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CONFLICTING VISIONS

Architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate

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**Dissertation submitted to the Welsh School of Architecture, Cardiff University
as part of the academic requirements for a Ph.D. degree by research on
Architectural History and Theory.**

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CONFLICTING VISIONS

Architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate

Abstract

This study presents work carried out at the Welsh School of Architecture, Cardiff University. The research has been carried out under the guidance and supervision of Dr. Judi Loach.

The thesis started as a study of the 'Golden Age' of Modern Architecture in Eretz-Israel, its time-span covering the years of the British Mandate in Palestine (1918-1948). During that period, architectural practice flourished in the country despite civic unrest and impending political changes. In the course of research, it rapidly became apparent that the current historiography covers ultra avant-garde architectural experiments of the time - which are fundamental to the Israeli identity - but tends to overlook, dismiss and marginalise all other trends that co-existed in parallel with them. This produces a puzzling discrepancy between the story as told so far and the image retrieved by material evidence.

This study therefore proposes a critique of the prevailing historiography of architecture in Palestine-*Eretz Israel* during the British Mandate period. It explains why the mainstream approach has been so narrow, looking at the reasons for the emergence of the present distorted representation; this is based on extensive new research. By broadening the canon of Modernism as represented in the existing literature, the thesis attempts to reassess that narrow approach and begins to create a more accurate image of the architecture of the period. In recent years, it has been considered necessary to rewrite the history of planning and design for Europe and the U.S.A. during the interwar period. This thesis explains why it is now time to extend this revision to Palestine/Israel. It also maintains that a broadening of the modern canon will enable us to reconstruct in a better way a defining moment in the history of modern architecture, one that was much more heterogeneous and pluralistic than has been formerly thought.

years; the Thomas Cook Travel Archive, London, for their rare, contemporaneous travel guides to Palestine. The Architecture and Aberconway libraries of Cardiff University have been my base for sources on twentieth-century, especially British, architecture and town-planning. Special thanks must go to Head Librarian at the Bute Architectural Library, Ms. Sylvia Harris, for her mind-opening coaching on contemporary methods of bibliographical research.

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Many private informants contributed with their personal primary sources of information. Alan Crawford generously arranged the connection with C.R. Ashbee's family that led to the study of the Jerusalem Collection. Through him, it was my privilege to know Felicity Ashbee, whose friendship I had the good fortune to share; her vivid recollections and marvellous hospitality are unforgettable. Carmela Mazursky, of Nahariya, kindly shared memories and opened her private archive of Joseph Levy's and Adolf Sommerfeld's papers. Mrs. Esther Forsen, of the U.S.A., daughter of Richard Kauffmann, kindly shared memories of her father's household and practice. Two ex-students, the architects Oshra Lev-Israeli and Ady Chaimowitz, being born and bred in

Nahalal and Afula respectively, contributed with important, but lesser known, details about their hometowns.

Finally, I wish to thank and acknowledge the scholars who, having been engaged themselves in overlapping research topics, have enriched this work with enlightening conversations; these, especially during the first stages, helped form and define my research subject. Their generous discussions shared precious information, helped me to bring issues together and suggested possible academic gaps.

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Last but not least, I wish to thank heartily my supervisor, Dr. Judi Loach, for shared enthusiasm on discoveries along the way. I am in her debt for encouragement through difficult stages, for unrelenting academic rigour and outright generosity throughout. She has made this research an inspiring and enlightening journey.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Preview: time, place, architecture and method of research¹

It is this phenomenon, of the transmission of the avant-garde (*from Britain in planning, from Central Europe in architecture*) and its implantation on the ancient littoral of the eastern Mediterranean, that makes the story ... of more than local interest, and therefore worthy of pursuit.²

The times: 1917-1948

The late autumn of 1917 was unusually rainy in the Holy Land. Arid land turned into mud, and in this mud-covered setting several Great War campaigns were fought.³ By the end of the year two defining events which would be decisive for the future had taken place: the Balfour Declaration was made public in London in 2 November,⁴ and a month later, on 9 December, Jerusalem surrendered to British forces. These two events set up a dynamic process of change that would rapidly transform and modernize Palestine. The first was the origin of waves of Jewish immigration that would drastically modify the demographic profile of the population; the second inaugurated thirty years of British rule in Palestine.⁵

¹ See illustrations to this section, plates under the heading G1.

² Gilbert Herbert and Silvina Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel and the Crossroads of Empire: Architecture and Planning in Haifa during the British Mandate* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak ben Zvi, 1993), p. 10 [my italics].

³ This part of World War I is known as the Palestine Front, a campaign fought between British and Turkish forces for control of the south-western Ottoman Empire from 1915 until the Armistice. The Turkish Army was bolstered by German units and staff officers, while on the British side fought Imperial troops from Australia, New Zealand and India. (Stephen Pope and Elizabeth-Anne Wheal, *The Macmillan Dictionary of The First World War* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Books, 1995), q.v. "Palestine Front" and "Jerusalem, Fall").

⁴ The Balfour Declaration was a revolutionary statement of support for 'the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people'. This announcement was made by means of a letter addressed to Lionel Walter, 2nd Baron Rothschild, then one of the leaders of the Jewish community in Britain, from the British Foreign Secretary, Arthur James Balfour, on behalf of the government. The declaration also stated that "nothing will be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine". See illustration G.I.2.

⁵ For an historical summary of these years, see Appendix 1: 'Architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate: A chronological chart of principal historical events'.

Following a ceremonial victory march through the new city on 11 December 1917, General Allenby dismounted before the Jaffa Gate and entered the Old City of Jerusalem on foot, 'as a pilgrim', in a demonstration of humility before the Holy Places.⁶ A royal proclamation was read to the local population, which was jubilant: it was the first day of Hannuka ['Inauguration'], the Jewish winter festival of lights, and Allenby had fulfilled his promise to Prime Minister Lloyd George 'to give the people in Britain a nice present' to enlighten a bleak wartime Christmas. Thus, it was no mere coincidence that the place selected for the proclamation was one already imprinted in British memory, namely the setting of one of the twenty foremost lithographs in the Holy Land series printed by David Roberts, *Entrance to the Citadel of Jerusalem*, of 1839.⁷ In a combination of the ancient, the old and the very new, the ceremony was recorded by means of the most advanced techniques of the time, colour photographs and 'stereographs'. These were published widely, as the liberation of the Holy City caught the imagination of the western world; that first Christmas in Jerusalem "marked the first return of a Christian power to Jerusalem since the Crusades"⁸, seven centuries earlier.

The conquest was followed by three extraordinary decades, the subject of this study. After the War, however, the condition of the country was deplorable and its people on the verge of starvation. At some point about the end of 1919, Edward Keith Roach, future District Commissioner of Jerusalem, wrote in his diary:

⁶ General Sir Edmund Allenby (1861-1936), known to his troops as 'The Bull', had been Commander of the British Expeditionary Force's cavalry division and later of an infantry corps on the Western Front, notably at the first and second battles of Ypres; all these had been set-backs. He was transferred to the Palestine Front in June 1917; where his service was a brilliant military success. After the Great War, Allenby was appointed special High Commissioner for Egypt where he served until his retirement (1919-1925). Allenby's restraint in Jerusalem was one of the demonstrations of fine political and religious sensibility displayed on this occasion; also, Allied flags were not raised in sign of victory. See Martin Gilbert, *Jerusalem in the Twentieth Century* (London: Pimlico and Random House, 1996), pp. 52-56.

⁷ David Roberts, R.A., *Entrance to the Citadel of Jerusalem*, 1839, colour lithography on paper, 44 x 63 cm, showing a portion of the moat surrounding the Citadel of Jerusalem. See plate G.I.6.

⁸ Gilbert, *Jerusalem in the Twentieth Century*, p. 61.

How shall I describe what I saw in this Promised Land, this Holy Land, this land of the Blessing? It is about the size of Wales, practically treeless in Judea, with rich olive groves in Northern Galilee and with expanses of desert in the South. [...] The country was a sad sight. An exceptionally backward land, on which the dead hand of the Ottoman Turks had been laid for generations, was now devastated by war.⁹

Two days after the surrender of Jerusalem, a Military Administration had been established, being known first as O.E.T.A. (Occupied Enemy Territories' Administration). The O.E.T.A. used the Augusta Victoria Hospital as headquarters, a vast former pilgrim's hospice built by the German Kaiser before the War.¹⁰ For the next thirty months, with battles still being fought in the Galilee, a British Military Administration governed Palestine. Sir Arthur Money was appointed Military administrator, to be succeeded by Major General (later Sir) Louis J. Bols; Colonel Ronald Storrs was appointed Military Governor for Jerusalem.

At the San Remo Conference in the spring of 1920,¹¹ "the principal Allied powers resolved to name Britain as Mandated power over Palestine on behalf of the League of Nations which was then to be founded."¹² This signified the

⁹ Edward Keith-Roach; Paul Eedle, ed., *Pasha of Jerusalem: Memoirs of a District Commissioner under the British Mandate* (London and New York: Radcliffe Press, 1994), p. 60. For the first urgent measures taken to restore food supply, see Ronald Storrs, *Orientalisms*, pp. 336-338.

¹⁰ Augusta Victoria was subsequently to become Government House. First the Military Governor, and later the first two High Commissioners lived here. See Part Two, "1921, Jerusalem: *Men working happily and humanly together*". Ashbee's Interior Design for the Old Government House".

¹¹ The San Remo Conference was a meeting that took place in April 1920 in San Remo, Italy, convened with the purpose of ratifying decisions made at the Paris peace conference of May 1919. Representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, and Belgium met to discuss problems arising from the Great War, such as methods of executing the Treaty of Versailles (1919) and the peace treaty with Turkey. At this conference so called 'Class A mandates' were allotted in the Middle East. This was a new system of trusteeships, established by Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations for the administration of former Turkish territories and of former German colonies. Class A consisted of Iraq (British), Syria and Lebanon (French), and Palestine (British). The provisional independence of these former Turkish provinces was recognized, subject to "administrative control until they could stand alone". By 1949 all former Class A mandates had reached full independence. In addition, at San Remo the Balfour Declaration became valid in international law.

¹² Efraim Orni and Elisha Efrat, *Geography of Israel* (Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1976), p. 234.

beginning of the British Civil Administration in Palestine. Major-General L.J. Bols, who apparently had aspirations to become the first High Commissioner, had his hopes thwarted by the appointment of Sir Herbert Samuel. In a famous 'delivery note' written by Bols in 30 June 1920 on passing his command to the first High Commissioner, he composed one of the most quoted phrases of the time: "Handed over to Sir Herbert Samuel, One Palestine, complete". Samuel signed: Received, One Palestine.¹³ Amongst the most influential measures subsequently taken by Samuel was the adoption of a trilingual policy, declaring official languages of Palestine the English, the Arabic and the newly reborn Hebrew.¹⁴

The Civil Administration was to continue to govern Palestine until the end of the Mandate, headed by seven consecutive High Commissioners, who represented the King and the British Empire; also, as there was no Parliament, the High Commissioner embodied the legislative power. Of these personalities, the first High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, (1920-25) and the fourth, Major-General Arthur Wauchope (1931-1938) are the most important for this study, due to their keen interest and the influence they exerted in the fields of architecture, town planning and design.

British rule in Palestine lasted about thirty years, from 1917 to 1948. Strife and unrest marked these years. Three successive major wars, that is, the Great War, the Second World War and the Israeli Independence War, as well as three major riot outbreaks occurring in 1921, 1929 and 1936 left just short intervals of tranquillity in between.

¹³ Tom Segev *Palestine under the British* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1999), pp. 122, 130. [H]; translated by Haim Watzman and first published in New York by Metropolitan Books and Henry Holt as *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate*, 2000

¹⁴ For the revival and growth of the Hebrew language, a good general reference is Fellman, Jack, *The Revival of a Classical Tongue: Eliezer ben Yehuda and the Modern Hebrew Language* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973); for a short reference, see Howard M. Sachar, "The Conquest of Hebrew", in *A History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to our Time* (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Steimatzky, 1976), pp.82-85.

Due to the worsening political situation in the country since the Arab Revolt (1936), and then following World War II (1939-1945), together with the UN resolution in favour of the partition of Palestine (1947), the British government decided in 1948 to return their mandate to the United Nations. On the eve of the British troops' departure, at a time of increased unrest and violence, High Commissioner Sir Alan Gordon Cunningham added a foreword to the book, *"Jerusalem: The City Plan. Preservation and Development during the British Mandate 1918-1948."*¹⁵ Its author, the architect Henry Kendall, was then the Government Town Planning Adviser for Palestine. His remarkable publication was to be the final architectural report issued by British authorities. Cunningham wrote three significant paragraphs:

I write these lines under the shadow of the British withdrawal from Palestine and therefore welcome the opportunity given me to remark on one feature of administration here which has been persistently pursued, without regard to politics or schism, by the selfless devotion of individuals of all races and creeds.

The City of Jerusalem, precious as an emblem of several faiths, a site of spiritual beauty lovingly preserved over the ages by many men's hands, has been in our care as a sacred trust for 30 years. In these pages will be found an important part of the story of the discharge of that trust, of the efforts made to conserve the old while adding the new in keeping with it, of the process of marrying modern progress with treasured antiquity.

