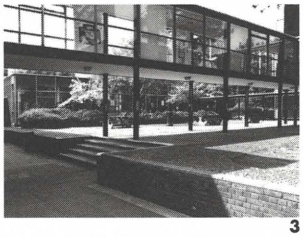
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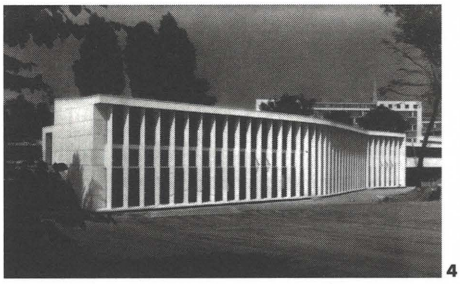
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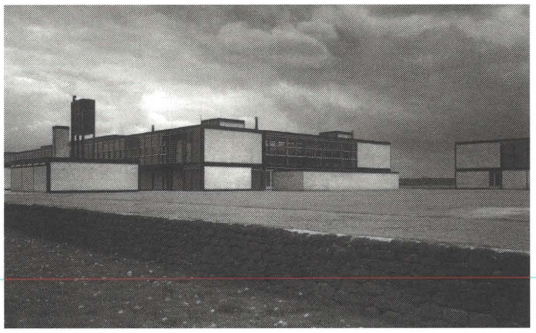


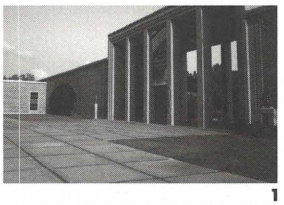
TOWARDS A SOCIAL ARCHITECTURE

Coordinators: DENNIS SHARP, JAMES DUNNETT, PHILIP BOYLE, JUDI LOACH, MATTHEW WICKENS, ARLETTE MEREAU

The selection of Docomomo UK presents the most innovative educational buildings of the modern movement in the United Kingdom, which all are from the decade 1950–60, when a "unique combination of a social, political and financial context appeared."

1 N. Squire, *Anglesey School*, Amlich, 1952. © CADW
2 H.T. Cadbury-Brown, *Ashmount School*, London-Islington, 1956. © Archive of H.T. Cadbury-Brown
3 Herts CCA, *Oaklands College*, St. Albans, 1960. © Archive of Dennis Sharp
4 Denys Lasdun, *Hallifield School*, London-Paddington, 1954. © photo Tom Bell
5 Alison & Peter Smithson, *Hunstanton School*, Norfolk, 1954. © John Maltby

USA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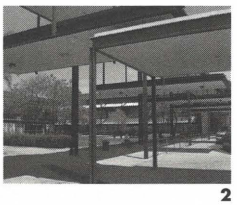
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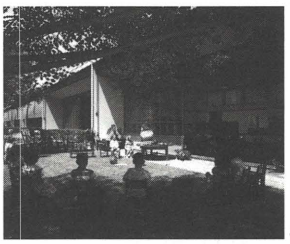
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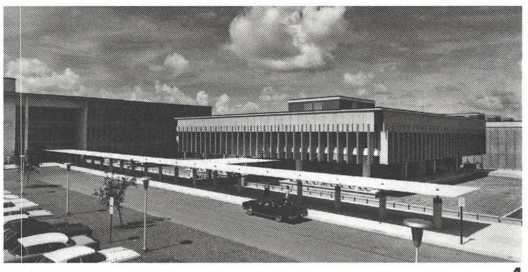
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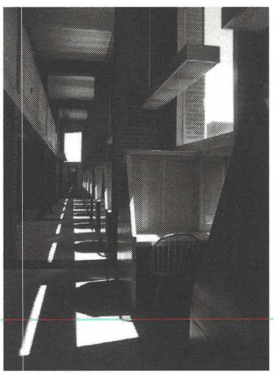
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FROM 'ACADEMICAL VILLAGE' TO SEAT OF CULTURE

Coordinator: JON BUONO

The US selection covers different typologies developed between 1925 and 1971. In these, John Dewey's emphasis on the physical and emotional needs of pupil, particularly at the early stage of schooling, inspired a holistic approach to education that was reflected in the ambitions of modern movement design. The concept of the academic campus as the seat of culture led to a late modern focus on educational arts facilities and museums.

1 Eliel Saarinen, *Cranbrook Academy of Art and Museum*, Bloomfield Hills, MI, 1925–41. © Chad Magiera
2 Paul Rudolph, Riverview High School, Sarasota, FL, 1957–58. © R.T. Clapp
3 Richard Neutra, *Corona School*, Bell, CA, 1934–35. © J. Shulman Photography Archive, Research Library at the Getty Research Institute
4 Pancoast, Ferendino, Skeels & Burham, *Miami Dade College North Campus*, Miami, FL, 1961–70. © Miami Dade College Archives
5 Louis Kahn, *Phillips Exeter Academy, Class of 1945 Library*, Exeter, NH, 1965–71. © Kathia Shieh

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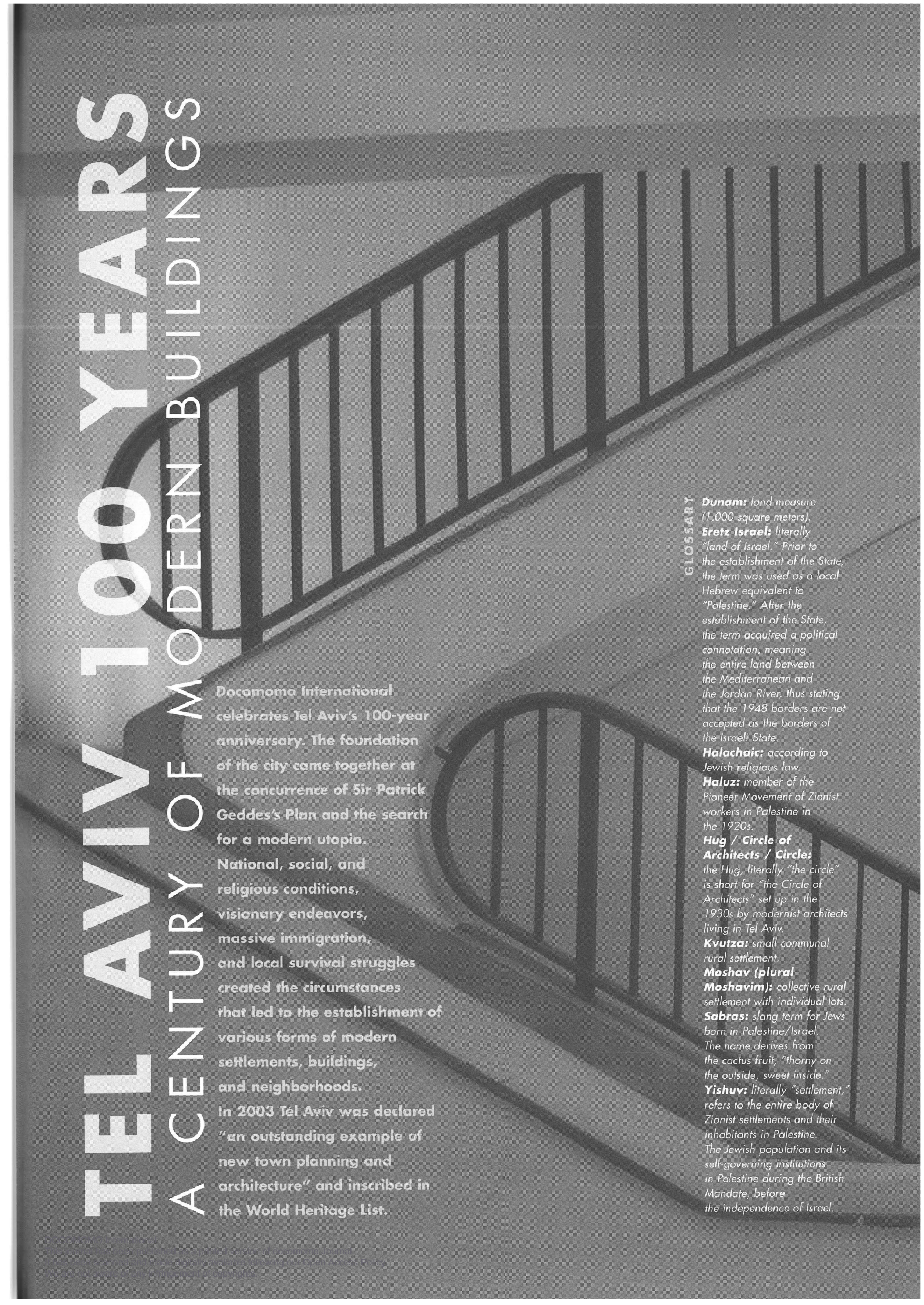
TEL AVIV 100 YEARS
A CENTURY OF MODERN BUILDINGS



Docomomo International celebrates Tel Aviv's 100-year anniversary. The foundation of the city came together at the concurrence of Sir Patrick Geddes's Plan and the search for a modern utopia. National, social, and religious conditions, visionary endeavors, massive immigration, and local survival struggles created the circumstances that led to the establishment of various forms of modern settlements, buildings, and neighborhoods. In 2003 Tel Aviv was declared "an outstanding example of new town planning and architecture" and inscribed in the World Heritage List.

GLOSSARY

Dunam: *land measure (1,000 square meters).*
Eretz Israel: *literally "land of Israel." Prior to the establishment of the State, the term was used as a local Hebrew equivalent to "Palestine." After the establishment of the State, the term acquired a political connotation, meaning the entire land between the Mediterranean and the Jordan River, thus stating that the 1948 borders are not accepted as the borders of the Israeli State.*
Halachaic: *according to Jewish religious law.*
Haluz: *member of the Pioneer Movement of Zionist workers in Palestine in the 1920s.*
Hug / Circle of Architects / Circle: *the Hug, literally "the circle" is short for "the Circle of Architects" set up in the 1930s by modernist architects living in Tel Aviv.*
Kvutza: *small communal rural settlement.*
Moshav (plural Moshavim): *collective rural settlement with individual lots.*
Sabras: *slang term for Jews born in Palestine/Israel. The name derives from the cactus fruit, "thorny on the outside, sweet inside."*
Yishuv: *literally "settlement," refers to the entire body of Zionist settlements and their inhabitants in Palestine. The Jewish population and its self-governing institutions in Palestine during the British Mandate, before the independence of Israel.*

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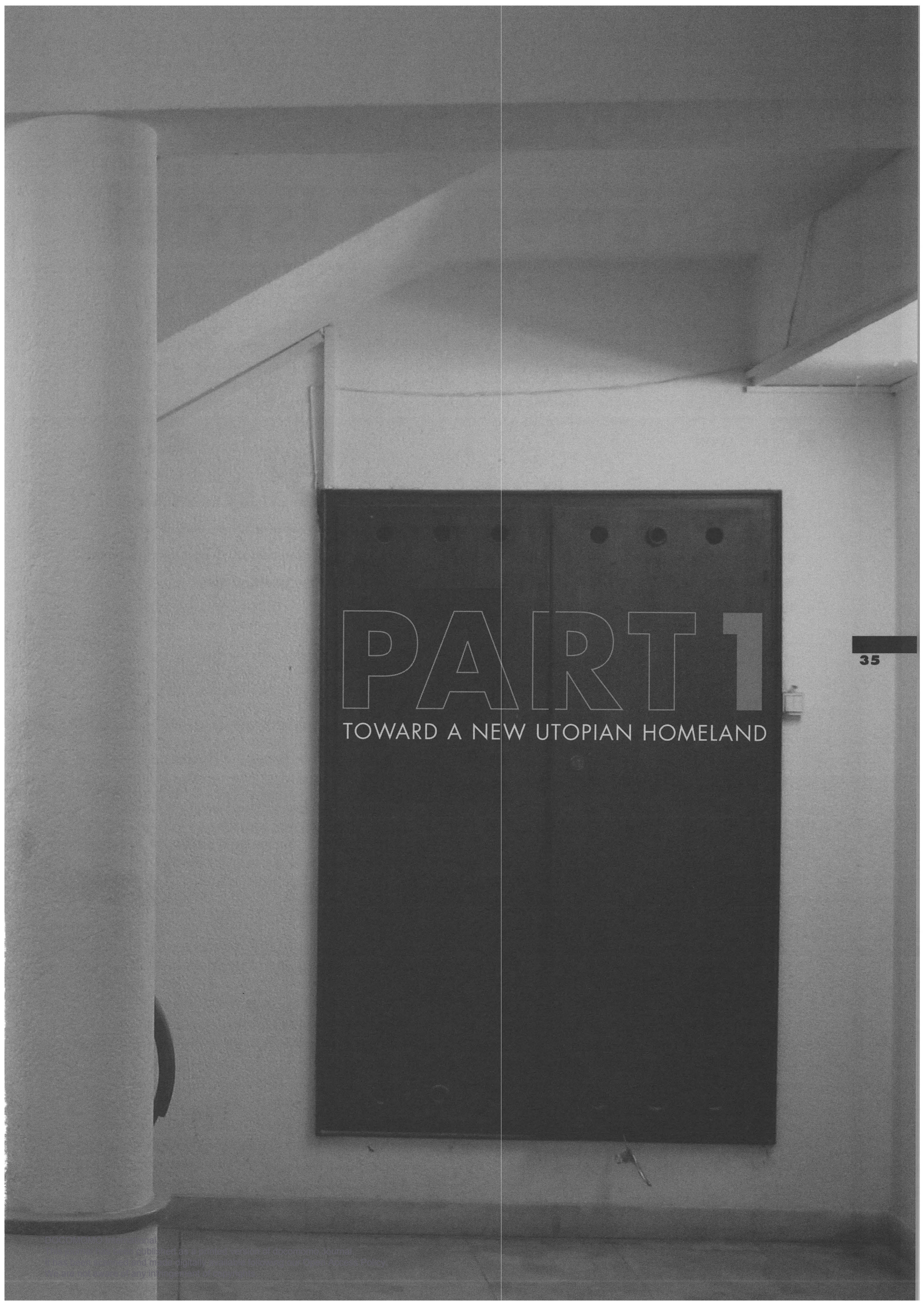

PART 1

TOWARD A NEW UTOPIAN HOMELAND

The Modern Movement **in Israel**

THE COMBINATION OF TWO UTOPIAS: THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND THE IDEA OF THE GARDEN CITY

MICHAEL **LEVIN**

Rural and urban settlements in the first half of the twentieth century in Israel tried to prove that "lofty" intentions could be realized at the foundation of new communities, that it was possible to establish communities where the ideology of equality, division of property and social involvement in the formulation and management of the community, could guide the establishment and on-going conduct of those communities.

FURTHER, that it was possible to turn city and town residents into people who work the land, that it was possible in the heart of a city to establish cooperative workers residences for people with similar politic thoughts and ideas, and that it was possible to build a modern city after the nineteenth-century industrial revolution, combining the principles of garden city and those of the modern movement.

PREMIÈRE MOITIÉ DU XX[E] SIÈCLE : ISRAËL, NOUVEL ÉTAT, NOUVELLE COMMUNAUTÉ, EST LE THÉÂTRE DES POSSIBILITÉS. PARMI CELLES-CI, L'UTOPIE DE CONSTRUIRE, APRÈS LA PREMIÈRE RÉVOLUTION INDUSTRIELLE, UNE VILLE MODERNE OÙ LA CITÉ-JARDIN S'ASSOCIERAIT À L'ARCHITECTURE MODERNE. DES KIBBOUTZ AUX KEVUTZA, EN PASSANT PAR LES MOCHAVIM, LES RÉSIDENCES COOPÉRATIVES DE TRAVAILLEURS ET LES CITÉS-JARDINS, AUTANT DE STRUCTURES DIFFÉRENTES CENSÉES PALLIER LA RÉVOLUTION INDUSTRIELLE ET RÉPONDRE À L'IDÉAL D'UNE CITÉ-JARDIN. ANALYSE DES TENANTS ET ABOUTISSANTS D'UNE UTOPIE DU MOUVEMENT MODERNE À TRAVERS L'ÉTUDE DU MOCHAV DE NAHALAL ET DE LA PLACE DIZENGOFF À TEL AVIV.

UTOPIAS

According to the dictionary definition, "utopia" is: (1) a lofty, but impractical plan; (2) a mythical place where everything is ideal and conducted in a most sophisticated manner.

WITHIN A VERY SHORT PERIOD, various forms of agricultural and modern settlements were formed, from the *kibbutz* and the *kvutza* through the communal *moshav*, neighborhoods and garden cities that were built on the basis of the ideas formulated throughout the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, and developed in the avant-garde schools such as the Bauhaus, which strove to find planning and design solutions for the new spirit. Rural and urban settlements from Nahalal to Tel Aviv can be viewed now as laboratories for implementing the modern principles in their planning, with ambitious and unique social ideas.

GARDEN CITIES OF TOMORROW

The idea of the garden city served as the most important source of inspiration for planning cities, neighborhoods, kibbutzim and mosheim in Israel in the first half of the twentieth century.

This idea was born in England at the end of the nineteenth century, and was formulated later by Ebenezer Howard in 1898, as part of a social policy that sought urban dispersion in the rural extensions, to counterattack the illnesses of the urban fabric identified with the industrial revolution. In addition to that, the integration of industry and agriculture called for a system of cities

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Fig. 1. **Richard Kauffmann**, *Nahalal*, 1921

with a limited size (32,000 inhabitants) and linked by railroads as satellite cities along the countryside.

IN ISRAEL, those originating causes and these design principles did not play a significant role, since the communities had just been founded and their founders were striving for a rapid growth, and were still less aware of the problem of the city's dimensions. The idea can be viewed as a kind of advance cure for the bad ramifications of industry that still did not exist. Closeness to the land, nature and vegetation, the importance of green vistas, as the joint principles that guided the designers of the idea of the garden city fascinated the Zionist movement. This idea was realized first in the planning of moshavim, in garden neighborhoods, and only then in the kibbutz. The first residents in kibbutz Degania settled there in 1908 in an existing building that was characteristic of Ottoman rural construction. In the first years, there was no physical expression to the ideological fervor that characterized the community. Neither the architecture, nor the planning of the community, nor even the central ornamental area that soon would become the heart of the kibbutz, indicated a new form for the new group that established there. Only after years of social and economic integration could we speak of uniqueness in the planning of the community, which also relied to a great extent on the idea of the garden city.

NAHALAL was the first moshav, and it shows an ideal plan with a clear shape that resonated in the imagination of the residents of Israel. Its echoes reached far and wide. Aerial photographs of Nahalal show a circular, slightly elliptical community, around which there are worked fields that are evenly divided into triangular shapes. Nahalal is similar to Howard's general scheme, although he emphasized that it was just a diagram, and that it was impossible to make a detailed plan until a specific place had been selected. We can, of course, claim that architect Richard Kauffmann took Howard's simple diagram and adapted its schematic shape, but as we can see from the planning of more than one hundred communities in Israel, the adjustment of the plan to the topographical conditions, the climate, and the special needs of each community, which compensated for dogmatism in the use of the idea of the garden path, makes his work unique.

THE IDEALISTIC CHARACTER of the residents and the idea of a workers' community brought about the attempt to see a connection between the Nahalal plan (1921) and the ideal city in other incarnations, particularly the elliptical plan of the ideal town of Chaux designed by Claude-Nicolas Ledoux in the decade 1770–80. There are even far reaching architectural historians that connect the shape of Nahalal with the ideal city which draws inspiration from heavenly Jerusalem. This association,

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whether it was one of the factors in the geometrical planning of the community or not, emphasizes the ideal and utopian character of the first moshav. A comparison between aerial photography and a sketch that outlines Nahalal from a bird's eye view emphasizes the dramatic differences between what exists and what was desired. Despite the economic prosperity, the residents did not deduct the necessary amounts of money to build the cooperative institutes in the center of Nahalal, and the public house that Kauffmann planned in 1929 was not carried out. Julius Posener—an architect and historian who lived in Israel in the 1930s and 40s and immigrated to England before completing his life as an important architectural historian in Berlin—asked Kauffmann in 1938 about the absence of a relationship between the size of the village and the size of the center. Kauffmann tended to relate this to temporal economic considerations, and believed that over time, his ideas for the construction of the massive cooperative institutions in the center would be realized.

THE IDEA of the garden city was the principle that guided Richard Kauffmann in planning six neighborhoods in Jerusalem, and most of the new neighborhoods in Haifa, from Bat Galim on the seashore through Hadar HaCarmel, and up to Ahuza. It was not only Ramat Gan (1921), the first to be called a garden city, that was planned following Howard's principles. The plan of Tel Aviv is also based on this idea. Among the plans that were prepared for the city in 1909, there was the Stiassny plan, which was influenced by the idea of the garden city. The plan arrived late, and was therefore not discussed, but its heart-warming sketch, in which the green trees rule the city's design, was hung in a prominent place in the municipal archives, and because of its accessibility to researchers, it appears in many books dealing with the documentation of the city's heritage, despite the fact that in 1909, it was not so fortunate. It seems that the idea of the garden city was the principle guiding the development of the city, first according to the ideas raised by Kauffmann, and then by his successor Patrick Geddes, who prepared the Master Plan in 1926. When Tel Aviv was declared a World Heritage City by Unesco in 2003, it won this honor due to the unique combination of a garden city with the largest concentration in the world, at an early date, of international style architecture. Even when the first houses were being built, led by the Herzliya Gymnasia building, the city's residents saw New York before their eyes as a model of modernism and dynamism to which the new city they were building strove to be similar. Despite the neglect and the rampant real estate development, thousands of modern buildings have survived in Tel Aviv, and the grid of the streets and vegetation has also survived according to Geddes's Plan. The view from one of the skyscrapers toward the White City testifies that it is also a green city thanks to the public gardens, and even more so due to the trees planted on the streets and in the

Fig. 2. Tel Aviv White City, aerial view, 1940s

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Fig. 3. **Genia Averbuch**, *Dizengoff Circle*, 1934–48

gardens. In Tel Aviv, as in other cities in Israel, a special combination has been created between the garden cities (the green answer to the industrial revolution) and the architecture of the modern movement, one of whose characteristics was the aesthetics of the machine.

AS opposed to garden neighborhoods and concentrations of modern architecture in England, Germany and other countries, the vision of Geddes, as well as the large concentration of modern construction in practice, was in the heart of the city, and did not take place only in distant neighborhoods. The radicalism of Tel Aviv found expression in the choice of the idea of the garden city and the adoption of the modern movement in architecture for planning the entire city, starting from the center and not from the suburbs, an idea that has been maintained over the years. Geddes believed that ideas and ideals have the power to make a city progress. Tel Aviv is the only place in which his ideas were adopted and maintained throughout the years, from the day of the plan's approval in principle in 1927 until today.

DIEZENGOFF CIRCLE: FROM BUILDINGS IN THE SPIRIT OF THE MODERN MOVEMENT TO A MODERN URBAN TEXTURE

In the first stages of Tel Aviv's developments, there were no significant urban focus points in the city. In 1934, an architectural competition was called for designing a central square, which would be named after Zina Dizengoff, the late wife of the first and beloved mayor of Tel Aviv. Sir Patrick Geddes had dictated the location of the square and its importance in the master plan of the city that he prepared in 1926. The jury of the competition did not find it appropriate to grant a first prize, but a second prize was awarded to Genia Averbuch. Eventually, it was her plan that was chosen to be implemented. There is a certain irony in the fact that an architect who did not win the proper recognition of the jury planned the most important and famous square in the city. Averbuch defined the shapes of the facing of all the buildings that were to be constructed over the years around the square, by different architects chosen by the owners, and without taking into account the function fulfilled by the building: residential, leisure (such as a cinema), or commercial. Despite the construction lasting some fourteen years, from 1934 to 1948, the planners honored the instructions and maintained the special character of the square.

THE CIRCLE dictated not only the façades of the buildings around it, but also the ones of the buildings on the parallel streets, thus influencing the urban plan. The facing and the interior plan of the Kupat Holim pharmaceutical warehouse that was designed by Yosef

Fig. 4. **Genia Averbuch**, Dizengoff Circle competition 1934, photographed 1938

© Government Photo Archives

Neufeld, and the Ohel Theater by Arye Sharon, are rounded in accordance with the angle of the street, and add to the drama of the circle in the square. The narrow open groove enabled ventilation of the balcony in addition to emphasizing the circle. The penetration of the breeze from the sea is a necessary condition for use of the balconies. The aprons on the upper portion of the balconies cast a shade on the balcony and create a dramatic play of light and shadows. The square broadcasts a flowing movement of centrifugal circles that expresses the dynamic spirit of "the city that doesn't stop," as the White City was called many years later.

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THE MANY aerial photographs of Nahalal and Dizengoff Circle that were frequently published in newspapers and books of the period emphasize the special connection created in Israel between the circle/ellipse of Nahalal, inspired by Howard's garden city at whose heart is the people's house in the spirit of the modern movement, and the circle of Dizengoff Square, which was born in the garden city plan of Geddes, and at whose heart are buildings inspired by the modern movement. Bringing the two sites into focus together (superimposing circle on circle), reveals that the rural community and its buildings, and the urban city square, both express the combination of the garden city idea and architectural modernism.

© photograph by Isaac Kalter

Fig. 5. **Joseph Neufeld**, *Kupat Holim Center and Medicine Storeroom*, Beilinson Street, 1937

MICHAEL LEVIN *is a modern and contemporary art and architectural historian, curator and author of* White City, *exhibited and published at Tel Aviv (1984 and 1994), New York (1984–85), Berkeley (1985), Buenos Aires and Sao Paulo Architectural Biennial (1999).*

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Fig. 6. **Yaakov Pinkerfeld**, *Beit Hannah-Women Workers Farm, 75* Ben Gurion Boulevard, 1935

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The International Style and **the Two Faces of Zionism**

HADAS **SHADAR**

Linguists tend to divide language symbols into two parts: semiotic and semantic symbols, where the first ones relate to the proper element, and the latter ones deal with the meaning attached to them. These meanings, which are rooted in our cognitive concepts, do not belong only to the linguistic field; they are common in other fields, such as architecture, which also has semiotic and semantic symbols.

À PARTIR DE L'ÉTUDE SÉMANTIQUE DU STYLE INTERNATIONAL EN ISRAËL, HADAS SHADAR MET EN LUMIÈRE LE PARALLÉLISME TROUBLANT EXISTANT ENTRE CE DERNIER ET LE SIONISME. ÉVOLUANT ENSEMBLE, ILS PARTAGENT UN RAYONNEMENT NATIONAL PUIS UNE IDENTITÉ VERNACULAIRE JUSQU'À UNE IDENTITÉ URBAINE DEVANT FAIRE FACE À LA PLACE ÉMERGENTE QUE PREND LA RURALITÉ. TOUS DEUX MOUVEMENTS NOUVEAUX, NÉS EN EUROPE, CONSÉQUENCES DIRECTES DE LA RÉVOLUTION INDUSTRIELLE, LE STYLE INTERNATIONAL COMME LE MOUVEMENT SIONISTE ONT POUR VŒU DE CRÉER UN MONDE BRILLANT ET NOUVEAU À L'EST, EN ISRAËL. RETOUR SUR UNE HISTOIRE COMMUNE.

THIS ARTICLE will deal with the semantic meanings of the international style in Israel. The various meanings of this style are spread out in the article, going from a national relevance, to a vernacular identity, and finally, to a style with an urban identity. As such, it is no wonder that this style represents the architecture that is most identified with the main city in Israel—Tel Aviv.

THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE AS A SONG OF PRAISE TO MODERNISM

If architecture, in general, deals less with symbols and more with the functional organization of space, then modern architecture does so even more. Modern architecture viewed functionalism as its essence, the essence of its meaning. Apparently, the semantics of modern architecture embody the structural and typological truthfulness of the plan.[1]
However, are just the semantics of industrialization and progress interwoven in modern architecture? The Israeli attempt shows that additional elements are intertwined in it. For the purpose of understanding them, we must understand the historical narrative. In the words of Wittgenstein (1953) we need to understand the specific context in which architecture is integrated.

MODERN ARCHITECTURE was brought to Israel by Jewish immigrants from Europe, particularly from Germany, Austria and Poland, as well as some of the Jewish natives of Israel who traveled to study in Rome, Paris, Brussels, and in the Bauhaus in Germany. The influence of the avant-garde movements on them was powerful, and international architecture "migrated" to Israel together with them in the 1930s (Szmuk, 1994).
What were the semantics of modern architecture in Israel? Apparently, the style symbolized what was called for by international architecture as it was: truthfulness to the material, admiration for the machine aesthetics and industrialization, and the dynamic of change. However, since the full meaning of the word is derived from the specific context in which it is integrated (Wittgenstein, 1953), the full meaning of the architectural style is also derived from the context in which it is absorbed and built. In our case: not from the shape and the material, but from the history, the thought and the culture of those looking at and using the architecture (Norberg-Schulz, 1989). In Israel, therefore, the meaning of the international style is derived from the contents and from the beliefs of Jewish society.

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THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE AS NATIONAL EXPRESSION

It is clear that despite the 'direct import' of modern architecture from Europe, the Jews in Israel saw completely different elements in modern architecture than the imported ones: they saw them as national elements.
The innovativeness of the international style was expressed as it was. The style being a product of Europe, together with the challenge of old Europe and the saturation of history seems parallel to other movements, European in origin, which guided old Europe from behind and strove to build a new and good world. The international style's departure from within the material (reinforced concrete) also expressed a different revolutionary movement, which put spiritual matters behind and centered on material matters. In other words, we can say that modern, international elements were copied from their original, plastic elements, and were the harbingers of other elements, much more simplified. The tremendous absurdity was that the international style expressed—in the opinions of its Jewish consumers—their own Jewish movement, Zionism.

AS WITH THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE, Zionist was a new movement (the First Zionist Congress took place in 1897). As with the international style, Zionism was a European movement: it was born in Europe, as a direct result of the industrial revolution, of the spring of nations, and of anti-semitism. As with the international style, Zionism wanted to leave Europe and the "old world" behind and create a new and enlightened world in the East, in Israel.[2] As with the international style, Zionism wanted to depart from the material: Jews would no longer be languid and faint, lacking a homeland and any connection to land, but 'normal' people like all the nationalities, with physical strength and a direct connection to the land of their homeland.[3]
And indeed, copying the semantics from plastic elements to national elements assisted the international style in conquering its new space. Modern homes were built as collective buildings, but especially as urban residential buildings. Private homes, public housing neighborhoods—all of them, as if by higher command, were built in light of the international style, which became more and more identified with Zionist settlement in the land of Israel, and after a while, with Jewish construction in the State of Israel in general, and in the large city of Tel Aviv in particular. Neither impressive houses of parliament (Vale, 1992), nor monumental houses of worship represented Zionist settlement. Rather, it was represented by an architectural style which was used to build joint residential buildings of up to four storeys.
In Tel Aviv, residential buildings were integrated into Patrick Geddes's plan for the city (1925–26). They were built on small plots of half a *dunam* (1/8 of an acre), which were intended originally for single-family homes *(fig. 1)*.

THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE AS VERNACULAR OR AS A SONG OF PRAISE TO URBANISM

The identification of the international architectural style with the Jewish community in Israel was so strong that Herbert (1995) claimed that international architecture is nothing other than vernacular architecture: Israeli vernacular.

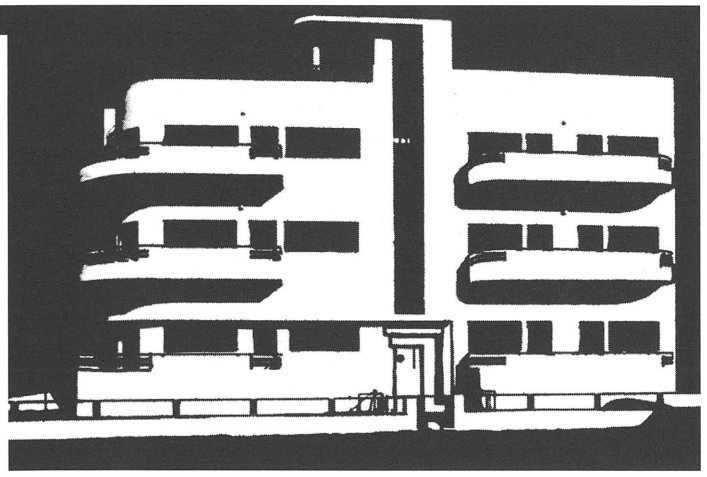

Fig. 1a. **Shulman Ben-Ami**, *Home of the Tzimbel family*, Tel Aviv, 1934

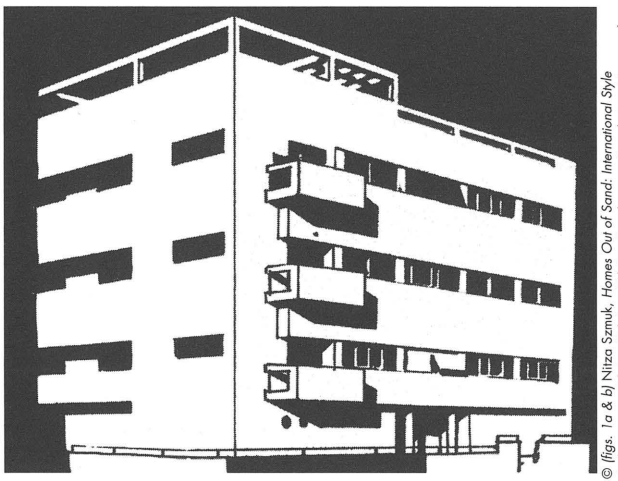

Fig. 1b. **Anekstein Binyamin**, *Home of the Heller family*, Tel Aviv, 1936

© *(figs. 1a & b)* Nitza Szmuk, *Homes Out of Sand: International Style Architecture in Tel Aviv* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Development Foundation, Ministry of Defense Publishing, 1994), 119 (Tzimbel house), 58 (Heller house).

HOW can the gap between international architecture and national, not to say vernacular, architecture be reconciled? Herbert explained it: first, the international style was marked at the outset by Mediterranean motifs, such as the color white, square masses and flat roofs (and Le Corbusier himself was influenced by Balkan architecture). Therefore, it is clear that the style is appropriate and worthy for construction in Israel, on the Mediterranean coast. Second, construction in Israel adjusted itself to the local climatic demands, and the openings in the homes were indeed smaller than the openings in similar structures in central Europe. Third, the building materials also were adjusted to the Jewish

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settlement in Israel: while Palestinian Arabs controlled the stone industry, Jews controlled the concrete industry. Fourth, concrete construction technology enabled quick preparation and quick construction (relative to stone technology), and answered the needs of Jewish migrants that were coming to Israel after Hitler's rise to power. The fifth reason is the main, and simplest reason: the international style was brought to Israel naturally by migrants who obtained their professional education in central Europe, and this natural and human import of the style is simply an indication of the vernacular, since the character of a place is created by the people living there. An in-depth view of Herbert's explanations gives greater validity to the human significance that he places on place, and on the vernacular definition in particular. Thus, other than one physical reason (the minimization of openings), the other reasons for the vernacular essence derive from human activity, just as the significance of the architectural structure is dependent on how it is perceived by people according to Norberg-Schulz (1989).
Herbert claims that the determination of the vernacular relies on the response to the following questions:
- Which society's people brought the architectural style with them?
- Which society's people hold the construction technology?
- Which society's people gain from the construction technology and from its quickness?

WE CAN THEREFORE summarize that the international style became a Jewish-Israeli national style thanks to the people: those who brought the style, those who built according to the style, and those who gained from its substance.
The identification of the human element with the architectural style hints to a tested scene of events: a scene of events rich in construction and rich in people—the city. There is no wonder that the places where the style is intertwined more than anywhere else where the most populated places, and in our case, particularly the city of Tel Aviv, which was established by the Jews in 1909 as an urban neighborhood of the Arab city of Jaffa. In Tel Aviv, the international style was celebrated like urbanism was celebrated: with the same human and garrulous effervescence, with noise, with aromas, and obviously with a plastic and formal variety that responded to the human variety.

THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE AND URBANISM CONVERGE BEFORE RURALISM

At the time of the establishment of the State of Israel, the three cities—Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and Haifa—and their surroundings were populated with 82% of the Jewish population in the country, with 43.1% of the population living in Tel Aviv alone (Sharon, 1951). It is clear that urban Zionism, with its stylistic architectural expressions, was preferred by most of the residents. But in parallel, an additional image was sanctified, physically and settlement-oriented, which also expressed Zionism—the rural image.