Let old Jerusalem stand firm, and new Jerusalem grow in grace! To this fervent prayer I add the hope that the accomplishments and labours of the years covered in this book may be considered worthy to act as an inspiration and an example to the future generations in whose care our Holy City must rest.¹⁶

It is an honourable, bittersweet document that puts in perspective the scale of the Mandate commitment to preserve the architecture of the Holy City and to control its future development. Most important of all for our study, we find here

¹⁵ Henry Kendall, *Jerusalem: The City Plan: Preservation and Development during the British Mandate 1918-1948* (London: HMSO, 1948).

¹⁶ Kendall, *Jerusalem: The City Plan*, "Foreword" (unpaginated).

a succinct statement that epitomises the guiding principles behind British planning for Jerusalem, and in a great measure for all Palestine as well: to conserve the old while adding the new and to marry modern progress with treasured antiquity; to achieve balance between conservation, restoration and rehabilitation policies and controlled modern additions. This plan of action was reiterated by Kendall himself in his own Introduction to the book, which follows Cunningham's Foreword. The following excerpts are worth noting:

For twenty-seven years it has been the earnest endeavour of the British Government to preserve the character of the Old City of Jerusalem and to encourage the new suburbs of the modern town to develop in a manner worthy of the great historic, architectural and religious traditions of the past. This task has not been easy.

On the one hand there are those who claim that not enough has been done regarding the preservation of its ancient monuments. Others assert with strident voice that Jerusalem should be treated like any other town and development should be encouraged to forge ahead, even if that development were to include industrialisation thereby prejudicing the cultural aspects of the city.

It has been difficult for the central authorities to adopt an enlightened policy in the midst of such divergent opinions. [...] No doubt these two schools of thought will continue to hold these apparently conflicting opinions, but it is submitted that for more than a quarter of a century Government has been consistent in its policy of preservation and development...

A great deal remains to be done...

The development of the modern town of Jerusalem is bound up with its political future, and that is a matter for the attention of the United Nations.¹⁷

A sense of impending change and loss of control over the future is felt in the last paragraph, as is also expressed in the foreword quoted beforehand. Obscure and menacing as the immediate prospective of Palestine must have been perceived by Cunningham and Kendall, the High Commissioner took care to declare his administration's hope that those former guidelines for

¹⁷ Kendall, *Jerusalem: The City Plan*, "Introduction" (unpaginated).

“preservation and development” would ‘continue to inspire’ and be considered a ‘worthy example’ by the future wardens of the City, whoever they would be. In 14 May 1948, the last British troops sailed home. The last High Commissioner, Sir Alan Gordon Cunningham, sailed out of the new, British built Haifa Harbour. The same day David Ben Gurion proclaimed the establishment of the State of Israel; war would break out again in Palestine. The Holy City was to remain divided until 1967. Old Jerusalem ‘stood firm’ in the neglect of the Jordanian administration; Israeli New Jerusalem did grow indeed, but with far less grace than before, plunging into the anonymity and monotony of the New Brutalist architecture of the post-war 1950s and 1960s. That, however, is another story.

The place, the people and the new architecture

It is noteworthy that it was the British who officially named the land Palestine, taking the name from the Romans who called the land ‘Palestina’, from the Biblical Philistines. The son of the first High Commissioner would recall the change; he wrote in his memoirs:

After four hundred years of Turkish misrule, this small and obscure province of the Ottoman Empire, now called Palestine, was derelict.¹⁸

The British government was also the first, since the destruction of the city by the Romans, to make Jerusalem the capital of the land again. For the Ottomans, this territory had been an undefined region vaguely referred to as ‘Southern Syria’. The Jewish community, however, would prefer to use the biblical Hebrew name Eretz Israel – the Land of Israel. Therefore, during the Mandate, it was usual to refer to the country, even in official documents, as ‘Palestine-Eretz Israel’ or in short, ‘Palestine, E.I.’

¹⁸ Edwin Samuel, *A lifetime in Jerusalem: The Memoirs of the Second Viscount Samuel* (Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1970), p. 17.

Seen as a geographic entity, the Land of Israel is in fact quite small, yet this small area contains a surprisingly large number of regions and sub-regions, very different from each other. The biblical nomenclature of places and geographic zones is still valid today, and indeed it was also used, unchanged, during the British Mandate period. The main topographic feature in the land is the deep rift of the Jordan valley to the Dead Sea and further south, which is part of the vast Syrio-African Fissure; this rift divides the land into eastern Transjordan and western Cisjordan (or Palestine).

From the Mediterranean Sea eastwards, three inland strips run lengthways from north to south; these are the Coastal Plain, the Hill Regions and the Jordan Rift. The climate clearly differentiates the arid south - the biblical Negev - which has remained for the most part uninhabited, and the central and northern regions, which are typically Mediterranean in landscape and vegetation. It is in these latter two regions that the narrative of this study develops, particularly in the central section of the Hill regions (which contains the Judean Hills and Jerusalem), along the shore of the Judean coast (where Tel Aviv developed), in the Esdraelon Valley (one of the western branches of the Jordan Rift) and also in the northern Coastal Plain sub-regions of Haifa Bay, the Zebulun Valley and the steep Mount Carmel rising beside the sea.¹⁹

Three main communities lived and interacted in Palestine during the Mandate: the Arabs, the British and the Jews. Within this social triangle, divergence of interests of each community would produce many frictions, and also some unexpected alliances. It is crucial to note that the population of Palestine grew and changed significantly during the British Mandate. As knowledge of the population of the area before the Mandate is not very accurate, it is assumed by the historians that during the first century of Ottoman rule (1517-1617) the population of the Southern Syria province - later to be called Palestine - must have increased considerably. The Ottoman Empire was still vigorous and well organised then; but it was not long before this trend stopped. During the next

¹⁹ See Efraim Orni and Elisha Efrat, *Geography of Israel* (Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1976), especially pp. 3-5.

three hundred years the population of the country remained stationary, at a little over 200,000 inhabitants.

The reasons for this population freeze that lasted until 1840, are beyond the scope of this study; its long-lasting consequence, however, was the gradual abandonment of agricultural land. Along the coast, farmland turned into dunes and malaria-infested swamps, while in the inland hills it became desert wastelands. Urban life was affected too; Jerusalem, for instance, that used to have about 80,000 citizens in Roman times, had dwindled to a meagre 9,000 by the beginning of the nineteenth-century. Yet with the first signs of modernization the stagnant population started to grow once again, and by 1870 a demographic recovery was evident. Just before the Great War, there were almost 670,000 people living in Southern Syria, an increment of 2.5 times since 1800. In the same period, urban population had grown more than six times, from 57,000 to 270,000.

Nevertheless, this former rhythm of growth cannot compare with what occurred during the years of British rule, as the total population then increased then almost threefold in less than three decades, from 676,000 at the beginning of 1919 to 1,970,000 persons by the end of 1947; during the same period, the Muslim and Christian communities doubled in number, and the Jewish community increased tenfold.²⁰ This dramatic demographic change was chiefly the consequence of the implementation of the Balfour Declaration and the waves of Zionist immigration that followed it; this meant on the one hand significant urban growth, the erection of new neighbourhoods and new pioneer settlements, and later also mass housing. On the other hand, these changes were met with hostility by the local Arab population, which opposed

²⁰ Unlike all the statistics from the Turkish period, which are at best informed estimates, these last numbers are very reliable. From the beginning of the Military Administration, the British kept statistical records on several important matters: from 1919 official immigration records were registered, and from 1920 it became compulsory to register births and deaths. A first population census was effected in 1922, and a second one in 1931, this last one also collecting very detailed information on demographic and socio-economic matters. Based on these two surveys, the government used to produce monthly and yearly population estimates, considering the natural growth rate and the latest reports on current immigration. Finally, an official Statistics Department was established in 1935.

western immigration, and they were to cause bitter and violent protests in 1922, 1929 and 1936-39.

| date | total population ²¹ | Moslems | Christians | Jews | city-dwellers |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------|------------|---------|---------------|
| Before the Mandate: | | | | | |
| 1800 | 275,000 | 246,350 | 21,800 | 6,700 | 20,6 % |
| 1890 | 532,000 | 431,600 | 57,400 | 42,900 | 33,0 % |
| 1914 | 689,000 | 525,150 | 70,000 | 94,000 | 39,2 % |
| During the British Mandate: | | | | | |
| 1919 ²² | 648,000 | 515,000 | 62,500 | 65,300 | no data |
| | 100% | 80-81 % | 9.6 % | 8-10 % | n. d. |
| 1922 | 752,048 ²³ | 598,177 | 71,464 | 83,790 | n.d. |
| | 100% | 79.5 % | 9.5 % | 11.1% | |
| 1931 | 1,033,314 ²⁴ | 759,700 | 88,907 | 174,606 | n.d. |
| | 100% | 73.5 % | 8.6 % | 16.9 % | |
| 31.12.47 ²⁵ | 1,970,400 | 1,180,500 | 143,300 | 630,000 | n.d. |
| | 100% | 60 % | 7.2 % | 32 % | |

Table 1. Synoptic table of demographic changes in Palestine 1800-1948.²⁶

²¹ Including 'others', such as Druze, Samaritans, etc.

²² In 1919 the Mandate was not yet officially established, but the British Military Administration ruled Palestine.

²³ Including nomads, but not including British soldiers.

²⁴ Idem.

²⁵ This is the estimated population at the end of the last complete year of British government.

²⁶ All British statistics divided the population according to religion, distinguishing between Moslems, Christians, Jews and 'others'. Sometimes they only specify Arabs, Jews, and 'others'. In most cases, the figures correspond only to the permanent population, and thus exclude nomadic Bedouin tribes. Data for Table 1 was compiled by the author from information in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, q.v. "Eretz Israel".

In parallel, the new British government further developed a swift process of modernization which had already started, even if very slowly, during the last years of Ottoman rule. This meant the establishment in Palestine of efficient infrastructures, such as the expansion and considerable improvement of the existing railway system, the upgrading of the road network for motorcar use and the development of the postal service; the British government also encouraged the electrification of Palestine, installed networks for telephone, radio broadcast and air flight services. It also established a better institutional infrastructure in the fields of public health, internal security and the administration of justice. The natural outcome of all these was a great demand for the planning and construction of new buildings; consequently, during the period under study, a remarkable sum of new structures was built to serve as law courts, post offices, railways stations, town halls, schools, university and research institutes, power stations, oil refineries, industries, government houses and offices, police stations and new modern hospitals and clinics.

The topic, its previous study and the structure of the thesis

The outburst of planning and building activity mentioned above was the first reason for the choice of the subject matter, "Architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate"; the second was a historiographic challenge. Local architecture in Palestine/Israel during the twentieth-century is a subject in which partly-known facts outnumber those that have been hitherto established. Most of the standard literature dates from the last two decades, and despite a noticeable increase in the number of publications during the last few years, their overall quantity remains small, as does the number of scholars who engage in further study. On the one hand, the sheer scarcity of published sources on the topic has endowed the few existing ones with a sometimes unjustified degree of authority. On the other hand, a disturbingly monolithic mainstream consensus has developed among the small elite of scholars who tackle the subject. Professional polemics, debate and dissenting outlooks which have begun to arise amongst local general historians are so far sadly non-existent amongst Israeli architectural historians.

The overall structure of the dissertation is simple: three parts are preceded by this general introduction and followed by a summary and conclusions section. The first part of the thesis deals with the image of the period as it is described today in the words of these architectural historians. The second part, which contains the main body of research, presents an alternative image retrieved from material evidence, that is, by the combined information proceeding from fieldwork (existing buildings) and extensive archival research. This newly researched image is presented in Part Two chiefly through the examination of a group of carefully selected case studies.

As the two images of the architecture of the period – that already published and that newly researched - do not coincide, the third part of the thesis undertakes to explain the reasons behind the discrepancy that exists between them. This is done in Part Three by identifying and reflecting on the 'conflicting visions' held by different groups during the Mandate period. The Summary and Conclusions section explains the need for a new (re)vision of the current historiography and asks for a new historical representation of the period, one into whose future fabric the case studies examined in Part Two are the first fragmentary elements.

Several sections of the dissertation are accompanied by illustrations; these form a corpus of visual text separate from the text of the thesis and are presented as such at the end of the dissertation. These illustrations have been arranged into single-page plates which may contain more than one picture, but with each plate being united by one common caption. A complete bibliography then includes the published and unpublished sources that have been consulted, both as background knowledge and as specific references in the text. The thesis also comprises an Appendices section in which separate reference lists have been assembled as chronological charts of the principal historical events, of the projects mentioned in the dissertation and of the local works of the leading architects of the period.