ZIONISM, which wanted to create a 'normal Jew,' sought out a heritage that the Jews in the diaspora lacked. And not only the heritage, but also the natural, child-like connection between a person and his land. This sought-after connection, utopian in character, was expressed in the preference for the configuration of a settlement that would ensure its realization—a configuration of the rural settlement based on agriculture. Upon the establishment of the State of Israel, people of the Labor movement, meaning those committed to rural settlement, took power. Two months after the establishment of the State and the formation of the provisional government, the State Planning Branch was established. The authority of this branch was immense: it was authorized to plan the young State on every scale, from National Plans through Regional, Urban and Neighborhood Plans (Reichman and Yehudai, 1984).

THE STATE, which wanted to provide an appropriate roof for the new migrants that doubled its population in three years, built for the most part in the framework of the public neighborhoods (*Israel Builds*, 1967). New neighborhoods in existing communities (including Tel Aviv) filled the land, and Tel Aviv was surrounded by neighborhoods in every direction (Yavin 2008, interview).

WHAT IMAGE WAS THERE TO THE NEW CONSTRUCTION? WAS IT RURAL? WAS IT URBAN?

The neighborhood of Ramat Aviv in Tel Aviv reveals the secret *(fig. 2)*. The new neighborhoods that the State built created a hybrid between city and village. On the one hand, they were urban neighborhoods: they were comprised of joint homes, as urban homes. On the other hand, the homes did not create urban spaces such as streets and squares, and were not similar to thoses of the international style. Some of them even mimicked rural homes, with a red slanted roof and laid in a free style over open land, bathed in green. There was just one noticeable difference between these pseudo-rural homes and actual agricultural village homes: the proportion. As proper for a public neighborhood, the new homes were joint homes with a number of families—in the case of Ramat Aviv, a dozen families to a building (Bennet and Perlstein, 1955).
And so, urbanism, and the international style with it, converged into the midst of Tel Aviv. On the edges of the city, spaces of a different species spread out, signifying a different Zionism.

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© State of Israel, Ministry of Housing, *Israel Builds – New Trends in Planning of Housing* (Jerusalem: 1967)

Fig. 2. **R. Bennet and Y. Perlstein**, *pseudo-rural homes*, Ramat Aviv neighborhood in north Tel Aviv being planned

THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE AND URBANISM – LATE RETURN

The practical Zionism of the Labor movement posed a strong challenge to the city and its joie de vivre in general, and toward Tel Aviv in particular, by virtue of its being the largest and most bustling city in the country.[4] At first, the anti-urbanism was expressed in the pseudo-rural neighborhoods in the cities. Over time, the appearance aspect of the rural dimension in planning faded away, and just the social-community aspect of it was left (Shadar and Oxman, 2003). Either way, urbanism was not conceived as a goal to strive towards, but the opposite. The international style became history.

The turning point came in 1984, when an exhibit was displayed at the Tel Aviv Museum which once again displayed the international style and its beauty. The curator, Michael Levin, called the exhibit "White City." The wheel started turning once again: awareness increased and the research and preservation process deepened[5] (Levin, 1981; Levin, 1984; Szmuk, 1994; Yavin, 2003). At the end of the process, the White City was included in the World Heritage List by Unesco in 2003. The international style once again won praise.

What is the significance of this clinging to the architectural style? Is it a nostalgic attachment (Azaryahu, 2005)? Is it an attempt to define the "I," the bourgeoisie Jewish Israel, as different from the Palestinians or the proletariat at the edges of the city (Rotbard, 2005)? Is it perhaps an attempt to cling to the years of Labor movement rule, to the days when the government and the social-cultural elite were one (Nitzan Shiftan, 2000)? This article proposes a different interpretation: the pining after the international style is a pining after urbanism.

Herzl did not envision Tel Aviv in his book *Altneuland*, but he described the two large cities, Haifa and Jerusalem, in absolutely urban terms. Haifa, the port city, was described thus: "When they reached street level, there was spread before them a wonderful city. A large square full of life sprawled in front of them. Tall buildings crowned with arches stood around them . . . It was called 'Nations Square,' a name that certainly fit it, not only because of the buildings, but also because many people filled it." (Herzl [1902] 1997, 53)

Urban spaces are mentioned in the description: streets, squares, boulevards. The bustling urban experience is also mentioned. Herzl, the father of political Zionism, expressed through the descriptions of cities his vision of a society living in security in its country after prior diplomatic arrangements, without needing the indefatigable actions of conquest of the land and of creation of "the New Jew," productive and connected to his land as a native. But this urbanism, like political Zionism, dissolved in the ardor of practical Zionism, with its rural imagery, until both the Labor settlement and the ideology behind it died away.

ALTNEULAND was published in 1902. Eighty-eight years afterwards, in 1990, a National Outline Plan was put forth in the State of Israel in light of the large immigration from the dissolving Soviet Union. The plan, NOP 31, knew enough to say out loud and clearly, after years of hesitations, the very same thing: it returned urbanism to center stage.[6] Did the rediscovery of the international style in Tel Aviv contribute to this? It is reasonable to assume not, but apparently, the same social trends—the dying out of practical Zionism on the one hand and the spread of individualism on the other—spurred both initiatives.

Urbanism had again taken its place. In institutional planning *(fig. 3)* and the hearts of the residents, it has been here all the time.

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Shmuel, Yavin (2008). Architect, employee of the Housing Branch Management since 1950. From the mid-1960s until 1973, he worked in the Central District of the Ministry of Housing. Telephone interview.

NOTES

1 Umberto Eco claimed that there are three codes to architecture: a technical structural code, a syntactic (typology) code, and a semantic code, with the structural element being what semantically clarifies the technical and syntactic codes.

2 The visionary of the State of Israel, Theodor Herzl, wrote a novel in 1902, in which he described the land of Israel in 1923 as a thriving land that whose progress, which was developed in Europe and implemented in Israel brought about its blossoming: "If I tell you now that a new village will not be established in all of Palestine, but in a different place, you will certainly think that I am joking. But this is the very truth. A new village was established in England, and in America, in Germany and in France: in books, in experience, in dreams. The failing attempts of those with a verdant imagination from the past were for you an important lesson, even if you don't know it." (Herzl, [1902] 1997, 114)

3 In the years 1900 to 1902, Max Nordau published his article, "Muscular Judaism." In the introduction to the article, he wrote: "We must think that we are to once again create a Muscular Judaism again! Because history shows that such Judaism already existed in the world. For too long, we have dealt with the killing of our flesh." (Nordau, 1936 [1900–1902], 171)

4 People from the Housing branch set themselves the goal of spreading out the population. From here, it was a short distance to the conclusion that Tel Aviv must be weakened in favor of settlement in other areas (Brotzkus, 1969).

5 Nitza Szmuk served as head of the Preservation Department in the Municipality of Tel Aviv between 1993 and 2003, and her concerted efforts were one of the central factors in the decision of Unesco to view the White City as a World Heritage Site.

6 In NOP 31, it was planned that the future spread of the population in the country would be accomplished in four main cities: Metropolitan Haifa, Metropolitan Tel Aviv, Metropolitan Jerusalem, and Metropolitan Beer Sheva. This concept of the desire settlement derived from the desire to leave open spaces, but also from the understanding that the urban residential pattern is the pattern desired by the decisive majority of the population (Lerman, 1991).

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Fig. 3 a & b. Buildings in the Lev Ha'Ir quarter in Carmiel and the use of urban space. City centers with urban space (here street space) were also built in new cities at the initiative of the Ministry of Housing in the 1990s–2000s. It is interesting that the architectural style draws inspiration from the international style
Urban Building Plan (UBP): Savichinsky Vitaly and Koviar Felix – Tel-Al Architects, Lev Ha'Ir quarter, Carmiel (1997–2000). The UBP won the Azrieli Prize for Urban Planning for 2007.
Structural planning: Schwartz Gabi, Shapira Chanoch and Levy Benny, Lev Ha'Ir quarter, Carmiel.

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The Red Side of Tel Aviv

PINKERFELD'S ARCHITECTURE IN THE KIBBUTZ SPHERE

YOSSI **KLEIN**

This article seeks to shift the focus of discussion about the ideological and formal origins of modern Zionist architecture to the rural kibbutz sphere. This change of emphasis is required in the context of the historical dominance of the pre-state Zionistic anti-urban agro-centric socialist ideologies and practices.

SI LE PEUPLE JUIF EST AVANT TOUT DÉCRIT COMME UNE NATION URBAINE, YOSSI KLEIN MET ICI EN LUMIÈRE LE RÔLE, TROP SOUVENT IGNORÉ, DE L'ARCHITECTURE EMPLOYÉE AU SEIN DES KIBBOUTZ RURAUX. APPARUS AU DÉBUT DU XIX[E] SIÈCLE, LES KIBBOUTZ ÉTAIENT ALORS MIS EN OPPOSITION PAR LEURS DÉFENSEURS AVEC TEL AVIV. LES PREMIERS ÉTAIENT L'ESSENCE MÊME DE L'ENTREPRISE JUIVE EN SON ENTIER, LA SECONDE, UN PHÉNOMÈNE MARGINAL, INCOHÉRENT, CONFUS. POURTANT, LES KIBBOUTZ FURENT LE THÉÂTRE D'INNOVATIONS ARCHITECTURALES DES PLUS DÉVELOPPÉES, QUI DEVINRENT À LEUR TOUR DES INFLUENCES. TOUR D'HORIZON DE L'ARCHITECTURE MODERNE DANS LA SPHÈRE DES KIBBOUTZ À TRAVERS L'ŒUVRE DE L'ARCHITECTE YAAKOV PINKERFELD.

JEWS have often been described as an "urban nation." However, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, anti-urban practices were adopted by European Zionists, western Herzlians, and Easterners, mainly from the Russian diaspora, both liberals and socialists, as part of the joint intention to achieve a national, social and individual 'resurrection.' It should be pointed out that the early Zionist opposition to the city was combined with recognition of the efficiency of rural settlement as a tool of colonization.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, as a result of the arrival of immigrants with a profound socialist revolutionary consciousness, the Haluz pioneer values were first formulated. This process was characterized by enlisting earlier agro-centric approaches to socialist priorities and materialist theories. The kibbutz was conceived at that time, as a central phenomenon. Thus, David Ben-Gurion, as well as many other leaders of the Jewish community in Palestine, would describe the kibbutz as the essence of the whole Zionist enterprise, and Tel Aviv as a "disordered marginal phenomenon – Nineveh," ignoring the real demographic situation: a clear majority of urban population.

IN CORRESPONDENCE with their centrality in the national rhetoric, architectural innovations that were developed in the kibbutz sphere[1] also became influential in the architectural planning regulations in Tel Aviv. We can remark the role played by avant-garde architects, particularly members of the Hug (circle of architects), who were active both in kibbutzim and in Tel Aviv; for instance, the architect Yosef Neufeld, who planned the first modern local school *(fig. 1)* in the Jezreel Valley (1932), and later implemented similar "red rational practices" in a variety of projects in Tel Aviv. The socialist architects in Tel Aviv focused on making changes in the original Geddes plan, intending to 'socialize' and 'de-urbanize' the city's spaces, contrary to trends aimed at privatization and commercialization.

In this spirit, David Remez, a prominent figure in the Histadrut (General Organization of the Jewish Workers in the Land of Israel), would describe the complete dependency of the 'new' architecture on the rural pioneering innovations, in these terms: "the new building and the plough blade are joined together."[2]

Specifically, this article will discuss the substantial contribution of the architect Yaakov (Kuba) Pinkerfeld (1897–1956),[3] whose work is barely mentioned in the existing historiography. The decision to focus on Pinkerfeld, who is considered to be a prominent 'modernist,' is due to his singular contribution (at a late stage in his career) to the

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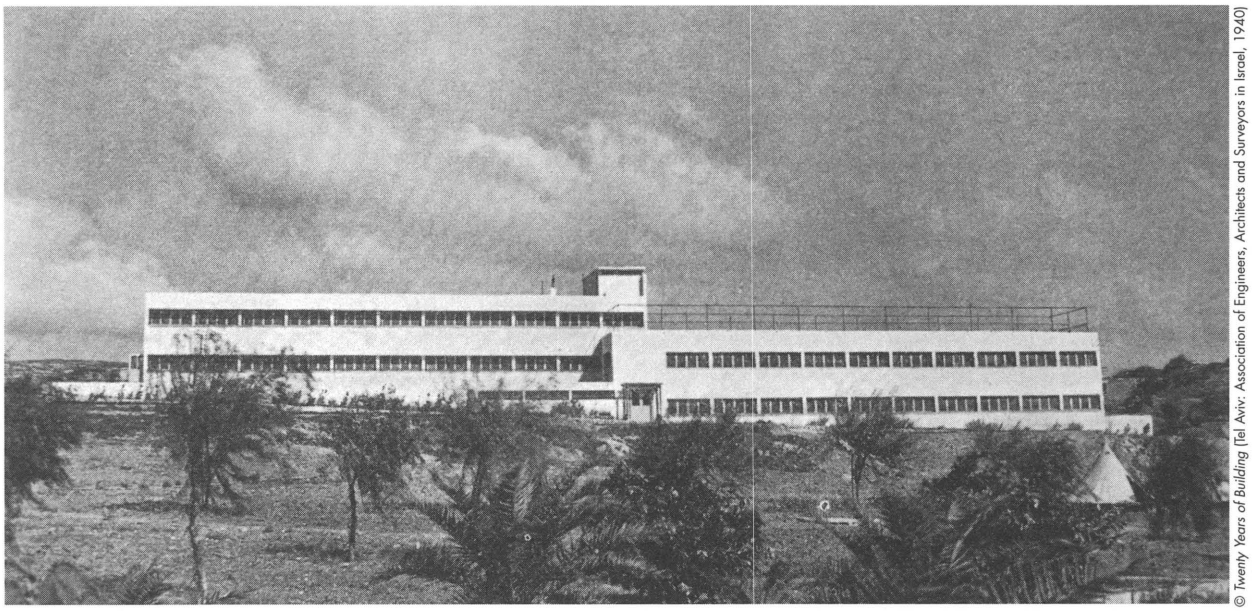

© *Twenty Years of Building* [Tel Aviv: Association of Engineers, Architects and Surveyors in Israel, 1940]

Fig. 1. **Yosef Neufeld**, *Central School*, Mishmar Haemek, 1935

partial withdrawal from international practices and to the use of regional and historic typologies, contrary to the main pre-state Zionist trends.

YAAKOV PINKERFELD AS ARCHITECT: FROM MODERNISM TO JEWISH REGIONAL ARCHITECTURE

Pinkerfeld's architectural style until the 1940s can be described as 'modernist' in the spirit of the main tendencies of pre-state Zionist architecture in Palestine after the establishment of the British Mandate.[4] Starting from the mid-1930s, Pinkerfeld focused mainly on the design of public buildings in the rural kibbutz sector. The first to be built in this context was the Beit Tarbut (cultural center) (1934) at Kibbutz Mizra *(fig. 2)*. This was one of the first cultural centers in the Hashomer Hatzair Kibbutzim, whose construction was accelerated in light of the political decisions made during the Hadera Conference (1935).

According to Pinkerfeld, the architecture of the new typology, Beit Tarbut, should "symbolize the new communal era," a "pedagogical" example that will influence the development of the whole new avant-garde kibbutz environment.

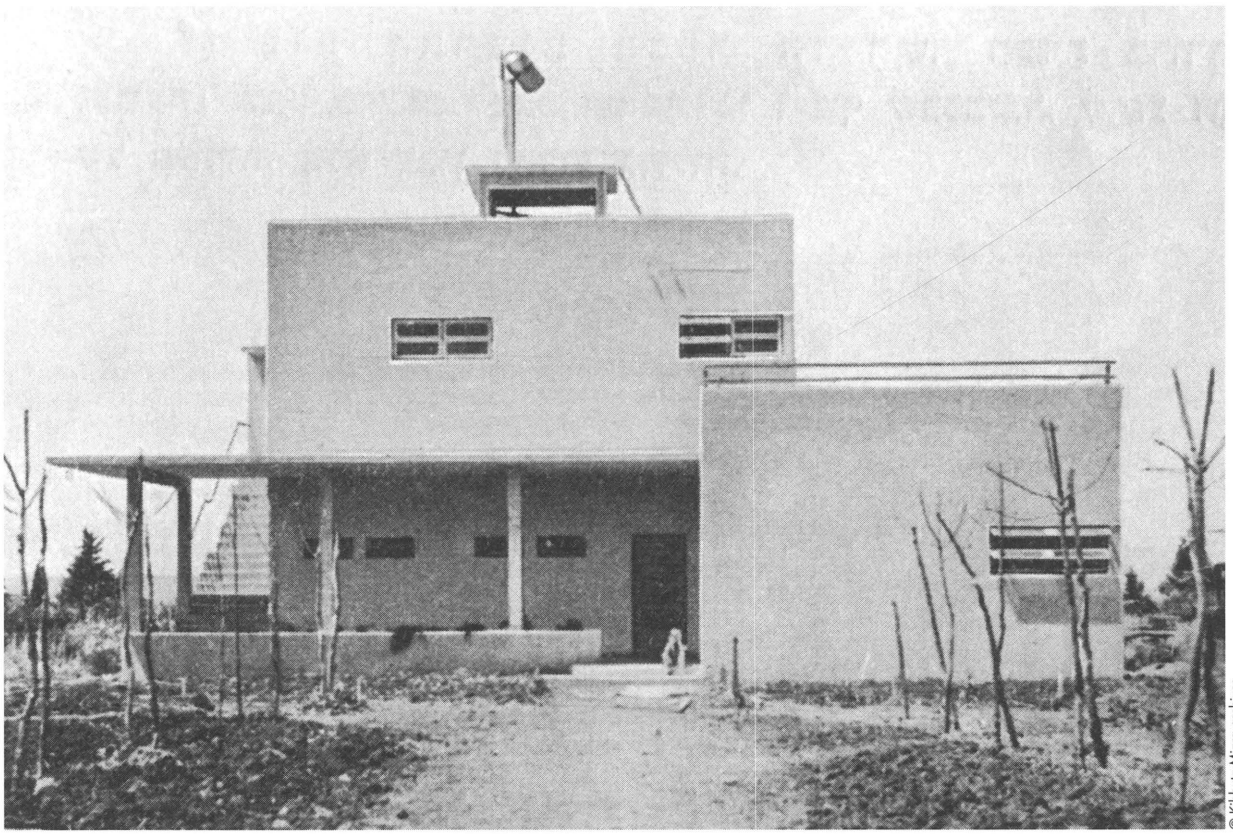

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Fig. 2. **Yaakov Pinkerfeld**, *Beit Tarbut*, Kibbutz Mizra, 1934

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PINKERFELD based the Beit Tarbut at Kibbutz Mizra on free, asymmetrical, and dynamic architectural composition principles. In fact, the Beit Tarbut is merely a rhetorical 'total object' based on the New Art principles defined by Yaakov Riftin, one the heads of Hashomer Hatzair, as "the only measure of the collective future."

ANOTHER PROMINENT BUILDING planned by Pinkerfeld is the Beit HaTnua, the central building of the Kibbutz Ha'Artzi movement, built in 1938 at Kibbutz Merhavia *(fig. 3)*. This building served as the administrative center of the movement, and also housed its printing press. The establishment of an independent publishing house was intended to enable methodological indoctrination through the distribution of socialist political, literary and artistic texts on a national scale. This building was partially elevated on pilotis and had a usable roof space, in the manner also implemented in Tel Aviv. Additional elements, such as the height of the floors and the special ventilation windows, can be described as local adaptations to modern European architectural norms. Elevating the Beit HaTnua in a way that is not characteristic of rural buildings reflected the intention to turn Kibbutz Merhavia into a functional and monumental center for the entire Jezreel Valley, as well as for the adjacent city of Afula.

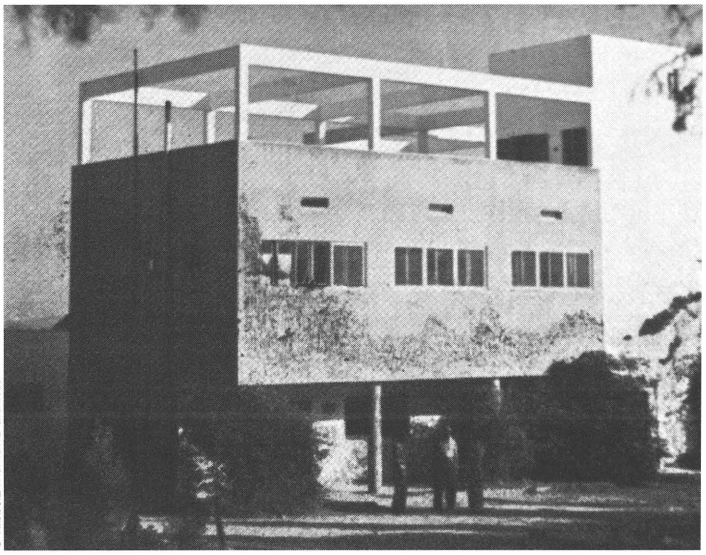
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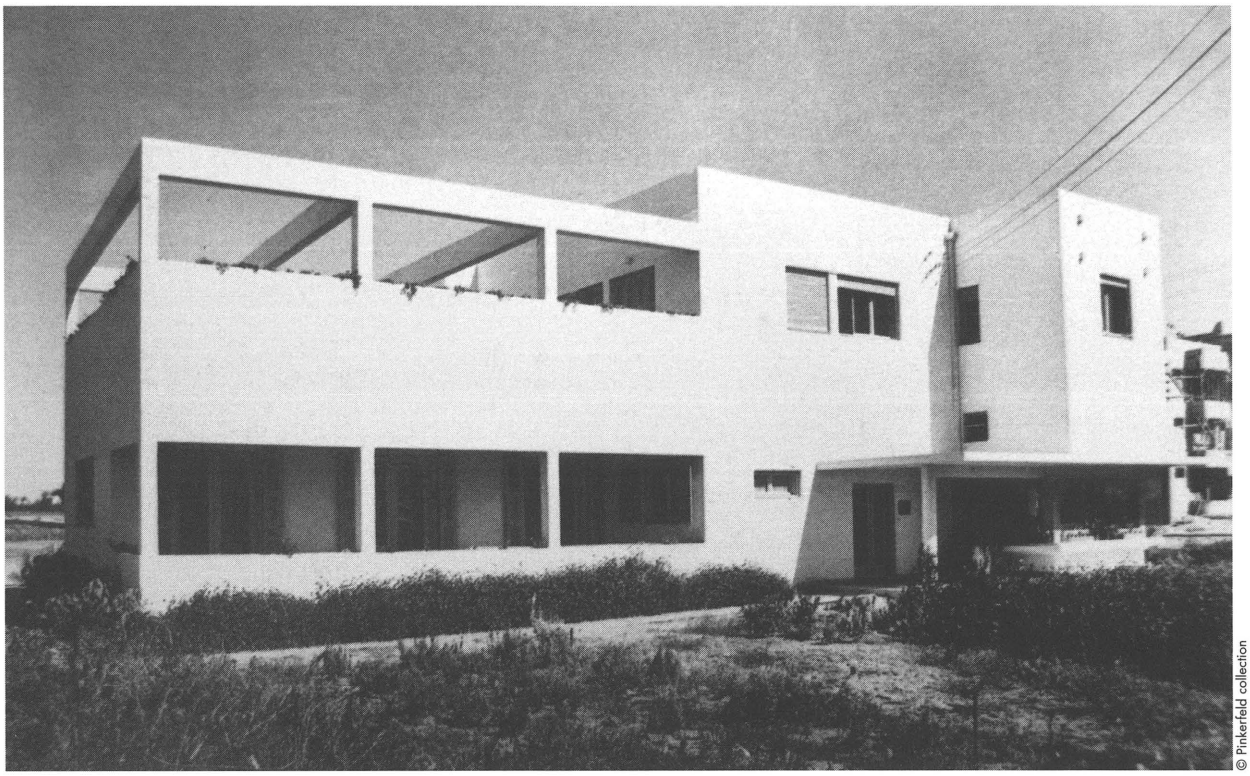
Fig. 3. **Yaakov Pinkerfeld**, *the Kibbutz Ha'Artzi Movement's Central Building*, Merhavia, 1938

PINKERFELD also planned the central building of the Women Workers' Farm,[5] named after Chana Meisel (1935),[6] in the center of Tel Aviv's urban fabric *(fig. 4)*.[7] The Women Workers' Farm movement was an extraordinary feminist attempt, led by Chana Meisel, to base core groups for agricultural training in preparation for the mass migration from the city to the village, part of the socialist intention to dismantle the bourgeois city of Tel Aviv.
Chana House is an eloquent modernistic example: it is a horizontal building, starting at ground level, as opposed to Tel Aviv architecture of the time, which usually included pilotis. It also featured built awnings, hanging gardens and rooftop balconies, which were intended to adjust the international architectural norms to the rural ideological context, as well as to the local climatic conditions.

THE BEIT TARBUT at Kibbutz Ramat Hakovesh *(fig. 5)*, which was built between 1941 and 1943, indicates a

Fig. 4. **Yaakov Pinkerfeld**, *Women Workers' Farm*, Tel Aviv, 1935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significant change in direction in the architecture of Yaakov Pinkerfeld. This was a one-storey building, whose plan was based on ancient regional atrium typology. The use of historic and local typologies as a source for new modern architecture is exceptional, and a far-reaching innovation for this period; it raises questions regarding the circumstances that led to Pinkerfeld's attempt to vernacularize modern patterns. It should be noted also that Pinkerfeld considered the Beit Tarbut at Ramat Hakovesh as the jewel in the crown of his architectural work, a declaration of a new architectural orientation that was developing out of a "renewed connection" to ancient Jewish architectural tradition. In fact, the architecture of this Beit Tarbut was poor, and did not exceed the

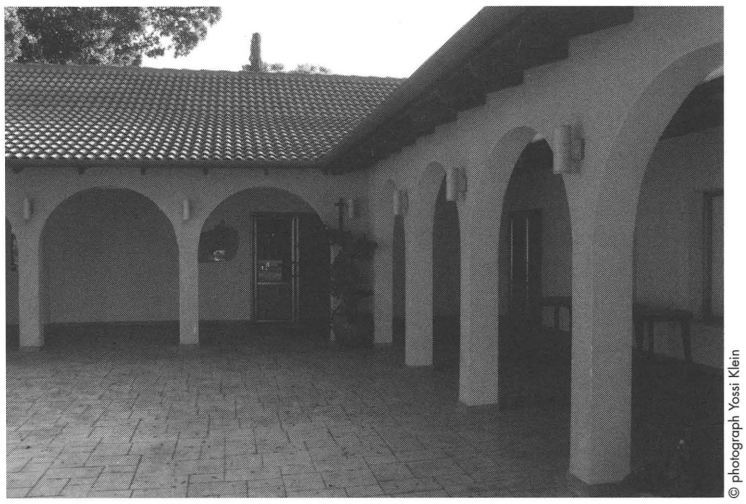

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Fig. 5. Beit Tarbut, Kibbutz Ramat Hakovesh, 1941–43, current condition

eloquence of his previous modern examples. Additional atrium-based modern buildings were planned by Pinkerfeld in Kibbutz Amir (1946) and Kibbutz Revadim (1952), but his attempt to change the direction of the major internationalist modern local trends did not succeed.

YAAKOV PINKERFELD, HISTORIAN OF JEWISH ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Pinkerfeld's historical research dealt with the wide context of Jewish artistic expression, covering a vast historic, disciplinary and geographic scope, from the study of ancient Jewish architecture based on archaeological discoveries in Palestine, to the historical study of Jewish material culture in Europe, North Africa and Yemen.

The over-all framework constructed by Pinkerfeld illustrates the Jewish artistic development and its iconoclastic character, as an expression of the richness of Jewish national life, combined with universal history. It seems that the development of perspectives and research topics over the period is also related to the political changes that were taking place between the two world wars. At first, Pinkerfeld's studies provided a historical framework that is cast over the new kibbutz Zionist formulation of that period, first through an abstract interpretation, and, later on, out of affinities that emphasize formal connections to ancient regional and national Jewish precedents.

The first article written by Pinkerfeld, "Jewish Art" (1923) was published in *Hashomer*, a Viennese socialist Zionist periodical, which served as a platform for discussion of the future society and settlement in Palestine. The article dealed on the very existence of Jewish art in the context of the "halachaic" prohibition. Artistic creativity, according to Pinkerfeld, is an integral part of Jewish life, where currently, "the period of suppression is behind us and today we are witness to the awakening of Jewish art, as part of the new Hebrew culture that is arising into rebirth." The article ended with an appeal to the members of Hashomer Hatzair to document examples of Jewish art, revealing Pinkerfeld's early intention to carry out a systematic study of Jewish art and architecture.

The main focus of Pinkerfeld's architectural studies dealed with synagogues. From a chronological standpoint, some changes in the topics of study can be identified: at first, the discussion centered on synagogues in ancient Palestine. In the early 1940s, Pinkerfeld's research interest turned to European synagogues, in parallel with the study of Jewish architecture in 'distant' communities (such as Aden, in 1942). After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, Pinkerfeld extended his research to North Africa.

HIS ARTICLE discussing "The Architecture of the Synagogue in Beit Alfa" was published in 1929, presenting the coincidental discovery of remnants of an ancient synagogue, made by members of Hashomer Hatzair, who found "important remnants of an ancient Hebrew settlement, which existed fourteen hundred years ago." The architecture of the ancient synagogues in Palestine and their ornamentation were described by Pinkerfeld as being integrated into the regional culture of the period, while the new archeological discoveries linked the "pioneer materialist present" to the "heroic national past."

Pinkerfeld's article "The Synagogues of Venice," considered to be among the most important studies of European Jewish architecture, was first published in 1942.[8] This article reflects a renewed interest in examples of European Jewish architecture developed in the context of the imminent danger to Jewish monuments under nazist and fascist regimes. In fact, "The Synagogues of Venice" can be seen as part of the Zionist activity aimed at rescuing Jewish monuments in Europe. It reflects an 'ethnographic' approach, claiming that European medieval synagogue typology is based on ancient Jewish Palestinian precedents. This thesis is opposed to the widely accepted concept, according to which medieval European synagogue architecture was based on local examples.

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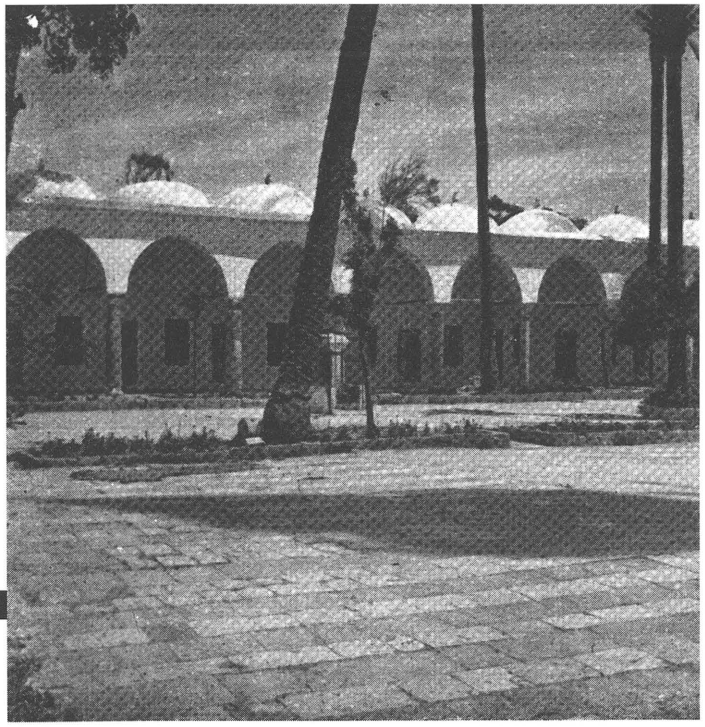
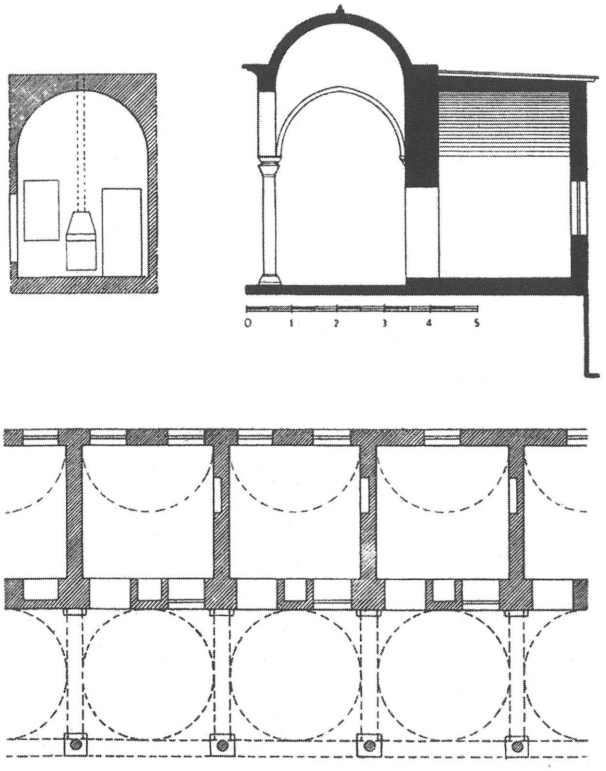
"ARAB BUILDING ART,"[9] published in 1943, marks an additional development in Pinkerfeld's research *(fig. 6)*. This article sums up the work of the Histadrut Committee, reflects the renewal of interest in local Muslim architecture, and makes an extensive review of vernacular construction techniques, courtyard typologies, etc., in Haifa, Acre and Jaffa.

Fig. 6. **Yaakov Pinkerfeld**, vernacular courtyard typologies





© Pinkerfeld, *Arab Building Art* (Tel Aviv Building and Techniques Research Institute, 1943)

CONFLICTING ARCHITECTURAL INTERPRETATIONS IN THE KIBBUTZ SPHERE: BETWEEN UNIVERSAL UTILITARIANISM AND REGIONAL MODERN ARCHITECTURE

The first kibbutzim in the Jezreel Valley were established in the context of conflicts and tensions as a result of the kibbutz movement's dual allegiance to universal, socialistic 'anti-historical' revolutionary trends that intended to build a totally 'new world,' and to the Zionist movement that was acting in a particular nationalist context.

These disputes also found expression in contradictory interpretations regarding the use of modern forms and the weight of historical, national, Jewish, local and regional precedents. In this context, we can define three different architectural interpretations, developed mainly in the Jezreel Valley.

THE UTILITARIAN INTERPRETATION: SOCIALIST ARCHITECTURE AS UNIVERSAL EXPRESSION

The establishment of the unified socialist utilitarian architectural norms characterized the main trends in the kibbutz socialist movements. The emphasis was placed on "engineering" and "building" through the institutionalization of architectural planning norms within the movement's organizational frameworks (the technical departments), while implementing Soviet and German socialist practices.

The bureaucratic planning departments, just like other kibbutz organizations, failed to inherit the principal ideological values; in particular, the value of authentic individual and communal self-expression was abandoned, and replaced by political and architectural conformism.

THE ANARCHIC INTERPRETATION: ARCHITECTURE AS "NEW GENESIS"

Developed mainly by the Viennese neo-romantic core group, who considered the return to simple agricultural collective life a cultural "new genesis." The land, strenuous work and kibbutz rural architecture were conceived by these anarchistic 'tribes' as tools for the empowerment of the erotic and physical experience, the religiosity and strength of the societal inclusionary existence, emphasizing 'primitive' expression, according to the theories formulated by Martin Buber and Gustav Landauer. The architect Leopold Krakauer made a significant contribution to the establishment of such an orientation. His sketches of the Galilean and Jerusalemite vernacular landscapes inspired him in his attempt to develop modern 'primitive' expressionist architectural practices.

THE REGIONAL INTERPRETATION: ARCHITECTURE AS A BI-NATIONAL EXPRESSION

Developed late, mainly by a group of architects from a Polish core group who were ideologically close to the

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anarchist stream. Dominant in this group were the architects Shmuel Bikeles, and, to a lesser extent, Yaakov Pinkerfeld and others, who gradually disconnected from the exclusivity of the international modern patterns. Bikeles made a significant theoretical and practical contribution, defining the Jezreel Valley as a classical Mediterranean region and naming the kibbutz center an "agora."

YAAKOV PINKERFELD'S CONTRIBUTION is noteworthy in the context of the shift towards the use of historical regional typologies, based on a multi disciplinary viewpoint, which developed as a result of his simultaneous occupation with architectural planning and historical and archaeological research. While other local architects acted out of architectural abstract interpretation, Pinkerfeld was a pioneer in the use of local and regional precedents and typologies based on academic research. This tendency can also be described as a retreat to academic formalism. Archaeological discoveries had a noticeable formal influence on Pinkerfeld's architecture. This is reflected in the new design patterns implemented by Pinkerfeld, starting with the Beit Tarbut in Kibbutz Ramat HaKovesh.

THE POLITICAL CONTEXT also contributed to Pinkerfeld's later shift towards the use of local patterns, especially in the early 1940s. This period is characterized by the increase of fascist actions against Jews in Europe, including the destruction of Jewish architectural monuments. The tragic news coming from Europe led to a demand for a complete disconnection from European and particularly from German culture, which was described by one of the art critics, a confidant of Pinkerfeld, as "enemy No 1."
Another reason for the shift to the use of local architectural patterns is linked to the continuing conflict between Arabs and Jews in Palestine. In this context, Hashomer Hatzair, as part the radical socialist Zionist bloc, supported the establishment of a bi-national state. As part of this aspiration, Pinkerfeld, as well as other socialist architects, strove for the creation of a wholly new local bi-national architecture, based on a shared regional heritage for Jews and Arabs.

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NOTES

1 Note the research of Emanuel Tal, Ruth Chanin and others. Note also another article by the author of the present article: Yossi Klein, "Modern Architecture in the Jezreel Valley," in A. Zelzer (ed), *The Jezreel Valley and its Paths* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi Press, 2007), 175–200.
2 David Remez, "The Measure of Building," in *Twenty Years of Building* (Tel Aviv: Association of Engineers, Architects and Surveyors in Israel, 1940), 4.
3 Born in Galicia, Yaakov Pinkerfeld joined the radical social Zionist movement Hashomer Hatzair, immigrated to Israel, and worked as a pioneer in agriculture. Pinkerfeld returned to Europe, where he studied architecture in Brno and Vienna. After the completion of his studies, he started to work as an architect in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, and in the kibbutz and rural sphere. Pinkerfeld also conducted archaeological, historical and ethnographical research, and later was appointed as the first person responsible for the preservation of historical buildings on behalf of the State of Israel (1950). Tragically, Yaakov Pinkerfeld's activities were cut short when he was killed on September 23, 1956, by Jordanian sniper fire, during an academic conference at Kibbutz Ramat Rachel.
4 The end of the Ottoman rule in Palestine and the transfer to British Mandatory rule, combined with the adoption of European cultural norms, spurred the tendency to employ modern modes. The worsening political conflict with the Arabs also played a part in encouraging the retreat from romantic 'oriental' styles. In the context of the characteristics of the architectural technocratic elite in Israel, a more complex picture is painted here, in which the architectural tendencies reflect the training paths of the architects: members of the Hug were dominant; some of them implemented concepts developed at the Bauhaus in Germany. Some of the architects who were active in the kibbutz sphere, among them Krakauer, Bikeles and Pinkerfeld, were influenced by norms developed in the European 'periphery' countries: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc.
5 On the activities of the Women's Workers' Farm, see R. Alper, *Banot ba nir Girls* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved Publishers Ltd., 1946); A. Fishman, *The Women's Workers Movement in Israel* (Tel Aviv: 1929). Lotta Cohen, a pioneering architect and acquaintance of architect Richard Kauffmann, was responsible for the planning of the Women Workers' Farm building in Nahalal.
6 On the centrality of Chana Meisel, see A. Carmel-Hakim, *A Green Flame: Chana Meisel – A Life's Work* (Ramat Efal: Yad Tabenkin, 2007) and Chana Meisel, *The History of a Girl's Education Toward Settlement* (Tel Aviv: 1967).
7 At the corner of Ben Gurion Boulevard and Adam Hacohen Street. The façade of the building has been changed beyond recognition, and a third floor was added to it prior to preservation efforts.
8 See also, Yaakov Pinkerfeld, *The Synagogues of Venice* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1954).
9 Yaakov Pinkerfeld, *Arab Building Art* (Tel Aviv: Building and Techniques Research Institute, 1943).

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Shaping a Modernist **University Campus**

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY CAMPUS IN GIVAT RAM AND THE TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY CAMPUS

DIANA **DOLEV**

The fact that the Tel Aviv University campus and the Hebrew University campus in Givat Ram, Jerusalem, were designed almost simultaneously is not a valid enough reason in itself to discuss the connections and to point out the differences between them. It merely adds another point of reference to the history of two of the largest and most prestigious projects at the time, almost immediately after the declaration of the State of Israel.

BOTH EMPLOYED leading Israeli modern architects. Furthermore, the historiography of art and culture in Israel tends to foster a polarity between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, and it is possible that this discussion could contribute to the discussion of this perception.

FTOUTES DEUX REPRÉSENTATIONS PRESTIGIEUSES DU MOUVEMENT MODERNE, L'UNIVERSITÉ HÉBRAÏQUE DE GIVAT RAM, À JÉRUSALEM, ET L'UNIVERSITÉ DE TEL AVIV FONT L'OBJET ICI D'UNE LECTURE CROISÉE. À TRAVERS LEUR HISTOIRE, LEUR ARCHITECTURE, LEUR ÉVOLUTION, LEUR POPULARITÉ OU ENCORE LEUR LIEN AVEC LA VILLE, DIANA DOLEV MET EN LUMIÈRE LEURS SIMILITUDES ET DIFFÉRENCES ET RÉVÈLE AINSI LE MODÈLE TYPE DU CAMPUS UNIVERSITAIRE MODERNE.

TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

This article relates to the Givat Ram campus in its function as a university, which lasted until approximately 1974. Currently, it hosts various research and training institutes, a few connected to the university, but the campus is not a proper university anymore.[1]

When the municipality of Tel Aviv initiated the planning of the Tel Aviv University campus in the early 1950s, the Hebrew University (officially opened in 1925)[2] held an exclusive status as the leading institution for higher education and a significant position in the Zionist national ethos. The fact that it was not called "the Jerusalem University" indicates its intended national significance. Hermann Shapira of the Hovevei Zion movement, one of the formulators of the idea of a Jewish university in Israel at the end of the nineteenth century, proposed in 1882 that a "higher school" be established in the center of the settlements.[3] He wanted this institution of higher education to be accessible to residents of the settlements, and far from the religious extremism of the Jewish community in Jerusalem. Shapira's idea of a higher education institution was realized with the establishment of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, but his proposed location was utilized only with the establishment of Tel Aviv University seventy years later.

Tel Aviv University grew out of a number of research and teaching institutions. The first of them was the Pedagogical Biological Institute, established in 1931, and operated from a hut on Yehuda Halevy Street. At the beginning of 1953, a special unit for higher education was established in the education department of the Tel

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Aviv municipality in order to promote the establishment of the university. On December 1st, 1953, the University Institute for Natural Sciences was opened in Abu Kabir in Jaffa: the genesis of the future university, but not its future campus.

The site allocated for the university was at the far end of the city, north of the Yarkon river, in the Ramat Aviv neighborhood that was then being built. The first master plan was presented in 1955 and on June 6 of the following year, the Tel Aviv University was officially established. The proposed university would unify various institutes: the Natural Sciences Institute, the Institute for Israeli Culture and the Higher School for Law and Economics, all of which were established earlier in Tel Aviv. On November 4, 1964, the campus dedication ceremony was held.

WHY WAS THE TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY ESTABLISHED?

Since the city's founding, the mayors of Tel Aviv had sought for the establishment of a local university. "The idea of a special university in Tel Aviv was expressed time and again by the late mayor Meir Dizrengoff, and by the current mayor, Mr. Y. Rokach . . .

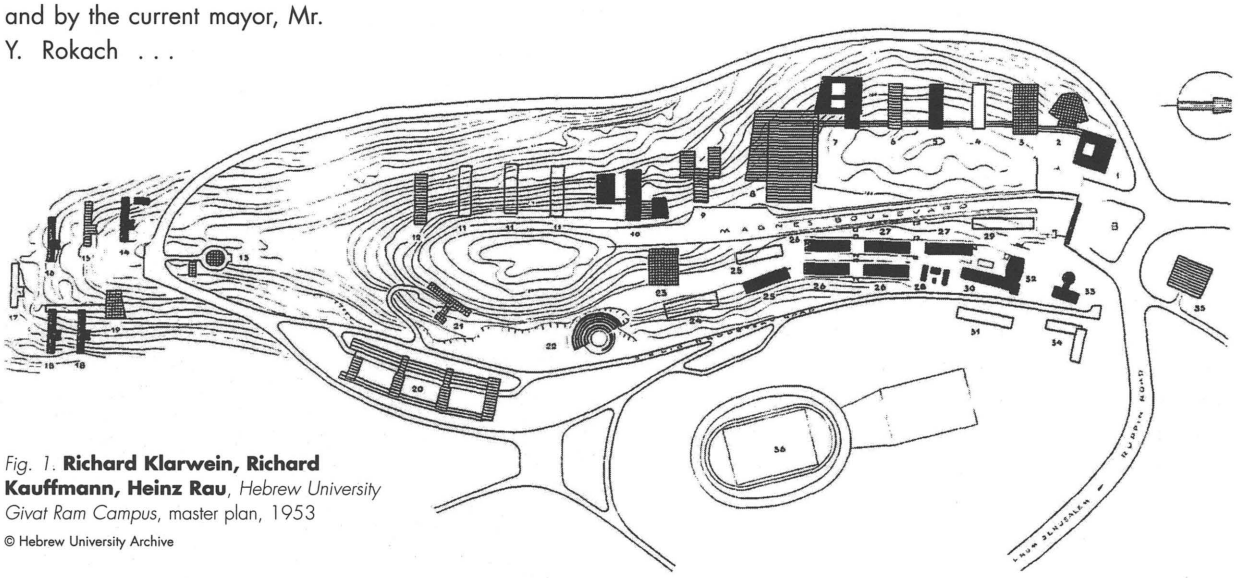

Fig. 1. **Richard Klarwein, Richard Kauffmann, Heinz Rau**, *Hebrew University Givat Ram Campus*, master plan, 1953

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For Tel Aviv will not always be able to settle for the institutions in Jerusalem and in Haifa," wrote in 1951 the editor of *Yediot Tel Aviv–Jaffa*.[1]

There were various obstacles on the path to realizing the plan. First of all was the national primacy granted to the Hebrew University by the Jewry worldwide. This fact alone sufficed for the idea of the establishment of an additional university to be repugnant to public officials, spiritual leaders, politicians and top administrators at the Hebrew University. But there were other reasons for the strong opposition to establishing a university in Tel Aviv, even expressed by people in the city of Tel Aviv itself.[5]

Post-independence, the new circumstances brought about a change: the new borders between Israel and Jordan, and out-of-town students' growing difficulties in settling in Jerusalem. Also, the number of students increased due to the large Jewish immigration in the 1950s, and the Hebrew University, which had lost its campus, was not able to absorb them all. As a result of that, a university in Tel Aviv had become an attractive solution. A university campus north of the Yarkon River also fulfilled the municipality's requirement for an expansion of its municipal boundaries, in general, and northward, in particular.[6]

CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE FOUNDING AND CONSIDERATIONS OF LOCATION

The government refused to assist in the establishment of Tel Aviv University. Nevertheless, the local municipality promoted the expansion of pre-existing institutes, as well as the planning and construction of the new campus. When on August 16, 1953, the Tel Aviv City Council decided to turn the Biological-Pedagogical Institute into the first university institute, the Hebrew University was in the midst of planning its Givat Ram campus as an alternative to Mt. Scopus, which was evacuated during the 1948 war. The architectural idea behind the design of the two campuses was exceedingly modern, in the spirit of the architectural style prevailing in Jewish towns and settlements, and most of all in the planning institutions of Jewish national significance.

While considerations of location for the Hebrew University derived from its special place in the Zionist ethos, local urban interests were considered in the case of Tel Aviv University. After the evacuation of the Mt. Scopus campus, the functions of the Hebrew University were spread throughout western Jerusalem in rented buildings and apartments. At the same time discussions were held in secret regarding an alternative location for a new campus. The secrecy was necessary to avoid public accusations of being unfaithful to the idea of returning to Mt. Scopus.[7] Today we know that as far back

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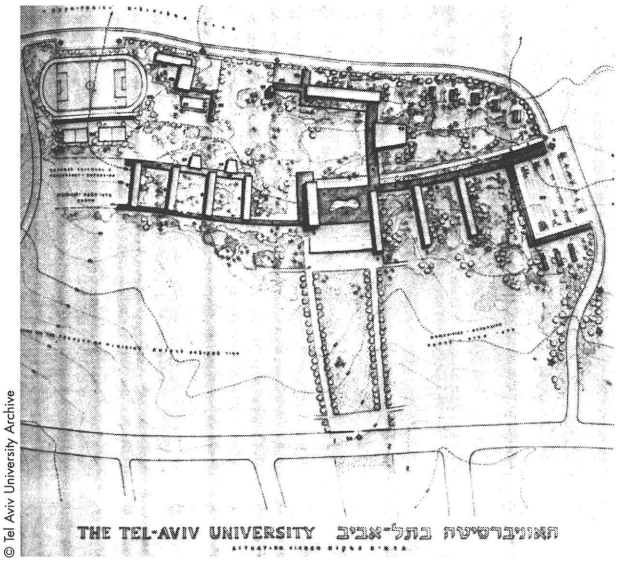

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Fig. 2. **W.J. Wittkower et al**, *University of Tel Aviv*, master plan, 1955

as 1949 secret discussions were held on the matter. University officials demanded a campus near the city center to make access easier for students and staff, while the government, led by David Ben-Gurion, tried to enforce the Ein Kerem site for territorial reasons. The Givat Ram site was accepted in 1953 as a compromise between both positions.

Simultaneously the Tel Aviv municipality resolved to erect the Tel Aviv University campus in Ramat Aviv. It could have been expected that the chosen location would be the existing Abu Kabir campus site. However, as far back as 1953 (and perhaps even earlier), mayor Yisrael Rokach had allocated 500 *dunams* (a dunam corresponds approximately to 1/8th of an acre) for the university near the Sheikh Muanis Palestinian village, whose residents were expelled during the 1948 war.[8] Thus, Rokach realized his desire to develop the northern part of the city, beyond the Yarkon. Furthermore, as in other evacuated Arab towns, construction at the Sheikh Muanis site was part of Israel's policy to erase the Palestinian heritage.

FIRST MASTER PLANS AND ARCHITECTURAL STYLE

There is much in common in the architects' visions as reflected in the first master plans for the two campuses *(figs. 1 & 2)*. Both were intended to be detached from their surroundings: in the case of the Givat Ram campus, the planning made use of the division caused naturally by the topography, and as in the case of the Tel Aviv campus, a differentiation from the built environment was also created through the allocation of broad open spaces and limiting vehicular entry. Within the compounds access is restricted to pedestrian paths only. In both campuses a main entrance leads to a broad square and to vast lawns and gardens, and a significant part of the walk from building to building takes place within garden areas.

BOTH CAMPUSES were designed by local leading architects of the international style, who were high-ranking employees of Zionist settlement institutions before and after 1948. Richard Klarwein, Heinz Rau, and Richard Kauffmann designed the Givat Ram campus *(fig. 1)*. Werner Joseph Wittkower, who completed a draft for the Tel Aviv campus master plan in 1953,[9] was later joined by architects Nachum Ziskind, Dov Carmi, Uriel Schiller and Aryeh Elchanani. Their 1955 master plan *(fig. 2)* is known today as the first campus plan.

AS EARLY AS March 1953, the director of the new Department for Higher Education in the Tel Aviv Municipality and the director of the Education Department declared that they would visit the Hebrew University in Jerusalem to gather information on how to construct a university campus (no evidence was found of such a visit being carried out).[10] As the Hebrew University campus was only in the planning stages at that point, we may assume that Wittkower became acquainted with its new master plan, and, furthermore, was influenced by it for his own Tel Aviv campus planning: this influence can be guessed by the broad entrance squares and the centrality of buildings for general use (administration, central library, etc.). While in Givat Ram the administration building is located next

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Fig. 3. Hebrew University, aerial view of the campus in Givat Ram

to the main entrance and the library can be seen at the other end of the vast garden, in the Tel Aviv campus those buildings were located in the master plan around the entrance square. In both plans a similar design principle for the buildings was implemented: elongated shapes that were parallel to each other, connected by a roofed arcade. The Wittkower plan made more use of arcades all around the proposed campus than its Givat Ram predecessor. It created a connecting motif between the buildings, but only a mere echo of it is currently found on campus in the square at the main entrance.

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In the implementation of the plan the buildings were spread out and not bound together.

Through its location and solemn spirit, the Givat Ram architecture emphasizes the campus' connection with other state institutions placed in the Nation's Compound (Givat Ram), while the Tel Aviv campus emphasizes its connection with the residential area: the western boulevard that extends from the university's entrance square towards the west and crosses the Ramat Aviv neighbourhood allows a view of the Mediterranean in the distance.

When the two campuses were built, their modern style was evident *(figs. 3 & 4)*. The buildings that border the garden from the west at the summit of the Givat Ram campus are equal in their outline and size, and create a non-hierarchical layout. On the other hand, in the Tel Aviv campus, the buildings were intended to be designed individually from the outset. There are clear differences between the buildings in size, design, use of materials and architectural vocabulary. This trend has become even more conspicuous with buildings added later and, hence, a growing hierarchy of status and power developed in the campus, expressed through the design, materials, and size of the plot allocated to the various buildings.

IN GIVAT RAM A GARDEN, A PARK IN TEL AVIV

Landscaping has a central role in establishing the immediate impressions of visitors to each of the two campuses *(figs. 5 & 6)*. Landscape architects Lipa Yahalom and Dan Tzur had major roles in both (like the other architects involved, they were also identified with the Zionist project). Additionally, landscape architects Lawrence Halperin (from the US) and Yosef Gal participated in the Givat Ram campus. In both campuses people pass through open areas to go from place to place, to stop and take a rest, to read, or to meet other people. In Givat Ram the garden also provides solitude. This garden has the characteristics of a place for relaxation and contemplation in nature. It stands on its own as a separate entity within the campus. It has clear boundaries that give it the shape of an elongated rectangle between the administration building and the library, the row of faculty buildings and Magnes Boulevard and the laboratories (recently demolished).

Tel Aviv University's open spaces have a more integrative role. The principle of a university in a park had already been determined in the first master plan, where the park and the buildings were intended to interrelate. Instead of a garden with paths that lead to hidden corners like in Givat Ram, Tel Aviv University's park is open and enables walking along wide paved paths from building to building within grassy areas planted with trees. The park is basically what defines the movement of people within the area of the campus. The 1955 plan shows the crossing of two main paths in the center of the park. The East-West path is emphasized while the second, running North-South, basically divides the campus buildings by fields of knowledge. Today this order does not exist any more, as the north-south route is blocked by architect Mario Botta's synagogue.

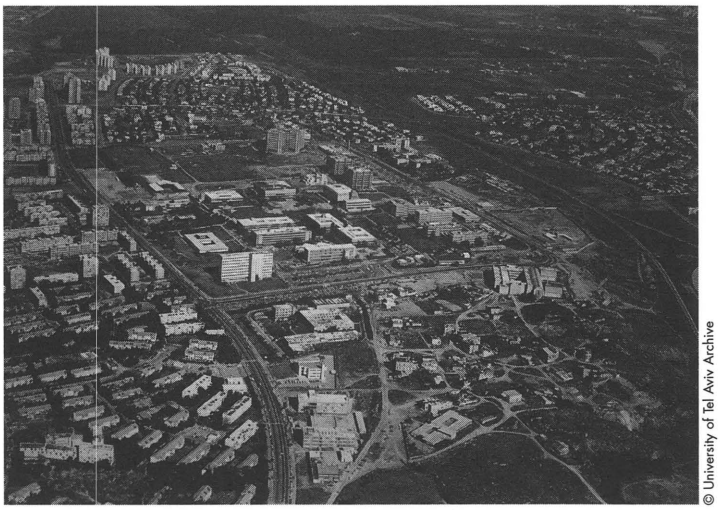

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Fig. 4. University of Tel Aviv, aerial view of the campus

Buildings are scattered within the park without any hint of a rigid order. The proposed arcades connecting the buildings have disappeared, and the locations of the buildings as determined in the first plan were not faithfully maintained, but the park still provides a clear orientation throughout the campus and a pleasant walk along the paths.

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE CITY

While they are situated in cities, the two campuses were planned so that they would not be part of a busy and crowded center. Neither were they connected to the reality of the 1950s in Israel, years of huge immigration of Holocaust survivors and Jews from Arab countries, of rationing, and of immigrant tent camps. The allocation of vast garden spaces communicated a sense of luxury and prestige, then and now. The campuses, with their grand gardens and buildings, thus represent spaces for the privileged, a select group and, in the case of Tel Aviv, the campus is part of the policy of concealing the prior existence of a Palestinian village on the site surrounds. Sheikh Muanis's inhabitants fled during the 1948 war, and the Jew immigrants, housed in the Palestinian's evacuated homes, were moved elsewhere to build the university campus. Post-modern criticism detects superiority in the modern self-image, and Fredric Jameson's words may lead to an interpretation of the connection between the city and university campuses in Israel, in general, and the Hebrew and Tel Aviv universities, in particular: "[the] disjunction from the surrounding city . . . was violent, visible and had a very real symbolic significance . . . [which] radically separates the new utopian space of the modern from the degraded and fallen city fabric which it thereby explicitly repudiates (although the gamble of the modern was

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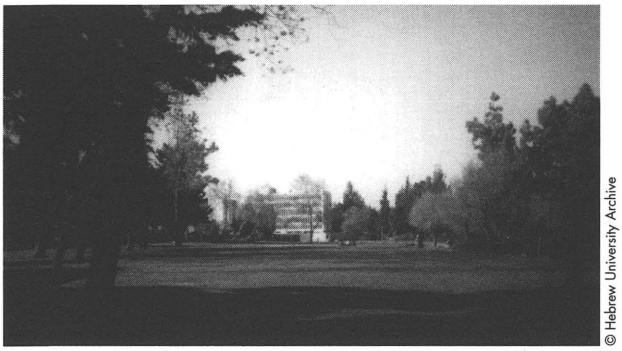

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Fig. 5. Hebrew University Givat Ram campus, the central garden facing the administration building

that this new utopian space, in the virulence of its *novum*, would fan out and eventually transform its surroundings by the very power of its new spatial language)."[11] Today, more than any other campus in Israel, the Tel Aviv University campus provides easy orientation and a friendly environment. Its acceptance of a variety of architectural forms offers a sense of complacency within its boundaries. Yet it also creates a patronizing attitude and feeling of isolation, emphasized by the high fences and secured entrances that do not belong with the original design.

DIANA DOLEV *is an architectural historian. Her PhD dissertation under the supervision of Adrian Forty at the Bartlett School, University College London, was on the architectural designs of the Hebrew University campuses. She teaches at the Holon Institute of Technology School of Design. Among her various publications is "Academia and Spatial Control: the Case of the Hebrew University Campus on Mount Scopus, Jerusalem" in Haim Yacobi (ed.),* Constructing a Sense of Place: Architecture and the Zionist Discourse *(Aldershot: Ashgate Publishers, 2004).*

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Yediot Tel Aviv–Yaffo, Volume 22, June–August 1952. (Hebrew)

NOTES

1 While the Tel Aviv University is a functioning campus, the Givat Ram campus is no longer a fully functioning university since most of the Hebrew University departments moved to Mt. Scopus upon the completion of the campus in the 1970s.
2 Regarding the connection of the Hebrew University with the national and Zionist ethos, see Yisrael Kolatt, "The Idea of the Hebrew University in the Jewish National Movement," in Shaul Katz and Michael Heyd (eds.), *The History of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Roots and Beginnings* (Jerusalem, 1997), 3–74. (Hebrew)
3 Ibid., 14.
4 Volume 20, 1951, 80.
5 For additional reading on the hesitations, the processes and the struggles that accompanied the involvement of the Hebrew University in the establishment of Tel Aviv University, see Uri Cohen, *The Mountain and the Hill: The Hebrew University in Jerusalem in the Pre-Independence Period and the Beginning of the State* (Tel Aviv, 2006). Especially the chapter, "In Light of the Establishment of the University of Tel Aviv," 201–29. (Hebrew)
6 See *Yediot Tel Aviv–Jaffa* (Volume 22, June–August 1952), dedicated to the expansion of the city. (Hebrew)
7 For additional reading, see Diana Dolev, "The Ivory Tower in the National Compound: the Architectural Plan of the Hebrew University Campus at Givat Ram," *Zmanim* 96 (Autumn 2006), 86–93. (Hebrew)
8 *Yediot Tel Aviv–Jaffa* (Volume 22, June–August 1952), 11. (Hebrew)
9 In his letter to the mayor dated September 2, 1953, Wittkower wrote about designing a plan (not found) "of a provisory nature." Tel Aviv Municipality Archives, File 2186 B, Section 4, Container 1053. (Hebrew)
10 Minutes, March 20, 1953, Tel Aviv Municipal Archives, File 2186 C, Section 4, Container 1053.
11 Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (London, New York: Verso, 1991), 41.

Fig. 6. University of Tel Aviv, the lawn with the central library in the background

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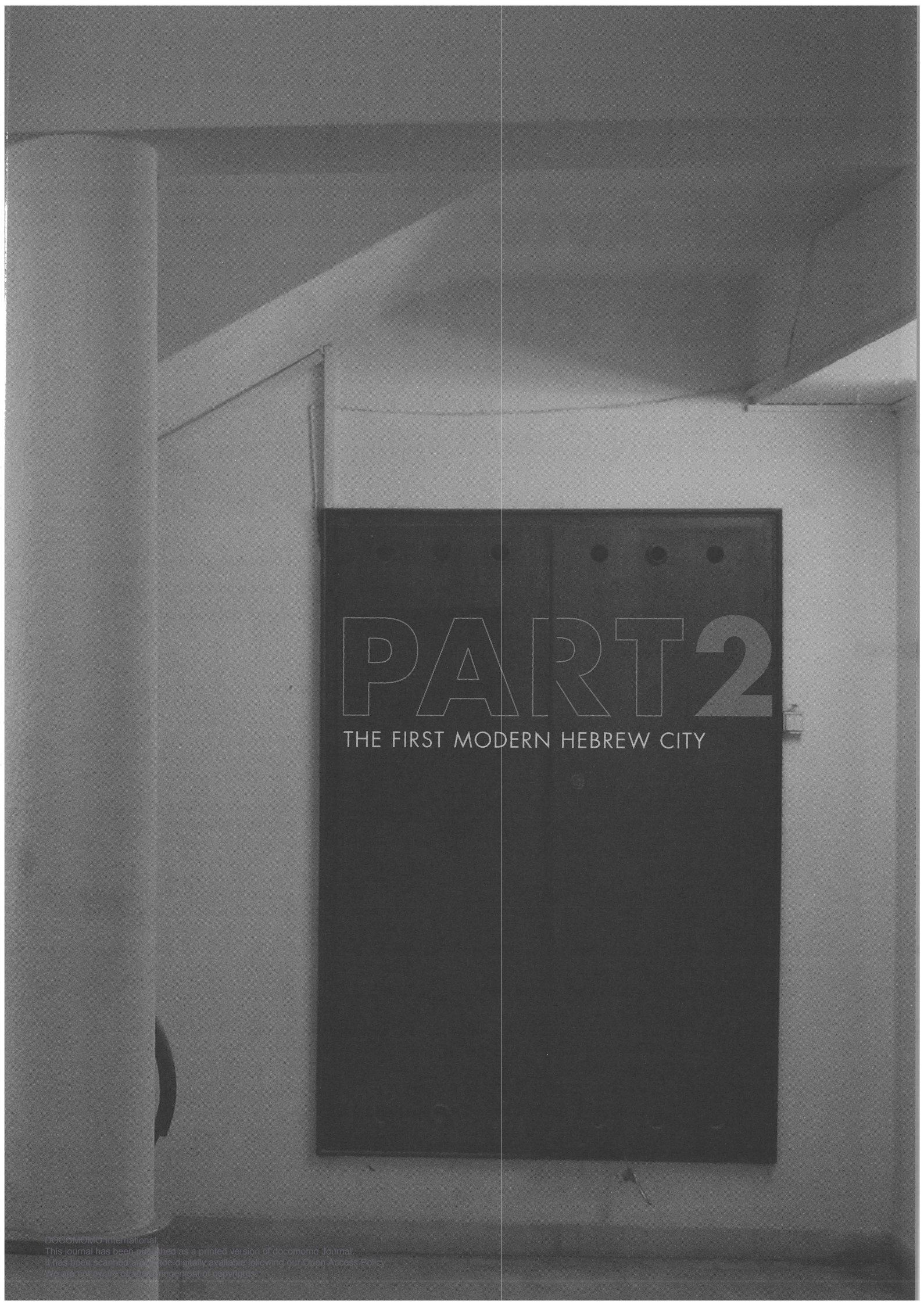

PART 2

THE FIRST MODERN HEBREW CITY

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Patrick Geddes's **Tel Aviv Plan of 1925**

GENERATING A NEW FORM OF URBAN COMMUNITY

RAQUEL **RAPAPORT** & HORACIO **SCHWARTZ**

There are moments in the life of a city when the implementation of a well-designed plan makes all the difference for its future development. That was the case with Barcelona in the 1850s, Paris by the end of the nineteenth century, Amsterdam at the beginning of the twentieth, and Tel Aviv in the 1920s.

FIER AU DÉPART MODESTE AGGLOMÉRATION DE VILLAGES, TEL AVIV N'A CESSÉ DE S'ÉTENDRE JUSQU'À DEVENIR EN 1924 UNE COMMUNE DE PLUS DE 30 000 HABITANTS. CETTE CROISSANCE DÉSORGANISÉE ET CONTINUE NÉCESSITAIT, À L'INSTAR DE PARIS DANS LES ANNÉES 1870 OU D'AMSTERDAM DANS LES ANNÉES 1900, DE GRANDS TRAVAUX D'AMÉNAGEMENT. DÈS 1925, TEL AVIV SE VOIT AINSI TRANSFORMÉE SELON LE PLAN D'ENSEMBLE DE PATRICK GEDDES EN « CITÉ DES JARDINS », RÉFÉRENCE À LA SIGNIFICATION DU MOT TEL AVIV, « COLLINE DU PRINTEMPS ». AUJOURD'HUI, TOUJOURS FIDÈLE À CE PLAN, TEL AVIV EST DEVENUE LE CENTRE D'UNE LARGE ZONE MÉTROPOLITAINE, FINANCIÈRE, COMMERCIALE ET CULTURELLE EN ISRAËL. RAQUEL RAPAPORT ET HORACIO SCHWARTZ INTERPRÈTENT ET ANALYSENT ICI CE PLAN D'UNE ORIGINALITÉ ET D'UNE FLEXIBILITÉ EXCEPTIONNELLES, À L'ORIGINE D'UNE NOUVELLE FORME DE COMMUNAUTÉ URBAINE.

TODAY TEL AVIV is the center of a large metropolitan area, the financial, commercial and cultural hub of Israel; however, it is a new town, planned and developed in the twentieth century and currently celebrating its first centenary. Founded in 1909 on the sands north of the ancient port of Jaffa, its urban fabric did not encompass the mother city, but developed as a lineal northward thrust along the seashore.

FROM TEL AVIV'S FOUNDATION TO ITS FIRST COMPREHENSIVE PLAN[1]

Initially, Tel Aviv was an aggregation of neighborhoods with no comprehensive planning strategy. By 1887 the first Jewish neighborhood—Newe-Zedek—had been built as a hippodamic grid beyond Jaffa's old city walls; subsequently in 1906–08 a housing society established Ahuzat-Bait, a garden suburb focused on a main building—its high school. Several other privately sponsored estates followed, attaining such success that by 1924 Tel Aviv had developed into a burgeoning township of 30,000 inhabitants. This disorganized growth prompted the founding mayor Meir Dizengoff to invite professor Patrick Geddes, in the spring of 1925, to formulate a master plan according to the tenets of the garden cities movement *(fig. 1)*.[2]

GEDDES devised a plan for a city of 100,000 inhabitants, which would be "more beautiful and health-giving than any previous form of community in human annals."[3] He tackled with a new urban district to the north of the existing city: almost 900 acres of sand dunes bordering on the Mediterranean to the west, up to Yehuda Halevy St to the east and the Yarkon River to the

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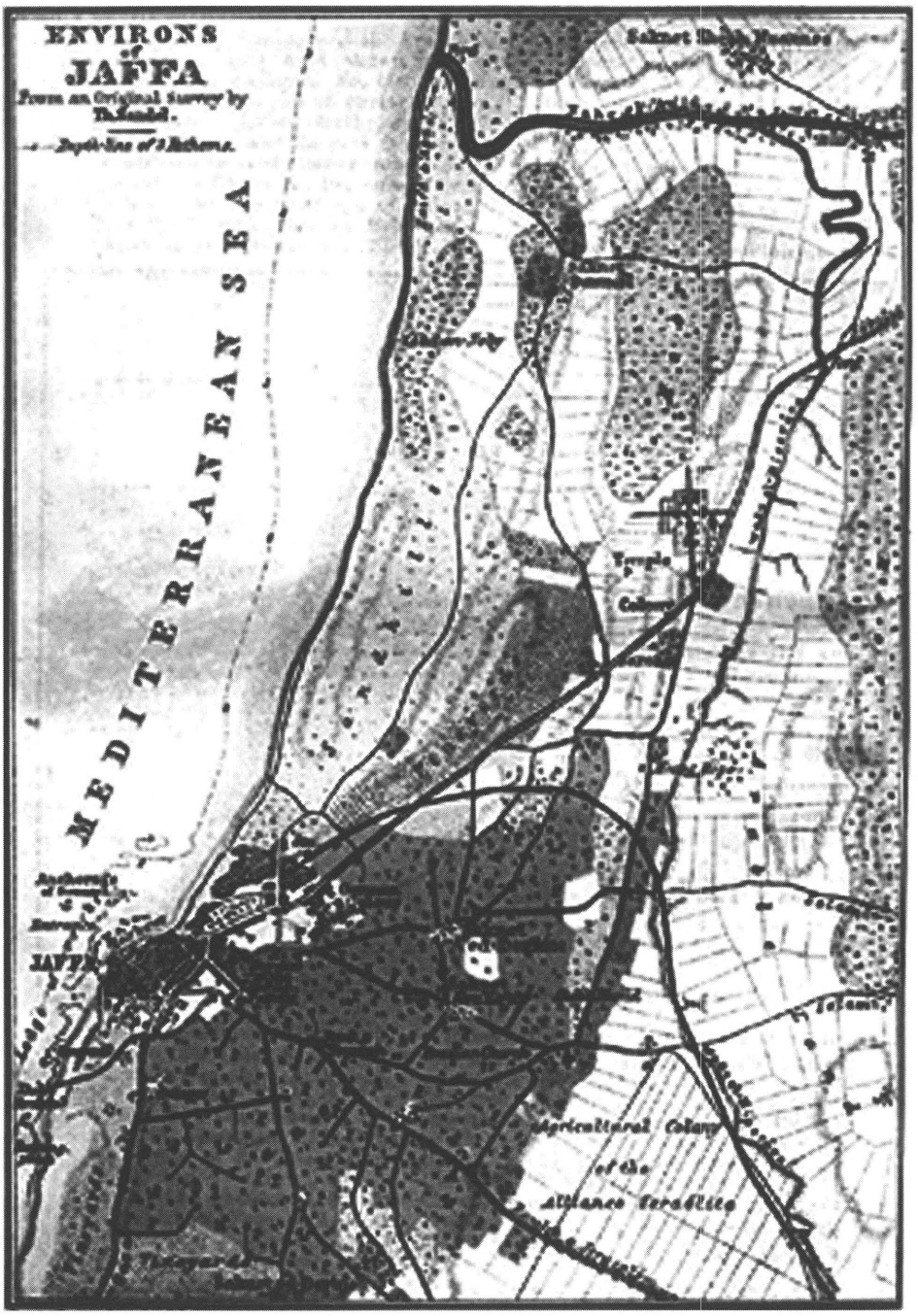

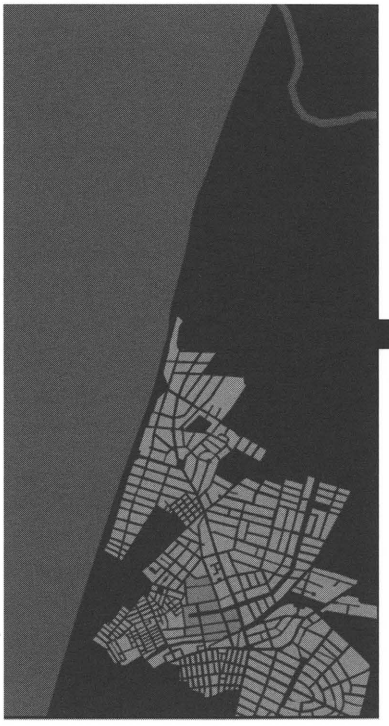

Fig. 1. Tel Aviv before Geddes. Left: map of Jaffa (Baedeker, 1912) showing the coastal sand hills where Tel Aviv would be built. Below: the new city rapid growth on the sands. Note the geographic limits of the future Geddes's Plan: the existing city to the South, the Mediterranean coast to the West, the estuary of the Yarkon River to the North

north.[4] The planned area was as large as the whole built-up city at that time. In fact, rather than a Garden City, Geddes devised a unique and original "city of gardens," alluding to the name "Tel Aviv," meaning "hill of spring." Geddes summarized the plan's goal, stating: "The model and ideal before us is that of the Garden Village. But this is no longer merely suburban, it is coming into town and into the very heart of the city block."[5]