PART ONE:

Architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate:

THE IMAGE OF THE PERIOD IN THE WORDS OF THE HISTORIANS

The historian [today] is still bound by his or her sources [...] nevertheless; we view these sources more cautiously. We have become more aware of the extent to which they do not directly convey reality but are themselves narrative constructs that reconstruct these realities.¹

Linguistic theory [...] contains an element that in my opinion must be taken very seriously and that has applications to historical thought and writing: the point that every text can be read and interpreted in different ways because it expresses no unambiguous intentions [...]. These contradictions force the observer to 'deconstruct' every text, in order to lay bare its ideological elements.²

INTRODUCTION:

The historiography of the period as a research field

The first part of this dissertation describes the image of architecture in Mandate Palestine as currently presented by Israeli architectural historians. The aim of this section is to examine the existing body of literature on the architectural history of the period under study, and to analyse it in order to challenge existing findings and interpretations. Simultaneously it expounds the hypothesis of biased historiography and the current misrepresentation of the architecture of the period. This part of the thesis thus introduces the character of available knowledge on the topic.

The literature survey that this study is based upon comprised the sources available in the English and Hebrew languages. It includes books and articles

¹ George G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press and University Press of New England, 1997), p. 144.

² *Ibid.*, p. 132.

written during or since the period under study, up to recent publications which have appeared during the years of this research. This has been done by assembling a comprehensive bibliography which portrays the principal authors, issues and titles, as well as their dates of publication and availability to the public.

Architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate is a subject that has been annexed by the study of the development of Israeli Architecture; the latter, however, is a topic that hitherto has not been systematically classified; it is an evolutionary process spanning a period of about 140 years, even if 'Israeli' architecture properly exists only since 1948.

| | period | time span |
|------|--|----------------------|
| IA 1 | The Naive Period | 1867-1900 |
| IA 2 | The Search for an Hebrew Style | 1900-1918 |
| | The Golden Age of Modernism | 1918-1948 |
| IA 4 | Building the New State | 1948-1967 |
| IA 5 | Contemporary Israeli Architecture | 1967- present |

Table 2. A proposed division into periods of 'Israeli' architecture.³
 [A simplification of Harlap's first proposed division into seven periods; note that the period of the British Mandate coincides with the 'Golden Age of Modernism']

Researchers' interest, however, has been transient or inert until very recent times. Most of the existing publications date from the last two decades, and despite a noticeable addition of new publications in the last few years, their overall quantity remains small, as does the number of scholars that are engaged in further study.

Following an extensive review of the existing body of literature on the architecture of Palestine during the British Mandate, the key texts that shaped

³ Amiram Harlap, *New Israeli Architecture* (London: Associated University Press, 1982), pp. 41-68.

the current accepted narrative have been selected here for examination. The selection proposed comprises the standard references to be found, for instance, in the library of every Israeli school of architecture. It not only forms the core of books most relevant to the current study, but also represents the nucleus of titles determining the interpretation that is dominant today.⁴

The books

On the whole, six fundamental titles are presented and described below, ordered according to their date of publication.⁵ It is worth noting that the defining parameters of the titles are time and place. However, while the titles circumscribe the geographic place under study with clarity, at the level either of nation or city - 'in Israel', 'in Haifa', 'in Tel Aviv', 'in Jerusalem' - the time-span of the architecture in question is defined with different and hesitant degrees of focus: 'an era', 'new', 'in the twentieth-century', '1918-1948', '1931-1948', '1930-1939'.

The first two publications selected date from the early 1980s and share the authority of pioneering works in the field; they attempt to present a general picture. The next three entries represent a more research-based approach; they were published during the early 1990s, only a few years before the beginning of this research, and they deal respectively with only Jerusalem, Haifa or Tel Aviv during the British Mandate. The last one is a very significant recent addition which, while setting out to present a general overview, only supports this research's hypothesis of biased historiography. A presentation

⁴ See covers on plate GI.14.

⁵ These are, chronologically, the following: (1) Amiram Harlap, *New Israeli Architecture* (London: Associated University Press, 1982); (2) Michael Levin, *White City: International Style Architecture in Israel: A Portrait of an Era* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Museum, 1984); (3) David Kroyanker, *Jerusalem Architecture - Periods and Styles: The Period of the British Mandate 1918-1948* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1991); (4) Gilbert Herbert and Silvina Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel and the Crossroads of Empire: Architecture and Planning in Haifa during the British Mandate* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1993); (5) Nitza Metzger Szmuk, *Batim min HaChol: Adrichalut Ha Signon HaBeinleumi BeTel Aviv 1931-1948* [Houses from the Sand: International Style Architecture in Tel-Aviv 1931-1948] (Tel-Aviv: Ministry of Defence Publishing House, 1994); (7) Aba Elhanani, *The Struggle for Independence: Israeli Architecture in the Twentieth Century* (Israel: Ministry of Defence Publishing House, 1998).

and commentary of these sources follows; these six books will be presented and analysed chronologically in order of their publication. Except for the first entry, which was published in London, the five others are Israeli editions.

The first book in this study's selection is Amiram Harlap's *New Israeli Architecture*.⁶ Dr. Harlap (1926-) is an architect who practised both in Israel and the United States. He trained at the Haifa Technion, with postgraduate studies at Columbia University, New York City, and the University of California at Berkeley, where he studied under Erich Mendelsohn. His publications include several technical volumes, as he is an expert on the local building industry; Harlap was also editor of *Israel Builds 1973* and *Israel Builds 1977*. His book therefore does not record any unbuilt schemes and was prepared for a professional audience.

At first sight, Harlap's book shows a good selection of architectural work built in Israel between the early 1950s and the late 1970s. In its concept, format and design it resembles similar publications on British architecture of a decade earlier, for instance, Michael Webb's *Architecture in Britain Today*.⁷ Systematically, each building's entry comprises one or two black and white photographs, a plan, a section, and a short written caption conveying succinct data on the project. As in Webb's book, Harlap presents the projects according to building-type categories, showing a clear preference towards public buildings. All these would have put the book outside the scope of this research; however, because of its introductory section, the book has become an influential source.

Therefore, the most important contribution of this book to the history of local architecture is almost a by-product of it. Unlike Webb's model, which had a short, regular introduction one-page long before it reviewed the projects,

⁶ Amiram Harlap, *New Israeli Architecture* (London: Associated University Press, 1982), 355 pages, hardcover, amply illustrated in black and white mainly with contemporary photographs by the author and measured drawings.

⁷ Michael Webb, *Architecture in Britain Today* (Feltham, Middlesex: Country Life Books and Hamlyn House, 1969).

Harlap's introduction was followed by an opening section of no less than fifty pages on the "Background and Development" of Israeli architecture, concerning topics such as geography, climate, rural architecture population and public housing. Germane to this study, subsection number six deals with "The Development of Israeli Architecture".⁸ Harlap begins his narrative in the 1880s and carries on until the publishing-date present, that is, the late 1970s. He sets up there for the very first time a chronological division of local modern architecture into two main periods, that he named as the 'Palestinian Period' (before Independence), and the 'Israeli Period' (after Independence). He proposed a ground-breaking chronology of seven "phases": five in the Palestinian period and two in the Israeli period. The details of Harlap's chronological division are a matter of discussion. Yet, methodologically, his attempt to understand the process and his proposal of division into periods are seminal, and mark the beginning of a serious study of the history of modern local architecture. Furthermore, the examples chose by him to illustrate each period have formed the accepted canon.

Chronologically, the second book in this selection is Michael Levin's *White City: International Style Architecture in Israel*, subtitled *A Portrait of an Era*.⁹ Professor Michael Levin currently teaches history of modern and contemporary architecture and art at the Shenkar College of Engineering and Design, Ramat Gan. The book was produced to accompany an important exhibition of the same name, first organized by the Tel Aviv Museum (1984) and then shown at the Jewish Museum of New York; This book was published in Hebrew and English editions and it reflects its origins as a catalogue: it is a thin paperback book (seventy pages) of square format in which illustrations predominate. Levin, who also was guest curator of the exhibition, comes from the field of art history, and this shows in the text, that portrays mainly aesthetic values, emphasizing the design of facades and the analysis of formal

⁸ Harlap, *New Israeli Architecture*, Section I: "Background and Development", pp. 30-83; 6: "The Development of Israeli Architecture", pp. 41-68.

⁹ Michael Levin, *White City: International Style Architecture in Israel: A Portrait of an Era* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Museum, 1984), 70 pages, paperback, amply illustrated in black and white.

characteristics. In this aspect, the book closely resembles its avowed model, Henry Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson's *The International Style: Architecture since 1922*, which in a certain measure also originated as the catalogue of a pioneering exhibition in a Modern Art museum (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1932). The book is devised as a local and detailed continuation of the former publication, and uses very similar terms of reference, albeit it having been written sixty years later.

The book focuses on Tel Aviv, but contains short separate parts dedicated to Jerusalem and Haifa; it also includes a special section on Erich Mendelsohn's work in Palestine/Eretz Israel which refers only to his contributions of the 1930s' decade. Its main achievement was to introduce to public awareness the outstanding body of avant-garde architectural work done in Palestine/Israel during the 1930s. Through its illustrations, the book circumscribed the architects' practice strictly to architectural design; this reflected the profession's status at the time of the exhibition (1980s) much more than at the period exhibited (1930s), when future separate areas of work such as town planning and product design were still exercised by architects. Levin's book also helped to diffuse the undue stress subsequently given to Le Corbusier's influence on local architecture, which is noted in a special section as the first of the "Sources of Inspiration" of the International Style architecture in Tel Aviv.¹⁰

As Levin did not mention the parallel existence of other trends, his pioneering work shaped the discourse that came later, and it also created one of the most notorious current misconceptions of the period under study. Due to the wide diffusion of this exhibition catalogue, it formed and supported the idea that International Style architecture was the only interesting type of architecture existing during the interwar years, which was - within bounds - true for Tel Aviv but certainly not for all Palestine.

¹⁰ Levin, *White City*, "Sources of Inspiration", pp. 23-45; "Le Corbusier", pp. 23-30.

The third book selected for examination is David Kroyanker's *Jerusalem Architecture - Periods and Styles: The Period of the British Mandate 1918-1948*.¹¹ This is a hefty guidebook (almost five hundred pages) offering a comprehensive architectural and town planning review, full of very useful information and aimed at a broad readership of the general public (or at most the interested amateur); therefore the book stressed the historical narrative, while architectural arguments are mainly descriptive.

David Kroyanker is an architect trained at the Architectural Association School of Architecture in London, who served since 1968 in the Town Planning Department of the Jerusalem Municipality. He has been widely involved in preservation of the city's architectural heritage, and in the surveying and documentation of historic buildings and neighbourhoods in Jerusalem. Kroyanker has published several important volumes on Jerusalem architecture through its different periods. His work is widely known and has become standard reference. The publisher is a well-known commercial publishing house, dealing with a wide range of topics, including fiction.

The book was published only in Hebrew, yet a good English-language summary of the text (25 pages, richly illustrated) is found as a part of a different book by Kroyanker, one published in English, namely *Jerusalem Architecture*, in the chapter entitled "Building a New Jerusalem: The British Mandate. The Emergence of New Architectural Styles and Technologies".¹² The table of contents in the Hebrew edition reflects the descriptive narrative chosen by the author, and its ten chapters deal with subjects such as the development and planning of Jerusalem, garden neighbourhoods, new technologies and materials.

¹¹ David Kroyanker, *Jerusalem Architecture - Periods and Styles: The Period of the British Mandate 1918-1948* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1991), 487 pages, hardcover, amply illustrated in black and white, some colour illustrations, Hebrew edition only.

¹² *Jerusalem Architecture* (London: Tauris Parke Books, 1994), "Building a New Jerusalem: The British Mandate. The Emergence of New Architectural Styles and Technologies", pp. 143-167.

Kroyanker presents the different architectural trends of the period in an indiscriminating way, while his book's last chapter examines the most prominent architects representing each of them. Nevertheless, no attempt is made at further analysis or deeper interpretation, and this simple, popular approach does make jarring reading at times. Moreover, references are incomplete and frustrating for the researcher.

The fourth book is the joint effort of Gilbert Herbert and Silvina Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel and the Crossroads of Empire: Architecture and Planning in Haifa during the British Mandate*.¹³ Professor Herbert, now retired, was the Director of the Architectural Heritage Research Centre at the Haifa Technion, the Israel Institute of Technology. He served as Dean of the Architecture and Town Planning Faculty at the same institute, held for many years the chair there for Modern Architecture and is the author of numerous publications on this subject. Silvina Sosnovsky is an architect and was at the time of publication Adjunct Lecturer in the history of the architecture of Israel, and has published and researched widely on the history of architecture of Haifa.

The book was published in English by Yad Ben Zvi, a prestigious publisher that deals with new – mainly historic – research of the Land of Israel.¹⁴ *Bauhaus on the Carmel* presents new findings based mainly on local archival research, especially the Central Zionist Archives. Archival sources are scholarly documented, the bibliography is extensive and both open a myriad of possible follow-ups. Furthermore, the text seems to be free of prejudice and presents the facts with impartiality. Yet despite (or because of) the serious academic approach, the book seems to be more a collection of separate articles than one complete piece of research.

¹³ Gilbert Herbert and Silvina Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel and the Crossroads of Empire: Architecture and Planning in Haifa during the British Mandate* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1993), 294 pages, hardcover, comprising a comparatively small number of illustrations (9 photographs and drawings) in black and white.

¹⁴ Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi is a public funded, non-profit scholarly organization for research and diffusion of knowledge on the history of Eretz-Israel.