RECONSTRUCTION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF GEDDES'S PLAN

Analyzing Geddes's proposal presents a fundamental difficulty, since the main document for studying his scheme is missing: if a drawn plan ever existed, it has been lost. Therefore, the principal source became textual rather than visual: Geddes's report submitted with the plan. Some researchers maintain, nevertheless, that Geddes also "produced a skeleton plan showing the network of . . . streets, and the Town Planning Department further elaborated the proposal producing a final map."[7]

THUS, instead of the original (lost) plan, the Tel Aviv General Plan of 1931 drawn by the Municipal Technical Department became an acceptable data substitute. Fortunately, the northern part of that map shows Geddes's proposal incorporated to the city fabric, as if it already existed. This 1931 'surrogate map' became the starting point for a morphological analysis and the root for our reconstructed Geddes's plan *(fig. 3)*. Its data was supplemented and compared with present day 1:5,000

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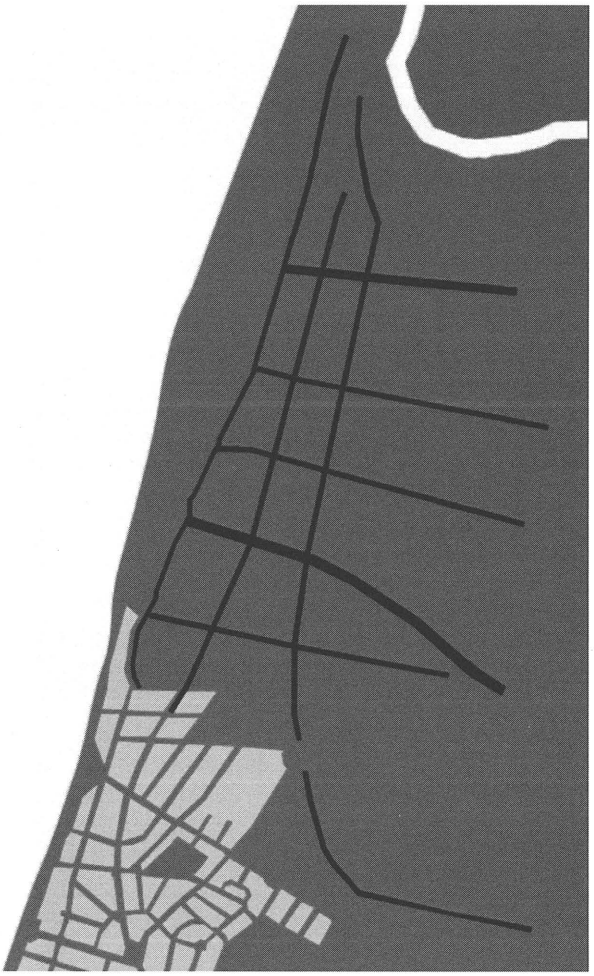

Fig. 2. The skeleton of Geddes's Plan: three north-south thoroughfares plus five east-west arteries

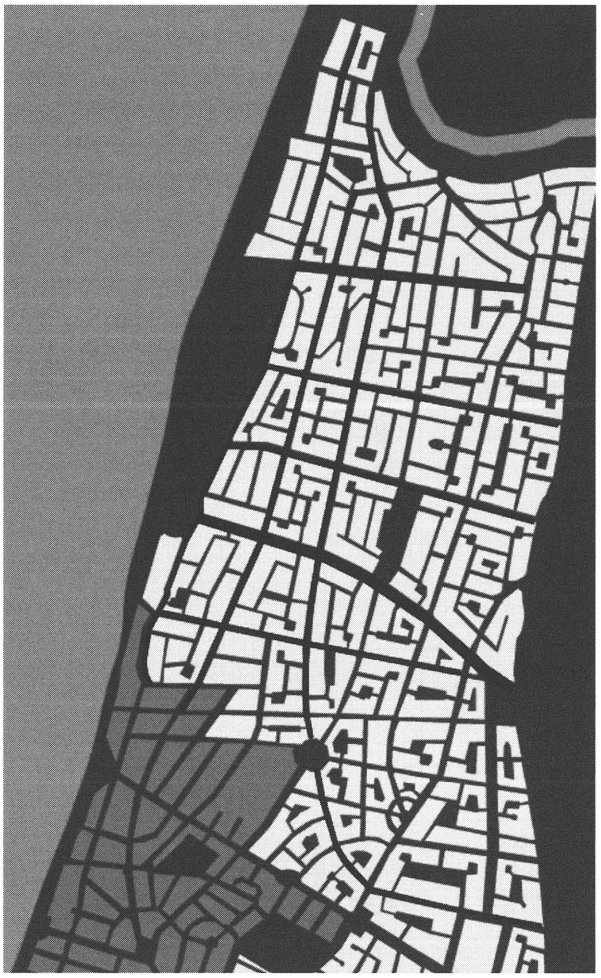

Fig. 3. The new urban fabric: a tissue of living cells within an organic gridiron plan

maps and aerial photographs, which permitted assessing the extent of Geddes's scheme's survival. We used a visual methodology for city analysis, influenced by Mario Gandelsonas's work,[8] whilst suggesting plausible precedents and metaphors of biological (botanical) origin, given Geddes's botanical training and standpoint. Five basic elements were identified, constituting the principles of the plan. Borrowing biological nomenclature, we interpreted them as skeleton, living tissue, cells, ligaments and density.

SKELETON: GEDDES'S GRID AND ITS TAXONOMY

Geddes designed an orthogonal grid of streets running both parallel and perpendicular to the seashore. He established eight "main-ways" as fundamental structure of his plan: three north-south thoroughfares, continuing previously existing streets, and five new east-west arteries, two of which he planned as wide, tree-shaded boulevards; this framework carries the traffic of the city to this day. The areas framed by the basic grid formed "home-blocks," the cellular units of the plan, while a system of residential streets and narrow pedestrian lanes, namely the "home-ways," allows access to the inner core of the block *(fig. 2)*.

THE BASIC skeleton grid was conceived as an organic rather than geometric web, and thus prone to deformations; while the central area of the plan remains relatively regular, showing a 'generating strip' of five contiguous home-blocks, Geddes allowed increasing deformations towards the edges of the plan, where the grid responded to site-specific interferences: the sea, the river, the lay of the land and the edge of the existing city.

LIVING TISSUE: THE NEW URBAN FABRIC

Geddes's Plan organized the new district into sixty blocks, all different in form and size. These blocks produced, by juxtaposition, an organic aggregate of cells: the proposed new urban tissue. The form of vegetal cells, with their characteristic vacuole—a central interior space separate from the living matter—and the design of Geddes's personal motto are possible prefiguring models for the Tel Aviv home-blocks.

The configuration of the ideal urban block was a major concern of Geddes's. He designed "large urban blocks"—the term "superblock" was not used yet; we have found he followed a 60 sq m module, one that would roughly contain three building plots. Thus, for instance, there are blocks measuring 120 x 300 m, 180 x 240 m, up to the largest, measuring 180 x 300 m.

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The uniqueness of this new fabric stems from its biomorphic pattern and a sensitive articulation of spatial and social factors, particularly when compared with significant precedents such as Cerda's *Eixample* in Barcelona (1859), Berlage's Plan Zuid in Amsterdam (1902), and the contemporaneous work of Ernst May in Frankfurt and Clarence Stein in New York. Geddes's urban block can be seen as a unique container in which society, foliage, geometry and architecture come together into a single living unit *(fig. 3)*.

The basic unit of the plan is a large urban block with an open core; Geddes called these "home-blocks." Since the city is envisioned as a mega-organism in evolution, biological analogies of 'cellular growth' for the creation of new urban districts, of 'living tissue' for the urban fabric and of 'living cells' for the urban blocks are implicit in Geddesian thought. All these led us to call the Tel Aviv Geddesian home-block "cyto-block," a term combining "city" and "cyto," meaning "cell."

CELLS OR CYTO-BLOCKS: THE GEDDESIAN URBAN BLOCK

The Geddesian urban block is the most original and humane element in the plan. It consists of an external, single or double enclosure of buildings, surrounding a secluded, 'sacred' public space producing a new 'urban orchard.' Home-ways lead to a public garden at the block's core, a common green envisioned by Geddes "with playgrounds, tennis courts, rich gardens and orchards," fitting his motto "By leaves we live..." Geddes placed public institutions such as schools, kindergartens, clinics and synagogues verging on the inner common green, keeping commercial uses in the ground floor along the external main-ways. This careful placement of interlocked functions makes for a singular, regulated pattern of mixed land-uses, at a time when separated zoning was emerging as the predominant approach of the twentieth century *(fig. 4)*.

LIGAMENTS: THE CREATION OF CIVIC LINKS

Geddes was aware of the need to unite the two fabrics of the city—the existing Tel Aviv and his proposed extension—into one integrated whole. He responded to the serrated line that separated the city from the new northern district, ingeniously stitching the two areas together with new urban squares and the continuation of existing streets and boulevards *(fig. 5)*.

Geddes placed three major public places as urban connectors along the border line: an oval plaza by the sea, a hexagonal square in the middle, and a rectangular one on the South-East, Tel Aviv's 'cultural acropolis.'[9] These squares exist today as Kikar Atarim, Kikar Dizengoff and Kikar Habima; the last two, as commercial and cultural foci respectively, developed during the following decades into iconic architectural landmarks of the city.[10]

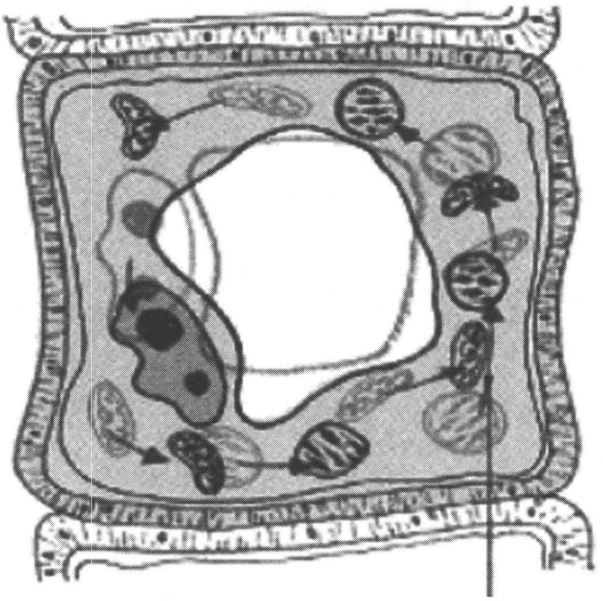

Fig. 4. Cyto-block, suggested models and urban translation: vegetal cell, Geddes's motto, home-block scheme and its rotated 3D representation (120 x 300 m)

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Fig. 5. Ligaments: new civic links: three major public squares and the continuation of Rothschild Boulevard, from old Ahuzat-Bait to the sea. Note the serrated border between the two fabrics

DENSITY: THE FACTOR THAT ALLOWED TRANSFORMATION

Geddes set a number of regulations to achieve the goal of controlled density, one of the principal aims in Garden City theory. Years earlier in Edinburgh, Geddes had coined the plea for building "houses, not tenements!" Hence, in Tel Aviv he insisted on the prevention of terraced houses, fixing a minimum of 3 m as lateral building line. He allowed plots no smaller than 560 sq m, of which less than fifty percent could be built-up, keeping the rest for family gardens. Geddes also strove to maintain low density and open skylines by assigning strict limits to the number of floors and maximum allowed height: three floors—or 14 m height—on the main roads and just two-storey—or 9 m—along interior streets; only as exception did he allow four-storey buildings up to 15 m height in commercial zones.[11]

Historically, this last component of Geddes's Plan would turn to be the one that bore the most significant changes: as the township evolved into metropolis, the permitted height gradually reached up to six floors while the built up area within the plot increased in parallel. All these changes notwithstanding, the quality of life generated by the Geddesian block pattern not only endured but even intensified with time, whilst moderating and controlling the negative aspects customarily linked to high-density urban fabrics *(fig. 6)*.

PRESENT DAY ASSESSMENT

The significance of the Geddes's Tel Aviv plan widely surpasses local interest; however, being entirely absent from the standard literature, the plan has not been accorded the place it deserves in the history of town planning. One of the few scholars aware of this omission is Marco Venturi, who, examining the established canon of twentieth century plans, argues: "The writings of Patrick Geddes are considered to be among the most influential and seminal in modern urban design history. Although some of his work in Scotland and India has been published, his plans for sites in Israel, especially Tel Aviv, *are almost entirely unknown*. The Tel Aviv work shows a fresh and highly innovative conception of the garden city schemes in a new context."[12]

GEDDES'S PATTERN has endured; Tel Aviv evolved into a "conurbation" (a term he coined), forming the center of a metropolitan area of 2,000,000 inhabitants. The urban fabric of the north-central area of Geddes's exemplary town confirms that his visionary urban pattern has survived, forming habitable places that restore human scale to the metropolis. The designation by Unesco (2003) of central Tel Aviv as World Cultural Heritage site was due largely to the existence of over 4,000 international style buildings. However, this decision obscures the fact that specific architectural solutions and mixed-uses typologies unique in the modern movement emerged owing to Geddes's planning principles *(fig. 7)*.

GEDDES'S SYMBIOSIS between active and contemplative civic life holds on. The closeness of intensive street life—the "world without"—and quiet public space—the "world within"—exists even now. It is our contention that this might be the source of a regenerative urban process, even instrumental in the design of future environments.

The Dutch architect Herman Hertzberger, who in 1997 won an international competition to plan 'the Tel Aviv Peninsula' next to the Geddes district, noted the plan's merits, remarking: "There should be a new Master Plan for Tel Aviv, but the original basic structure is excellent,"[13] adding: "[Geddes's] is an excellent and flexible scheme, which amazingly has not fossilized during the intervening years and has been able to cope with [the new] lifestyle and traffic volume. The swift and beautiful transition between main, secondary and internal streets down to the gardens at the center of a typical block in Geddes's Plan leaves enough living space for cars and people. In the small streets laying only some meters away from a main street, one hears very little traffic noise; it is remarkable . . . You also have these wide, fantastic

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boulevards that reach to the sea, with big trees and kiosks . . . One feels that it . . . must be good and pleasant to live here."[14]

THE GEDDES PLAN for Tel Aviv of 1925 is probably the most accomplished amongst the experimental planning carried out during the British Mandate period in Palestine; it stands out for its exceptional originality and flexibility and indeed has produced a new form of urban community. The excellent urban quality of life achieved by Geddes's Tel Aviv Plan merits a long overdue recognition, and makes it worthy of further scholarly study.

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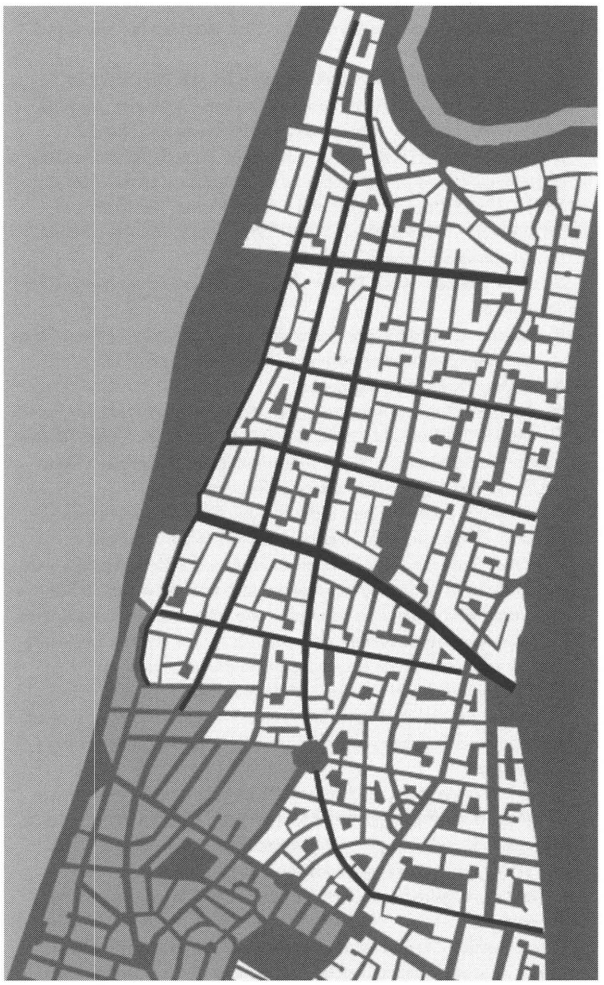
HORACIO SCHWARTZ *is fifth year coordinator and Architectural Design final project tutor at the Department of Architecture of the WIZO Academy of Design and Education, Haifa. He has also taught at the Architecture Department, Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design, Jerusalem and at the Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning of the Technion, Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa. He is an independent researcher and principal in Sivan-Schwartz Architects, Tel Aviv.*

Fig. 6. The Geddes Plan, from concept to reality. Below: Tel Aviv General Plan (1931, Municipal Technical Department) showing Geddes's Plan already incorporated into the city fabric. Top right: authors' reconstruction. Below left: present day aerial view



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NOTES

1 This paper draws from two separate studies: a research-design project on Geddes's urban block by Horacio Schwartz entitled "The Enclosed *Shdera*: Study of an Urban Typology in Tel Aviv," prepared with the support of the Gerhard and Gertrude Karplus Grant, NY (2000), and research carried out by Raquel Rapaport at the Welsh School of Architecture, Cardiff University for a PhD dissertation entitled "Conflicting Visions: Architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate" (2005). Parts of this paper were included in a longer research article by the authors entitled "'Till We Have Built England's Green in Jerusalem's Pleasant Land:' British Mandate Palestine as an Experimental Planning Ground," presented by the authors at "The Man-Made Future: Planning, Education and Design in the Mid-Twentieth Century" Research Symposium, School of Arts, Culture and Environment, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, September 5–7, 2003. The botanical-oriented analysis of the plan was first developed by Raquel Rapaport in "The Urban Orchard: On Patrick Geddes's Tel Aviv Plan of 1926," *Proceedings*, WSA Graduate Research Student Conference, May 10, 2003, Welsh School of Architecture, Cardiff University, 114–22.

2 Ilan Shehory, *I Will Build Thee, and Thou Shalt Be Built: The Story of Building Tel Aviv and a Memorial to its Builders* (Tel Aviv: Miloh, 1991), 32–35; Yaacov Shavit and Gideon Bigger, *The History of Tel Aviv* Vol. 1: "The Birth of a Town 1909–1936" (Tel Aviv: Ramot, Tel Aviv University Press, 2001). (Hebrew)

3 Patrick Geddes, "Town Planning Report – Jaffa and Tel Aviv (1925)." See note 6.

4 We have found discrepancies on the extent of Geddes's Plan. Other sources assign an area of 660 ha later enlarged to 817 ha.

5 Geddes, "Town Planning Report."

6 See "Town Planning Report – Jaffa and Tel Aviv by Professor Patrick Geddes (1925)," unpublished typescript, 62 pages (Archives, Tel Aviv – Jaffa History Museum). For a short description of Geddes's Plan, see Shavit and Bigger, *The History of Tel Aviv*, 204–5.

7 See Neal I. Payton, "The Machine in the Garden City: Patrick Geddes's Plan for Tel Aviv." Paper presented to the "Bauhaus in Tel Aviv" International Conference, Tel Aviv, 1994: 1. Geddes was not an architect and could not prepare technical drawings. While it is not certain who drafted his town-planning schemes, we do know that his contemporaneous architectural projects for the Hebrew University were developed with the assistance of Benjamin Chaikin, a Jewish-British architect resident in Palestine, and of Geddes's own son-in-law, the architect (later Sir) Frank C. Mears. This may support the hypothesis that they were also involved in drafting the missing Tel Aviv plan.

8 Mario Gandelsonas, *X-Urbanism: Architecture and the American City* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999). Gandelsonas's inspiring urban drawings "not only expanded the repertory of tool and strategies but also suggested the possible development of a specific urbanism based on the formal conditions uncovered by the analysis."

9 See Geddes, "Town Planning Report:" 22–3, 59, and Wolker Welter, *Biopolis: Patrick Geddes and the City of Life* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002), 218–9.

10 Kikar Atarim (also known as Kikar Namir) was planned by Yaacov Rechter (1924–2001) in 1971–76; Kikar [Zina] Dizengoff was designed by Genia Averbuch (1909–1977) in 1934; Kikar Habima was built by several architects between 1935 and the 1950s.

11 Shehory, *I Will Build Thee*.

12 Marco Venturi, "Masters' Master Plans from the Archives," *Planum on Line* Vol. 1 (Rome: net, 1999), our Italics. Marco Venturi is professor of History and Theory of Urban Design at the Dipartimento di Urbanistica, Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia (IUAV).

13 Esther Zandberg, "Tel Aviv, a Love Story," interview with Herman Hertzberger, *Ha'Aretz Supplement* (December 26, 1997): 92–96; translated from the Hebrew by the authors.

14 Zandberg, "Tel Aviv, a Love Story."

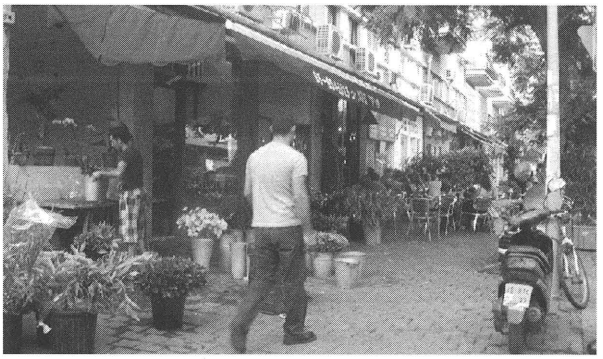

Fig. 7. Life in Tel Aviv according to the Geddes Plan: urban *vita activa* along the main-ways, swift transition to *vita contemplativa* along the home-ways and in the inner gardens of the cyto-block

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The Tel Aviv School
A Constrained Rationalism

CATHERINE **WEILL-ROCHANT**

Initially, the historiography of Tel Aviv reinforced a vision of a city born out of the sand, where more than four thousand buildings, with pure forms designed in the international style, were dotted harmoniously along spacious avenues. This view was generated by a consensus emerging from a shared ideology. A smooth, white history.

SI L'HISTOIRE URBAINE DE TEL AVIV A LONGTEMPS ÉTÉ CONSIDÉRÉE COMME LISSE, SANS HEURT, ÉVIDENTE, DEPUIS QUELQUES ANNÉES APPARAÎT UNE RÉFLEXION PLUS CRITIQUE ET NUANCÉE. DÉSORMAIS, À LA « VILLE BLANCHE » EST APPOSÉE LA « VILLE NOIRE » OÙ L'URBANISME SE VOIT DÉNUÉ DE POLITIQUE SOCIALE ET DEVIENT LE THÉÂTRE DE L'ÉRADICATION DES QUARTIERS ARABES. C'EST AU DÉBUT DES ANNÉES 1930 QU'UNE NOUVELLE GÉNÉRATION D'ARCHITECTES, VENUS D'EUROPE, OPPOSE AU PLAN DE GEDDES UN AUTRE URBANISME, CELUI D'UN RATIONALISME FORCÉ, OÙ L'ORNEMENT NE SERAIT PLUS QUE LE REFLET D'UN COMPORTEMENT DIASPORIQUE. CATHERINE WEILL-ROCHANT RETRACE ICI L'HISTOIRE DE CET AUTRE URBANISME, CELUI DE L'ÉCOLE DE TEL AVIV.

IN RECENT YEARS, the issue of spatial production in Mandate Palestine has been approached in terms of the power struggle between the British, the Arabs and the Zionists. A more nuanced literature on the founding of Tel Aviv has been the result. This type of analysis challenges the traditional history of Tel Aviv. Israeli theoreticians have also started to question the concept of the White City. Their term of "Black City" captures the lack of social policy, as well as the eradication of Arab spatial tracks.[1] However, this criticism is not necessarily incompatible with recognition of the inherent qualities of that part of the city considered to be "white," or with efforts to publicize and preserve its spatial configurations. Clearly, it encourages researchers to dig deeper into popular concepts, one of them being the modernism of "white" Tel Aviv architecture.

Numerous complexities of modernism have been already identified.[2] Michael Levin has worked extensively on the adaptation of 1930s Tel Aviv modernist vocabulary to the Middle-Eastern-Mediterranean climate. One of the most illustrative examples is the extended loggia as a local interpretation of the Corbusian elongated window. Nitza Metzger-Szmuk has paved the way to renewed thinking by categorizing different types of buildings according to their shape, elevation and specific vertical elements, basing these categories on specific relations between elevations and 'public-private' space.[3] She realized that Tel Aviv's 1930s modernist cubic buildings are 'courteous' to the public space of the street. However the sides and back of these buildings with their denuded, poorly plastered concrete, haphazardly hollowed walls, certainly show much less consideration for the street's pride. It is precisely in this differentiation between the front and rear spaces of these buildings, in the fuzzy zone between public and private, that the specificity of Tel Aviv modernism should be sought. Observation of the buildings and spaces of Tel Aviv suggests that the urban feel of the city derives from a felicitous combination of an urban syntax based on a pre-functionalist concept of composition and an architectural vocabulary deriving, by contrast, from the modern movement. Let's take a close look at the origins of this language.

EXISTING URBAN SYNTAX: EQUATING THE SPATIAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL NEEDS OF A SOCIETY IN THE MAKING

At the start of the twentieth century, the Jewish neighborhoods of the Arab city of Jaffa gradually came together to form an independent district, under the

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Fig. 0. **Joseph Stübben**, *Chemnitz Development Plan (future Karl Marx Stadt)*, Saxonie, 1911. The Stübben block has certainly inspire Patrick Geddes for its Tel Aviv block. He could have been an avant-garde urban planner at the turn of the nineteenth century but he was not anymore in 1925. Anthony Sutcliffe (ed.), *The Rise of Modern Urban Planning: 1800–1914* (London: Mansell, 1980), 4

favorable eye of the British. In twenty years, the one hundred original families had grown and the district of Tel Aviv numbered more than a thousand people at the start of the 1920s. The political context of Mandate Palestine, where the British leaders were attempting to facilitate the formation of a Jewish national homeland while still catering to the interests of the Arab inhabitants, did not enable the Tel Aviv city officials to openly reveal their plans. These plans aimed to extend the municipal borders of Tel Aviv to include lots already bought by Jewish pioneers in the northern sector of Jaffa's agricultural hinterland. It was in this already tense context, where the Zionist goal could alter or upset—no one could tell—the future of lands and landscapes, that the Scottish city planner Patrick Geddes entered center stage.

IN MARCH 1925, Patrick Geddes was commissioned by the Tel Aviv municipality, which had already approved the proposal of the executive board of the Zionist Organization in Jerusalem, for the city planning and development of the Jewish part of Jaffa. The initial order emanated from the British Mandate government and was to involve the renovation of Jaffa port. Geddes was to be paid for two months of work on site. Under pressure from the government and the mayor of Jaffa, the Tel Aviv municipality officially asked him to devote a quarter of his stay—two weeks—to a "Jaffa plan," although this work was not specified. Geddes arrived on March, 29, 1925, and started working on the Tel Aviv planning in early May.[4] The Tel Aviv leadership certainly took advantage of the imprecise definition of the Jaffa–Tel Aviv entity at that time. For the British, the goal was the modernization of the port and arterials for purposes of the expansion of Jaffa. For the Jews of Tel Aviv, the objective, by contrast, was to rival the Arab city. Geddes adapted perfectly to this ambiguity: his concept of "Greater Jaffa" captured the wishes of both parties.

Although at the start of 1925 this concept was necessary to obtain the approval of the government and to launch the Tel Aviv development project, it became a hindrance by the end of the year. A great deal of the development plans for the Jewish city of Tel Aviv had already been carried out, independently of Jaffa, and apparently no one needed the author of the plan any more. Geddes left Palestine (called "Eretz Yisrael" by Zionist pioneers) on the last day of June 1925 and that would be his last cordial connection with the Tel Aviv Township Council. Nevertheless the draft that he left behind, the broad outlines in map form he drew on the basis of a land survey of the expected future municipal boundaries, together with local sketches and notes, would play a crucial part in the implementation of the layout of Tel Aviv.

AS OF THE MONTH of July Herzl (Frankel) Nedivi, Geddes's field assistant at the Tel Aviv Technical Department, refined the sketch. It was presented and approved by the Municipal City Council and by the District Council. It included a set of twenty-five written proposals. As of the month of September, these were sent as a whole to the Central Planning Commission for ratification. A close study of archives reveals that the Tel Aviv plan file took an operational turn much before its governmental ratification was finalized as a whole in February 1929.

THE SKETCH MAP was rapidly turned into a parcellation map under the supervision of Meir Dizengoff *(fig. 1)*. The notes left together with further chapters sent by Geddes from Europe were assembled as a report at the municipality. From December 1925, both were completed. The sixty-two pages typed document mentions the idea of a Greater Jaffa as well as "a Greater Tel Aviv," although it is entitled "Town Planning Report Tel Aviv." This ambiguity enabled the project to obtain the approval of the British government and simultaneously trigger the implementation of urban growth. Nevertheless, the draft as well as the parcellation map dealt exclusively with Tel Aviv's municipal 'urban development' area, located between existing built Tel Aviv to the South, the Yarkon river to the North, the Mediterranean cost to the West and the location of current Ibn Gvirol street to the East. These drawings depict a set of scattered blocks purchased whenever the market was right, located far from the built up fringes and even the administrative boundaries of the city. Although

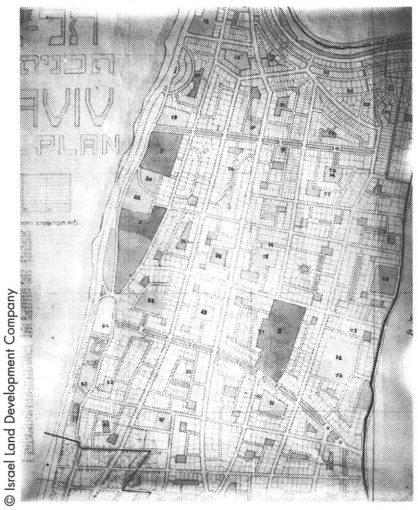

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Fig. 1. **Technical Department of the Township of Tel Aviv**, *Tel Aviv General Plan*, 1925. Part of a set of two sepia photographs 24 x 30 cm taken by Avraham Soskin in 1926, this document shows the only known illustration of the first parcellation of Geddes's sketch map, drawn between September and December 1925 by Herzl Nedivi/Frankel and approved by Tel Aviv Sub-town Planning Commission on April, 6, 1926

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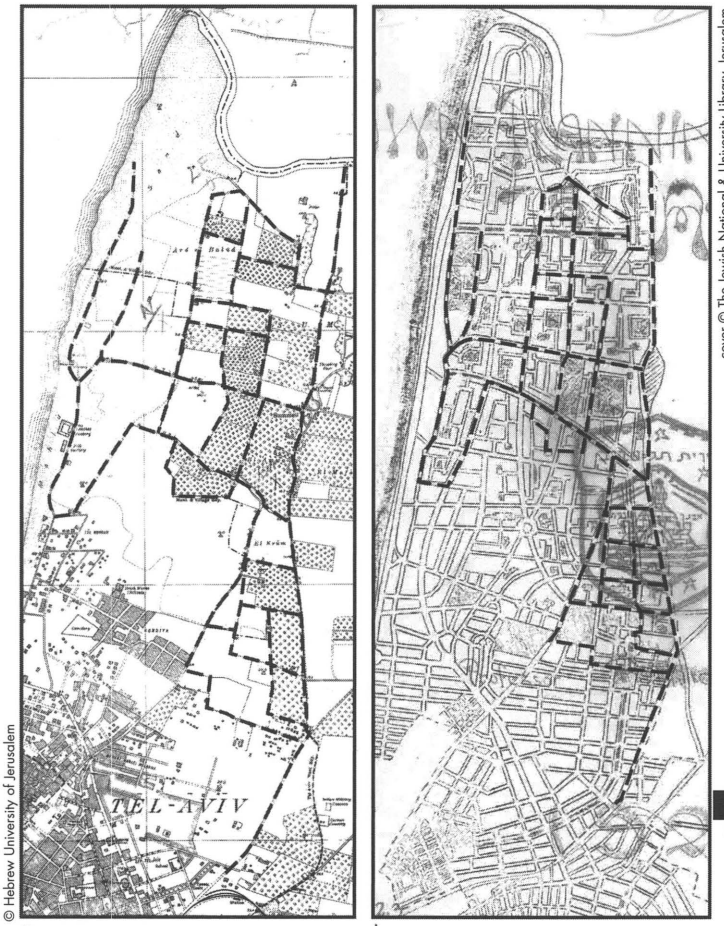
several researchers have analyzed the plans for the city, one key question has not been raised: that of the relationship between the pre-existing land, the project and its implementation. Comparing the 1925 survey drawn by the British from aerial photographs with this sketch also shows that it is based very precisely on the preexisting agricultural divisions *(fig. 2)*. This enabled the city to grow by adhering to both the rhythm of land purchase and a highly detailed urban plan. In other words, can it be said that Patrick Geddes was the urban interpreter of Zionism, symbolized by the creation of Tel Aviv as a pre-state capital? The answer is both yes and no. On one hand, the Geddes residential block units were concordant with the Jewish aspiration to recreate neighborhoods and its civic community main structures, a double acropolis in the plan, address to this objective to create a democratic society. On the other hand, he was not aware of the nationalist impact of this exclusive urban plan. Known as a man of unity, and a defender of the local characteristics of the land, Patrick Geddes, supporter of the Zionist cause, apparently did not fully grasp all of its objectives.

Fig. 2. Map a: Survey of Palestine, Jaffa, Tel Aviv and surroundings. Compiled from aerial photos supplied by the RAF, Jaffa, June 1925 (survey of Egypt: September 1927)

Map b: **Patrick Geddes**, sketch map for Tel Aviv development, June 1925. Patrick Geddes, *Town-Planning Report Tel Aviv* (Tel Aviv: Technical Department of the Township of Tel Aviv, 1925)



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a b

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PLANNING A RATIONALIST CITY: THE ARCHITECTS' FRUSTRATED ASPIRATIONS

In the late 1920s, government funding was not forthcoming and the restrictions it imposed on Tel Aviv were skirted, at least partially, by private backing.[5] Thus, the city was composed of a multitude of private properties. Yet most of the leadership and the inhabitants of the city belonged to the Labor party, which dominated Zionist politics in Palestine. So the city, both in terms of its mercantile attitude as well as its multiplication of private small properties, was criticized by those who felt that it had stumbled in the Zionist march towards the building of a socialist state. Architects took an active part in this rebellion.

THE TRANSITION of the Geddes Plan to three dimensions took place when architects who emigrated from Europe arrived *en masse* at the start of the 1930s. The delay may have given the Jewish Zionists the time to choose the architectural style which best suited their aspirations. Architects argued for rationalism in architecture. They associated ornament to diaspora behavior: "The wish to ornament one's house with no understanding of the beauty of the quiet, dignified, modest house. This is also the love the simple Jew has (maybe a relic of his being in exile) for eye-catching acrobatics."[6] This rejection prompted special concerns about façade design as a mixed result of functional plans and aesthetic balance between full and hollowed elements. "We should give greater attention to the matter of proportions in general and to the exact proportion between the wall and the openings in particular. We should give all our attention to the matter of proportions, precisely because we have given up all architectural ornamentation."[7]

FOR THEM, this architecture could not be separated from rationalist urban planning, that some of them called organic: "Apartment buildings that are built by us now constitute in their general shape the shape of our street. The streets with their rows of buildings, their plazas and gardens, constitute the character of the town."[8] They would have preferred having the seemingly *tabula rasa* of the dunes and original neighborhoods to the interlocking plots, streets and lanes drawn by Geddes: "Our attitude in building apartment buildings is to eliminate the small private lots and erect the apartments in rows at maximum distances according to the conditions of the land and its prices, allowing more normal neighborly relations between apartments *(fig. 3)*."[9] Whereas in the grid system the buildings themselves block the air and the view, and make it possible for noise and smells to enter from one building to the other—in an organic town the buildings are arranged in such a way that every building has its own garden in the direction of the wind, and thus large gaps are formed between

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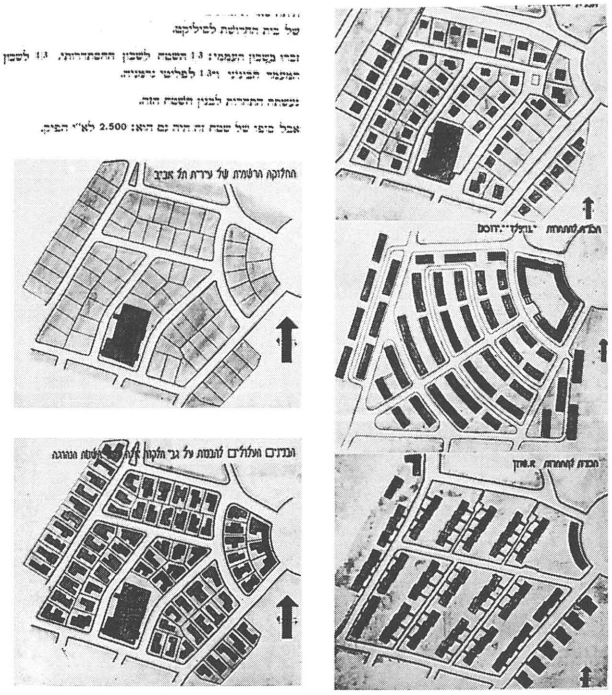

Fig. 3. Habinjan 2 (August 1937).
Top left: the official parcellation of Tel Aviv Municipality. Bottom left: the urban fabric resulting of this parcellation. Top right: alternative plans for the same blocks. Bottom right: the proposal of Arye Sharon

buildings . . . the plan of the green areas must be arranged so that a total separation is achieved between pedestrians and traffic . . . Naturally we do not intend to change only the existing parcellation, but to try and rationally develop land in advance, create large green areas and erect buildings within these green areas perpendicular to the street, at a certain distance from the noise and dust of the streets."[10] But it was too late.

Thus, from 1926 on, the Tel Aviv municipal workers drew traces in two dimensions on the ground, flattened the roads and then paved them before covering them with silicate. The rumblings of anti-Semitism in Europe accelerated the waves of immigration. The new immigrants were housed in tents, either in groups along the shoreline; by families; on their land when they had the means to purchase a plot. Literally one could see the main roads, residential streets, paths and gardens being drawn on the ground just like Geddes had imagined them *(fig. 4)*. The most vociferous architects, in particular members of "the Circle," attempted in vain to convince the chief municipal engineer to abrogate the Geddes plan. But Yacov Schiffman (Ben Sira) remained firm. Aside from the financial difficulties a change would have incurred, Ben Sira had appropriated the credit for the plan designed by Geddes and had no intention of giving it up.

ARCHITECTS could express their rationalist urban fantasies in their perspective drawings, where cubic buildings resembled elongated high-rise blocks of council flats. But on the ground they had no choice but to adapt *(figs. 5 & 6)*. The buildings had to be aligned along the routes, in separate blocks separated by semi-private dead-ends *(fig. 7)*. How did modernist aspirations, theoretically antithetical to classic plot plans, take shape? The architects competed with each other in terms of ingenuity so that each room would have the optimal orientation: only by shifting forward and backwards or protruding could walls and other architectural figures attain some of the rational/organic goals put forward in the theories *(fig. 8)*. An anonymous writer provides the answer: "The reasons for it are clear: there is mutual influence, there is co-operation, people do not confine themselves within the narrow boundaries of their own work. The fine results are

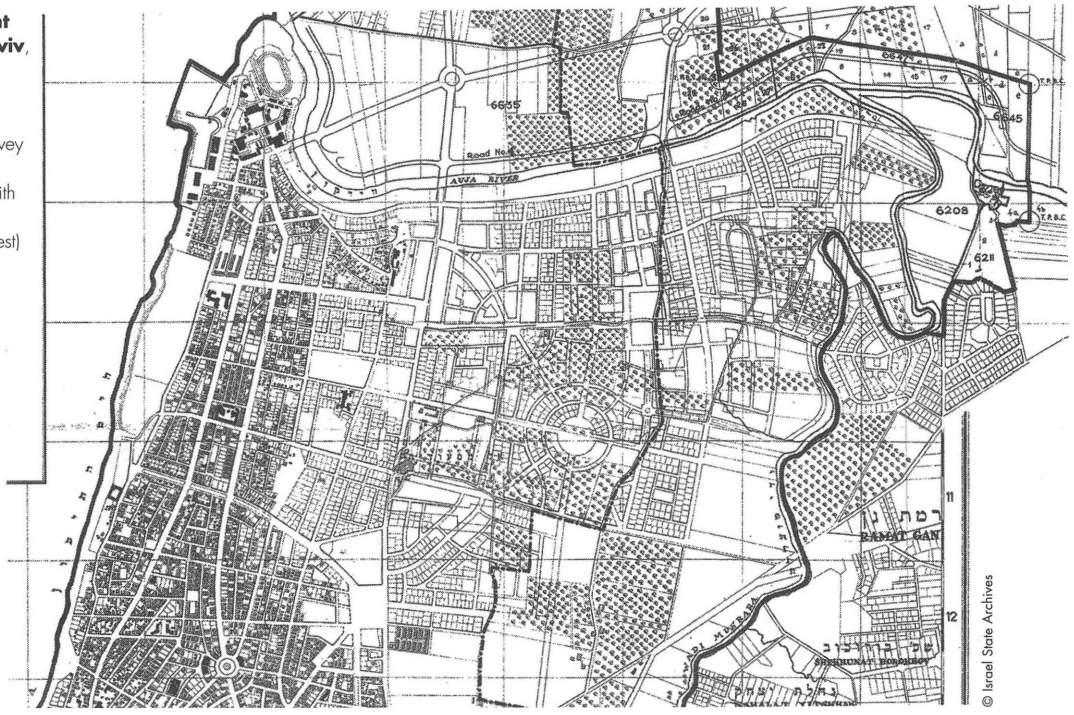

Fig. 4. **Technical Department of the Municipality of Tel Aviv**, *Tel Aviv: Town Planning area*, Tel Aviv, around 1943 (detail). This map, based on a survey probably made by the British Survey of Palestine, is showing Tel Aviv at the beginning of the 1940s with parcellation and constructions in the area of the Geddes plan (West)

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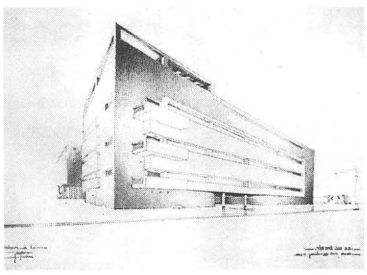

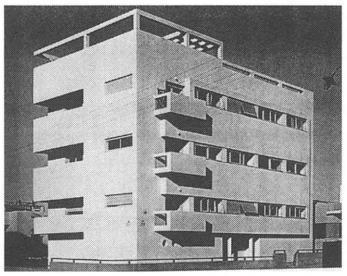

Figs. 5 & 6. **Benjamin Anekstein**, *Haller House*, 20 Reiness Street, Tel Aviv, 1936

© Nitza Metzger-Szmuk, *Des Maisons sur le Sable: Tel Aviv, Mouvement Moderne et Esprit Bauhaus* (Paris, Tel Aviv: Éditions de l'Éclat, 2004)

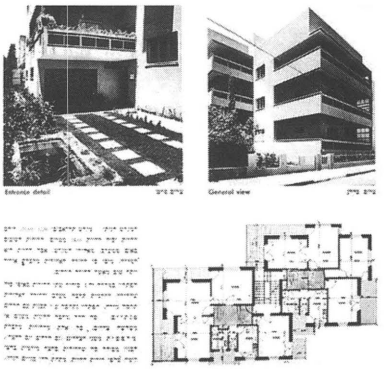

Fig. 7. **Carl Rubin**, *Baumöl House*, 87 Rothschild Boulevard, Tel Aviv, 1936

© J. Dicker (ed.), *Apartment Houses in Palestine*, Habinjan Bamisrah Hakarov (Tel Aviv: M. Silberstein, November 1936)

not the product of a single mind and a single hand; we want to learn from each other, and we do learn from each other. We believe that architecture today in general, and our own architecture, is the creation of the architectural community, rather than of a single architect."[11]

THE ZIONIST THRUST or the cohesiveness that overcame dissentions forged a formal repertoire that grew out of the constraints of the Geddes block/unit itself. The existence of this Tel Aviv School, which clearly they formed, proves that just after the Amsterdam School, urban architecture was not dead as a result of the rise of modernism. It simply constituted a promising but abandoned path.

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4 For complete details on Patrick Geddes's mission in Tel Aviv and historical cartography of the city, see Catherine Weill-Rochant, "Le Plan de Patrick Geddes pour la 'Ville Blanche' de Tel Aviv. Une Part d'Ombre et de Lumière" (PhD diss., Paris, Université Paris-8, 2006).

5 For example, the public limited company Beitim-Veiganim. Its purpose was to issue bonds, duly authorized by the Palestinian government, between the Syndicat du Levant (domiciled in Paris) a future company, and the future subscribers. This covered "all property, mortgage, real estate and more specifically the accomplishment of the extension plan for the cities of Jaffa, Haifa and Jerusalem, etc." See limited public company Beitim-Veiganim, *Correspondence*, Paris, 26/03/36 (CZA, L 18/2898/PLDC/doc 2434).

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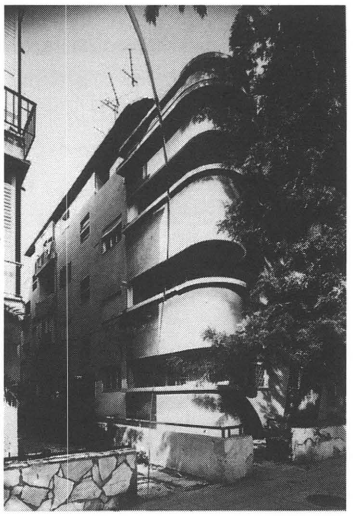

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Fig. 8. **Yitzhak Rapoport**, *Tanzmann and Sharfhertz Houses*, 134–136 Rotschild Boulevard, Tel Aviv, 1936. The Tel Aviv living-machine: constricted at the corner

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Three Animals

KARMI, RECHTER AND SHARON: AMONG THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF MODERN ISRAELI ARCHITECTURE

JÉRÉMIE **HOFFMANN**

"The founding fathers, members of the first generation engaging in Israeli architecture, devoted considerable efforts to education and to the creation of a new Hebrew tradition—a society and a culture unique to this country. The melting pot of the Zionist revolution was intended to purify the values of the past in order to extract a new Jew from them, the absolute antithesis of the Diaspora Jew—more handsome, muscular and a warrior."

L'OURS, LE LOUP ET LE LION : AINSI NOUS SONT REPRÉSENTÉS TROIS DES « PÈRES FONDATEURS » DE L'ARCHITECTURE MODERNE ISRAÉLIENNE DES ANNÉES 1930, DOV KARMI, ZE'EV RECHTER ET ARYE SHARON. TOUS TROIS IMMIGRÉS, ILS ARRIVENT EN ISRAËL AU DÉBUT DES ANNÉES 1920. L'ARCHITECTURE DE CES « TROIS ANIMAUX », DU STYLE BAUHAUS AU BÉTON BRUT, NOUS EST PRÉSENTÉE PAR JÉRÉMIE HOFFMANN, AU TRAVERS DE LEUR FORMATION, LEURS VOYAGES, LEURS ŒUVRES, LEURS INNOVATIONS, COMME LA REPRÉSENTATION LA PLUS FIDÈLE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ JUIVE DU TOUT NOUVEL ÉTAT D'ISRAËL ET DE LA CROISSANTE TEL AVIV.

THIS IS HOW architect Ram Karmi, Dov Karmi's son, opens his book *Lyric Architecture*, perhaps the first complete and direct attempt by a representative of the second generation to contend with the questions and the extensive heritage that had been planted in the sands of Tel Aviv in the initial days of its establishment.

Those same "founding fathers" were not really the first generation to engage in Jewish architecture in Palestine; preceding them were the builders of the first neighborhoods outside of Jaffa at the end of the nineteenth century, and the architects of the naïve eclectic style, but there is no doubt that their influence exceeded any criterion, to the point of transforming the heritage of the style known as "the Bauhaus" into a global site of cultural heritage, as it was declared by Unesco in 2003, and, in effect, into the world's largest collection of buildings of the early modern movement.

NEW IMMIGRANTS

The term "new ascender" is the nickname that residents of the country gave to immigrant Jews arriving in Palestine—the Land of Israel and, after 1948, in the State of Israel from their countries of origin. The term expresses an ascension; that is to say, the perception that, for a Jew, immigration to Israel is, in a sense, a quantum leap, or the fulfillment of a national or religious aspiration, while, on the other hand, the term "new" created a clear differentiation between the new immigrants and the veteran local residents, who in many cases had been, until recently, "new" themselves.

Ze'ev (Wolf) Rechter immigrated to the land of Israel from the Ukraine aboard the ship "Russlan"[1] in 1919 at the age of twenty, and worked at various planning offices in Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem. The 1920s in Tel Aviv were characterized by the northern expansion of Ahuzat Bayit, Tel Aviv's first neighborhood, which was founded in 1909, an expansion that was executed in patches according to the availability of land purchased from local Arabs that underwent a cursory local parcelization. The architectural style was eclectic, and constituted a mixture of styles brought by the immigrants from their countries of origin. These immigrants attempted to develop a local dialect integrating the style of their countries of origin with their vision of creating a new language corresponding to the romantic Mediterranean spirit as envisioned by the immigrants—the camels, the sand dunes, the palm trees and the traditional Arabic construction.

In 1924, Rechter moved to Tel Aviv and began working as a self-employed architect. Beit Hakadim, one of his first houses, in the Nachalat Binyamin neighborhood, was an imitation of European construction, with decorative elements and a set of opaque vases in ancient Greek

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Fig. 1. **Arye Sharon**, *Workers' Dormitories*, view of the interior patio, 1930s. "One could say that for the laborers' dormitories, I first of all created the garden and then surrounded it with houses, each house receiving a fine expression of the needs of the house" (Arye Sharon)

style, placed on elevated ledges along the main façade. Rechter, who later became identified as a central figure in architecture devoid of ornaments, eventually made a vehement practice of avoiding having to pass in front of this building, even if it meant he had to make a detour in order to do so.[2] His design of the villa for Rafael Aboulafiya and his wife, the painter Miriam Hadgadya (1925),[3] was the first sign of Rechter's change of style in the direction of the abstract: the building included motifs of a typical Arab house, including the openings and upper cupola, but these were situated on a clean geometric cube, a main mass having a stronger presence than the details comprising it.

Arye (Lion) Sharon immigrated in 1920 from Poland and settled in Kibbutz Gan Shmuel. As opposed to the urbanites Rechter and Karmi, Sharon was recruited to work as an apiarist on the kibbutz, and engaged in the design of the main residence, which also included a stable and cow shed on the ground floor, as well as other farm buildings.

Dov (Bear) Karmi, the third immigrant in this chronicle, arrived from Odessa in 1921 at the age of sixteen. At the beginning, Karmi turned to the study of art at Bezalel, the national art academy in Jerusalem.

THE RETURN TO EUROPE

The end of the 1920s was characterized by an economic slowdown and a decline in the volumes of construction. The expanding needs of the new Hebrew society, the technological changes, the need to professionalize and perhaps, the yearning for Europe, led to a wave of emigration by young architects and engineers back to Europe to the most renowned schools, in order to expand their education and, sometimes, to complete the education that they had started a few years earlier in Eastern Europe, before their immigration to Palestine.

ARYE SHARON was sent by his kibbutz to the Bauhaus school in Dessau, Germany, for a year of studies. He arrived and met with the school's headmaster, Walter Gropius, for an interview. In his memoirs,[4] Sharon writes

Fig. 2. **Arye Sharon**, *Workers' Dormitories*, 1930s

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Fig. 3. **Ze'ev Rechter & Dov Karmi**, *Mann Auditorium*, 1958: view from Gan Ya'akov Park

about his conversation with Gropius, "I sat on a low chair opposite this great man," and about his insistence on streamlining the strict curriculum to an abbreviated one-year track. According to the curriculum, every student was required to take the Vorkurs, whose objective was to sever the student from the accepted thought conventions and to open up a new perception of aesthetics, graphics, composition, and industrial design, based on experimentation and research, and the development of a language deriving from a renewed definition of function and material. During the second phase, the students were divided into materials workshops, and there, with the aid of exercises that they received from "masters," they investigated the properties of the materials and their three-dimensional potentials. After considerable persuasion, Gropius finally agreed and, during a chance meeting between them fifteen years later, Gropius told Sharon that, after he left, his spatial ball design appeared on the cover of the school's journal.

Since the beginning of classes was postponed by a month due to the construction of the new building, Sharon traveled to Berlin, where he was exposed to the new architecture of the young masters: Mies van der Rohe, Mendelsohn, Scharoun, Gropius, Taut and Häring. The rest of the time he spent with Prof. Armbruster, a world expert on apiaries, discussing the comparison between German honey and Palestinian honey, and the building of models of various apiaries from around the world, while investigating the typologies from which he drew inspiration in his future development as an architect.

For the purpose of completing his studies, Sharon extended his stay in Germany and, concurrently, began working at the firm of his teacher, Hannes Meyer, and was even appointed the Berlin branch manager of his firm.

In 1926, Ze'ev Rechter traveled to Rome to complete his studies. According to him, the strongest influence had been his exposure to exhibitions he visited devoutly during his free time, where he was exposed to the new changes in the spirit of the futurist movement, Russian constructivism and the Dutch de stijl movement, all of which were wafting through western Europe.[5] In Rome, he also met the Jew architects Joseph Neufeld, Samuel Barkai (who later worked in Le Corbusier's firm, and even corresponded with him about the new construction in Palestine), and Genia Averbuch, who would design Dizengoff Square.

A year later, Rechter returned to Tel Aviv and designed his first purely cubist building—the house of the poet Esther Rab, on Hagalil Street in Tel Aviv (demolished), one of the first modern buildings in the country. In 1929, Rechter traveled to Paris, and there, for four years, he studied at the engineering school, École Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées, and worked as a technical draftsman in an aircraft factory. These studies, coupled with his employment, gave Rechter a thorough familiarity with materials and a meticulous attention to details. This training was expressed later in the newborn perception of the "House-Machine," and the significance of engineering in the creation of the language deriving from reinforced concrete technology, which would change the perception of residential interior spaces.

Dov Karmi completed his studies in Ghent, Belgium, returned to work for two years in Jerusalem with Meir Rupin and then moved to Tel Aviv, which was experiencing the beginning of the great Jewish wave of immigration arriving from Germany and Russia, because Europe was ablaze.

WHITE CITY

In the mid-1920s, the Jewish community invited Patrick Geddes to prepare a master plan for the future development of Tel Aviv. Nobody would have guessed that, five years later, the master plan would be realized in its entirety during the accelerated course of a decade, during which the city rose out of nothing. The combination of conditions for the arrival of wealthy people and the demand for immediate housing solutions by a bourgeois urban society with a social perception driven by an age-old dream of establishing a new society, generated a tremendous impetus for construction, orchestrated by this talented band of architects who devoted its entire raison d'être to the creation of the new modern language.

The Geddes Plan defined a repetitive urban block, comprised of six housing units in the center of each development plot, while sustaining fixed distances from the façade facing the street—for the purpose of establishing a garden in the front, along the sides and in the back so that light and air would reach all of the units. This scheme, which encompassed the entire city at that time, created an architectural prototype for Tel Aviv, which was reminiscent, in its own scale, of Le Corbusier's villas and of the masters' houses designed by Gropius for Bauhaus professors, but with the significant difference of its being an apartment building. This typology created the

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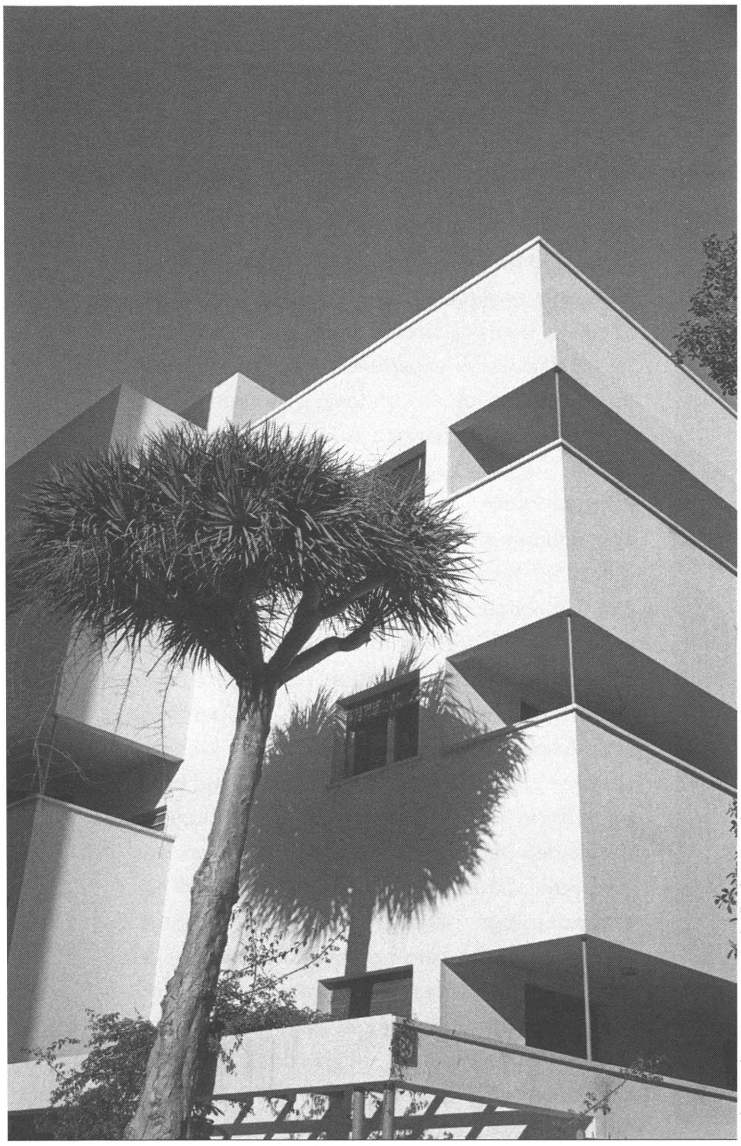

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Fig. 4. **Dov Karmi**, *Apartment Building at 29 Idelson Street*, 1936

need for defining a central space for a vertical stairwell, as well as housing units that take into account the climatic conditions, strong sunlight, exposure to sea air, porches for cooling off during the evenings, green gardens and flat roofs, all constituting part of the common areas' garden, laundry room, plumbing networks, etc.

THE ARCHITECTS' CIRCLE

The assimilation of the ideas for changing perceptions of aesthetics, materials and functionality was not a process that could be taken for granted. The residents and the establishment did not always know how to adapt their thought processes quickly, which is necessary in the face of the accelerated planning processes.

Sharon, Rechter and Karmi, in collaboration with other architects, formed "the Circle," which engaged in the elucidation, deliberation, comprehension and assimilation of various ideas in the spirit of the modern movement. They espoused and promoted the need for holding open architectural competitions, as part of the trend of expanding the architectural discourse and providing a platform for innovative ideas. They contacted local authorities, and their initiative led to a great wave—lasting some thirty years—of open architectural competitions, which extended beyond the process of merely selecting the work itself (public buildings, for the most part). They also produced a burgeoning journal, which created a local architectural canon of erudite language and ethical discourse.

The Circle held regular meetings, and its discussions were stormy; its journal was distributed, which engaged in the gamut of questions posed to the modern movement, mainly about the battle for building on stilts (pilotis). According to the municipal orders, building on pilotis was not permitted since these areas were taken into account in the existing development rights. Ze'ev Rechter, who led the battle, succeeded in persuading the municipal leaders to accept the "pilotis principle," through emphasizing the principles of the garden continuing under the building, the sea breeze flowing between the yards and, perhaps, more than anything, the desire to enable buildings to disengage from the ground and float, according to the futuristic vision in the machine age.[6]

THE BAUHAUS STYLE

The term "Bauhaus style" is actually a contradiction of terms, since the Bauhaus School espoused original thinking and not the copying of styles. Nonetheless, this concept took root and is attributed to the Tel Aviv architectural style of the 1930s. There is no doubt that an architectural style was created in Tel Aviv that, on the one hand, integrated the international spirit with the local needs relating to climate, materials and culture, while, on the other hand, created an unprecedented diversity of variants for the typical residential dwelling, while utilizing a relatively limited number of parameters, such as windows, porches, the division of masses, marquees, pilotis and railings.

Fig. 5. **Dov Karmi**, *Typical interior*, 1930s

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Fig. 6. **Ram Karmi,** *2 Bezalel Yaffe Street,* modern office building with preserved façade—a new interpretation of heritage, 1990

During this period, Dov Karmi and Ze'ev Rechter established their standing as leaders of the style, and became a model for imitation and challenge. The dozens of residential buildings designed during this decade throughout the city emphasized the light cube with its perfect proportions, operating as an elegant, efficient dwelling machine, whose architectural components served as alternative ornaments in new asymmetric compositions on the urban street.[7]

It is difficult to point out a clear distinction between the architectural handwriting of each of the leaders of this style, but one could say as a generalization that Dov Karmi represented a more refined and modest approach to its expressionism, by his articulation of the proportions of volume and by the attention given to the details of the design throughout the building and in the entrance hall, to the point of creating a language identifiable to this day, such as the relationship between the stairwell and the entrance hall in the buildings at 9 Gordon Street (Zlotopolsky House, which was also his residence), at 33 Ben-Gurion Boulevard (Bar-Shira House), and at 29 Idelson Street (Max Liebling House).

FOR Rechter, the perception of "building as machine" merely strengthened his futurist expression (Engel House at 85 Rothschild Boulevard, and Crescenty House at 78 Rothschild Boulevard); the direct influence of Le Corbusier on Rechter[8] also apparently relates to Rechter's background of studies in France, and his brief practical experience in Paris designing the residence of the sculptress Hanna Orloff (1931), as an expansion of her old residence, which had originally been designed by Auguste Perret.[9]

The influence of Arye Sharon had been different; his architectural perception gave clear precedence to his social perceptions. As a graduate of the kibbutz and a Bauhaus protégé, Sharon designed the "workers' dormitories" in Tel Aviv—cooperative residential complexes[10]—copying the kibbutz concept and adapting it to urban dwellings: egalitarian residential complexes including a common central yard, a shop, kindergarten and all other shared functions, while emphasizing design simplicity and strengthening the sense of the collective. These complexes exceeded the customary scale of residential dwellings in Tel Aviv, but, at the same time, created an urban block that was completely congruent with the typical Geddes block, and while sustaining the "Tel Aviv-scale" of the street. This congruency was emphasized, in light of the influence of earlier projects, like the Karl Marx-Hof in Vienna,[11] which lost the human scale, possibly under eastern European influence. However, examination of the spectrum of Sharon's work points to an internal dualism between the modernist ethic and the inevitable local Levantine influence.[12]

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

The declaration of the State of Israel, the outbreak of the War of Independence, and the internalizing of the events of World War II undoubtedly constituted a turning point in the architectural chronicle in Israel in general, and in Tel Aviv in particular.

The utopia of the White City and the final days of the State-in-the-making period were suddenly replaced by a change in national priorities. A local process of generational progression accompanied the fear of the war, which brought with it the global awakening from the blind faith in the power of the ideal and the machine for creating optimal living conditions for humankind. Jacob Rechter, Ram Karmi and Eldad Sharon, the second

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generation of architects, were nicknamed "the Sabras" (the native Israelis).[13] "The members of the second generation—young architects who grew up in Israel—already related to the physical structure and to the unique landscape of the site in their architectural designs. They established a system that recognizes man as the purpose for the developed landscape, instead of a system espousing mainly functional efficiency in the service of the building."[14]

The first decade after the establishment of the State was characterized by a significant architectural stylistic change—a transition from the international white stucco architecture of the diaspora, to the coarse and direct look of exposed concrete that affords it a grip.

During this period, the best of Tel Aviv's public buildings were designed by Karmi, Rechter and Sharon: the Mann Auditorium, the Helena Rubinstein Pavilion, the Histadrut Building, Yachin House, and El Al House. Despite the influence of Le Corbusier and the Brazilian modern architecture, the exposed concrete is anchored in the local culture as the material that expresses the local Israeli flavor more than anything else, with its textured, direct, brutal, real, exposed, practical presence, lacking in manners yet, nonetheless, poetic and sculptural like clay in a potter's hands.

Hospitals, convalescent homes, universities, music and cultural halls, administrative and government buildings, schools, commercial centers—all these were built and served as tools to leverage "the Israeli Project" throughout the country.[15]

Arye Sharon turned to engage in design at the national level, and coordinated the work preparing the national master plan, in collaboration with David Ben-Gurion, the first prime minister. This plan defined, for the first time, the typology and zoning of the communities and cities of the State during its infancy.

Ze'ev Richter died in 1960 at the age of forty-two. His son, Jacob, continued the tradition of building with exposed concrete while designing a list of buildings that became the architectural symbols of the period in Tel Aviv and in Israel, like the courthouse in Tel Aviv, and the Mivtachim convalescent home in ZichronYa'akov. Dov Karmi died some two years later. His son Ram and his daughter Ada are, to this day, continuing to constitute a central stage in leading the architectural thinking in Israel; they designed important buildings, like the Supreme Court in Jerusalem, which won international acclaim, and are engaging in questions of local and global identity. Eldar Sharon, Arye's son, joined the firm after a fascinating experience in independent architecture with Prof. Neuman and Zvi Hecker, and managed the firm, which specialized mainly in the design of hospitals. Today, the three firms are managed by the third generation, the grandchildren.

It is customary to say that architecture represents, more than anything else, the face of the society that created it. The three founding fathers, like the later generations, who led the changes of time, undoubtedly constitute fine examples and paragons of the quality and originality of thought that represents the fascinating, historic chapter of the establishment of the city of Tel Aviv and the State of Israel.

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NOTES

1 The illegal immigrant ship "Russlan" was the first ship in the third wave of Jewish immigration to Palestine, with 620 immigrants on board, including the future architects Tabachnik and Megidovitz.

2 Amnon Rechter, Ze'ev's grandson, told this anecdote in May 2007 during a municipal tour to all of his grandfather's work.

3 The building was erected at 10 Hagalil Street; later demolished.

4 In his book *Kibbutz and Bauhaus* dated 1976, Sharon writes in first person and describes his trip to the Bauhaus School in great detail, as briefly quoted here.

5 In his book *Ze'ev Rechter* (Keter Publishing and the United Kibbutz Movement Publishing, 1987), Ran Shachori expounds on the influences on Rechter during his various journeys in Europe, which are referred to briefly here.

6 Ze'ev Rechter designed the Engel Family House at 85 Rothschild Boulevard, the first building on pilotis, in 1933.

7 The book *Dwelling on the Dunes* by Nitza Smuk (Paris: Éditions de l'Éclat, 2004) constitutes the most complete and comprehensive catalogue of all of the buildings of the White City erected in Tel Aviv in the 1930s.

8 The influences of the Villa Stein and Maison Citrohan on Rechter may be learned from the master's thesis, "Ze'ev Rechter: Engel House in Tel Aviv 1933," by Anna Minta (Berlin University, 1997).

9 The use of ribbon windows in this house shows the clear influence of Le Corbusier's Ozenfant House and Villa La Roche.

10 The photographs of the Workers' Dormitories are from the private archive of Ms. Ya'el Aloni (the daughter of Arye Sharon, OBM).

11 The residential complex Karl Marx-Hof, designed by Karl Ehn, was erected in Vienna between the years 1927–30 and included 1382 housing units. The building is some 1,000 meters long and is considered the longest single residential building in the world.

12 Bruno Zevi refers to this topic in his preface to Arye Sharon's memoirs *Kibbutz and Bauhaus*, and defined these complexities as a "knot that cannot be unraveled." Netanel Elfassy also refers to this topic in his seminar paper at Tel Aviv University "Arieh Sharon (1900–1948): Formalism and Schizophrenia," which accompanied the exhibition "Who Are You, Arye Sharon?" at the Chalalit Gallery, 2008.

13 "Sabra" is the nickname given to a native Israeli. The expression is borrowed from the local sabra cactus, which characterizes the landscape of the ancient land of Israel, as well as the nature of native Israelis: local, rooted and prickly. There are those who exaggerate and say that, like the fruit of the sabra, they are also soft on the inside, a claim that still requires proof!

14 Ram Karmi, *Lyric Architecture* (Israel Ministry of Defense Publishing, 2001).

15 *The Israeli Project: Building and Architecture 1948–1973* by Zvi Efrat (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Museum of Art, 2004) presents an expansive review and describes the entire spectrum of Israeli architecture subsequent to the establishment of the State as a national project having clear goals and objectives, to differentiate from an urban process of development.

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The Flight of the Camel

THE LEVANT FAIR OF 1934 AND THE CREATION OF SITUATED MODERNISM

SIGAL **DAVIDI** & ROBERT **OXMAN**

The Zionist leitmotif of the conquest of the land had for some generations placed priority on the symbolic and pragmatic significance of agricultural settlements. In the twentieth century the city and urbanism as a cultural strategy emerged slowly from adjunct, and secondary, status.

DÈS LES ANNÉES 1920 SE CONSTRUIT LE MYTHE DE TEL AVIV COMME LA VILLE D'UNE SOCIÉTÉ QUI ÉVOLUE. EN 1934, LA FOIRE DU LEVANT CRISTALLISE CE MYTHE : UNE EXPOSITION INTERNATIONALE QUI SYMBOLISE L'ÉMERGENCE D'UNE NOUVELLE IDENTITÉ NATIONALE ET SON MODERNISME. LA FOIRE DU LEVANT COMPTERA, SUR SIX SEMAINES D'EXPOSITION, PLUS DE TRENTE PAYS PARTICIPANTS, PLUS DE 600 000 VISITEURS – TEL AVIV NE COMPTE ALORS QUE 100 000 HABITANTS – ET DES RETOMBÉES ÉCONOMIQUES IMPORTANTES. AU-DELÀ LA PORTÉE SYMBOLIQUE, POLITIQUE, RELIGIEUSE ET ÉCONOMIQUE DE LA FOIRE DU LEVANT, SIGAL DAVIDI ET ROBERT OXMAN PERÇOIVENT LA CRISTALLISATION D'UN ENGAGEMENT POUR UNE ARCHITECTURE ET UN URBANISME NOUVEAUX. RETOUR SUR L'UN DES ÉVÉNEMENTS CULTURELS LES PLUS IMPORTANTS DE LA VILLE BLANCHE.

THIS PHENOMENON occurs with the crystallization of the physical and symbolic presence of Tel Aviv in the period of the 1920s and 1930s. The mythical status of the city, the White City, as the locus for progressive society—simultaneously its incubator and its manifestation—grows in the early 1930s.

THE RHETORIC OF DESIGN: SITUATED MODERNISM AND PROGRESSIVE SOCIETY

A series of international fairs and exhibitions served to reinforce the rhetoric of "new form for new social order." Among these were the Exposition des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, 1925; Barcelona, 1929; Stockholm, 1930; and the International Style Exhibition in New York, 1932. By 1932–33, the international style in its diverse manifestations had become the preferred avant-garde expression of the cultural potential of modernization. The international fair had become the medium of choice for the manifestation of the semantics of being progressive. The promotion of modernism in a situated, or localized, form began to be the preferred strategy for the creation of an emerging impetus for national identity. All of these evolving cultural tendencies coalesced in the new city of Tel Aviv of the early 1930s. In 1934 these forces came together to create one of the most significant cultural events of the new city, and one that was to crystallize its commitment to the new architecture and urbanism. This event, the Fair of the East, or the Levant Fair of 1934, so convincingly established this idea of "situated modernism" that Tel Aviv eventually developed as a unique international repository of modernist architecture and urban fabric.