This is also the publication which succeeded in reconstructing the period of the British Mandate in the most convincing way. The book is divided into six chapters of which the first two are historical introductions: "Haifa prior to the British Mandate" and "Imperial Priorities and Regional Perspectives". These are followed by a chapter on "The Garden City as Paradigm", which has been useful and inspiring for this study; then there are chapters on "Haifa on Sea", "The Redemption of Haifa Bay", and finally, the brilliant "Bauhaus on the Carmel, Transmissions and Transformations of the Modern Movement", which presents what the authors called the "phenomenon of a Bauhaus vernacular".

The fifth book is Nitza Metzger Szmuk's *Batim min HaChol: Adrichalut Ha Signon HaBeinleumi BeTel Aviv 1931-1948*. This book was published in Hebrew by the Ministry of Defence Publishing House; as the title is not given there in English, one could translate it here as 'Houses from the Sand', with as subtitle 'International Style Architecture in Tel-Aviv 1931-1948'. Nitza Szmuk is a practising architect, specialised in the conservation of Modern Movement buildings. She trained in Florence, where she has worked in conservation in the city and the surrounding Tuscan villages. Szmuk has also worked documenting Romanesque churches for the Italian government. Since 1990, she founded and headed the conservation team and has documented International Style buildings for Tel Aviv's Municipality conservation plan. From 2005 she has directed the first M.Sc. graduate course in conservation at the faculty of architecture, Technion, Haifa.

This book was part of a successful campaign undertaken during the last decade to achieve international recognition for the modern architecture of this city. Consequently, it is a catalogue of the best examples of International Style buildings in Tel Aviv. The book was lavishly presented – it has received two prizes for its design - as it was intended for the general reader or interested amateur rather than the professional architect or historian.¹⁵

¹⁵ Another interesting publication, part of this same campaign, is the book *Tel- Aviv Modern Architecture 1930-1939* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1994), edited in Germany by Winfried Nerdinger, the well-known researcher of the German Neues Bauen. Its format is

Batim min HaChol contains many photographs, both black and white and colour, comprising period photographs from famous collections of the 1930s, as well as recent pictures, occasional drawings, plans or elevations. 160 buildings and twenty architects are documented in the book, which includes a succinct bibliography as well.

The structure of the contents is triple: four short articles together serve as a general introduction. They differ greatly in outlook. The first, "Tel Aviv", written by the sculptor Danny Karavan, is a poetic and nostalgic note on the city as it was built, and ends with a call for saving its heritage. The second and the third - "The Physical Development of Tel Aviv", by Gideon Biger, and "Tel Aviv Urban Planning up to the Establishment of the State [of Israel]", by Tzadik Elyakim - have similar contents to each other. They both briefly recount the stages passed by the city since the first neighbourhoods were built outside the old city walls of Jaffa, through the Garden City vision and up to its challenging in the 1938 Master plan. The fourth, written by the author, bears the title of the whole book, "Houses from the Sand". Here Szmuk traces the development of the architecture in the city, since its foundation in 1909 up to the 1940s, stressing the import of Modern Movement ideas from Europe in the decade of the 1930s. The article names the sources of the movement, explains Le Corbusier's 'five points', and goes on to define the characteristics of the International Style in Tel Aviv. Those she defines as: building on *pilotis*, the free façade, the free plan, the ribbon window and the flat roof 'intended to serve as garden'. These are identical to the 'five points' established by Le Corbusier in 1925, but she also adds silently three more of her own: asymmetry or regularity, instead of classical symmetry; avoidance of any decorative elements lacking overt practical purpose, and architectonic solutions to climatic problems (in fact, a discourse on the use and types of balconies).

A presentation of the buildings follows, arranged in the form of a catalogue. The author classified the buildings into thirteen different categories, some of

similar: introductory articles followed by an album of exceptionally beautiful photographs, which, even if images of the present day, are rendered in nostalgic black and white.

them with as many as five sub-categories, which makes finding a specific work very complicated;¹⁶ each category is illustrated by means of several buildings and within each building category there are corresponding entries for the architects; those include a portrait, short biographies and chronological lists of other works, indicating their addresses.¹⁷ Hence a great contribution of the book to the knowledge now available consists in its coverage of designers which are obscure and were formerly unknown. Unbuilt schemes, however, do not appear in the book since it is a municipal survey aimed towards conservation. A note by Yaacov Shefer on the most frequent and common damage caused by time upon Tel Aviv's buildings of the period covered closes the book.

Each entry for an 'exemplar' building contains short standard information: the name originally given to the building, which often is the family name of the

¹⁶ Szmuk's classification consist of the following – rather unusual – typological categories:

1. Dwellings having a 'scenic' facade towards the street
2. Dwellings having a facade with a public dimension
3. Dwellings having a double facade: public and private
4. Dwellings having a vertical axis as public element
 - 4.1. Vertical axis within a symmetrical facade
 - 4.2. Vertical axis within an asymmetrical facade
 - 4.3. Vertical axis in the building's corner
5. Dwellings having an urban corner; element connecting and separating two elevations
6. Dwellings having a semi-private external space
 - 6.1. L-shaped houses
 - 6.2. U-shaped houses
 - 6.3. Twin buildings
 - 6.4. Houses built on a podium
 - 6.5. Pilotis houses
7. Dwelling houses that form a cluster
 - 7.1. Three-dimensional clusters
 - 7.2. Linear clusters
8. Workers' Estates
9. Urban villas
10. Dwellings having a commercial floor
11. Office and Commerce buildings
12. Public Buildings
13. Public Spaces and Places for Recreation

¹⁷ It is worth noting here that the lists of 'other works' refer only to built-up projects within the Tel-Aviv area, and leave unmentioned all unbuilt projects by the architect as well as any work built by him/her elsewhere in the country.

original owner; the address of the building;¹⁸ a date by year (no explanation being given whether this indicates planning or building dates, but most probably it is the building permit date as recorded in the Municipality records); and the name of the architect. This standardised information is accompanied by variable visual documentation, photos and some drawings or detail photographs. The inconsistency of the method used - unexplained imbalance in the amount of pictures allocated to each entry, the fact that several entries may or may not share the same page - makes the book, despite all its merits, closer to a 'coffee-table book' than a scholarly publication.

Following the success of the UNESCO–DoCoMoMo campaign, and a wider international interest in Tel Aviv after it was a World Heritage site, specifically on the grounds of its Modernist heritage,¹⁹ this book was reprinted several times and is now available in its sixth edition; furthermore, it has been recently translated, and a new, bilingual edition (English and French) is available, under the title of *Dwelling on the Dunes, Tel Aviv Modern Movement and Bauhaus Ideals*.²⁰

The last book selected in this section is Aba Elhanani's somewhat oddly titled *The Struggle for Independence: Israeli Architecture in the Twentieth Century* (Israel: Ministry of Defence Publishing House, 1998).²¹ The book was published only in Hebrew. It comprises a very interesting foreword by Bruno Zevi.

¹⁸ All entries give the address of the building, but there is no map incorporating all the locations.

¹⁹ In 3 June 2003, UNESCO designated Tel Aviv as World Heritage Site; Tel Aviv's 'Old North' (or the 'White City of Tel-Aviv' as it is called following Levin's exhibition) with its 4,000 International Style buildings is now, together with Brasilia, the only twentieth-century city to have achieved this status.

²⁰ Nitza Metzger Szmuk, *Dwelling on the Dunes, Tel Aviv Modern Movement and Bauhaus Ideals* (Paris and Tel Aviv: Editions de L'Eclat, 2004), 447 pages, soft cover, colour and black and white photographs, new graphic design, bilingual (French and English) expanded edition, including new maps and new essay on the Tel Aviv Geddes plan.

²¹ Aba Elhanani, *The Struggle for Independence: Israeli Architecture in the Twentieth Century* (Israel: Ministry of Defence Publishing House, 1998), 279 pages, hardcover, amply illustrated in black and white and colour, Hebrew edition.

The author is a veteran architect and planner who edited for more than a decade the magazine *Tvai*, a well-respected local journal of architecture and the arts.²² Because of the author's own authority and the publisher's prestige, and also because of the meagre output of publications on the subject, this is a very significant addition to the existing bibliography, and is becoming a standard textbook.

The book is a compilation of several articles that Elhanani had previously published in *Tvai* and elsewhere since the 1960s. In fact it is based mainly on his long article "Chapters in the History of Israeli Architecture"²³ that is more than a bit out of date, being as it is, a staunch and narrow defence of mainstream modernism. A major source of information is the author's own recollections and his personal acquaintance with fellow architects. Consequently, it is very hard to evaluate the accuracy of the information conveyed. Notes do not acknowledge sources, and the bibliography simply directs the reader to standard international publications on Modern architecture. British Mandate architecture forms only a small part of the contents of this book (two out of twenty eight chapters). The rest concentrates on the times since Israeli Independence (1948). The text alternates a sequential local chronicle with chapters that explain contemporaneous projects built abroad and parallel trends throughout the Western world.

Conclusion: The story as told so far

Summing up the overall picture of the period as conveyed by the existing literature, the reader is left with the strong image of a "Golden Age of Modernism". It is remarkable, however, that the interest in the history of local architecture started in Israel only as late as the 1980s. The reasons for this

²² Amongst Elhanani's most known projects are the [Israeli] President's Residence, in Jerusalem (first prize, architectural competition, 1964, executed 1971), and the Kennedy Memorial in the environs of Jerusalem (1966).

²³ Aba Elhanani, "Chapters in the History of Israeli Architecture", *Tvai* 27-28 (1990), pp. 3-36. [H].

late starting date are not completely clear yet, but one could suggest that the influential exhibition on Erich Mendelsohn's work set up in the Tel Aviv Museum in 1979 could have been one of the motives that awakened interest amongst researchers.²⁴

The review of literature revealed that, until then, architectural history on the period appeared either as a marginal chapter within books of Israeli Modern art or as articles either in the general press or in specialised journals such as *Tvai* and *Kav*.²⁵ Moreover, it is significant to note that the writer of most of the articles in the general press, in Israeli Modern art books as well as the founder editor of *Tvai*, was the same Aba Elhanani, author of *The Struggle for Independence*; Professor Michael Levin also published in *Kav* prior to the "White City" exhibition in the Tel Aviv Museum.

Therefore, the image of the architecture of Palestine during the British Mandate that is presented in the available books is limited and inadequate in several aspects. First of all, the quantity of information is limited, as the overall number of books is surprisingly small. This has considerably reduced the number of voices heard and has weakened the discourse by reinforcing a solid mainstream view; in addition, as meaning is conveyed mainly through illustrations and for the most part these books also are pictures albums, their written text is relatively short, and has sometimes been endowed with undeserved authority. Furthermore, there is a restriction in terms of time, as these books considered as a group were produced during a very short period; only fifteen years separate the publication dates of Harlap's and Levin's books (1982-4) from Elhanani's (1998).

²⁴ For further details on this exhibition and its significance, see Part Two, pp. 211-212.

²⁵ *Tvai, Quarterly for Architecture, Town planning, Industrial Design and the Plastic Arts, Israel; Kav Art Journal*. Both were issued regularly in the 1980s, intermittently in the 1990s and have since ceased publication. Their place was taken in the 1990s by the ongoing journal *Studio Art Magazine*, which occasionally publishes issues dedicated entirely to the history of local architecture, notably *Studio 28* (1991). Apart from these, the best local publishing venue for the publication of academic architectural history research is (and has been for the last two decades) the journal *Cathedra*, a publication of the Yad Ben Zvi foundation. But it is very significant that this is not an architectural history journal, but one that, as its name indicates, deals with the history at large "of Eretz Israel and its Yishuv [Jewish settlement]".

The main limitation, however, is the scarcity of publications; in fact, on the subject of the British Mandate period, there is no publication at a national level, only local monographs for Haifa, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. Therefore, the topic has been relegated to a short section in a general overview, as in Harlap (less than five pages) or in Elhanani's book, (about thirty pages) of which twenty show many of the same canonical International Style examples that Levin and Szmuk refer to in their own writing).

At least Elhanani does not present the interwar years as a period in which only the Modern Movement existed (as is the case with Levin and Szmuk). The acknowledgement of plurality occurs - overtly - in Kroyanker's guide book for Jerusalem through the buildings examined and in one chapter in particular, but it is dealt there as if it were only a matter of stylistic choice and ornamental identity.²⁶ Kroyanker and Herbert and Sosnovsky, however, are the only references which completely acknowledged the leading role of town planning practice during the Mandate years, which is one of the most serious omissions of the current literature.

Thus, Herbert and Sosnovsky's *Bauhaus on the Carmel* is for the most part exempt of all the former shortcomings. Far from being a picture book, their text is academically sound and innovative; and even if it has a clear inclination towards the avant-garde, it shows at least a glimpse of some of the other trends. For all these reasons, this book has been the most useful source from the selection of books examined, and this will become apparent in the many references that will appear on the second part of the thesis.

Nevertheless, this does not affect the fact that in comparing the image retrieved through published sources with the image as perceived from built evidence, a puzzling discrepancy arises, as well as the strong suspicion that the first one is in some measure distorted and incomplete. This will be studied further in the next two parts of the thesis.

²⁶ David Kroyanker, *Jerusalem Architecture: The Period of the British Mandate*, Chapter Three: "The Different Architectural Styles", pp. 39-62.