ON APRIL 26, 1934, the sixth Levant Fair opened in Tel Aviv. It was an international exhibition organized by the Company for Trade & Industry with the object of creating international economic and trade ties, in particular, with the Middle East and Palestine. An area of about 100 *dunams* (25 acres) of sand, north of the then-existing city, between the Yarkon river and Mediterranean sea, was selected as the site for the fair. The site was built according to a carefully prepared master plan and was an important design and urban planning event, the first of its kind and scale in Jewish Palestine (or "Eretz Yisrael," as its Jewish inhabitants preferred to call it) *(fig. 1)*. Seventy-four pavilions were built and during the short period of its operation approximately 600,000 people visited the fair. This was twice the total of the Jewish population in the

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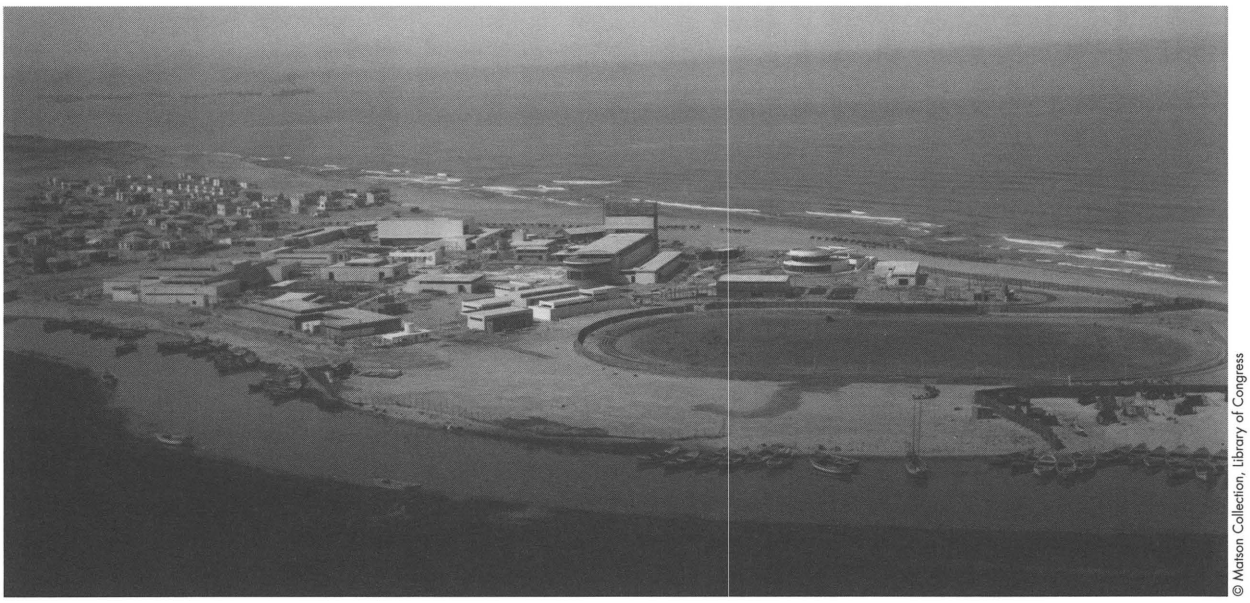

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Fig. 1. The Levant Fair, aerial view of the fairgrounds under construction: on the bottom, the Yarkon River with north Tel Aviv in the background, 1934

country at that time, and a tremendous number, in particular, for little Tel Aviv with its population of only 100,000. Thirty countries participated in the exhibition that ran for six weeks and was a great economic success *(fig. 2)*.

THE ERETZ YISRAEL FAIR offered the opportunity for promoting a cultural agenda through semantics of form, material, color and landscape. The impact of the 1934 fair resided in its integration of the different design disciplines, and in their holistic display as a complete and harmonious project. The building of the fair created the largest and most prestigious concentration of buildings executed in the international style up to the mid-1930s. The collection of buildings is an outstanding example of the penetration of modern architecture into the country. However, this condition was preceded by a complicated process of evolution towards the crystallization of an approach which saw modernism in general, and the international style in particular, as representing the social dynamics of Jewish society in both rural and urban Palestine.

The main aim in planning the site was to present modern and innovative architecture in an urban context and, as such, to establish an appropriate identity of Jewish society in Palestine. In the following pages we will

Fig. 2. The Levant Fair, general view of the fairgrounds, 1934

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examine this question of the rhetoric of design in the Levant Fair. We will explore the ability of the fair to achieve these objectives and the nature of its success in promoting "situated modernism" as a new medium for the image of Zionist settlement as a dynamic society.

THE PLANNING AND ORGANIZATION

In the beginning of the 1930s the fair were the only large complexes of this kind in Palestine. The halls were among the largest in the country with roofs cast in reinforced concrete.[1] The total number of public buildings on this unique site was enormous by almost any contemporary standard. To emphasize the fact that the fair represented only Jewish Palestine, the planning and building was executed by the Jewish population exploiting only local industrial products, *totzeret ha'aretz* (local products).[2] In addition, it was a display of strength of the Jewish settlement, also known as the "Yishuv," to the Arab population of the country who boycotted the fair.[3] A body of Palestine's active Jewish architects planned all the buildings, including pavilions of the international community. A Tel Aviv architect, Josef Neufeld, planned even the British pavilion although a British architect could have been chosen from those available in the country.

The planning department of the fair, the "technical bureau," was in charge of all planning including architectural and engineering works, landscaping, interior design, and the organization of the displays of all the pavilions.[4] This department became influential in promoting the rhetorical program of the organizers, and guaranteeing the internal consistency of all artifacts and exhibits. Besides the planners of the technical bureau, leading architects from the Yishuv were invited to plan the main building of the fair and to consult in the planning of the remainder of the buildings.[5]

AN INVESTIGATION into the personal and professional background of the planning team revealed a group of young, highly talented architects, most of whom had returned from Europe and were already well-known and appreciated in the country. They planned in the spirit of the new European avant-garde. Their outspoken belief that the new style was an appropriate representation of Jewish society in the country was the reason for their selection as the fair's designers.

ARCHITECTURE AND REPRESENTATION

SITUATING MODERNISM: CONTEXTUALIZING THE INTERNATIONAL

The architecture of the fair was consistently planned and designed in the international style. Its formal character was totally modernistic with much thought invested in the adaptation of the design to the context and cultural character of place. The fair contributed to a local evolution of modern form and details; this effort formed the basis for the definition of the content of situated modernism and

Fig. 3. **Averbuch & Ginzburg, Gidoni**, *Galina Restaurant*, one of the most outstanding pavilions in the fairgrounds, 1934. Destroyed

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its promotion in Palestine. Special attention was paid to the design of the buildings in response to the climatic conditions, including appropriate sensitivity to the wind and the direction of the sun at the seaside site. Though the buildings were designed in accordance with international style principles, these were adapted so that the design of the building masses, façades, windows and openings, entrances, and details made optimal use of shade and breeze. This was a visible extension of the modern style, but one of simpler masses, smaller openings, and shaded areas. In addition to the architectural character of a situated modernism, contextualism was manifested in planning the integration of the fair area into the urban texture of northern Tel Aviv *(fig. 3)*.[6]

THESE MAINLY LARGE, open-spaced buildings allowed great freedom for creativity. Although intended exclusively for fairs, the buildings were permanent and, consequently, considered to be of urban importance. The adaptation of the international style to the climatic conditions received top priority. An advertising brochure (1933) issued by the fair's management prior to the construction stated that "the best of the builders will identify advanced architectural themes with the demands presented by the country's climate." The pavilions were all built from materials and building technologies developed locally and adapted to local needs. All the buildings were plastered and, although there was a demand for emphasis or highlighting of certain pavilions, it was decided that all would be consistently painted white.[7] This application of a specific and consistent architectural approach to public building on such a large-scale enhanced the spread of the idea of modern architecture among the population, and promoted it as the appropriate "national building style"[8] or the Yishuv. The fair's buildings would serve as a model for the building of apartment houses in Tel Aviv in the following years.

THE MODERNISTIC POWER of the Levant Fair was a symbolic statement of the direction of the development of Jewish Palestine, which represented the entire Jewish population: the working class of the Yishuv, with its organizations and factories; the middle class merchants; industrialists and capitalists; as well as state representation achieved by active participation of national institutes. The 1934 fair presented a visual and cultural image and portrayed the Zionist concept that the Jewish settlement wished to show the world. Its rhetoric promoted the image that in Palestine a secular, Western, advanced and strong society, liberated from past traditions, was developing.

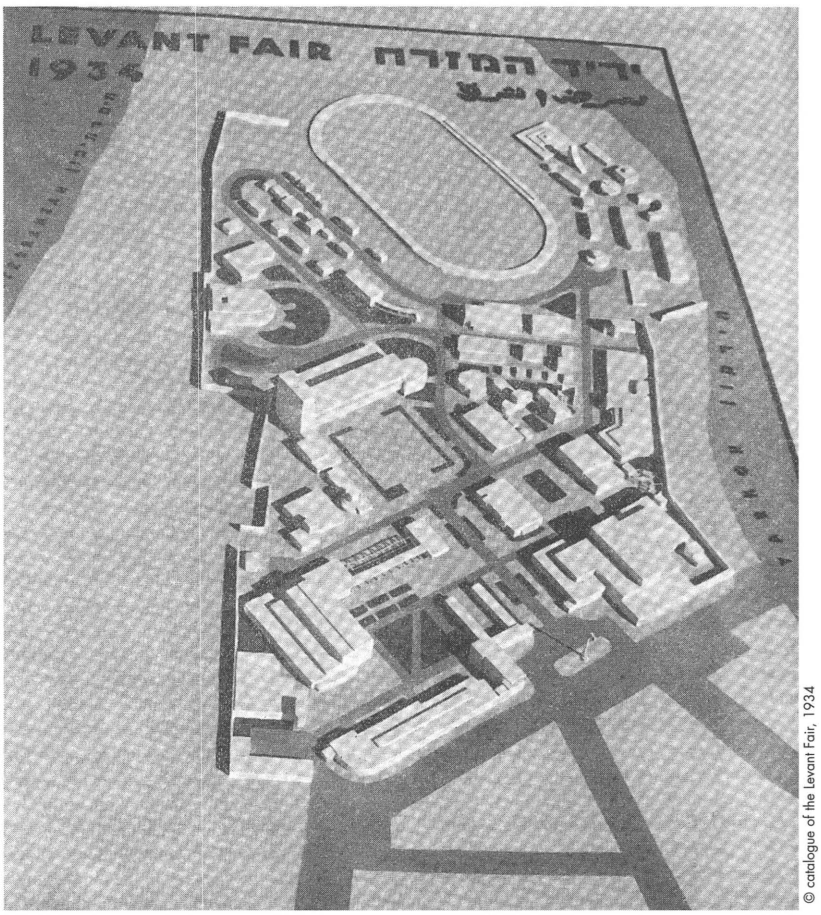

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Fig. 4. **Richard Kauffmann**, model of the fairgrounds showing the zoning, avenues and squares, 1934

THE YISHUV AND THE PRODUCTION OF AN IMAGE FOR JEWISH SOCIETY

The Yishuv was widely represented in the fair, exhibited in six pavilions displaying the achievements of Jewish society in Palestine. Even in the fair's uniform, modernistic style, these pavilions represented a unique and highly creative level of design. As would be clear in the future, the chosen designers of these pavilions represented the brilliant future of early Israeli creative design. The master plan of the fairground divided the pavilions into three main zones: Eretz Yisrael, Britain, and Foreign Countries *(fig. 4)*. The zones were positioned in such a way that the Eretz Yisrael zone was the central and dominant area. The Yishuv's pavilions were divided into two zones, urban and agricultural. The main urban zone had four pavilions: the Palestine Industries Pavilion ("the Palace of Local Products"), the Jewish Agency and National Institutes Pavilion, the PICA Pavilion (Palestine Jewish Colonization Association), and the Tel Aviv Pavilion. The agricultural zone was less formal and included the Farmers Federation Pavilion, the Histadrut Pavilion (the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine), and the Galina restaurant *(fig. 5)*. The planning of the most important Jewish pavilion, the Palestine Industries Pavilion, was placed in the hands of Richard Kauffmann, a well-known architect identified with the planning and design of settlement projects.[9] It was only natural,

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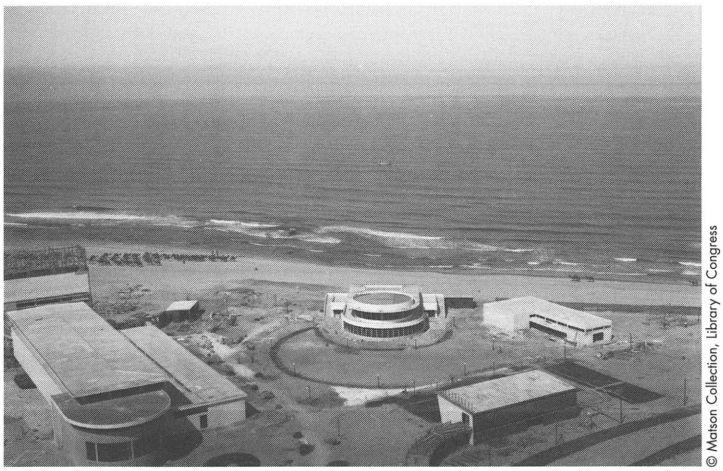

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Fig. 5. **Richard Kauffmann**, *Palestine Industries Pavilion*; **Averbuch & Ginzburg, Gidoni**, *Galina Restaurant*; **the Technical Bureau**, *Farmers Federation Pavilion*; **Arye Sharon**, *Histadrut Pavilion* (from left to right). All destroyed

therefore, that Kauffmann, who had planned the new Jewish settlement for the Zionist Institute, should also plan its representative pavilion, the Jewish Agency and National Institutes Pavilion.

THE PALESTINE INDUSTRIES PAVILION was the largest and most elaborate pavilion of the fair with an area of 3,000 sq m, in which about 200 Jewish Palestinian companies exhibited their products. There were great hopes for this pavilion as part of the general effort to advertise and market local products in world markets. Kauffmann planned a simply designed building with a large rectangular closed mass and an accompanying tower *(fig. 6)*. The horizontal division, influenced by the international style, and evident in the deep shadows of the "floating" roof surfaces, dominated the façade. In the context of the layout of the fair, this large horizontal mass with its accompanying vertical tower had a strong symbolic meaning; the tower became a special image and served as a landmark in Tel Aviv and in the fairground. The image of the palace of local products appeared as a symbol of modernism in all the posters, many of which illustrated building designs, so that it became one of the symbols of the fair.[10] The architecture of this building was among the best of the international style in Palestine; it remains one of the most important buildings designed by Kauffmann.

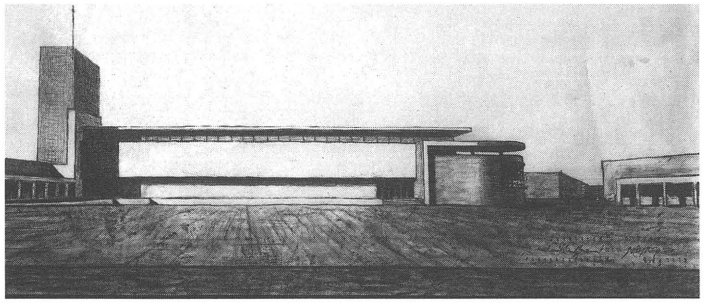

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Fig. 6. **Richard Kauffmann**, *Palestine Industries Pavilion*, sketch of the main elevation, 1933. Destroyed

GESAMTKUNSTWERK AND THE REPRESENTATION OF CULTURED SOCIETY

Beyond the commitment to advanced architecture and planning, the planners of the fair viewed this as an opportunity to create an exhibition of the integration of all the cultural disciplines in the creation of a total work of urban art, one which might be representative of the integration and progressiveness of society. In all fields of art and environmental design such as landscape, graphics, painting, sculpture, music and sports, the ambitious cultural creation also served to glorify the Zionist activities in Palestine. But it was the totality and integration of the various manifestations as a total work of art, a *Gesamtkunstwerk* in the modernist sense, which was to foster a representation of the flowering of a new society.

LANDSCAPE DESIGN

One of the young and emerging new arts put into the service of this cultural manifestation was landscape design. The ideology behind the master plan and the landscaping design changed in the 1934 fair under the influence of this move towards a new cultural representation.

The Yishuv chose to present to the world a well-developed urban image as part of the cultural status of Jewish society in Palestine. In previous exhibitions erected in Tel Aviv, small pavilions had been set within greenery and the area had a rural atmosphere. The new fairground layout was urban in character containing a wide avenue, a central square with streets, and landscaped squares surrounded by buildings. The landscaping and gardening were planned accordingly, with the garden areas following the geometric order of the buildings and squares.

INTERIOR DESIGN AND DISPLAY

The creativity and boldness of modern design was especially prominent in the interior design and display designs of the fair's pavilions. The inventiveness of modern design was emphasized in the pavilions created by the Jewish settlement for the Palestine Industries, the National Institutes and, especially, the Workers Union (Histadrut). The rhetoric of these modern displays expressed the strong desire to build a dynamic and modern image for the Jewish society developing in Palestine.

The display at the Histadrut Pavilion was outstanding in its innovative presentation. Moshe Raviv-Verobeichic, recruited to design it, was one of the most important avant-garde artists to come to Palestine.[12] He saw himself as a Zionist photographer, was active in the Zionist cause and promoted its ideology through his work. Photography became one of the great media of the promotion of social and cultural dynamics *(fig. 7)*.

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GRAPHIC DESIGN

Along with architecture and photography, graphic design had become one of the great modernist tools for communicate the social developments of the early twentieth century. The fair exploited this potential of graphic design as a communications medium and both the content and form created innovative approaches to serve the Zionist idea.

The graphics chosen for the title page of the fair's catalogue and the leaflets distributed by the fair's management presented a clear visual message *(fig. 8)*.

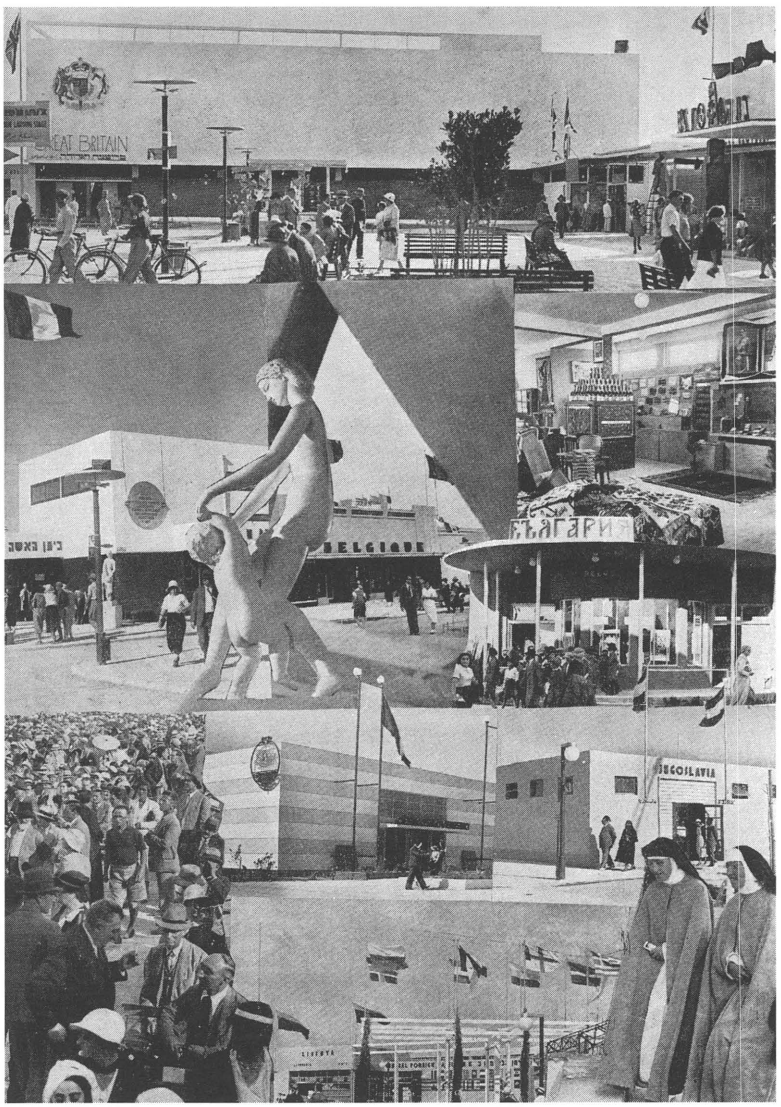

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Fig. 7. **Moshe Raviv-Verobeichic** (designer), *Photomontage of Pavilions and Visitors to the 1934 Fair*, published in the *Levant Fair Catalogue*, 1934

Architectural figures expressing an eastern atmosphere alongside the image of modern buildings attempted to illustrate the modernity of the fair and to symbolize its contribution to the development of Palestine. The flying camel, the emblem of the fair, floated above the elements representing Arab Palestine—the dome and the arch, the palm tree, the cactus plant and the minaret of the mosque. Coexisting with this contextual background, modern buildings with their strong geometric simplicity, dynamic play of forms, vertical masses and horizontal windows represented the new world and its building in the Zionist settlement *(fig. 8)*.

THE FLYING CAMEL became one of the best-known and most successful images in the "war of symbols" of international fairs. The flying camel was the idea and design of El-Hanani for the 1934 fair.[13] He presented it as a symbol of the East while the image of a flying camel represented the changes taking place in the Zionist settlement. The great success of the image and perhaps of the fair as well, was its ability to emblematically present the evolution of tradition into modernism.

MEMORY AND TRANSITION

The Levant Fair of 1934 lasted barely fourty-five days. Its physical traces are today all but obliterated. However, it must be portrayed as an apogee of the cultural statement of both the achievements and hopes of the young Zionist society. The complex and collective work of art, which was planned, built and operated so successfully, radiated a remarkable optimism regarding the future of this new society and its ability to coexist with tradition and the presence of the past. It is an almost historically unparalleled statement of the ability of an avant-garde modernism to symbolize and support the cultural aspirations of a highly contextualized society.

THAT MODEL spread in the coming years to become a more general model of urban development in Tel Aviv and elsewhere in Israel. The white exhibition became a white city and, no doubt, influenced the acceptance of modern architecture in Palestine, and later, in Israel. The memory and suggestive symbolic idealism of the fair also lived on in the body of remarkable designers who found their first opportunities in this transitional event. The search for a situated modernism continued and inspired several generations of young architects to create in Tel Aviv one of the largest urban ensembles of international style architecture in the world.

This is a shorter version of an article that was originally published in Haim Yacobi (ed.), Constructing a Sense of Place: Architecture, Planning and the Zionist Discourse *(London: Ashgate Publications, 2004), 52–75.*

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Fig. 8. **Shamir Brothers** (designers), *Poster for the 1934 Levant Fair (top).* Designer unknown, *Poster for the 1936 Levant Fair*

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NOTES

1 Willie Weltsch, "Labor and Style in the Fairground," *Davar* (Palestine: April 26, 1934).

2 Building materials unavailable in Palestine were usually imported from countries participating in the fair, mainly from England, Belgium, Romania and Yugoslavia.

3 Letter from Moshe Sharet to fair's management, April 27, 1934, Central Zionist Archive S/25 7323. "Arab Fair a Fair Bazaar," *The Palestine Post,* Special Supplement: Levant Fair Opening (April 26, 1934): 8.

4 Willie Weltsch, "The Eight Month Wonder–The Architecture of the Fair," *The Palestine Post,* Special Supplement: Levant Fair Opening (April 26, 1934): 10.

5 Among them were Genia Averbuch, Harry Lurie, Josef Neufeld, Louis Redstone and Arye Sharon.

6 The master plan had two existing main streets of Tel Aviv running into the entrance square, which continued into a wide avenue leading to the central square of the fair.

7 About the color scheme, see Jacob Shiffman, "The Levant Fair, Tel Aviv," *Town Planning Review* (Liverpool, 1935): 194.

8 "National Building Style," defined by Yohanan Ratner in his article "Towards the Original Style," *The Annual Building Book* (Tel Aviv: 1935): 34–6, *75.*

9 Richard Kauffmann (1887–1958). Born in Frankfurt, Germany. Studied architecture in Darmstadt and Munich. In 1920 Kauffmann was invited by Dr. Arthur Rupin, head of the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency, to come to Palestine and take an active part in designing the urban and agricultural Zionist settlement. He was head of the Design Department of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem. At the same time he worked intensively in the private sector and was one of the first modern architects in Palestine.

10 See poster illustration in *fig. 8.*

11 Moshe Raviv-Verobeichic (1904–1995). Born in Vilna. Studied in the Bauhaus and was influenced by the avant-garde design of Kandinsky and Moholy-Nagy. In 1934 Berl Kazenelson, the head of the Histadrut, invited him to come to Palestine to design their exhibits for the Levant Fair. He lived in Tel Aviv and worked as a graphic designer and photographer for Zionist institutes, and independently.

12 See Rona Sela, *Photography in Palestine in the 1930s–1940s* (Herzliya Museum of Art, Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House Ltd., 2000).

13 As graphic design became more modern and dynamic, the flying camel underwent a process of abstraction, as well. By 1934 its original realistic three-dimensional figure became flat and dynamic, and by 1936 it was a completely abstract icon.

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The Heritage of Modern Movement in Tel Aviv

SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION VERSUS PUBLIC CONSCIOUSNESS

KEREN **METRANY** & IRIT **AMIT-COHEN**

Public consciousness in relation to built heritage in urban textures, its development, and the elements of the public discourse created in an effort to protect these textures require characterization and discussion. This topic derives from the recognition of the importance of public participation in the process of safeguarding the built heritage and in searching for ways to increase its involvement in the preservation of cultural and historical sites.

LA FAVEUR DE L'OPINION PUBLIQUE EST UN ATOUT SOUVENT INDISPENSABLE POUR LA MISE EN VALEUR, LA CONSERVATION OU LA SAUVEGARDE D'UN BIEN PATRIMONIAL. L'IMPORTANCE DE LA PARTICIPATION PUBLIQUE EST PARTOUT CONSTATÉE, RELAYÉE PAR LES MÉDIAS OU INITIÉE PAR EUX. CETTE CONSCIENCE PUBLIQUE, KEREN METRANY ET IRIT AMIT-COHEN CHERCHENT À EN DÉTERMINER LE RÔLE, L'INFLUENCE, LES CARACTÉRISTIQUES, EN PROPOSANT ICI L'ÉTUDE DE CAS DU PATRIMOINE BÂTI DU MOUVEMENT MODERNE DE TEL AVIV-JAFFA. À PARTIR DE RESSOURCES JOURNALISTIQUES ET D'ENQUÊTES D'OPINION PUBLIQUE RÉALISÉES EN 2006, CES DEUX CHERCHEURS PROPOSENT UNE ÉVALUATION SCIENTIFIQUE DE CETTE CONSCIENCE PUBLIQUE.

IN THE CASE of Tel Aviv–Jaffa, this heritage has broad expression in the urban landscape, and since the 1980s has merited attention, appreciation, and criticism. In 2003, Tel Aviv[1] won international recognition, and portions of the city, in which this tradition found spatial expression, were inscribed on the World Heritage List *(fig. 1)*.

This article focuses on the development of the public discourse in Tel Aviv as a result of the national and international heritage designation and its characteristics. It assesses the measure of assimilation of terms and distinctions that serve the professional organizations (both local and international) among the Israeli public. The central claim of this article is that the awareness of the local preservation phenomenon is usually expressed in general terms without the depth of understanding it deserves, despite the worldwide distribution of the phenomenon, and despite the professional recognition in the importance of modern architecture.

THE RESEARCH METHOD for analyzing the public discourse in Tel Aviv is based on two sources: journal reviews and a public opinion survey. In order to expose the connection between the activities of the Tel Aviv Municipality in relation to the urban built heritage and the development of proper public consciousness, we examined journalists' reports. Through their analysis, it was possible to learn about the role of the printed media in the creation of a public discourse regarding the issue of preservation, its development, the popular attitudes toward this phenomenon and the changes that it underwent over the years.

The public opinion survey, that took place during 2006, examined three subjects: (1) the extent and the content of the preservation messages; (2) the difference between public consciousness characteristics and international recognition characteristics; (3) an evaluation of public awareness regarding urban preservation and planning activities.

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Fig. 1. The White City of Tel Aviv, World Heritage nomination area

© Tel Aviv's Modern Movement: The White City of Tel Aviv – A World Heritage Site (Tel Aviv–Yafa Municipality, 2004), 43

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THE research method, combining press reviews with public opinion survey, is based on Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) taken from the field of social psychology. This model was used to assess methods of processing media information and its ramifications on social awareness and on community involvement (Cacioppo and Petty, 1979). By using this model, the researchers proved a connection between the effective influence of written messages and the path of processing the information attached to these messages. According to Cacioppo and Petty, there are two "routes" to such processing: central and peripheral. Peripheral processing means relying on slogans, visible symbols and linguistic images instead of digging into the content, scientific justification, and empirical data. Peripheral processing of information indicates low societal involvement in the decision–making process and a passive public attitude. In order to avoid a superficial analysis of the information, the researchers recommend an insistence on transferring a singular message over time, leveraging the communication tools and integrating them with targeted social programs.

DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC CONSCIOUSNESS OF MODERN MOVEMENT ARCHITECTURE

In the past twenty years, with the strengthening of the environmental approach and the focus on issues of sustainability, the boundaries of the professional discourse regarding cultural and natural heritage have been significantly expanded. This trend raised new issues in relation to the selection of cultural values represented in natural and built landscapes, their appreciation, interpretation and designation.

In this period, the matured preservation conventions expanded on the practical and realist aspects of built heritage. One of these aspects is viewed in the development of twentieth century architectural heritage issues. This category includes buildings and sites of heritage values which were erected between 1900 and 1999, and which reflect the principles of modern architecture. The unique status of modern movement architecture is characterized by two essential issues: (1) architects and urban planners were influenced by social-cultural ideologies that represented the twentieth century concepts; (2) these architects and urban planners left their imprints in original settlement solutions and in uniquely formed building heritage. Indeed, the visual aspects of the modern movement architecture inspired the characterization of its product as a new architectural style—the international style.[2]

The modern movement left a deep physical imprint in many countries, among them Israel. During the twentieth century, these countries were characterized by accelerated development, and the new international style answered their developmental needs and their ideology.

Until the end of the 1970s, the protection of buildings and built environments that belonged to the twentieth-century architectural heritage was rife with difficulties of cultural and legal aspects. The cultural difficulties referred to the fact that the public hardly applied heritage values to buildings and structures that were created during its own generation (Bronson & Jester, 1997; Goldberg, 1995). This approach was particularly observed in countries in which a built heritage of hundreds or thousands of years was common. Moreover, it was compounded by the fact that the architectonic values of the international style were unrecognized by the public at large. The legal difficulties referred to the fact that in many countries in Europe and in the United States, legislation defined benchmark conditions based on age for heritage designation: fifty years and above. According to this approach, sites of younger age were not evaluated, were not included in the heritage lists, and did not warrant protection.

OVER THE YEARS, due to development pressures, some modern movement architectural monuments, which reflect a landmark in the development of design and construction technology, were damaged or destroyed. The call to protect these properties grew stronger in the 1980s with the establishment of professional organizations like Docomomo, Icomos, and other European forums. These organizations act to strengthen public awareness of architecture of the modern movement, and their activities memoranda and recommendations called for immediate actions to protect the endangered properties. It is of special relevance here that over the years these organizations expressed a special concern regarding the physical and legislative status of modern movement architectural sites in Israel.

The broad range of activities of Docomomo and Icomos led Unesco to add a category of Twentieth Century Architectural Heritage to the 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage—the most important of its conventions. Since at least 2000, twenty-four World Heritage Sites were inscribed under this category, among them the White City of Tel Aviv.

TWENTIETH CENTURY ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE IN TEL AVIV

On any historical scale, Tel Aviv is a young city. It is less than one hundred years old, but during these years it evolved from a small suburb of old Jaffa (in 1909) into an independent city, and became the center of economic and cultural activities of Israel. The significant (short) history of the city, together with its rapid changes, gave Tel Aviv the image of an active, lively metropolis embedded with heritage values. These values have earned official international recognition due to its built heritage, which reflects a modern ideology of urban planning and modern architecture.

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IN GENERAL, historic buildings that are located in the old city center (overlapping municipal quarters 3 and 5) belong to the category of twentieth century architectural heritage due to their age. It is customary to classify these buildings according to two main architectural styles: eclectic style, and international style. Each one of the styles left a clear imprint on the urban landscape, but the most prominent among them is the international style, its concentration in Tel Aviv being among the highest of any city throughout the world.

THE MUNICIPALITY of Tel Aviv identified the potential inherence of its built heritage in the second half of the 1980s. It recognized the prominence of the heritage phenomenon and its frequency in the historic city center, and captured it as a means of strengthening the urban renewal processes it had initiated. In this period, the part of the city center that was built in the 1930s and 1940s received the name "The White City." The unique design of the White City was remarked by a group of "culture intermediators"—a group of prominent personalities who belong to the cultural élite of city. These people were motivated by a nostalgic longing for the modern aesthetic and by a desire to strengthen a 'European' urban landscape for Tel Aviv (Nitzan Shiftan, 2000; Azaryahu, 2005; Rotbard, 2005; Amit-Cohen, 2005). The group acted as a lobby within the municipal authority, and advanced the awareness of the local modern movement heritage on the municipal, national and international levels.

IN THE BEGINNING of the 1990s, the Tel Aviv municipal authority was also influenced by the international recognition by Unesco of the White City's Outstanding Universal Value (OUV). As a result, the preparations of preservation planning policies were accelerated.
The strengthening of the preservation phenomenon encouraged the municipality to view its modern movement architecture as a means to promote the city image as one of a modern city, to strengthen its position as a global city, to increase its international exposure, and to highlight it as a destination for cultural tourism.
The desire to create a preserved urban landscape, as well as the desire to bestow upon it international stature, led the authorities to grant the White City a special legal status through local planning policy.[3] This policy includes the outlining of the designated area's boundaries and the determination of planning tools and designation criteria.
The desire to win international recognition for Tel Aviv's twentieth-century heritage was given practical expression in 2003, with its inclusion in Unesco's World Heritage List, basing it on two criteria:[4]
"(1) The White City of Tel Aviv is a synthesis of outstanding significance of the various trends of the modern movement in architecture and town planning in the early part of the twentieth century. Such influences were adapted to the cultural and climatic conditions of the place, as well as being integrated with local traditions.
(2) The new town of Tel Aviv is an outstanding example of new town planning and architecture in the early twentieth century, adapted to the requirements of a particular cultural and geographic context."

PUBLIC AWARENESS AND ITS MEASUREMENT

The declaration of the White City as World Heritage and the efforts of the local authorities to protect it in the urban planning framework are not sufficient to promote its public recognition. Researchers assign great importance to the perception and involvement of the local community in the preservation process. They sustain that public involvement in heritage decision-making influences its readiness to implement the preservation policy (Evans, 2002; Rodwell, 2002; Coeterier, 2002).
By the beginning of the 1990s, the municipality recognized the need to prepare local public opinion towards the modern movement built heritage. Nitza Szmuk, who headed the municipal preservation team in those years, highlighted this need as follows: "the characteristics of the White City are often hidden from the public eye. They are not so accessible, and are not self-understood." In her opinion the reasons for this are embedded in "the dullness of the material and the lack of maintenance which led to physical disintegration of the buildings" (Szmuk, 2003).
As mentioned above, analyzing the local public consciousness in relation to the modern movement heritage, and to its characteristics, will explain their readiness to accept this phenomenon and their wiliness to be involved in its preservation.

JOURNALISM REVIEW

A review of the press between 1994 and 2006 in Israel's four major daily newspapers found more than 500 articles related to the heritage discussion. Furthermore, the review included publications that appeared in local newspapers, on-line editions, weekly inserts and special editions. In order to find the circumstances of the publication, a "time line" was used which indicates the main events in the process of creating the municipal preservation policy *(fig. 2)*.
The press review indicated development of a number of aspects: the quantity of articles; their exposed and concealed goals; review trends; conceptualization of the preservation phenomenon throughout that period; its local, global, cultural, planning and economic contexts. The number of headlines dealing with the phenomenon grew slowly but constantly, and reached its peak in 2004—just after the White City was nominated as "World Heritage Site." Beginning in 2004, every event—cultural, public, political or economic—that had

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a direct or indirect connection with the city built heritage, merited headlines in all the newspapers and aroused prolonged discussions.

THE REVIEW showed that in the decade from 1994 to 2004, the Tel Aviv municipality dealt with strengthening the preservation awareness within a specific professional public (mainly planners and architects). In these years, the press agenda regarding preservation was mostly influenced by the activities of the National Council for

declaration to the international style. Despite the connection between the declaration, the declaring organization, and the reason for the declaration, low proficiency was found in relation to other aspects related to the phenomenon. For instance, no correlation was found between the geographic area of the international declaration and the public conceptualization of the term "White City." More than 40% of those questioned erroneously connected the declaration with the historic business district, which is not a part of the White City.