PART TWO:

Architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate:

THE IMAGE RETRIEVED BY MATERIAL EVIDENCE

*Ut commentaris memoriam firmiorem efficere possit...*¹

To be sure every historical account is a construct, but a construct arising from a dialog between the historian and the past, one that does not occur in a vacuum but within a community of inquiring minds who share a criteria of plausibility.²

All historical interpretations are arguments, and they must conform to a logic of argumentation if they are to cohere as truth.³

INTRODUCTION:

"An almost ideal sphere of action"

If one goes back almost ninety years, to 1918, centuries of Ottoman misrule and the ravages of the Great War had left the Holy Land backward, depopulated, and barren. It was a challenge for the British government, after receiving the Mandate for the Holy Land from the League of Nations, to set up in Palestine-Eretz Israel an extensive project, of heritage conservation on the one hand and progressive development on the other. This colossal task comprised reconstruction, reforestation, the development of a modern physical and administrative infrastructure, the recuperation of agricultural land, and widespread planned colonization.

¹ Vitruvius, *Libri Decem*, Book I, Chapter 1, "So that he may achieve a stronger memory in commentary", on the need of historical knowledge for the architect. The Latin verb *commentor* (*co-mentis*) enfolds the fitting meanings of 'to think over', to reflect, meditate, and also to study, draft, prepare, assemble and redact.

² Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Hanover and London, 1997), p. 144.

³ David Hackett Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Towards a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), p. 263.

All these rendered the period of British Mandate in Palestine a Golden Age for planners. That is how a most distinguished group of British and Jewish planners, representative of the first and second generations of the profession, came to work, invited either by the government or by the Zionist movement. Amongst them stand out William McLean, C.R. Ashbee, Alexander Klein, Richard Kauffmann, Erich Mendelsohn, Lotte Cohn, Austen St. Barbe Harrison, Sir Patrick Abercrombie, Clifford and Eunice Holliday, Robert Pearce Steel Hubbard, Henry Kendall and, last but not least, Frank C. Mears and Professor Patrick Geddes.

Philip Mairet, Geddes' biographer who had been linked with the circle of craftsmen around Ashbee and the Guild of Handicraft, succeeded better than most chroniclers in pinpointing the unique, visionary nature of the times. He wrote:

The idealists, both British and Jewish, who in 1919 [and later] converged upon Palestine to implement the Balfour Declaration under the Palestine Mandate, had many different dreams to realize. The political difficulties of the future were but dimly foreshadowed: the present scene was one of immense opportunities [...] of reclamation, rehabilitation, the discovery of new resources, above all of colonization; and there was no lack of ardent and sacrificial workers, of expert advisers, or of generous financial aid. Here was an almost ideal sphere of action...⁴

The ideas of the Garden Cities Movement swept Palestine as early as 1909. Almost as soon as they were introduced, planners, decision-makers and the public swiftly adopted these ideas as the best possible paradigm for future development. For the next sixty years, Garden City ideals would remain a guiding pattern for town planners first in British Mandate Palestine and subsequently in Israel. This widespread consensus as to the advantages of Garden City ideas facilitated a mutual understanding between the British authorities and the Zionist organizations, and also between British and

⁴ Philip Mairet, *Pioneer of Sociology: The life and Letters of Patrick Geddes* (London: Lund Humphries, 1957), p. 184.

German-Jewish architects. The reasons for this agreement lay beyond the scope of this section, but one of its major consequences was the establishment of an efficient policy for the proposal, planning, discussion, approval and implementation of town planning schemes. This would become a normal feature of the professional scene in Palestine for about a quarter of a century and would turn the years between 1918 and 1936 into a “Golden Age of Planning”.

While examining the professional background and local posts of the planners, one of the hypotheses to be put forward here is that practice in Palestine-Eretz Israel served as a testing ground for the first and second generations of British town planners. Some of them were mature, elderly professionals who realized here the last major achievements of their career, as was the case with Ashbee and Geddes. Conversely, for those who came to Palestine very young, this was the place of their first significant practice. That was the case for Frank C. Mears, Clifford Holliday and R. S. P. Hubbard. For them, work in Palestine was a training-in-practice and a test bed for many new ideas, and that early work anticipated much of what they would plan in Britain after the Second World War.

However, another cultural aspect that brought the planners together is worth noting here: a deep awareness that planning and building in Palestine was different than in any other place. Here they were, literally, planning the New Jerusalem and reconstructing the Land of Israel. For Christian and Jewish architects alike, this restoration work was full of intense messianic undertones. Verses from Scripture, especially from the books of Psalms and the prophets Daniel, Micah and Jeremiah, were omnipresent in the mind of the planners, appearing frequently in their writings. These usually evoke an elated sense of spiritual privilege, the honour of being able to make biblical prophecy come true.

These fervent years of activity in Palestine correspond to a period during which the planning profession underwent a crucial change, passing from a romantic, artistic approach, towards a more rational, scientific method of

practice. This process is very well recorded in the sequence of Town Planning schemes that were devised in Mandate Palestine, from the first picturesque watercolour perspectives Ashbee prepared for Jerusalem in the late 1910s, up to Abercrombie and Holliday's detailed plans for Haifa of the mid 1930s. One should recall the concern caused by this imminent change by quoting Trystan Edwards, who wrote in 1924:

It is possible that these scientific interests may all grow so strong that the aesthetic side of town-planning will be woefully neglected. There is a danger that one day in the not very distant future we shall be confronted with an obituary notice writ in large and monstrous letters across the whole breadth of England "Here lies the art of Civic Design. It was killed by the 'Science' of Town Planning".⁵

Nevertheless, as late as 1949, William G. Holford stated that "both Professor Adshead and Professor Abercrombie regarded the training of the town planner as a training in design".⁶ He noted:

Building and civic engineering, geology and urban geography were essential technical studies. As for the tools of the trade [...], their students should present their schemes with the full resources of cartography, draughtsmanship and report writing. [...] They also [had] to analyse a town planning scheme into its components parts, and to criticize its content as civic or landscape design, as well as from the point of view of practical politics. But, [...] from statistical method to general economics, and from public administration to sociology, the student was let to find his own way.⁷

One should note that Holliday and Hubbard had studied at the Liverpool School of Architecture, and trained under Sir Charles Herbert Reilly and Sir Patrick Abercrombie. As stated by Joseph Sharples, the achievements of

⁵ Trystan Edwards, *Good and Bad Manners in Architecture: An Essay on the Social Aspects of Civic Design* (London: John Tiranti, 1944, first published by Philip Allan, 1924), p. 169.

⁶ William G. Holford, "The Planning Schools" (2), *Town Planning Review* vol. 20 (3) October 1949, pp. 283-4. [My italics].

⁷ *Ibid.*

Holliday and Hubbard in Palestine “were not untypical among the top flight of ‘Reilly’s young men’.”⁸

Moreover, the length of their stay varied. Geddes, Mears and Abercrombie came to visit and each time stayed to advance specific projects, working for some weeks, months at most, and then ran the rest of that project by correspondence. Mendelsohn hectically commuted by plane between his offices in Berlin (and later London) and Jerusalem. Others, instead, made Palestine their home, moving there with their families and staying for considerable periods of time. Ashbee stayed for four years, bringing over his wife and four small daughters, coming back to visit twelve years later. Harrison stayed from 1923 to 1937, becoming Chief architect of the Public Works Department. Clifford Holliday replaced Ashbee as Civic Adviser through Abercrombie’s recommendation; he arrived with his architect wife Eunice and stayed for fifteen years, raising a family of four boys there.⁹

All of them enjoyed the place, the possibility of a pleasant and inexpensive existence in a romantic setting, and the challenge of a considerable number of projects that were usually put through the channels and implemented very rapidly. This can be seen, explicitly, in an enthusiastic letter written by Ashbee in Jerusalem to his friend G. L. Dickinson, in 1920:

I am very happy because I am so busy creating. We have really great things under way. [...] In fact I’ve done more creative work during the last 18 months than I was permitted to do in England during the last 18 years.¹⁰

⁸ Joseph Sharples, et al., *Charles Reilly & the Liverpool School of Architecture 1904-1933* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996), p. 25.

⁹ Eunice Holliday; Holliday, John, ed., *Letters from Jerusalem 1922-1935*. (London: I.B. Tauris, 1997), *passim*.

¹⁰ Letter to Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson from Jerusalem, 10 February 1920, The Papers of Charles Robert Ashbee, King’s College Archive Centre, Cambridge, GBR/0272/CRA/1/45. Also quoted in Alan Crawford, *CR Ashbee: Architect, Designer & Romantic Socialist*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 185.

The Planners' Work: Experimental Practice in Mandate Palestine

The first steps towards the creation of a professional practice in Palestine were taken by Sir Ronald Storrs, the famous Military Governor of Palestine and Civil Governor of Jerusalem and Judea, who 'taking the seat of Pilate' (as he used to put it), began bringing in the planners. He first invited William McLean, who was at the time City Engineer of Alexandria, to survey the Old City, and then asked C.R. Ashbee to become resident Civic Adviser for Jerusalem.

Simultaneously, the government of Palestine set out the creation of a planning infrastructure, that is, to create the physical, administrative and legislative conditions that would support the planning practice. It has been mentioned that in the field of communications, railways and roads were improved and reliable postal, telegraph, and telephone services were organised. Moreover, the administration established a bureau system comprising a Public Works Department, employing a large group of architects, as can be learned from the successive Civil Service lists published.¹¹ Large privately owned planning offices such as the Architecture Department of P.L.D.C. (Palestine Land Development Company) and the HBDC (Haifa Bay Development Company) were also founded in the early 1920s.

Ashbee and Storrs together created the Pro-Jerusalem Society.¹² This was seminal to the institution of a Town Planning Commission for Jerusalem, which in turn would evolve into a Central Town Planning Commission for Palestine, and three local District Planning Commissions. During the next fifteen years, up to 1936, the CTPC would hold 131 meetings in which it discussed 1,705 items, and examined and approved no less than 758 different Town Planning Schemes for Jerusalem, Haifa, Tel Aviv and other towns,

¹¹ See, for example, Anon., *Government of Palestine Civil Service List 1933* (Alexandria: HMSO, 1933); Anon., *Government of Palestine Civil Service List 1938* (Jerusalem: Government Printing Press, 1938), in which the whole structure and personnel of the Public Work Department is presented.

¹² See next, pp. 48-64.

reaching peak activity in 1934 when 224 schemes were discussed.¹³ Moreover, a legal infrastructure was prepared. Especially significant was Ashbee's contribution in laying the foundations for local building legislation. He was the main figure behind the first local Town Planning Ordinance, approved in 1921 and published under the name of "Laws of Palestine: An Ordinance to Secure the Orderly Planning of Towns and to Control the Erection of Buildings and the Laying Out of Streets". Others followed, for instance, Holliday's "Town Planning Regulations for Palestine" of 1930. These Town Planning Ordinances remained in force long after the end of the Mandate, and were replaced only by the Building and Planning Act of 1966, which moreover was based chiefly on these previous regulations.

While this physical and administrative background was being established, intense experimental planning activity took place in three parallel fields. First, there was rural planning, which comprised the conservation of old villages and the planning of tens of new country settlements. Second, there was the planning of medium-sized cities, either of new towns such as Netanya and Herzliya on the coast and Afula on the Esdraelon valley, or the extension of old cities beyond their historical walls, as at Tiberias, Acre, Ramleh and Lod. Last, but not least, came town-planning work in the three major cities of Palestine: Jerusalem, Haifa and Tel Aviv.

The planning of Jerusalem comprised a series of successive Master Plans, the first prepared by McLean in 1918, the second by Ashbee in 1919, together with a Jerusalem Park System designed in 1920; then a joint Geddes and Ashbee plan of 1922; then master plans by Holliday in 1930 and by Kendall in 1944. These were detailed documents, combining a vision for conservation of the Old City with the creation of a modern New City. Since 1921, permits were issued for the erection of seven Garden Suburbs planned by Richard Kauffmann, the most remarkable being Talpioth (started as a proposal of

¹³ See Anon., Palestine Town Planning Adviser, *Annual Report 1936* (Jerusalem: Government Printing Press, 1937), Table 6, p. 18, reproduced here in plate G1.12 "An almost ideal sphere of action": Table summing up the Central Town Planning Commission activities, 1921-1936.

Geddes'), Zanzirie (later called Rehavia), and Boneh Bait, (now Beit Hakerem). As a result of all this, the municipal area of Jerusalem grew fourfold and its population tripled.

The Planning of Haifa and Haifa Bay had more pragmatic motives. The Colonial Office saw Haifa as a gateway to the East at the crossroads of the Empire. Strategic considerations, stemming from the need to protect the Suez Canal and the new Iraq oil pipeline, led to the decision to build a modern, deep-water seaport in Haifa. Thus planning activity in Haifa focused on three areas: Haifa Bay, Mount Carmel and Downtown Haifa.

As early as 1925 Richard Kauffmann had devised a Development Plan for Haifa Bay, illustrated with beautiful perspectives. By 1934 the project was tackled again by Abercrombie and Holliday, producing the Zebulun Valley Development Scheme. In a final modification, Patrick Abercrombie devised a new Town Planning Scheme in 1936.¹⁴ Mount Carmel was seen as particularly appropriate for residential purposes. Professor Geddes had chosen the location and set the guidelines for several Carmel Top Settlements, which would be designed in detail one year later by Kauffmann and Erich Mendelsohn¹⁵. In preparation for the construction of the new port, a large land reclamation procedure was set up. Between 1928 and 1931 Holliday and Kauffmann were busy together designing the Downtown Haifa Reclaimed Area Town Planning scheme, while a group of distinguished engineers led by Frederick Palmer planned and built Haifa Harbour. Once the port was inaugurated, in 1933, Clifford Holliday and R. P. S. Hubbard began work on their proposal for Kingsway North, the main Downtown thoroughfare. They produced an extraordinary urban design project, which entailed the erection of a mile-long building with a unified front.¹⁶

¹⁴ See next, pp. 140-158.

¹⁵ See next, pp. 127-140.

¹⁶ For details on this project, see Gilbert Herbert and Silvina Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel and the Crossroads of Empire: Architecture and Planning in Haifa during the British Mandate* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1993), pp. 123-140.

Finally, Patrick Geddes' plan for Tel Aviv was an example of comprehensive city planning guided by a social vision of the human habitat. Amongst the considerable work carried out during the period, the planning of Tel Aviv, 'the first Hebrew city built since the exile', stands out as an exceptional design. Geddes devised in 1925 a model 'city of gardens', describing his vision as "a new type of civic grouping in this respect at once more beautiful and more health giving than any previous form of community in human annals."¹⁷

Thus, British Mandate Palestine can be seen as a sort of experimental training ground that was significant in the creation and establishment of the profession in Britain. For instance, the foundation of the CPRE (the Council for the Protection of Rural England) in 1926, in which Ashbee was an active participant, followed his return to England. Likewise, Abercrombie's involvement in the Town and Country Planning Act, and his Greater London Plan of 1944 - essentially a cluster of garden cities - came after similar work on Haifa Bay. The New Towns Act of 1946, that set the basis for 33 New Towns in Great Britain, is reminiscent of the activity in Palestine up to a decade earlier. Stevenage, the first of these towns to be built in the London region, was planned by Clifford Holliday, after his experience with minor new towns in Palestine such as Netanya.

The case studies and the rationale behind their selection

Attention will focus next on a group of significant projects planned in Palestine during the British Mandate, which have been either forgotten or overlooked by historians; they have been selected here for examination because of intrinsic quality and relevance that supersedes local interest.

¹⁷ Patrick Geddes, "Town Planning Report – Jaffa and Tel Aviv (1925)", unpublished typescript, 62 pages, Tel Aviv-Jaffa City History Museum Archives, p. 43.

This group is formed by fourteen carefully selected case studies, and while each case is significant on its own merits, they were chosen with the intention of reflecting, as a group, the whole Mandate period. They start from the first months of the Military Administration – as with the first case, which studies the Pro-Jerusalem Society - and cover the Mandate period right to the end of its 'creative' part, brought to an end by the Disturbances in the late 1930s. This is marked by the last case, the Rockefeller Antiquities Museum built in front of the walls of the Old City.

Thus, geographically the path they trace is circular, as it begins and ends with case studies in Jerusalem. This reflects the central role of this city during the period under study. The case studies, however, represent all the different categories that were presented above: rural planning and planning of medium-sized towns as well as architectural work in the major cities.

Regarding the scale of the projects, the case studies were selected explicitly to reflect the wide scope exercised by the architectural profession in that period, when it was usual that the same person could at the same time plan an entire region and design a building, or lay out a city and design a set of chairs.

Architecturally, the case studies have been selected to reflect the different trends of thought and practice that co-existed during the period, from Oriental Eclecticism to avant-garde Modernism, from the rehabilitation of historic buildings to regional, town and rural planning according to Garden City tenets, encompassing architectural design, furniture design and interior decoration.

In addition, these case studies involve the foremost professionals of the time. Architects and planners such as Ashbee, Geddes, Chaikin, Kauffmann, Mendelsohn, Sharon, Abercrombie, Holliday, Krakauer and Austen St. Barbe Harrison are presented alongside their projects within the context of their own training, past experience and future works. For each one of them a list of local works has been assembled and is presented as an Appendix. Furthermore, the projects show the close – personal and professional – interaction that

existed between these persons, despite the divergence of opinions in their individual practices.

The case studies are presented chronologically in relation to their physical location. The first three case studies are located in Jerusalem during the beginning of the Military Administration and the establishment of the Mandate, and they present different aspects of Ashbee's work in Palestine. The fourth case study introduces Geddes and the Hebrew University project. The following two cases take the narrative westward to the Mediterranean coast and the new city of Tel Aviv. While the first case continues with Geddes' work in Palestine by studying his exceptional plan for the enlargement of the city, the second explains how the Modern Movement triumphed in this new town as a result of the impact of the international Levant Fairs. The two subsequent cases move the story to the north of Palestine and focus on Haifa, the small town that British strategies would transform into a modern industrial deep-water port city. The first study investigates a project by Mendelsohn on Mount Carmel sponsored by Bauhaus patron Adolf Sommerfeld, while the second one traces the development of Haifa Bay and Abercrombie's contribution to it. After that, moving inland from the Haifa coast, the next four case studies present the extraordinary effort of the pioneering settlement of the Esdraelon valley. This is presented from three different standpoints, each focusing in a different form of settlement (co-operative, urban and communal). The world-famous village of Nahalal is considered first; followed by the ill-fated master plan for Afula, the town intended to become the 'central city' of this new region; then the proposal to build a phalanstery for Kibbutz Beit Alfa is discussed and, returning to Nahalal at the end of the 1920s, its lesser known and pioneering House of the People is examined. Finally, two case studies take the narrative back to Jerusalem, but this time during the late 1930s. They show two very different architectural masterpieces: Mendelsohn's Schocken Library and Austen St Barbe Harrison's Rockefeller Museum.

The compound narrative these case studies form together is structured so that whilst each case tells a story significant in its own right, these fragments connect and overlap with each other, beginning to form the warp and woof

threads of a new narrative for the architecture of the period. Having started in 1919 with a utopian disposition and great expectations of opening a new chapter in the history of the Holy Land, the case studies end in 1938 with the disintegration of the earlier ideal fabric, in a melancholic note of sad disenchantment preceding the withdrawal of British authorities from Palestine. As the image retrieved by these case studies is complex and pluralist, Part Two concludes with an attempt to understand the reasons behind the somewhat disparate new picture formed by this new evidence.

1918-26, Jerusalem:

***“Walk about Sion and go round about the towers”*: The Pro-Jerusalem Society¹⁸**

The Pro-Jerusalem Society was a voluntary association that functioned during the first years of British administration, with the purpose of preserving the past, improving the present and planning the future of the city. In all these fields, its work was ground-breaking and initiatory. The Pro-Jerusalem Society succeeded in uniting under its banner a highly motivated group of the foremost citizens representing all Jerusalem communities, who discussed, decided and put into effect an impressive list of undertakings. The Society, that was financially independent, played a pioneering role in the fields of town planning, urban design and the conservation and restoration of historic buildings.¹⁹

¹⁸ See illustrations to this case study, plates under the heading 2.1. I have kept here the unusual spelling of Zion with an ‘S’ adopted by Storrs and Ashbee.

¹⁹ Main publications on the Pro-Jerusalem Society activities are: Quarterly Bulletins of the Society, especially March 1922; CR Ashbee, ed., *Jerusalem 1918-1920: Being the Records of the Pro-Jerusalem Council during the period of the British Military Administration* (London: John Murray, 1921), henceforth referred to as ‘the first *Records*’; CR Ashbee, ed. for the Council of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, *Jerusalem 1920-1922: Being the Records of the Pro-Jerusalem Council during the First Two Years of the Civil Administration* (London: John Murray, 1924) henceforth referred to as ‘the second *Records*’; Ronald Storrs, *Orientalisms* (London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson, 1937). Other main sources of information are: CR Ashbee, “Conservation and Town Planning in the City of Jerusalem”, unpublished typescript c. 1925, 8 pp., in the Jerusalem Collection, Box 1 Portfolio1: “Reports”, and C. R. Ashbee’s “Jerusalem Collection” in general. The *Jerusalem Collection* is an unpublished, classified assemblage in six volumes edited by CR Ashbee in his old age of all the research and planning material he

The founders of the Society and the living spirit of it were two idealists: Storrs and Ashbee. Lieutenant-Colonel (later Sir) Ronald Storrs (1881-1955) was a promising diplomat, a classical scholar educated at Charterhouse and Pembroke College, Cambridge. Being an accomplished linguist, he was fluent in Arabic and Hebrew. Storrs had served in Egypt at several branches of the administration to become Oriental Secretary to the British Agency there, and then was appointed to several missions during the War (Baghdad and Mesopotamia, Anglo-French *liaison*). At the age of thirty-six he was made Military Governor of Jerusalem (1917-20), then Civil Governor of Jerusalem and Judea (1920-26). He would leave Palestine only in 1927, to become Governor of Cyprus up to 1932, then Governor of Northern Rhodesia until his retirement in 1934. Storrs would be the President of the Pro-Jerusalem Society throughout its entire existence.²⁰

CR Ashbee (1863-1942), Civic Adviser to the City of Jerusalem and principal officer of the Society, had read History at King's College, Cambridge, being later articled to G. F. Bodley and becoming an architect and town planner. He had created the Guild of Handicraft and the Essex House Press in Whitechapel and later transferred them to Chipping Campden in the Cotswolds. Following a distinguished professional career, he was a well-known British architect, designer and educator. Two years into the Great War, he came out to Egypt to teach English at the Khedivial University of Cairo. Edward Keith Roach, a mutual friend and colleague, recounts that the contact between Ashbee and Storrs occurred:

When Storrs had come to Jerusalem in 1918, [and] on the strength of having heard Ashbee lecture at Charterhouse

collected and developed during his Jerusalem years. Currently in private hands and so virtually unknown, the collection contains hundreds of original drawings, plans and watercolour perspectives, as well as photographs, all annotated by his own hand.

²⁰ The best source on Storrs is his brilliant autobiography *Orientalisms* (1937), published in London by Ivor Nicholson & Watson with such success that they printed four editions in the same year. It remains probably the best personal record written during the Mandate.

School 20 years before, he offered him the post of civic adviser.²¹

Hence, as early as 1918, with the Great War still being fought, Ashbee became City Adviser at the invitation of the Military Governor of Jerusalem, Col. Ronald Storrs. As Storrs recalled:

Hearing of the presence in Egypt of the architect Mr. C.R. Ashbee, a friend and disciple of William Morris, a member of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, and of the National Trust, and well known for his skill and enthusiasm for civic development with its kindred Arts and Crafts, I wrote to him requesting him to visit Jerusalem and write a report on its possibilities in this respect. That report is the germ of many undertakings which have since been carried out.²²

Ashbee immediately became City Adviser of Jerusalem. At the age of fifty-five he moved to Palestine, bringing over his family with him; he would live and work intensively in Jerusalem for four years, after which they returned to England. In addition, Ashbee served as Honorary Secretary of Pro-Jerusalem up to his departure in 1922. In fact, as he failed to obtain an official appointment from the Colonial Office, it was through the Pro-Jerusalem Society that he received his salary during his years in Palestine.²³

Jerusalem is traditionally 'the City of David'. Ashbee and Storrs, the cornerstones of the Society, shared a special love for the book of Psalms. Ashbee cherished David, king and poet, frequently calling Jerusalem 'the city

²¹ Edward Keith-Roach; Paul Eedle, ed., *Pasha of Jerusalem: Memoirs of a District Commissioner under the British Mandate* (London and New York: The Radcliffe Press, 1994), p. 55. Keith-Roach (1885-1954) was Civil Governor of Jerusalem District 1920-1943.

²² Ronald Storrs, "Preface" in Ashbee, the first *Records*, 1921, p. vi. The report he refers to is C. R. Ashbee, "Report on the Arts and Crafts of Jerusalem and District", an unpublished bound typescript, August 1918, 120 pages, in the Jerusalem Collection, Box1, Portfolio 1: "Reports".

²³ For further information on Ashbee, the standard biography is Alan Crawford's *CR Ashbee: Architect, Designer & Romantic Socialist*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985). Crawford dedicates a whole chapter to the years of Ashbee in Palestine. (Chapter Seven: "Jerusalem 1919-1922", pp. 173-193). For a chronological list of Ashbee's works in Palestine, see Appendix 3.2.

of the Singer’;²⁴ Storrs for his part, knowing the Psalms ‘almost by heart’, recalled in his autobiography that:

The Psalms of David and a cloud of unseen witnesses seemed to inspire our work. “Build ye the walls of Jerusalem”. We put back the fallen stones, the finials, the pinnacles and the battlements, and we restored and freed from numberless encroachments the medieval Ramparts, so that it was possible to “Walk about Zion and go round about her: and tell the towers thereof: mark well her bulwarks, set up her houses.”²⁵

The Society’s motto was therefore appropriately taken from Psalms 48: 13-14:

“Walk about Sion and go round about the towers thereof; mark well her bulwarks, set up her houses that ye may tell them that come after.”