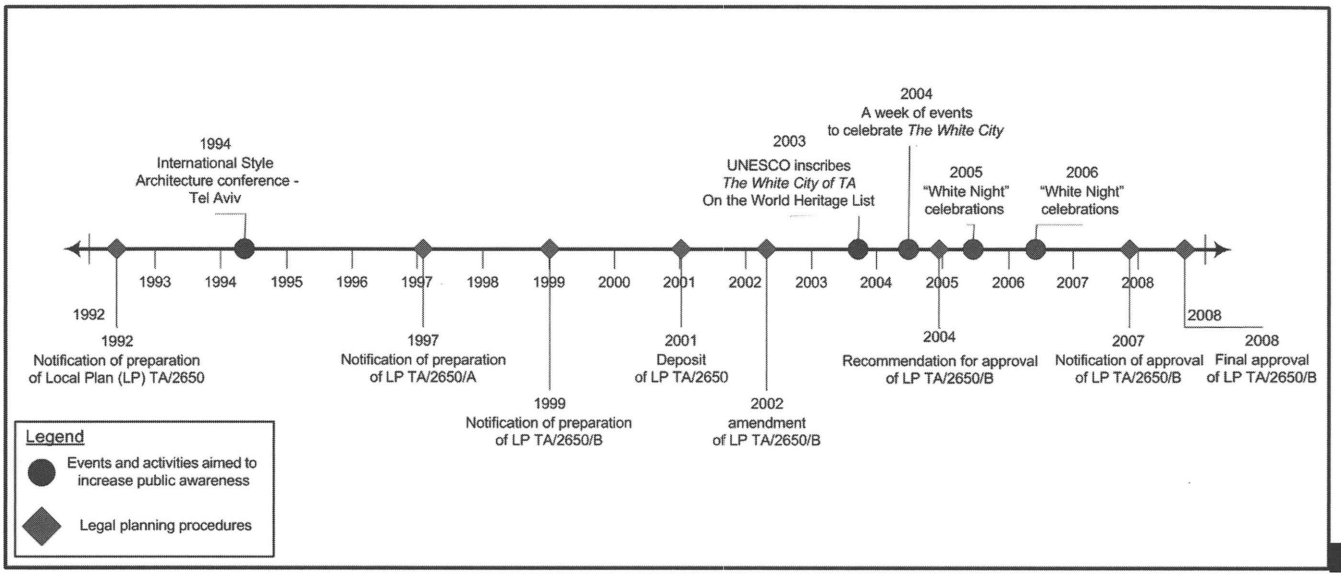

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Fig. 2. Timeline indicating milestones in the policy process of urban conservation

Preservation of Monuments and Sites.[5] The public struggles of the council won great exposure and contributed to the expansion of the heritage discussion and to the promotion of public awareness. In these years additional actors in the media sphere were public relations persons who promoted economic-symbolic messages for entrepreneurs in development of historic buildings. From 2005 onwards, it was identified a tendency of multiplicity media messages relating to the preservation phenomenon in Tel Aviv. However, this tendency was accompanied by a reduction in the scope of explanatory messages related to the need to protect the modern heritage values.

PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY

The questionnaire survey was based on a three-pronged approach of the public's position: a cognitive prong, an emotional prong, and a behavioral prong—each assessed separately.

The findings, representing the cognitive aspect of the public's position in relation to the local preservation phenomenon, indicate broad awareness of the Unesco declaration, while demonstrating general proficiency in relation to the essence of the declaration. Some 80% of those surveyed were aware of the declaration, and some 70% of those questioned correctly connected the

Particularly prominent was the deep-rootedness of the geographic errors among residents of the city of Tel Aviv–Jaffa.

Furthermore, most of those surveyed expressed a consolidated opinion on issues related to the economic aspect of the preservation phenomenon, despite the fact that only a few of them (if any) could establish this opinion based on personal experience. The same surveyed persons indicated the high cost of preservation and the bureaucratic processes that accompanies it, and indicated a large demand for historic properties.

The findings related to the emotional element of the public's position indicate different relations towards the two architectural styles that characterize the built heritage in the city: the eclectic style and the international style. Between these two styles, there exists a slight preference for the first one. The eclectic style is regarded as more beautiful, and it creates a higher interest among the public.

The findings in relation to the behavioral aspect of the public's position indicate a readiness to adopt and implement a planning preservation policy. At the same time, the public felt that it lacked sufficient knowledge regarding the local preservation phenomenon in order to take an active part in its protection and to participate in the future design of a local preservation policy.

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FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this article was to reveal the elements of the public discourse that had developed in Tel Aviv in relation to the preservation phenomenon. In order to identify the elements of the public discourse, the findings from two sources were cross-referenced: (1) a journals review, which presented the definitions and linguistic terms relating to the local heritage, its values and its characteristics; (2) a public opinion survey that expressed the assimilation of the terms, and the measure of acquaintance with the phenomenon. The analysis of the two sources indicates that the written media had a large but superficial influence on the public consciousness.

On the one hand, the media was responsible for the creation of a unified language. A success was achieved in relation to the assimilation of key words that describe the local built heritage, such as the White City, the Bauhaus and in relation to economic terms that are connected to the phenomenon. The heritage discourse was, however, characterized by broad statements lacking detail, especially in geographic and economic aspects.

On the other hand, the minor influence that the written media had on the assimilation of quality messages regarding the heritage values of the White City stood out. The surveyed persons did not demonstrate sufficient acquaintance with the local phenomenon, its characteristics and its uniqueness. According to the ELM model presented by Cacioppo and Petty, these findings may indicate a low public involvement relating to the preservation phenomenon and a passive and unstable public attitude.

BASED ON THE ELM MODEL and in accordance with the findings of the research, and as a conclusion, several approaches can be recommend to the city authorities to adopt as policies. These are needed for deeper public understanding of the Tel Aviv cultural built heritage and its values:

(1) To insist on a logical, dependable and consecutive media exposure in relation to the preservation phenomenon in Tel Aviv;

(2) To be accurate in the description of the characteristics of the modern movement heritage in Tel Aviv and to sharpen the image of its contribution to the urban appearance;

(3) To create more frequent circumstances for raising the issue in the media's agenda;

(4) To hold a prolonged individual-public discussion on modern movement heritage—its development, its spread, its characteristics, its uniqueness, its values, its design expressions and its elements—to reflect a period and its concepts.

The implementation of these recommendations could contribute to the awareness of the unique phenomenon of the modern movement heritage and its preservation potential in Tel Aviv–Jaffa.

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NOTES

1 Despite the municipal definition (adopted in 1950) "Tel Aviv–Jaffa," Jaffa and Tel Aviv are distinctively different when one reviews the city's history, built heritage assets, urban planning, preservation processes and developments in these two parts of the city. While Tel Aviv was the fastest growing city in Israel, Jaffa represents an ancient settlement rich with archeological buildings that developed at a slow and steady pace. Thus, conservation processes in Tel Aviv and in Jaffa are remotely related but very different and should be examined separately. This paper focuses on the Tel Aviv historic center with the attributes exclusive to it.

2 The "international style" is a term coined by Philip Johnson and Henry Russell Hitchcock in 1932 for the exhibition which bore this name, displayed at the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

3 The first plan for protecting the built heritage of Tel Aviv is the Local Plan LP/2650/B "Preservation of Buildings and Sites in Tel Aviv," which became valid in September 2008.

4 Decision 27COM 8C.23 – White City of Tel Aviv – the Modern Movement (Israel). In: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1096

5 Since 2008, "the Council for the Preservation of Heritage Sites in Israel."

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Tel Aviv
Learning from Modernism

MOSHE **MARGALITH**

A hundred years after the beginning of modernism, at a time when lessons from the modernists are relevant for today's changing urban communities and environments, many of its manifestations in architecture across the world are at risk. To assess its relevance, modernism will first be redefined in view of present realities, through the examination of the evolution of modernist ideas behind the architecture and urbanism of Tel Aviv.

MOSHE MARGALITH NOUS PRÉSENTE ICI LE LIEN ÉTROIT ENTRE L'HISTOIRE DU MODERNISME ET CELLE DE LA CITÉ DE TEL AVIV. UNE ÉVOLUTION PARALLÈLE MAIS SURTOUT PARTAGÉE, LORSQUE TEL AVIV DEVIENT LE LABORATOIRE DU NOUVEL URBANISME À PARTIR DE L'ENTRE-DEUX-GUERRES JUSQU'AU MILIEU DES ANNÉES 1960. SYNTHÈSE EXCEPTIONNELLE DES DIVERSES TENDANCES DU MOUVEMENT MODERNE EN MATIÈRE D'ARCHITECTURE ET D'URBANISME AU XX[E] SIÈCLE, LA VILLE BLANCHE EST INSCRITE EN 2003 SUR LA LISTE DU PATRIMOINE MONDIAL DE L'UNESCO. PARCOURANT LES PÉRIODES ET LES QUARTIERS DE TEL AVIV, MOSHE MARGALITH RÉVÈLE LES LEÇONS TIRÉES DE L'APPARITION DE CES DIVERSES TENDANCES ET DE LEURS ÉVOLUTIONS.

IN CONTRAST to common beliefs reducing modernism to appearance, aesthetics and style, 'modern' could be seen primarily as that which is new, that which is not in line with past understandings. It is a search to express, in a variety of realms as well as in architecture, common prevailing moods and aspirations of time and place. Modernism, from the late nineteenth century to the mid-1960s, has been reflected in the lifestyles of individuals, communities and places, within a social and political context.

Tel Aviv and modernism developed simultaneously. The city has experienced the full evolution through the two phases of local modernism. The first phase, between the two World Wars, was largely influenced by social and political changes following the Russian revolution of 1917 and the end of World War I. The second phase, from World War II to the mid-1960s, was influenced by the search to cure existing societies and their damaged and ruined environments, and build new utopian urban models.

IN THE FIRST PHASE of modernism, after World War I, and under the British Mandate in Palestine, social and political ideas were applied in Tel Aviv, both in urban scale and buildings, to shape the city from its start. Tel Aviv, as well as Jerusalem and Haifa, were all planned along British and German theories of garden cities. In Tel Aviv these theories were later partially adopted in Sir Patrick Geddes's Master Plan of 1929, offering a modern urbanism which influenced the city's development for years to come. In this period, Tel Aviv had seen a large variety of modern buildings, harmonizing together to evolve with a rich ensemble, as had been built only in places like Brno in Slovakia, in the colonial modern architecture of Casablanca in Morocco, and in Hanoi and Saigon in Vietnam. It is the work of a group of young architects, educated in Europe along modern theories of the Bauhaus and other trends of modernism, which dominated the development of the city until the end of World War II and the British Mandate.

In the second phase of modernism, after World War II, modern theories and practices in architecture had been adopted in the new State of Israel, and in Tel Aviv in particular. In its accelerated development, Tel Aviv experienced a unique evolution of modernism, becoming the major modern city of the new State. Place and time had provided the grounds for postwar modern

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experiments, in the design of neighborhoods, housing complexes and institutions. The extensions to Geddes's Master Plan provided for large masses of public housing, civic and cultural buildings. New public housing followed themes of Le Corbusier's Marseilles block of the Unité d'Habitation, expressing the change in the counterplay between the individual and the city, from a garden city of small scale private innitiatives to massive public developments, as a new form of urbanism. The eclectic design of public and civic buildings was gradually

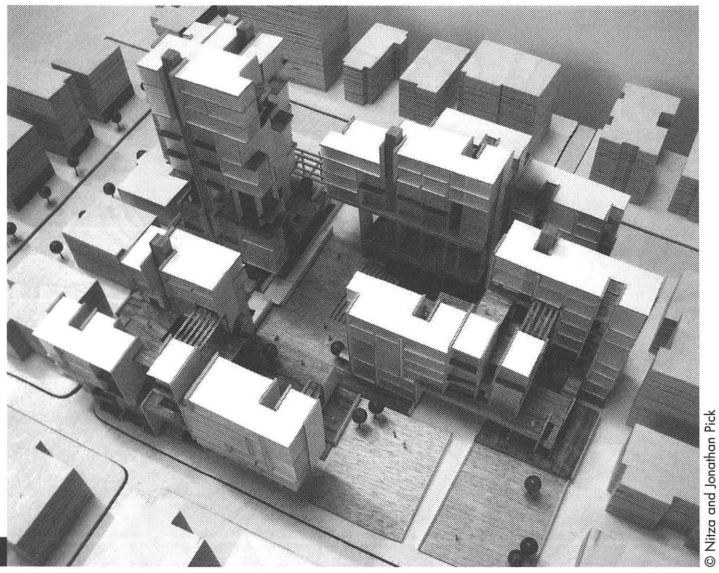

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Fig. 1. Case study No 1. A new configuration of a mixed-use block

replaced by modern architecture as established in Chandigarh and Brasilia, emphasizing public institutions carefully integrated into the modern urban schemes.

THROUGH the two phases of modernism in Israel, ideas and dreams of building a new society were exemplified in the design of rural settlements, and in the new urbanism of which Tel Aviv is a living laboratory. Tel Aviv's White City represents an assembly of architectural motifs reflecting ideologies and relationships between the individual and the community, the private and the public domains, and buildings and the city. Yet, beyond the apparent form and style, it is primarily the social agenda in ideas and practices of modernism that is the significant heritage to be found in Tel Aviv. A close examination of the evolution of modernism in Tel Aviv will hopefully reveal lessons to be learned from modernism, and provide a better understanding of present and future urbanism in Tel Aviv and around the world.

THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF NEVE ZEDEK AND ACHUZAT BAYIT, 1887–1909

Towards the turn of the nineteenth century, under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, in the relatively small but rapidly growing port city of Jaffa, emphasis was already given to the development of new streets, parks, and public buildings. This practice had been further emphasized in the design of the first Jewish neighborhoods, marking the first stage in the development of the modern city of Tel Aviv. In 1887, a small group of upper middle class community leaders established the new association and neighborhood of Neve Zedek. Twenty-two years later, in 1909, the corner stone for the new neighborhood of Achuzat Bayit was laid, to mark the foundation of the new city of Tel Aviv, the first Hebrew city.

Both neighborhoods were founded to serve the needs of the upper middle class. Middle class urbanism was respected and not sacrificed as in the case of the Zionist collective settlements, the kibbutz and the moshav. In both neighborhoods, emphasis was given to gardens and public buildings, representing the desire of a community to share experiences, institutions for learning and well being, as discussed sixty years later by Louis Kahn. All buildings, in spite of their different eclectic styles, were of modest design, as part of an overall assembly, paying tribute to shared public spaces and institutions.

FLORENTIN NEIGHBORHOOD IN SOUTH TEL AVIV, 1920'S–1930'S

Following the development of Neve Zedek and Achuzat Bayit, and in parallel to the White City in the 1920s and 1930s, a new pattern of development took place in the south fringes of Tel Aviv. These developments, by and for the lower middle class, are characterized by the densely built Florentin neighborhood, composed of long, narrow city blocks, parceled into small lots. The mixed-use commercial and residential buildings, mostly of a modern architectural vocabulary, up to four stories high, aligned along streets and property lines, shared party walls and enclosed small courtyards in the heart of the block. The rigidity of the land parceling with varied building elements, such as staircases, balconies, bay-windows and cornice-lines, has resulted in a visually rich urban texture. This traditional urban scheme is unique in the entire urban fabric of Tel Aviv.

After the foundation of these first neighborhoods, Neve Zedek, Achuzat Bayit, and Florentin, modernism in Tel Aviv was dominated by two parallel developments: Tel Aviv's first master plan, prepared by Sir Patrick Geddes for the development of the architecture of the White City, and the construction of the Workers' Cooperative residences.

SIR PATRICK GEDDES'S MASTER PLAN AND THE WHITE CITY, 1927–48

In the early 1930s, parallel to the new neighborhoods in south Tel Aviv, private development took place in line with Sir Patrick Geddes Master Plan, approved in 1929. The plan was strongly influenced by Ebenezer Howard's theory of garden cities, which influenced as well the design of new neighborhoods in Jerusalem and in the port city of Haifa.

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REFLECTING public interests, the intricate yet simple plan proposed a hierarchical, layered urban structure, which delicately combined individual and communal realms. The continuous texture of the plan is composed of a grid with main north-south commercial streets and west-east connectors, creating street blocks which Geddes called "home blocks," into which public gardens and buildings were inserted, generating a sense of neighborhood within the larger urban system. The plan's skeleton, the grid of streets, is woven into a network of boulevards, public open spaces and public institutions; Rothschild Boulevard, with a block designated for the major cultural buildings, and the circular Dizengoff Square, have been two of the city's major urban spaces ever since.

This infill of basic city blocks consisted of detached buildings of a modest scale, three to four stories high, surrounded by gardens. However, in the late 1930s, the large increase in Jewish immigration and the accelerated growth in the city's population produced a new building type, four stories high, with eight units, known as the shared private apartment building. This change generated a much more densely built environment than that conceived by the Geddes Plan, yet it generated a special continuity between the rich urban fabric and the cityscape of Tel Aviv.

This unique combination between the apparently rigid yet flexible Geddes Plan and the search for new and free ways of architectural expression in the design of buildings produced the White City of Tel Aviv, a new urbanity in the modern fashion of the time.

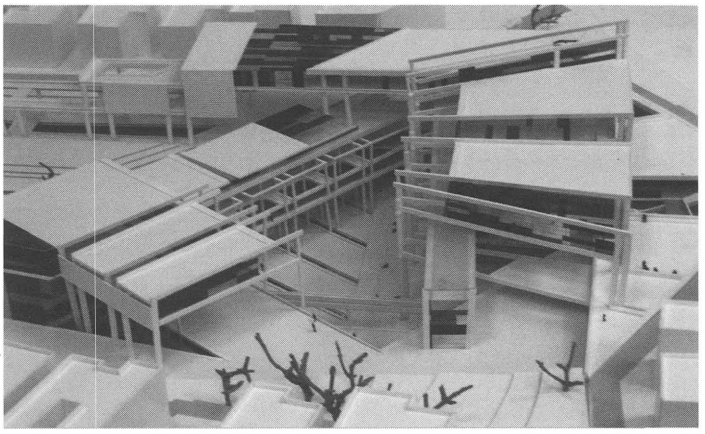

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Fig. 2. Case study No 2. Tel Aviv's urban pattern: a new open mall

THE WORKERS' COOPERATIVE RESIDENCES, 1930s TO THE 1940s

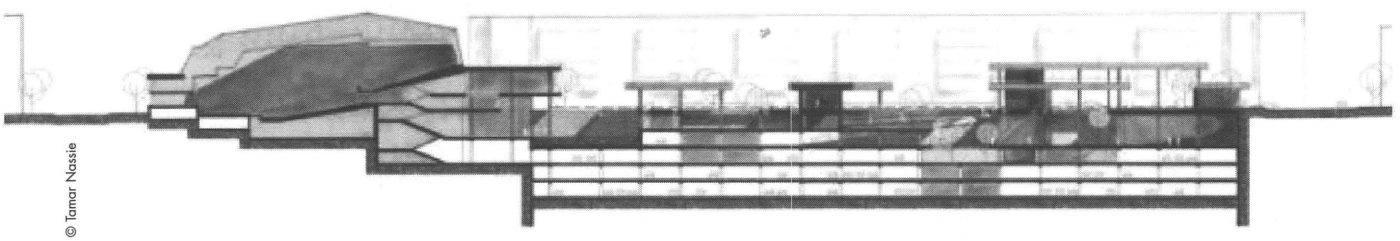
In the Workers' Cooperative residences of the 1930s and 1940s, echoing similar housing developments in Europe, social ideas were translated into new physical entities. Semi-public 'community' open spaces were presented in modest row housing schemes, arranged around courtyards. Buildings were partially elevated on pilotis to create large shaded open spaces and community facilities such as kindergartens, whereas flat roofs were used for laundry and meeting rooms. Building elements, such as ground floors, rooftops, circulation areas and other communal systems, were accentuated on the simple façades.

A closer examination of Geddes Plan and its extensions and the evolved overall pattern of the architecture of the 1930s–40s in the White City present a delicate balance between the structured overall plans and the simple yet flexible and expressive buildings. The rich and varied architectural vocabulary in the White City bridges between what is public—the street—and what is private—the apartments. The asymmetrical composition of building elements has given these buildings place and identity in their surroundings. This composition, emphasizing circulation and other building elements, i.e., partly open ground floors and entrance lobbies (influenced by Le Corbusier's architecture), together with projecting stairs and covered balconies, was all expressively presented on the façade. The horizontal layering of apartments in a vertical assembly has resulted in rich, simple and coherent buildings maintaining diverse yet pleasant street environments.

THE POSTWAR PERIOD AND THE NEW STATE, 1950s–1960s

From World War II and the establishment of the State of Israel until the mid-1960s, Tel Aviv has noticeably expanded, in a paradoxical manner, in a vast scale yet in a modest style, typical of most postwar modern architecture in Europe and elsewhere. Two building typologies represent this period. The first one, built on almost identical individual lots, was simple, symmetrical, composed of large four-to-five storey buildings arranged in a repetitive street pattern. These buildings were again typified by raised ground floors, public entrance halls, and larger street façades of balconies screened for privacy with shutters and sun protectors.

Fig. 3. Case study No 3. A multi-level urban garden in Tel Aviv's cultural square



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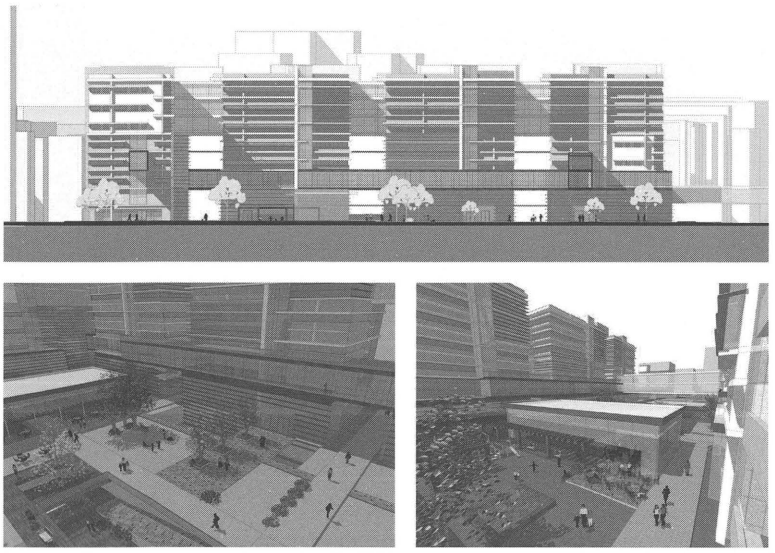

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Fig. 4. Case study No 4. An open hospital

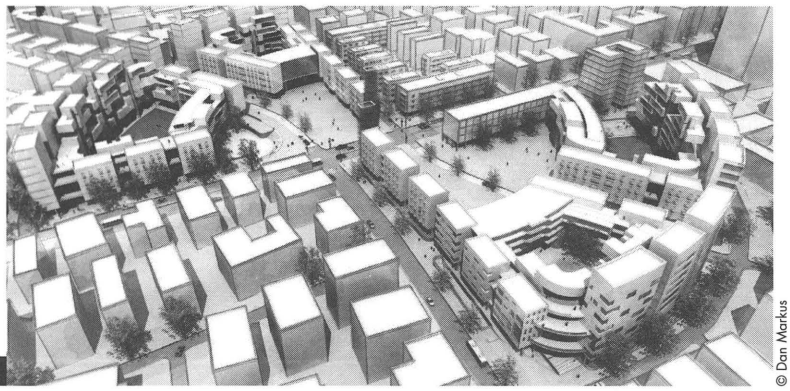

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Fig. 5. Case study No 5. The meaning of a new public space: an urban university, North Tel Aviv

RESULTING from the enormous growth in population, a second type of buildings evolved in vast repetitive housing projects. In a short period of time, it began to dominate sections of the city. Here again, buildings were designed modestly, respecting function, use and place in their overall surrounding, with an emphasis given to the public and semi-public domains. Thus, this evolution in Tel Aviv's second phase of modernism best presents modern architecture as had been promoted by its masters, reflecting modesty and the search for honesty in form.

IN ALL, Tel Aviv's modernism is the manifestation of the desire to produce the essence of urbanity, the balance between the private and public domains, emphasizing the public domain as the stage for human interaction. The study of Tel Aviv's modernism and its relevance could bring innovative proposals, to which the city is entitled.

LESSONS FROM TEL AVIV'S MODERNISM

An assessment of the relevance of Tel Aviv's modernism to its present and future development could shed light on other urban centers around the world. Some of the lessons are brought forward relating to various areas of the city, presently under transformation and at risk.

South Tel Aviv: The evaluation of modernism at risk in South Tel Aviv, exemplified in the neighborhood of Florentin, reveals that prevailing trends of land assemblies and the construction of high-rise buildings are foreign to the character of the place, and threaten these areas, a vital resource for the city's development. In contrast, it is suggested that with the adaptation of existing amenities and with additional building rights, neighborhoods in the south of Tel Aviv could be rejuvenated, retaining their existing urban heritage and fabric.

The City's Heart: A study of Geddes's White City plan and its extensions reveals that even with today's alterations of buildings with added volumes the principle of rigidity of the overall plan and the free expression of its parts carries an exceptional potential for the needed urban revival. This principle could be implemented in the renewal of neighborhoods in the heart and South of Tel Aviv, and should be examined in the planning of new neighborhoods outside the city center, as well.

Tel Aviv's Periphery: Today, much of North Tel Aviv, including the areas north of the Yarkon River, has experienced the development of large-scale residential compounds and clusters of high-rise buildings, largely changing the character of the city from a dense urban fabric to a typically fragmented American suburb. These last unbuilt areas, as well as the dilapidated districts in South Tel Aviv, are the last resource for Tel Aviv's urban growth. There are lessons that could be learned from the dense urban environments within the Geddes Plan and its extensions, that with increased densities the sense of urbanism could be adapted to neighborhoods, both new and in transformation, around the city. Tel Aviv's modernist ideas and productions could be rejuvenated to produce new urbanism in the city's future development.

SIX CASE STUDIES

In the last few years, together with thesis students at the Tel Aviv University's School of Architecture, I have concentrated on the contribution of modernist expressions to present-day dilemmas in Tel Aviv, as presented in the following case studies.

(1) A new configuration of a mixed-use block: this proposal offers an alternative to an already approved plan for a high-rise development in the heart of Tel Aviv's White City. The scheme proposes a denser mixed-use development, but retains a balance between built and open public space, using the architectural vocabulary of its surroundings.

(2) Tel Aviv's urban pattern–a new Open Mall: the scheme attempts to retain the public use of a former cinema and sports center. The proposal maintains the existing street pattern, offering a new open urban mall

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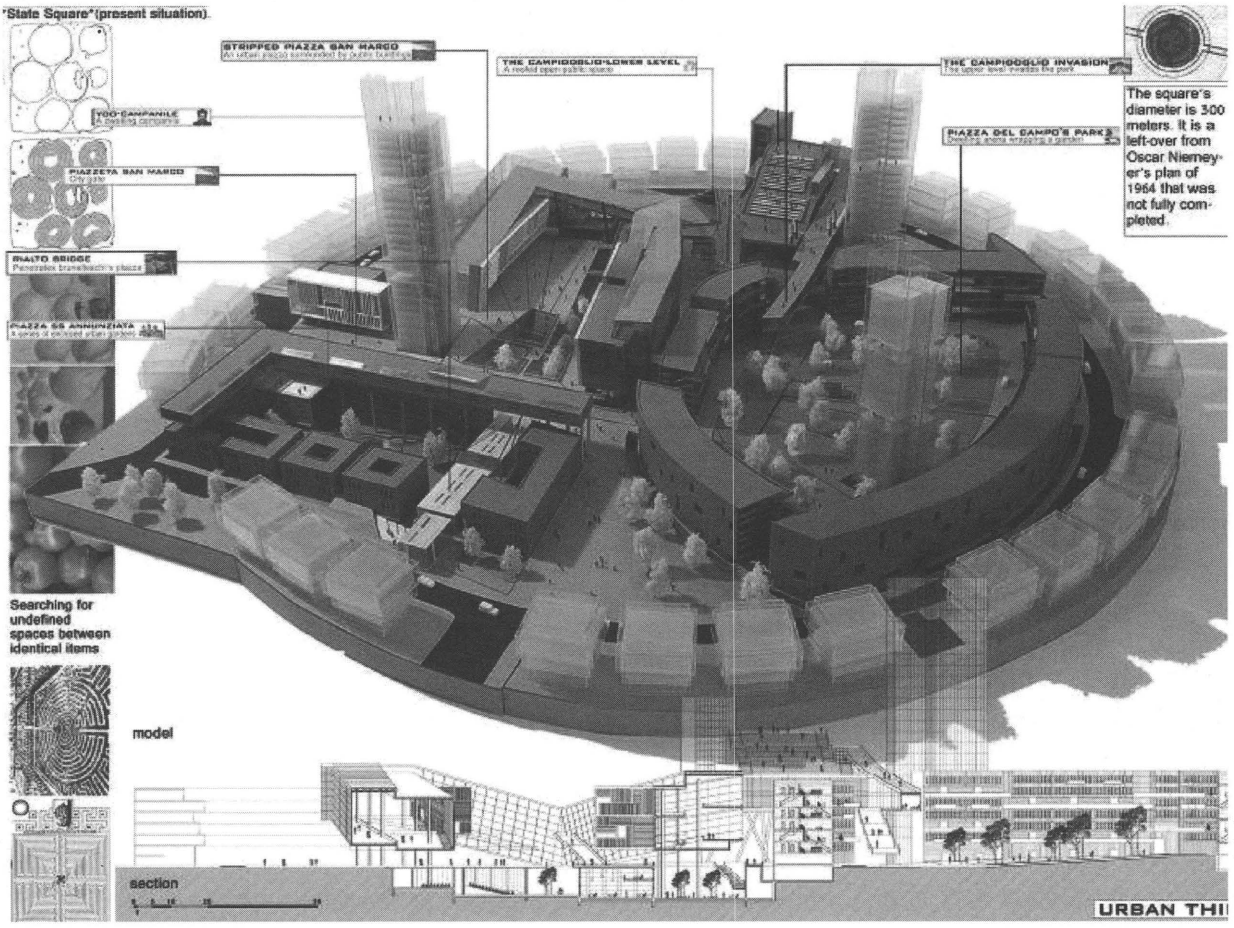
Fig. 6. Case study No 6. Critically modernist, weaving the past into Tel Aviv's public spaces



merging with the nearby market, in the scale and texture of its surroundings.

(3) A multi-level urban garden in Tel Aviv's cultural square: extending Tel Aviv's main Rothschield Boulevard and its pedestrian activity into the cultural square, the scheme integrates parking, leisure and cultural facilities into a multi-level urban garden. The proposal enhances Geddes's Plan and, in addition, derives from the architecture of surrounding buildings.

(4) An open hospital: based on Piet Mondrian's theory of the open city and interpreting his drawings into a three-dimensional system of movement, use and formal expression, the scheme dissolves Tel Aviv's largest hospital into its surrounding and proposes a new wing for cancer patients.

(5) The meaning of a new public space–an urban university, North Tel Aviv: an urban university woven into its surroundings, a typical modernist residential neighborhood in North Tel Aviv, generates a sequence of new public spaces, strengthening the so-needed sense of urbanity in the repetitive pattern of streets and city blocks.

(6) Critically modernist–weaving the past into Tel Aviv's public spaces: taking a new point of view, the scheme looks at the vast round open space 300 m in diameter as the nucleus and generator of surroundings. Therefore, the design adapts past knowledge of urban spaces and activities to evolve in a dense, varied, new mixed complex, emphasizing public needs and domain.

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. . . this once gold-diggingly created city **Eric Mendelsohn and Tel Aviv**

ITA **HEINZE-GREENBERG**

In 1939, when Tel Aviv had just turned thirty and the building of the White City was in full swing, a woman, most beautiful, came up with an idea for a book: "Tel Aviv. A City's Dramatic Story."[1] The woman was architect Eric Mendelsohn's wife Louise, and she shared her idea with him and with Yaacov Shiffman,[2] Tel Aviv's city engineer at the time. Both men were enthusiastic about the idea, and planned initial sessions "to discuss the writing up of the story of Tel Aviv."[3]

FCONTROVERSÉE, TELLE ÉTAIT LA RELATION QU'ENTRETENAIT ERIC MENDELSOHN AVEC LA PALESTINE. JUIF ALLEMAND, IL ÉMIGRE AU ROYAUME-UNI DÈS 1933 POUR FUIR LE NAZISME MONTANT ET C'EST À PARTIR DE 1934 QU'IL S'INSTALLE À JÉRUSALEM OÙ IL POURSUIT SON ILLUSTRE CARRIÈRE D'ARCHITECTE EN OUVRANT UN BUREAU. ADMIRATION, RÉPULSION, MÉPRIS, VOIRE DÉGOÛT PARFOIS, ERIC MENDELSOHN N'A CESSÉ DE SE CONTREDIRE SUR L'ESTHÉTIQUE ET L'INTÉRÊT ARCHITECTURAUX DE CETTE NOUVELLE TERRE DU PEUPLE JUIF AUQUEL IL APPARTENAIT. ITA HEINZE-GREENBERG RETRACE ICI À TRAVERS SA CARRIÈRE, SES LETTRES, DES TÉMOIGNAGES DE PROCHES, CETTE RELATION AMBIGUË ET PASSIONNANTE À LAQUELLE SE MÊLENT DES JUGEMENTS ESTHÉTIQUES, RELIGIEUX, ETHNIQUES, PROFESSIONNELS ET PERSONNELS. UNE RELATION ILLUSTRANT L'EXEMPLAIRE PERSONNALITÉ DE L'HOMME ET DE L'ARCHITECTE.

THE PROJECT, however, remained as one of many interesting ideas that never materialized. Time probably ran out for them—Eric and Louise Mendelsohn left the country early in 1941—and Tel Aviv developed at such an enormous rate that it would have been impossible to keep up.

Eric Mendelsohn's position towards Tel Aviv was always controversial. There are statements in which he expressed disdain for the city, but at the same time—as the book project proves—he could not escape the charms of "this once gold-diggingly created city"[4] which he had first experienced during his visit in 1923. He later liked to recall how he had watched a building going up in Tel Aviv: "At that time the road from Tel Aviv to Mikveh Israel looked not unlike the shell-pierced battle field of Neuve-Chapelle, when the way down Allenby Road to the beach through much sand and still more pioneering campments was a weekend excursion. . . The contractor of that long-forgotten building was a barber. Two ranks of workmen were raising a steel joist by balancing it on a windowsill that broke away the cement the joist was up. I tried to persuade the barber-builder to use a pulley, but he refused because he said he had never heard of one."[5] Mendelsohn's embarrassment has the flavor of coquetry and of a typical tourist's excitement with the genuine experience of an underdeveloped civilization. His tone,

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Fig. 1. **Eric Mendelsohn** in the late 1930s

however, changes to sharp criticism the more he approaches the Tel Aviv of the late 1930s, when "engineers of European contemporary architecture, who were trying to find adequate architectural expression for their new materials—steel, reinforced concrete and glass—found that their experiments had come through with hundreds of bastard buildings in Palestine. Experiments were to become a perennial model of the visible rebuilding of the National home: broken corners, stripes of wall-openings and the exuberance of glass, designed originally for close contact between indoor and outdoor life, but wholly unsuitable to the subtropical climate of Palestine. That transition stage which almost degenerated into a pestilence is not yet entirely overcome."[6]

HARSH WORDS, and surely partly based on personal vanity. When Mendelsohn came to Palestine in 1934 he had to realize that some local architects had copied certain mannerisms of his own vocabulary. It hurt him, because the imitation was possible and it degraded his style into a fashion. He countered by demanding that corner windows be forbidden for at least one decade.[7] In his own architecture in Haifa, and above all in Jerusalem, Rehovot refrained from "Mendelsohnisms:" no corner windows, no horizontal light slits for staircases, no floating window bands. His buildings in Palestine display an introverted character with standing detached windows. He crowned the entrance to the Hadassah Hospital with three cupolas, an homage to the neighboring Arab village architecture. Weizmann's villa is designed around a patio, which he understood as a recourse to classical Mediterranean and Levantine traditions, "which will again after two thousand years, become popular throughout the Orient."[8]

HOW could Mendelsohn still be Mendelsohn without his dynamic vocabulary? "Good architecture is designed around the corner"[9] had always been one of his axioms, which defines the relationship between man and architecture as a dynamic process based on tension between moved and moving energy. Now the element of motion can reside with either the object or the viewer, meaning either the object "moves" in front of a static viewer or the latter moves around a static object. These were the two possibilities that were explored in futurism and cubism. Mendelsohn's extroverted German architecture speaks the futurist language: his curved concrete masses seem to swing around corners with long ribbon windows floating horizontally. The closed walls of the Weizmann residence, on the other hand, mediate a static character in their introversion and geometric tranquility. Nonetheless, in order to produce a sense of dynamic tension, Mendelsohn used a device that recalled the perspective play of the cubists: he moved the viewer around his object, here in a literal, physical sense. Mendelsohn developed a carefully calculated perspective program for the house.[10] He designed the approach to the house as a winding path proudly presenting all sides of his monument. Before entering the interior of the house through the main door, the visitor has already seen all the façades and corner views. In this play of changing perspectives, Mendelsohn appears to have been inspired by the architecture of classical Greece. He had visited Greece for the first time only three years before, in the spring 1931. "He never thought much about Greek architecture until he saw it with his own eyes," Mendelsohn's wife, Louise, later recalled. "The Acropolis in Athens overwhelmed him. He was especially impressed by the way in which the approach is so calculated and integrated with the entire complex."[11] What was to become Israel's White House stood exposed on a hillock outside the growing White City of Tel Aviv, as a manifesto as well as a didactic paradigm.