These well-known verses acquired a different meaning - an urgent earnestness - when read in Jerusalem. The abundance of references to urban and architectural concepts present in the text (city, walls, building, walking,

²⁴ This admiration of Ashbee for King David was expressed frequently and in numerous ways. Here are some significant instances of it:

As early as 1894 Ashbee finished his address to the South Essex Teachers’ Association, entitled “The Higher Aspects of Technical Education and the Elementary Teacher”, with the following paragraph: “It occurred to me, as I was pondering these things for you, how the *old Psalmist* hit off that moral and human element in the modern movement: when he expressed, unconsciously, his own educational ideal: “*That their sons may grow up as the young plants, and that their daughters may be as the polished corners of the Temple*” (published by Essex Press, as part of his own anthology *A Few Chapters in Workshop Reconstruction and Citizenship*).

In 1903 Ashbee designed a lavish edition of the Book of Common Prayer, which included the Book of Psalms. This was *The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, & Other Rites & Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of England; Together with the Psalter or Psalms of David* [Prayer Book of Edward VII]. It was first published in London by Royal Warrant at the Essex House Press, in an edition of 400 copies but was also reprinted in New York a year later by M. Walter Dunne. Because of the beautiful type and designs by Ashbee it has become a collector’s book.

Rosemary Voaden, present owner of the Norman Chapel, Ashbee’s home in Chipping Campden, owns an Essex Press Complete Copy of ‘The Common Psalter’ given as a gift by Ashbee to Mr. H. C. Luke, the Assistant Governor of Jerusalem, on Christmas Eve 1921. In his dedication Ashbee wrote: ‘in token of many congenial hours spent together in the City of the Great Singer.’

Ashbee’s biographer, Alan Crawford, tells of his obsession of having a male son - he had four daughters - and giving him the biblical king’s name. ‘Let it be David’ he hoped before every birth. Ashbee’s fondness for David might also have stemmed from his own identification with the implicit bisexuality of the King, whose love for Jonathan ‘was wonderful, passing the love of women’.

²⁵ Ronald Storrs, *Orientations*, p. 366.

streets, and so on) had the capacity to transform biblical verses into planning programmes, poetic prophecies into practical directives. This also contributed to the Romantic confusion of times, feeling many layers of time coexisting in the present. It also granted a sense of fusion, a blending of the temporal and the spiritual worlds. The verses seemed to describe the agonies of the Great War and to point towards the line of action needed, the reconstruction and reforestation of the City of God:

“For I have seen violence and strife in the city. Day and night they go about it upon the walls thereof: mischief and sorrow are in the midst of it”.²⁶

“Wilt not thou deliver my feet from falling, that I may walk before God in the light of the living?”²⁷

“Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion: build thou the walls of Jerusalem.”²⁸

“But I am like a green olive tree in the house of God.”²⁹

In due time, when the Pro-Jerusalem Society fixed the names of streets in the city, they kept and ratified the name of “David Street” – the name in use at least since Byzantine times - for the main street of the Old City. Actually, this was the *decumanus*, the main East-West thoroughfare of Roman ‘Aelia Capitolina’ - as Jerusalem was renamed after its destruction in 70 AC - running from Jaffa Gate to the Temple Mount. The axis exists to this day, and its name remains “David Street”.³⁰

One interesting feature of the Pro-Jerusalem Society (or ‘Pro-Jerusalem’ in short, as it rapidly became known), was its emblem, designed by Ashbee. It

²⁶ Psalms, 55:9-10.

²⁷ Psalms, 56:13.

²⁸ Psalms, 51:18.

²⁹ Psalms, 52:8.

³⁰ The Pro-Jerusalem Society undertook the task of giving names to all the streets of Jerusalem, and for that purpose a special sub-committee was formed. Ashbee wrote that “the list is so full of history, poetry and folk-lore that it is well worth careful study”. See “The Naming of the Streets”, in the second *Records*, CR Ashbee, ed., *Jerusalem 1920-1922*, pp. 26-28.

consisted of a circular design combining the Star of David with the Jerusalem Cross set up in its centre, and a crescent on the margins. The logo symbolized the union of the three monotheist religions that regard Jerusalem as Holy.³¹ The Society's motto was inscribed above and below the emblem, with Ashbee's nuance of a little stop set in the middle of the space between any two words, the same device as he used in his own C · R · A · monogram. Ashbee enjoyed creating insignias and banners, and saw in them much more than mere graphic symbols. For him they were devices for cementing society together. In one of his lectures he had exhorted designers to use them in this way:

We should regard decorative Art as a new heraldry; let our pupils, our workshops, and our communities, have badges, devices, trade marks of their own. For there are great principles involved in the emblematic treatment of decorative Art. [...] It implies a soul within, which may have prompted its creation, and implies community of action, because it can exist only when men are banded together for some common purpose.³²

The timing of the foundation of Pro-Jerusalem was admirable. While the Great War was still unresolved and fighting continued, the Military Administration found the time and resources needed to foster such a typically peace-time enterprise: the conservation and amelioration of the Holy City. The purpose of the Society, as defined in its charter, was "the preservation and advancement of the interests of Jerusalem, its district and its inhabitants". To that general statement, seven specific points were added:

1. The protection of and the addition to the amenities of Jerusalem.
2. The provision and maintenance of parks, gardens and open spaces in Jerusalem and its district.
3. The establishment in the district of Jerusalem of Museums, Libraries, Art Galleries, Exhibitions, Musical and Dramatic

³¹ See illustration in plate 2.1.1.

³² Excerpt from "Decorative Art from a Workshop point of View", published in Ashbee, *A Few Chapters in Workshop Reconstruction and Citizenship* (New York: Garland, 1978, first published in London by the Essex House Press, 1894), p. 44.

Centres, or other institutions of a similar nature for the benefit of the Public.

4. The protection and preservation with the consent of the Government, of the Antiquities in the district of Jerusalem.

5. The encouragement in the district of Jerusalem of arts, handicrafts and industries in consonance with the general objects of the Society.

6. The Administration of any immovable property in the district of Jerusalem which is acquired by the Society or entrusted to it by any person or corporation with a view to securing the improvement of the property and the welfare of its tenants or occupants.

7. To cooperate with the Department of Education, Agriculture, Public Health, Public Works, so far as may be in harmony with the general objects of the Society.³³

In 1937 Storrs considered Aims 1, 2, and 5 - in other words, amenities, parks, and the promotion of local arts and crafts - to have been the most important; these are indeed the only ones that he mentions in his memoirs, adding later, 'and certain other cultural activities'. The avowed aims of Pro-Jerusalem were noble indeed: "it implied the solidarity of the inhabitants in the upkeep and the ennoblement of the City".³⁴ Yet, as Storrs explained, there was another and even greater idea, which was the creation of a platform for discussion and action shared by all the City's communities:

[The Pro-Jerusalem Society] ... provided a good example of what can be done by a few intelligent representatives of communities when not subjected to the third-degree methods of local politics and publicity.³⁵

The Holy City before other things has been in need of unity. It wanted some round table, about which all races and religions would meet in conference, forget for the moment themselves and their little disputes, and think only of the Holy City and what it should mean to man-kind.³⁶

³³ Pro-Jerusalem Society, *Quarterly Bulletin*, March 1922.

³⁴ C.R. Ashbee, "Conservation and Town Planning in the City of Jerusalem", Jerusalem Collection, Box 1, Portfolio 1: "Reports", p. 8.

³⁵ Ronald Storrs, *Orientalisms*, p. 577.

³⁶ Sir Ronald Storrs, "The Pro-Jerusalem Society", unpublished, undated typescript, c. 1920, in Sir Ronald Storrs Papers at Pembroke College Library, Cambridge, Box No.III/2: 1920/1, p. 1.

Thus, the overall goal of harmonious tolerance and cooperation between communities remained the original motive: to bring about a new unity in the City, even if it entailed personal risk:

Perhaps for historical parallel of this unity in the Holy City we must go back to the age of St. Francis when the Emperor and the Sultan agreed that for a brief period Jerusalem and its sacred places should be the common possession of all, for this premonition of the Pro-Jerusalem Society the Emperor Frederick II was duly excommunicated and the Sultan El Kamel nearly lost his throne. But they persevered.³⁷

Nevertheless, the fourth aim of Pro-Jerusalem, namely 'the protection and preservation ... of the Antiquities in the district of Jerusalem', represented the first modern conservationist efforts in Palestine. It is in this respect that Pro-Jerusalem should be seen as a direct continuation of the activities of the London Survey Committee that Ashbee had promoted in the 1890s. The precedent of the London Survey set the agenda and provided background experience for the Pro-Jerusalem Society.

Back in 1894 Ashbee had formed the Committee for the Memorials of Greater London, with about a dozen active members.³⁸ Through this committee Ashbee had advanced the ideas of creating a register of important buildings, organizing campaigns to prevent their demolition, noting buildings in danger and writing monographs on special ones, all of them endeavours previously untried in Britain. This rich earlier experience was put to use with the establishment of the Pro-Jerusalem Society. As a member of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), Ashbee was painfully aware of the threat modern development presented to old buildings. It is important to note that the voluntary public work for conservation in London had already brought

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ This institution is known since 1914 as the London Survey Committee. For the history of the Survey of London and Ashbee's part in it, see the centenary publication by Hermione Hobhouse, *London Survey'd: The work of the Survey of London 1894-1994* (Swindon: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, 1994).

together Ashbee and Patrick Geddes, in the episode of Crosby Place, a fifteenth-century merchants' hall on the east side of Bishopgate.³⁹ The two friends met again in Jerusalem, to work on a similar crusade.

The love and care he had shown in London was nothing but enhanced in the Holy City, where he found himself officially responsible for the destiny of its architectural heritage. Describing the Old City walls he considered them to be "the largest, and perhaps the most perfect, medieval enceinte in existence. Carcassonne, Chester, Nuremberg are parallel cases, but none of them comes up to Jerusalem in romantic beauty and grandeur."⁴⁰

It is in this light that several aspects of Ashbee's work as civic adviser should be seen, and his methods understood. The London Survey's precedent explains, for instance, Ashbee's concern for the damage done by a most severe winter storm in 1920, as documented by one entire portfolio of his Jerusalem Collection.⁴¹ His previous experience made the restoration and rehabilitation of the markets in the Old City feasible; also in Jerusalem Ashbee made the use of photographic documentation as an instrument of study standard procedure.

Under Storrs and Ashbee, the Society sustained a liberal attitude regarding applications for membership. In accordance with its Charter, anyone could become a member of the Pro-Jerusalem Society on payment of an annual subscription of not less than five pounds or a donation of not less than 25 pounds. Nevertheless, the Board of Members' list flaunted the leading men of

³⁹ Crosby Place was significant to both of them as Utopians, because, in addition to its architectural value, Crosby Place had counted Sir Thomas More among its residents. Ashbee and Geddes had collaborated and after a public campaign succeeded in bringing about its re-erection as Crosby Hall on the Chelsea Embankment in 1907-10. For further details on the campaign, see Andrew Saint, "Ashbee, Geddes, Lethaby and the Rebuilding of Crosby Hall", *Architectural History*, 34 (1991), pp. 206-225.

⁴⁰ Quoted by Alan Crawford in *CR Ashbee: Architect, Designer & Romantic Socialist*, p. 182.

⁴¹ Jerusalem Collection, Box 1, Portfolio 6: "Blizzard of 1920".

all communities in town.⁴² In matters of funding, the budget of Pro-Jerusalem was raised mainly by donations, both from individuals and from institutions that recognised the importance of the cause.⁴³ Storrs himself raised funds abroad, through lectures he gave on the subject. He recalled that he “had become, I am happy to believe, a convincing and successful *Schnorrer* (Yiddish for a professional beggar)”.⁴⁴

⁴² Board of Members of the Pro-Jerusalem Society (transcription of the list published in the Society’s Bulletins)

Hon. President: The Rt. Hon. Sir Herbert Samuel, High Commissioner of Palestine
President: Ronald Storrs C.M.G., C.B.E., District Governor of Jerusalem

Council:

Hon Secretary: C.R. Ashbee, Civic Advisor to the City of Jerusalem

Hon. Member: The Rt Hon. Viscount Milner K.C.B.

Members:

The Major of Jerusalem

The Director of Antiquities

His Eminence the Grand Mufti

His Reverence the President of the Franciscan Community, the Custodian of the Holy Land

His Reverence the President of the Dominican Community

His Beatitude the Greek Patriarch

His Beatitude the Armenian Patriarch

The President of the Jewish Community

The Chairman of the Zionist Commission

Le Rev. Pere Abel, Ecole Biblique de St. Etienne

Le Capitaine Barluzzi

M. Ben Yahuda

Cap. K.A.C. Creswell M.B.E., Inspector of Monuments G.S., O.E.T.

Prof. Patrick Geddes

R.A. Harari

Musa Kazem Pasha El Husseini, Ex Major of Jerusalem

Capt. Mackay, Inspector of Monuments, G.S., O.E.T.

Mr. Meyuhas

Mr. Lazarus Paul, acting representative of the Armenian Patriarch

Col. L. Popham

Mr. E.T. Richmond [British architect in charge of restoration on the Temple Mount]

Mr. D.G. Salame, Ex vice Major of Jerusalem

Dr. Nahum Slousch

Mr. Jacob Spafford [member of the American Colony]

Col. Waters Taylor, C.B.E.