MENDELSOHN, who saw himself in the role of an educator, did not tire of recommending the study of the whole range of traditional rural Mediterranean architecture to his younger colleagues before starting to build in Palestine.[12] Like many other sensitive architects, Mendelsohn had fallen in love with Arab architecture. "One could feel it," Julius Posener maintained, "when driving with him through the country. He would point to those Arab village buildings with cupola spaces and would say: *this* fits the country."[13] He could not be more programmatic in the choice for his Jerusalem office:

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the old Arab windmill at the edge of Rehavia stood there like a stronghold of his position. It was here that Posener, who was later to edit *Habinyan*, the mouthpiece of the Tel Avivian "Hug," started the Palestine chapter of his curriculum vitae. He knew Mendelsohn from Berlin, where he had worked for him for a short while, and had met him in Paris again in 1935.[14] Mendelsohn's invitation to Posener to join his office in Jerusalem came with instructions how to travel to Palestine: "Since I did not know the Orient, I should not simply take the boat from Marseille or Triest to Haifa; I should see Constantinople, Asia Minor, Syria, meaning I should take the land route starting at the Bosporus. Otherwise I wouldn't be of any use for him."[15]

ERIC MENDELSOHN
CHARTERED ARCHITECT F.R.I.B.A.

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Y. Shiffman, Esq., B, Sc.,
City Engineer,
Municipal Corporation of Tel Aviv
Tel Aviv

19th November 1939

Dear Shiffman,

It was very kind of you to send me your Department's Annual Report.

I am more than sorry not to be able to read it but as my people have at least translated -ad usum domini- the significance and details of all drawings and schedules, I can imagine and appreciate the amount of work done by you and your people. Work of utmost importance for a civically and architecturally well planned future of this once gold-diggingly created city.

What about my wife's idea: Tel Aviv. A city's dramatic story.

Kindest regards
Yours

Fig. 2. Letter Eric Mendelsohn to Yaacov Shiffman, November 19, 1939

© estate Y. Ben Sira; copy from private archive of Ita Heinze-Greenberg

IN SPITE OF Mendelsohn's advice, Posener had taken the boat from Marseilles directly to Haifa, from where he continued straight to Jerusalem: "The first thing Mendelsohn asked was what I had seen on my journey. When I had to tell him that I did not see anything, he said he would give me two weeks of paid vacation to go and see the country. The best would be if I would go by foot as much as possible. I made an arrangement with a friend . . . and the two of us made the journey together."[16]

WHILE working in the windmill he recapitulated what he had experienced on his travels through the country in a long letter to Le Corbusier.[17] Enchanted by the magical light of the Orient, Posener enthused extensively about the beauty of Palestine's nature, reminding Le Corbusier of his own experiences in Algiers. However, he expressed great disappointment in the modern, contemporary architecture: "In Tel Aviv apartment buildings are crowded on plots of 15 x 50 square meters, facing towards narrow, dusty streets, but with a modern pretension: corner windows, . . . too wide, too low windows, brutal openings, through which light falls abruptly into sleeping rooms . . . Looking at these houses one would like to say: Your architect left Stuttgart (or Breslau) in 1926. He stopped at the latest trend of the day before yesterday. He never understood that Palestine is not Silesia, and that architecture has progressed since 1926."[18] It is evident that Posener refers here to Mendelsohn's department stores in Stuttgart and Breslau. One actually senses Mendelsohn behind his sentences.

In retrospect Posener revised his negative judgments on Tel Aviv's architecture. The insights that he gained after resuming his work with Mendelsohn as the chief editor of *Habinyan* in Tel Aviv surely contributed to a reassessment. When he talked about the White City in later years, he pointed to the happy coincidence that connected the immigrants from Germany and Central Europe with modern architecture, and he emphasized this with a gesture of intertwined fingers. It meant that there was something like a mutual declaration of solidarity between the refugees and a modernism that had been discredited by the Nazis. Both found a new home on the Eastern shore of the Mediterranean, where each one had its roots.[19]

For Mendelsohn, though, Tel Aviv remained a counter-example that served as a foil, allowing him to clarify his own different position. He always emphasized the fact that he did not build anything in this town. Findings in the municipal archives of Tel Aviv, however, suggest that Mendelsohn was responsible for the design of the Max Pine Boys' Trade School on Petach Tikwa Road, a completely unspectacular modest functional building.[20] This building might well be understood as a provocative demonstration against the hated imitations of his German architecture. Yet if so, Mendelsohn would have accredited the building as his. However, it is not included in any of his lists of works. It may rather be assumed that Eric Kempinsky, the leading engineer in Mendelsohn's

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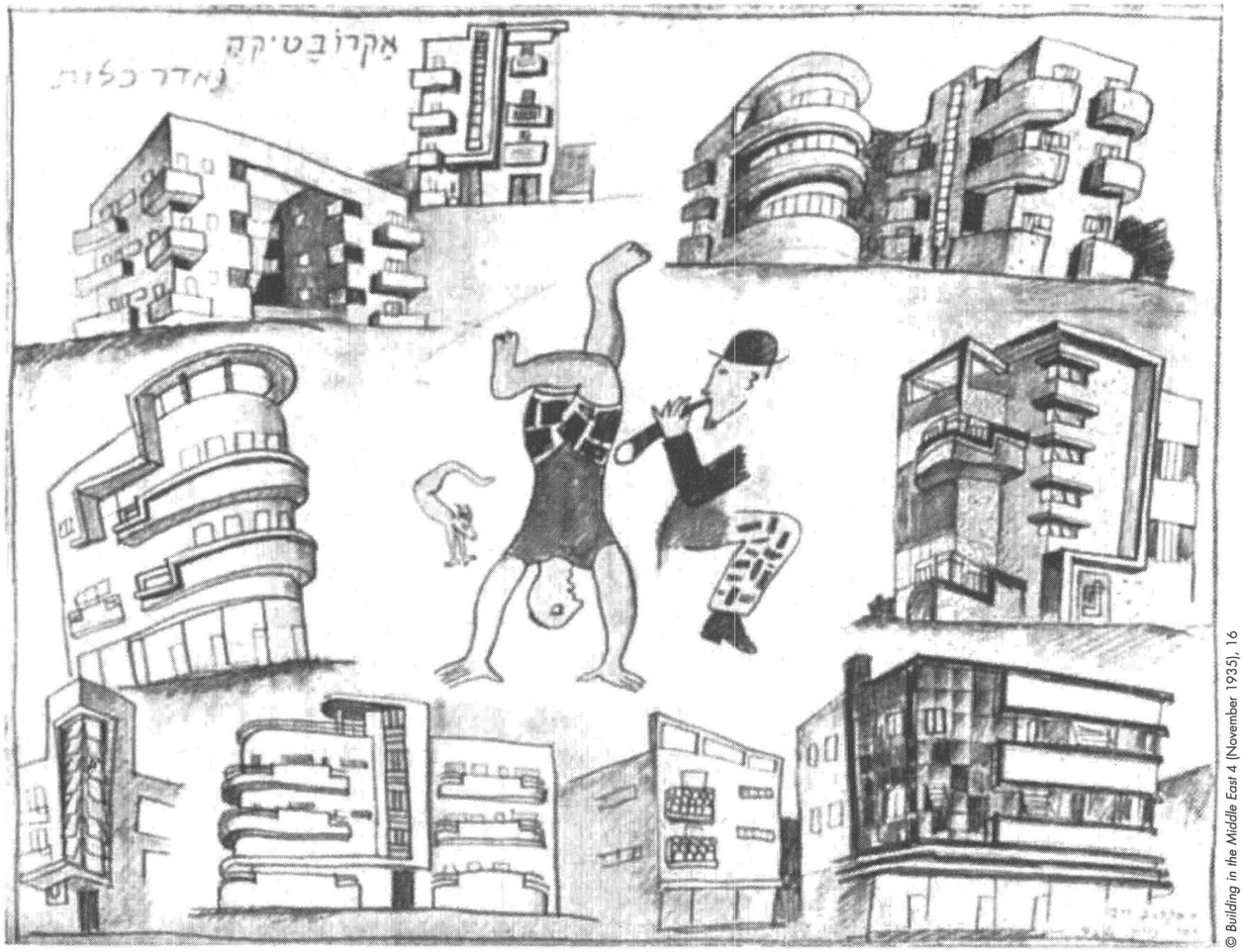
office, had the school building under contract when he started to work in the windmill in 1934. It would then run through Mendelsohn's office, but Mendelsohn himself would not have considered it to be his project. Only a few weeks before Mendelsohn and his wife left Palestine for good in March 1941, did he once again deny any architectural work in Tel Aviv: "You know that up to now I have not ventured to build anything in your town and as much as I would like to do it, I feel happy that it has not happened yet, as it enables me to speak frankly and objectively."[21]

THE ADDRESSEE of these lines was Tel Aviv's city engineer. Yaacov Shiffman belonged to the very few local architects in Palestine with whom Mendelsohn maintained social contact. Their correspondence reveals that they visited each other on various occasions, spent weekends together, and even kept exchanging letters after Mendelsohn's departure.[22] Shiffman, originally from Kiev but raised in Tel Aviv, had studied civil engineering in London.[23] The close bond to the British capital certainly provided a common ground for both men on which they developed their relationship. Mendelsohn, who kept his main office in London until 1939, with Jerusalem being only a branch, maintained strong ties to the British authorities in Palestine. He had met Sir Arthur Wauchope, the High Commissioner, at a London tea

© Zionist Archives, Jerusalem

Fig. 3. Jewish Construction Workers, Tel Aviv, early 1920s

Fig. 4. "Acrobatics and Architecture – Homage to Chagall," caricature on Tel Aviv's architecture in the Journal *Habinyan BamisrahHakarov*, 1935, 4



© *Building in the Middle East* 4 (November 1935), 16

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Fig. 5. Old Windmill in Rehavia: Eric Mendelsohn's Office and Residence in Jerusalem 1934–41, photo from the late 1930s (preserved, with changes)

Fig. 6. **Eric Mendelsohn**, *Weizmann Residence*, Rehovot, 1934–36, photo from the 1940s (preserved, restored)

© Weizmann Archives, Rehovot

party, and they extended their personal contact to Jerusalem where they would meet every now and then for a cup of tea, to which Mendelsohn would bring along some Bach records from his large collection.[24] When Mendelsohn became a British citizen in 1938, he, in fact became a British architect; a status which distanced him from most of his Jewish colleagues in the country. They were working for Eretz Israel; he was acting for British mandated Palestine. This position provided him with an outlook that allowed him to think in comprehensive spatial and time entities.

BEFORE he left the 'promised land' for America in 1941, Mendelsohn recorded his political credo in a publication titled *Palestine and the World of Tomorrow*. The gist of this nineteen-page pamphlet has not lost its topicality: "Palestine is not an uninhabited land. On the contrary it forms a part of the Arabian world. The problem that confronts the Jew in Palestine is how to reach equal rank among its neighbors; how to become a cell of the future Semitic commonwealth, to which they in fact belong by their race, tongue, and character . . . Palestine of today is symbolizing the union between the most modern civilization and the most antique culture. It is the place where intellect and vision—matter and spirit meet. In the arrangement commanded by this union both Arabs and Jews, both members of the Semitic

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family, should be equally interested. On this solution depends the fate of Palestine."[25]

And again he does not fail to blacken the White City: "Tel Aviv cuts itself off from its Arab hinterland and develops into a 100% Jewish business center with a port of its own, with its own language, its own costume. It becomes an enclave of European civilization within the Arab world."[26]

Yaacov Shiffman was among the first to whom Mendelsohn sent his brochure. His response, critical as well as appreciative, presents him as a far-sighted, open-minded city engineer: "Thank you very much for your brochure *Palestine and the World of Tomorrow* . . . I wish to assure you that I have enjoyed it immensely and it struck me that you at least in your personal activity have illustrated most eloquently the fusion between intellect and vision. I will not say that I agree with you on all your premises. Furthermore, your solution for Arab and Jewish relations appears to me somewhat too simple, but I will confess that you have conveyed to me most strongly and poignantly the feeling of the approaching avalanche of changing values on a worldwide scale, and that we Jews are called upon to play our part and that no background could suit us better than the Eastern Mediterranean."[27]

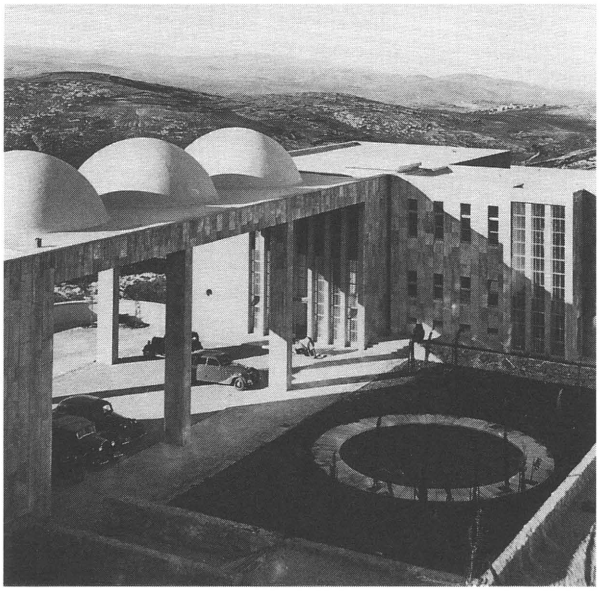

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Fig. 7. **Eric Mendelsohn**, Hadassah University Hospital, *Mount Scopus, Jerusalem*, 1935–39, photo from the late 1930s (preserved, with changes)

ITA HEINZE-GREENBERG *is an art historian. She received a PhD from the University of Bonn, Germany, and was a research fellow and lecturer at the Technion Haifa from1982 to 1998. Since 1998, she has been a freelance researcher and author, and lecturer at the TU Munich. She wrote numerous publications on architect Eric Mendelsohn, modernism in Eretz Israel, and on early Zionist settlement planning.*

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NOTES

1 Letter Eric Mendelsohn to Yaacov Shiffman, Jerusalem, November 19, 1939 (original from Yaacov Shiffman's estate, copy in author's archive).

2 Yaacov Shiffman would later change his name to Yaacov Ben Sira.

3 Letter Yaacov Shiffman to Eric Mendelsohn, Tel Aviv, November 30, 1939 (original from Yaacov Shiffman's estate, copy in author's archive).

4 As note 1.

5 Eric Mendelsohn, "Twenty Years of Building. An Exposition and a Publication," *Palestine Post* (December 29, 1940): 5.

6 Mendelsohn, "Twenty Years of Building."

7 Julius Posener, *Fast so alt wie ein Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Siedler, 1990), 238.

8 "Interview with Eric Mendelsohn," *Evening Standard* (July 31, 1937): 12.

9 Memories of Hans Schiller, Mendelsohn's long-standing assistant in Jerusalem as well as in San Francisco, quoted according to Louise Mendelsohn, "My Life in a Changing World" (unpublished Manuscript, San Francisco), 604.

10 Numerous sketches document his exploration of various views of the house from different angles.

11 Susan King, "Interview with Mrs. Eric Mendelsohn," *The Drawings of Eric Mendelsohn* (exhibition catalog) (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1969), 26.

12 Letter Eric Mendelsohn to Julius Posener, Capri, March 30, 1937, Oskar Beyer, *Eric Mendelsohn: Letters of an Architect* (London, New York, Toronto: 1967), 148.

13 Posener, *Fast so alt wie ein Jahrhundert*, 238. Original text in German; translation to English by the author.

14 Posener worked for the journal *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* in Paris.

15 Posener, *Fast so alt wie ein Jahrhundert*, 228. Original text in German; translation to English by the author.

16 Posener. *Fast so alt wie ein Jahrhundert*, 235. Original text in German; translation to English by the author.

17 Le Corbusier had provided Posener with a letter of recommendation to acquire commissions in Palestine in his name. Letter Le Corbusier to Julius Posener, Paris, September 10, 1935, Matthias Schirren and Sylivia Claus, *Julius Posener. Ein Leben in Briefen* (Basel, Berlin, Boston: Birkhäuser, 1999), 52.

18 Letter Julius Posener to Le Corbusier, Jerusalem, November 3, 1935, Schirren and Claus, *Julius Posener*, 65. Original text in German; translation to English by the author.

19 Numerous interviews with Julius Posener by the author, Berlin, between 1980–94.

20 The plans were 'found' in 1994 in the municipal building files in the framework of a renovation. They bear the names of Mendelsohn and Chermayeff.

21 Letter Eric Mendelsohn to Yaacov Shiffman, Jerusalem, January 14, 1941 (original from Yaacov Shiffman's estate, copy in author's archive).

22 The author received copies of the Shiffman-Mendelsohn correspondence from Yaacov Ben Sira personally. These copies are still in the author's private archive. The place where the originals are kept today is unknown to the author.

23 Catherine Weill-Rochant, *L'Architecture "Bauhaus" à Tel Aviv* (Kiriat Yearim, 2008), 33.

24 Louise Mendelsohn, *My Life*, 323.

25 Eric Mendelsohn, *Palestine and the World of Tomorrow*, Pamphlet (Jerusalem: 1940), 11 and 19.

26 Eric Mendelsohn, *Palestine*, 16.

27 Letter Yaacov Shiffman to Eric Mendelsohn, April 21, 1940 (original from Yaacov Shiffman's estate, copy in author's archive).

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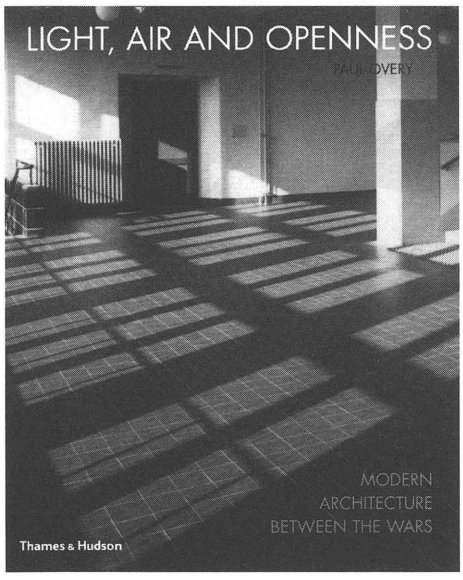
HYGIENE,
THE CLEAN MACHINE AND SOME IRREVERENT CURVES

There are a few sayings that seem to pop up from the drawer of architectural clichés to explain (and often to defend) the nature of modern architecture. The often misquoted phrase attributed to Louis Sullivan is probably the best known: "form follows function." Sir Henry Wootton's use of the Vitruvian phrase "commodity, firmness and delight" was so much liked by members of the English MARS Group that they used it as the sub-title for their Modern Architecture exhibition in London in 1938. The phrase "Licht, Luft und Söhne" is inextricably linked to the modernist position. In Britain "sun, light and air" was also adopted as a hygienic phrase associated with healthy living.

The late Paul Overy has now adapted as the title for his last publication: *Light, Air and Openness*, which, with a subtitle "Modern Architecture Between the Wars" is a well researched study that examines the preoccupations of the period with its emphasis on "air and sunshine, space, health, hygiene and whiteness" seen in buildings such as the Bauhaus, a pool for penguins, the Van Nelle factory, sanatoria, health centers and houses.
The text of this book is somewhat biased towards Dutch modernist tendencies and attitudes, but as one would expect from Paul Overy it is a well structured, dense, tersely and illuminatingly written book, and one that deserves more than a cursory glance.



While interwar English domestic modernists such as Maxwell Fry, Welles Coates and Connell Ward and Lucas came late on the international scene they were perhaps the closest interpreters we had in Britain to test Le Corbusier's view that "every man today realizes his need for sun, of warmth, of pure air and clean floors." Fry produced his Sun House in Hampstead, Coates his speculative Sunspan Houses (both in 1936), while Connell Ward and Lucas (oddly not mentioned) produced white houses that were orientated towards the sun and also a fantastical open design for a Preventorium around the same year clearly based on Richard Docker's *Terrasentyp*. In Germany and Holland health buildings for hygiene and body culture became the prototypical models of a healthy modern life and architecture. They also had a part to play "in the *Wohnkultur* of nazi Germany."
Overy states: "the modernist buildings of the years between the two World Wars and cleanliness that was both literal and symbolic."
In his conclusion, he raises other important issues about purpose, change, re-creation, preservation and restoration. These factors have sometimes been ignored by Docomomo members whose commitment has been to the immediate past and not the constant need to think about possible new uses for MoMo buildings.
Overy emphasizes the need to find sustainable and compatible uses bearing in mind the temporary nature of modern architecture.
The first is a pathological fear of being annexed into a world of pastiche or make believe, often arguing for an authentic response.
Overy takes up the current debate about the short life of modernist structures and their authentic renewal: whether, for example, a building having lost a particular use (he cites the Van Nelle factory) and where there have been changes in modern production methods, one should look for similar or related use when renovated. Van Nelle has become—under the guidance of Wessel de Jonge—a wonderful setting for design offices which, of course, have nothing to do with tea, coffee or tobacco, at least from a manufacturing point of view.
However, De Jonge and Henket's long-term renovation and renewal of the Zonnestraal Sanatorium did return it to a use associated with the original as a place for heath

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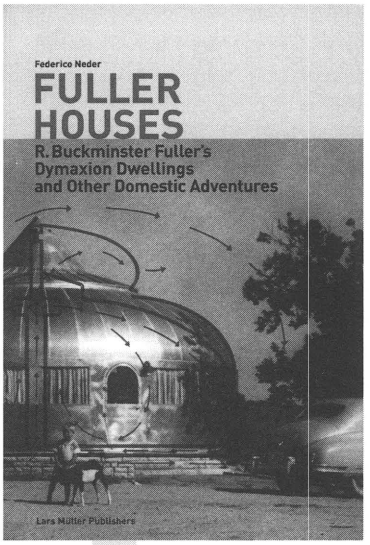
care. Overy cites other exceptions that range from Mies's Barcelona Pavilion to the Mendelsohn and Chermayeff De La Warr Pavilion at Bexhill on the Sea, beautifully restored and sympathetically modernized concluding that "new restoration techniques . . . and media are also the produce of particular historical circumstances and ideologies—as were the originals."

Paul Overy. *Light, Air and Openness. Modern Architecture between the Wars.* London: Thames and Hudson, 2008.

BUCKY'S DYMAXION WORLD



Buckminster Fuller was a 'modern' man. He was that years before the American battle cry of modernism was associated with mass production, consumerism, Taylorization and democratization. Bucky saw and accepted the opportunities offered by radical technological change and cultural and social habits. In a new book *Fuller Houses: R. Buckminster Fuller's Dymaxion Dwellings and Other Domestic Adventures* (Lars Muller 2008) by the Argentinean-trained Geneva-based architect Federico Neder a fascinating story emerges of the intellectual and design struggles the young inventive and ambitious guru went through in order to bring to fruition a deeper interest in contemporary machine culture, in new materials, space and form. Later in life he expanded his vision to the cosmological, holistic concern about the future of our planet, its topography and planetary significance.

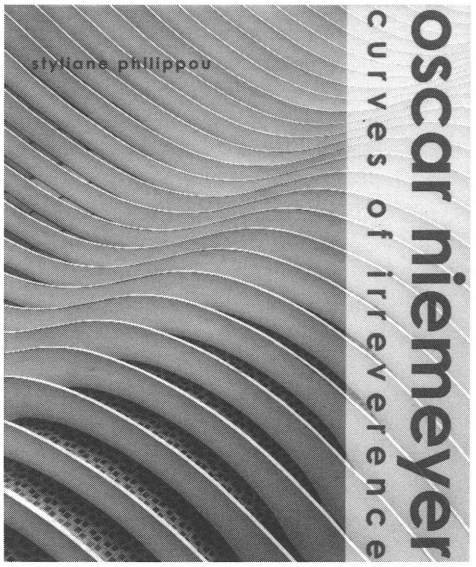
Bucky invented cars and challenged people's view on housing forms, use, shape and content. From 1929, his Dymaxion House went through many transmogrifications to emerge as a prototype (largely ignored) for new ways of living and building, as one can see in the Wichita model of 1946. In 1933, an early version of his streamline Dymaxion car with its aerodynamic shell was shown at the Chicago Expo in front of an 'Industrial House' designed by the architect Keck, with whom he worked on a number of projects. The Fuller/Keck connections are revealing as are the references to lesser-known interests in the design shapes and materials used in the manufacture of refrigerators, washing machines and what the author refers to as the aerodynamic corset! The former contributed to Bucky's ideal of "a smooth and rounded metal shell; inside a tangled and fragmented space." That is a "dwelling machine."

The latter is fascinating as it reveals his interest in new structures that were designed to fit the modern world and the modern women, "the girdle, squeezed and molded to the body to attain an abstract ideal borne from the pages of fashion magazines." His interest ran, prophetically, too, to the breastplate bodice type of corset, which distributed weight and held the bust firmly in place. This was perhaps a premonition of Madonna's famous pointed bra outfit and maybe accounts, too, for the mammalian shapes suggested by the Dome House, the geodesics and that enormous transparent Dutch Cap he proposed to cover New York.

Federico Neder. *Fuller Houses: R. Buckminster Fuller's Dymaxion Dwellings and Other Domestic Adventures.* Baden: Lars Müller, 2008.

NIEMEYER'S CURVES OF IRREVERENCE

There is no more sensuous architecture than that of Oscar Niemeyer. A master of plastic invention in concrete with a keen eye on fulfilled pleasure, he has a lifetime producing architecture infused with sex. Pleasure he sees as a "primary force," a principle such that Styliane Philippou, the author of this new book on Niemeyer's lifetime, defines his achievements in Freudian terms: "Niemeyer's pleasure principle and his unfailing architectural defense of the right to pleasure epitomize the transgressive thrust of his work, his persistent deviation from prevailing norms, and willful violation of conservative, prudish decorum." This quote, from the end paragraph of the book, is a kind of closing curtain for a scene that is enormously enhanced by the book's thoroughness of research and the author's tremendous attention to detail and in-depth analysis of Brazilian trends and historical eras from the baroque and the neo-colonial to the current day. It shows the closeness and confidence of the subject who changed the course of late flowering of Brazilian modernist architecture from "a Brazilian stew" into a style "dominated by his own Dionysian spirit." This confusion and its fragmentary effects do not faze



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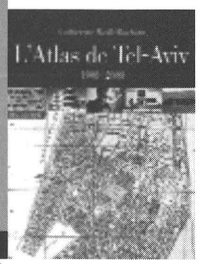
Philippou. Niemeyer is frankly the hero of this piece, and his presence shines through its engaging pages. In his absorbing partial autobiography published a few years ago, Niemeyer records an obsessive interest in the female body and its sexual potentials. It is a view, as Philippou remarks, which was often seen by his colleagues as a serious threat to their own attitudes towards design. But this centenarian master has neither lost his touch nor his desire to create new schemes based on his intuitive approach to architecture. Nor, indeed, his desire to celebrate the female nature of architecture. Out of sex comes design as well as desire. This book seeks to unravel aspects of his lifetime's work including the long term and fruitful connection he enjoyed with Europe—work that included designs for Pampuhla, the UN, Brasilia and the more recent art galleries. What an output! What love! And what a book! Viva Oscar!

Styliane Philippou. *Oscar Niemeyer: Curves of Irreverence*. New Haven, London: Yale, 2008.

DENNIS SHARP, *co-chair, Docomomo UK*

UNDER THE WHITE CITY: **MAPS**



For many years, works on the architectural experience of the first years of Jewish settlement in Palestine and the beginnings of Tel Aviv were few and far between. Catherine Weill-Rochant's book thus contributes to a new chapter in this history.
Weill-Rochant is French. She came to Israel in 1990 and then spent time in both countries. In 2006 she was awarded her PhD in architecture with a dissertation on the Geddes Plan for Tel Aviv entitled "A Shadowy Side, and a Dazzling One."
Her aim is to rid the history of this city of the myths that so unequivocally legitimate Zionist settlement. One myth in particular is that of the "white city," implying that Tel Aviv arose from untrammeled sands.
This image has been immortalized in the oft-reproduced photograph of the tiny group of people who met on the dunes on April 11, 1909 to draw lots for the first tracts of land—and which makes no reference to Jaffa or the surrounding area.
However, under this sand were Arab properties, whose eradication, as Weill-Rochant puts it, constitutes Tel Aviv's "skeleton in the closet."
Her approach is spatial: this book is not about social or cultural history, nor is it strictly political and it is even less purely esthetic. Hence, the idea to call it "the atlas of Tel Aviv" is only partially true, even though there are reproductions of over sixty plans and maps.
The author provides an in-depth analysis of these documents, coping with the problem that the archives for urban planning during the British Mandate period (1918–48) have disappeared. The first map Weill-Rochant deals with dates back to 1917. It is a 1/50,000 map of a highly compressed Jaffa (although its walls were dismantled in 1874), with its surrounding farmland, the coastline and a few roads.
In the immediate vicinity of the Arab town is a Jewish settlement labeled "Tell Abib," a German settlement, further away is a Templar settlement, and in one corner to the East, a vast expanse labeled "Agricultural Colony of the Alliance Israélite."

Weill-Rochant examines the history of Tel Aviv from its inception, starting with Herzl's novel *Altneuland* (ancient but simultaneously new land), published in 1902 and immediately translated into Hebrew as "Tel Aviv," which signifies "archeological mound" (Tel) and "Spring" (Aviv). Arthur Ruppin, the German jurist who became one of the leading figures of the Zionist movement, argued in favor of building a separate neighborhood as early as 1907, stating that it was of the greatest importance to build a modern Jewish quarter, since the narrow alleys and wretched filthy buildings of the Jewish quarter put Jews "to shame."
The first builders studied Stübben (Der Stätebau, 1890) and the architects attempted to develop a "patriotic Hebrew" Oriental type style. Catherine Weill-Rochant examines the parcellary plans and the contribution of the Scottish botanist and sociologist Patrick Geddes, the theoretician of what he termed a "sociological survey," which he conducted in Jerusalem in 1919 and in Tel Aviv in 1920. Dizengoff, the mayor of Tel Aviv, commissioned Geddes to prepare a master plan for Tel Aviv which he drew there in 1925 (he was then 71). His plan was to turn Tel Aviv into a "garden city of fruit."
He designed a homogeneous road grid that incorporated existing streets and agricultural areas, favored defining a Jewish style and recommended building terrace roofs on which an additional room with a pergola could be added.
His plans were immediately implemented—the future streets and pavements were marked off, lots were subdivided and tracts fenced off.

Then came the fifth *aliyah*, the massive wave of immigrants in the 1930s from Central Europe. Among the architects who emigrated, nineteen had studied at the Bauhaus. They were born at the turn of the twentieth century, and some had worked with Le Corbusier, Hannes Meyer, Eric Mendelsohn and Bruno Taut. In a short space of time they would build 4,000 buildings, constructing the fairly homogeneous White City of Tel Aviv.

FRANÇOIS CHASLIN *(1948) is an architect and critic, and teaches at the French National School of Architecture of Paris-Malaquais.*

Catherine Weill-Rochant. *L'Atlas de Tel Aviv 1908–2008*. Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2008.

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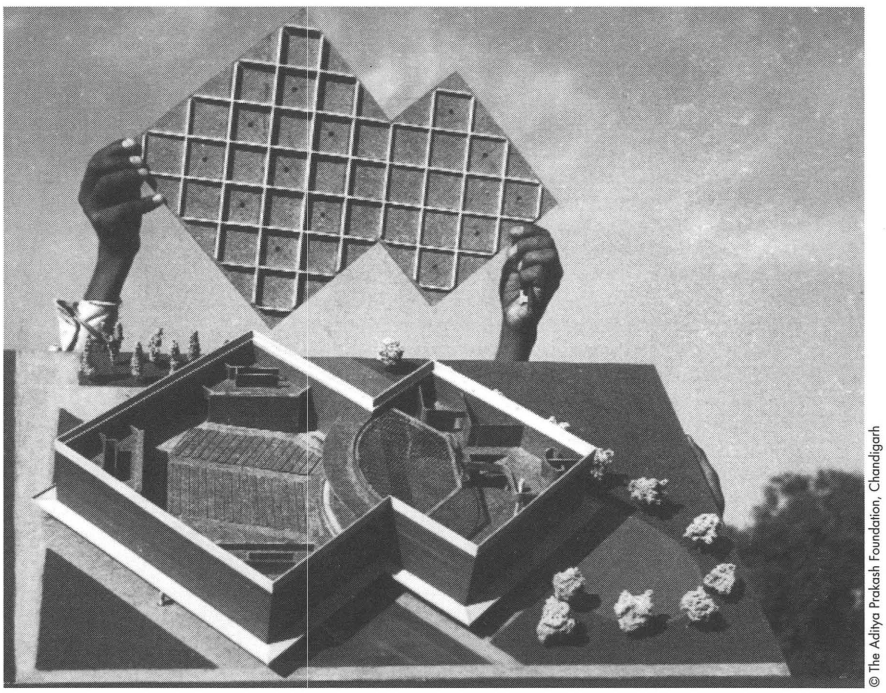

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GADITYA PRAKASH
(1923–2008)

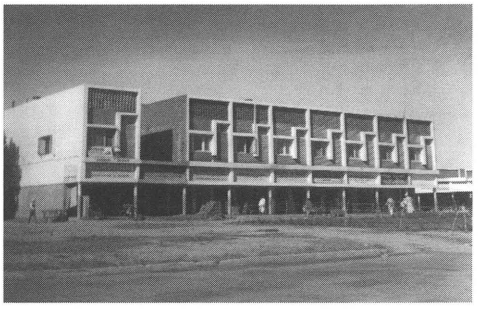
An associate of Le Corbusier's in Chandigarh, architect, academic, painter and theater enthusiast, Aditya Prakash died on August 12, 2008. Born on March 10, 1923 in Muzaffarnagar, India, Aditya Prakash was on his way to Mumbai by train to perform a play (*Life Never Retires*) when he suffered a heart attack. He was cremated in Chandigarh and his ashes immersed in the Ganges at Haridwar. He is survived by his wife, Savitri, and his three children, Chetna, Vandana and Vikramaditya.

Aditya Prakash studied architecture at the London Polytechnic, becoming an ARIBA in 1951. He joined the team of the Chandigarh Capital Project on November 1st, 1952, where he worked with Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret, Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew. He associated closely with Le Corbusier on the design of the School of Art, Chandigarh, in the mid-1950s. In 1961–62 he adapted the same design for the Chandigarh College of Architecture, Chandigarh. Aditya Prakash helped define the characteristic visual identity of Chandigarh as a modern city by creating the "frame controls" of several of the markets and housing types. He also designed the petrol pumps and some of the major cinema theaters of the city (Jagat, Neelam and KC). Some of his other projects in Chandigarh are the District Courts, Central Scientific Instruments Organization Hostels, the Treasury Building, the Central Bus Stand, Military Rest House, Central Crafts Institute, the Jang Garh, Indo-Swiss Training Center and the Cable Factory. His most significant project in Chandigarh was the Tagore Theater, which was constructed to celebrate the 1961 centenary of Rabindrnath Tagore's birth.
From 1963–68, Aditya Prakash was the architect of the Panjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana. At this time he also designed the campuses of the Agricultural Universities in Hissar and Palampur. In all, Aditya Prakash designed over sixty projects spread throughout North India. From 1968–82, Aditya Prakash served as Principal of the Chandigarh College of Architecture, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

As an academic, Aditya Prakash was an early advocate of urban ecological design, or "self-sustaining settlements." He described Chandigarh's planning as "escapist" and published several papers and three books advocating extensive recycling, mixed-use developments, development of the informal sector, integration of agriculture and animal husbandry into the urban system, and rigorous separation of motorized and all forms of non-motorized traffic.

Aditya Prakash painted for two to three hours every morning. Though he studied art at the Glasgow School of Art, Aditya Prakash really began to paint under the influence of Le Corbusier in Chandigarh in the 1950s. An early interest in intersecting the modular with free-flowing curves evolved into a style exploring Indian birds, animals and figures within a modernist idiom.
The Indian Institute of Architects awarded Aditya Prakash its Gold Medal in 1996.

HANNAH LE ROUX, *architect*
Johannesburg, South Africa



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