Le Rev. Pere Vincent, Ecole Biblique de St. Etienne [Dominicain father]

Mr. John Whiting, Hon. Treasurer [member of the American Colony]

Mr. David Yellin, Vice Major of Jerusalem.

⁴³ David Kroyanker, *The Period of the British Mandate 1918-1948: Jerusalem Architecture – Periods and Styles* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1991), p. 32. [Hebrew edition].

⁴⁴ Storrs, *Orientalisms*, p. 365, and note.

According to its publications, the Pro-Jerusalem Society succeeded in raising five thousand pounds during the first two years of its activity, in addition to administration grants. Ashbee published a list of donors in the *Quarterly Bulletin* of 1920. Among many others, we find there that Professor Patrick Geddes contributed three pounds in 1919, and a further three on 1920. The most generous private contributor at that time was the banker Chaim Valero, with 100 pounds.

Apart from contributing to the Society, the more active members were a group of intelligent, extremely well educated people who respected each other's academic merits. Amongst them were Captain K. A. C. Creswell, Eliezer ben Yehuda, Major Ernest Richmond, John Garstang and George Antonius.⁴⁵ Then, with the instauration of a Civil Administration and the arrival of Herbert Samuel as first High Commissioner for Palestine, the Pro-Jerusalem Society won a notable paladin. Storrs delighted in this new associate: "He [Samuel] sympathised actively with much that meant a great deal to me and for which, before his arrival, I had fought hard".⁴⁶ Among other things, this also meant further financial support for the Society, because "Sir Herbert, who attached as much importance as anybody to the preservation of historic beauty, and always supported Pro-Jerusalem, arranged for a Pound for Pound grant up to two thousand pounds annually on all I collected."⁴⁷ Consequently the Society bestowed on Samuel the title of Honorary President.

Having a remarkably polyglot constituency, the issue of language at the Society's council was no small matter: looking for a common *lingua franca* it

⁴⁵ George Antonius was Assistant Director of Education during H.C. Samuel's administration. He was a Lebanese Christian and Cambridge graduate: "He was easily the most brilliant Arab in Palestine, and together with his wife Katy Nimr, developed a salon" (Samuel, E., *A lifetime in Jerusalem*, p. 92). Captain (later Professor) K. A. C. Creswell was a pioneer scholar of Islamic Architecture, of future international fame. Eliezer Ben Yehuda was an eminent linguist, the father of Modern Hebrew. The archaeologist John Garstang was the Director of Antiquities and founder of the British School of Archaeology at Jerusalem; Major Ernest T. Richmond was Architect in Charge of the restoration of the Dome of the Rock.

⁴⁶ Storrs, *Orientalism* (1937), p. 460.

⁴⁷ Storrs, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

was decided to proceed with the Council meetings in French, which became the 'most convenient' (common) official language. It was thus in French that the minutes were kept,⁴⁸ "but animated asides - sometimes almost broadsides - were discharged in Arabic, Turkish, Hebrew, and even Armenian".⁴⁹ Ashbee would customarily prepare the background material needed for the debates. This was produced in "regular picture notes, on uniform sheets, with sketches or photographs made especially by the Civic Adviser, to be passed round by hand at the Pro-Jerusalem Council Meetings, when the aesthetic questions were discussed".⁵⁰

The undertakings of Pro-Jerusalem Society, planned by Ashbee, were manifold. They included the preparation of a Master Plan for the City, the planning of a Park System, the careful restoration of the Old City walls and its gates and the opening up of a public rampart walk, so creating a new promenade, an opportunity to stroll and enjoy the sight of the city from the height of its medieval walls. The Society was also busy naming streets and numbering houses, and taking care of old markets while planning new ones. The Society supervised the development of the New City outside the walls, endorsing and revising the erection of new Garden Suburbs. Pro-Jerusalem also built Abu Lihia, the first specifically planned children's playground in Palestine. Yet it is probably for its efforts to foster the arts and crafts that Pro-Jerusalem is best remembered: Armenian ceramics, Hebron glass and the Jerusalem looms are all products of the Society's sponsorship. Some particularly interesting projects of the Pro-Jerusalem Society - the interior design of Government House and the rehabilitation of the Old Cotton Market - will be dealt later in detail.

⁴⁸ Sir Ronald Storrs, "The Pro-Jerusalem Society", unpublished typescript c. 1920, p. 1; Storrs, *Orientalisms* (1937), p. 364; also Crawford, *CR Ashbee: Architect, Designer & Romantic Socialist*, p. 179.

⁴⁹ Storrs, *Orientalisms* (1937), p. 364.

⁵⁰ Quoted from a typescript by Ashbee entitled "Mr. CR Ashbee's Jerusalem Collection - Statement and Index", Jerusalem Collection, Box 6: Index Portfolio. These 'picture notes', when assembled together would become the basis of the 'Jerusalem Collection' he put together in the 1930s.

One of the main effects of the Society's activities was to create the institutional space for an official planning council, thus "the Town Planning Commission [...] may then be justly claimed as the child of the Pro-Jerusalem Society."⁵¹ With its creation, Ashbee was nominated Secretary of the Jerusalem Planning Commission, in addition to his post as Secretary of Pro-Jerusalem.⁵²

The active period of the Society was not long. Pro-Jerusalem was convened (de facto) in the spring of 1918 and functioned officially from September 1918 to November 1926, a total of eight and a half years. The Pro-Jerusalem Society became incorporated in October 1920, under the Palestine Administration. Its most active period, 1918-1922, seems to coincide with the years of Ashbee's residence in Palestine. Following Ashbee's departure the bright young architect A. Clifford Holliday took over and served as Hon. Secretary until the dissolution of Pro-Jerusalem.⁵³ Despite all its achievements, by 1926 the enthusiasm of the members apparently diminished. Since Ashbee's abrupt return to Britain in 1922 the number and scale of the projects had decreased. The end of the Society was near, as Ashbee and Storrs, its founders, could not agree with each other anymore.

Looking on from England in the years after his return, Ashbee observed the wearing down of public interest in the Society. At the end of a talk he gave on 'the work of the Pro-Jerusalem Society during the time when I was acting as Civil Advisor to the Holy City' he wistfully commented that "at present they are more concerned with the somewhat barren and factitious political issues of the moment, whether the Jew, the Arab, or the Christian shall predominate rather

⁵¹ Ashbee, the second *Records*, (1924), p. 16.

⁵² Kroyanker, *Jerusalem Architecture: The Period of the British Mandate*, (1991) p. 32.

⁵³ The architect A.C. Holliday was the Civic Adviser for Jerusalem appointed after Ashbee's return to England. Holliday (1897-1960) arrived from Liverpool at the age of twenty-five, recommended to Storrs by Patrick Abercrombie, and was to develop a most successful practice in Palestine. For a detailed list of works of AC Holliday, see chart in Appendix 3.6.

than with the archaeology, the history, or the beauty of the City which all should equally enjoy."⁵⁴

Worse was to come. C.R. Ashbee's Jerusalem Collection opens with a small unidentified newspaper clipping, pasted into the centre of the first page of Portfolio 1 ("Reports"), within Box 1. It seems intended to serve as a frontispiece to the whole collection, yet it conveys a mute reproach as well:

Sir Ronald Storrs, outgoing District Commissioner who is about to leave Palestine in order to ... [stain on paper] the Governorship of Cyprus, has announced the dissolution of the Pro-Jerusalem Society which he founded eight years ago. He also pays a tribute to the Civic Adviser, Mr. A. C. Holliday whose conspicuous ability is largely responsible for the maintenance of what is good, the prevention of what could be ugly, and the general amelioration of the amenities of Jerusalem.⁵⁵

However, during its eight years of life, and in a steadily worsening political situation, the Pro-Jerusalem Society remained Storrs' most cherished venture. The end of the Society figures amply in Storrs' memoirs, where it is recounted from his own point of view:

In the summer of 1926 I was offered and accepted the Governorship of Cyprus. ... I had always dreaded the day when I should leave Jerusalem, but the reality was sharper than I ever dreamed. I realized with a pang that I must wind up Pro-Jerusalem.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ C.R. Ashbee, "Conservation and Town Planning in the City of Jerusalem", unpublished, undated typescript (c. 1925), Jerusalem Collection, Box 1, Portfolio 1: "Reports", p. 8.

⁵⁵ Note the lack of any mention in the press of Ashbee's highly significant role. There is no logical cause for this document to appear at the start of the Jerusalem Collection. But this may be understood by taking into consideration that Storrs was the agent who brought Ashbee to Palestine in 1918. For several years, their friendship had been very close. At Ashbee's departure the relationship soured, and Storrs later failed to give Ashbee the credit due to him for his work whenever he mentioned the activities of the Society.

⁵⁶ Storrs, *Orientalisms*, p. 514.

Then, in one long paragraph he sums up the Society's work, and here his pride is evident:

Under Clifford Holliday who succeeded Ashbee in 1922, we had completed the restoration of the City Walls, Ramparts, and Citadel; repaired the Damascus Gate, Herod's Gate, and the Zion Gate; and removed the offence of the Turkish "Jubilee" Clock Tower from the Jaffa Gate. Under the provisions of a Town Planning Ordinance, developing and legalizing my first arbitrary Proclamations, we had maintained the architectural style of the Old City by preserving flat roofs, vaults, domes, street arches, abutments and buttresses, and by prohibiting asbestos sheets, Marseilles tiles, and corrugated iron. We had placed the ceramic industry in a sound financial footing, organized six more art exhibitions, and published a portfolio of architectural photogravures (with letterpress in English, Arabic and Hebrew) and the first practical modern map of Jerusalem. We had made a Civic Survey of the City and surrounding district, and enacted a definitive town-planning scheme for the Old and the New Cities; comprising the conservation of historic monuments, new roads, zones for industries, shops and housing, and the establishment of a green belt round the City and the natural reservation of the valleys of Hinnom and of Jehosaphat and the Mount of Olives.⁵⁷

But funding problems on the one hand and a due transition from voluntary participation to governmental action on the other had taken their toll: "Meanwhile the Departments concerned had grown in scope as well as efficiency; whilst subscriptions to Pro-Jerusalem steadily decreased." Finally, he closes in a regretful mood:

Pro-Jerusalem had always been a personal, perhaps a too personal, Society. In the absence of any clear perspective

... it seemed a greater grief

To watch it wither, leaf by leaf

Than swiftly pass away...⁵⁸

⁵⁷ *Orientalisms*, pp. 514-515.

⁵⁸ *Orientalisms*, p. 515. The real reason for this closure is not entirely clear. One wonders why the Society could not have continued after Storrs' departure and the doubt arises as to whether he did not intend to ensure that posterity would remember him alone, and that this also played a part in his decision.

Keith Roach, the District Commissioner, also mourned the disappearance of Pro-Jerusalem, obliquely blaming Whitehall for it:

Ashbee had a fertile imagination and his plans for both Old and New Jerusalem were magnificent. Had they been carried out they would have made Britain as worthy of her charge as Italy has been of the Island of Rhodes. Alas, they would have cost more than a year's total revenue for the whole of Palestine.⁵⁹

Considering the Society from a present day perspective its significance is indisputable. It should be noted here that, its deeds and achievements notwithstanding, the Pro-Jerusalem Society has been ignored by contemporary architectural history research in Israel. The single exception to this would be David Kroyanker's book on Mandate Jerusalem where he dedicated three pages to the "Activities of the Pro-Jerusalem Society and their importance," and a score of further mentions in the text. Nevertheless, the Society is incorrectly presented there, as an institution that continued to exist throughout the entire British Mandate period.⁶⁰

With the passing of time, the work of the Society has gradually become the sole interest of general historians or urban geographers, and has disappeared from the awareness of architects. History students majoring in Eretz-Israel studies without fail will hear about Pro-Jerusalem, but architecture students never do.⁶¹

However, the most significant achievement of the Society certainly was of a wider human scope: multi-cultural teamwork. This was rightly expressed in Sir Ronald's obituary in the British press:

⁵⁹ Keith-Roach, *Pasha of Jerusalem*, p. 55.

⁶⁰ Kroyanker, *Jerusalem Architecture: The Period of the British Mandate*, pp. 32-34.

⁶¹ For history-oriented new research on Pro-Jerusalem, see Ely Schiler, "The Pro-Jerusalem Society and its contribution to the conservation and rehabilitation of the Old City", in *Kardom* 23 (July 1982) [Hebrew]; Shahar Shapira, "Restoration and Preservation in the Mandate period – 60 years to the Pro-Jerusalem Society", in Ora Ahimeir, ed., *Conservation in Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Research Institute, 1979) [Hebrew].

Storrs, therefore, promoted musical societies, chess clubs, art exhibitions, and above all the Pro-Jerusalem Society, which, alone of the institutions of the Holy Land, created a common centre for the leaders of its varied and contending communities.⁶²

Among all the well-meant efforts of the British administration to introduce joint good-will and co-operation amongst the different communities, Pro-Jerusalem was the only British-Arab-Jewish institution that was truly successful, and its example is enlightening.

1919, Jerusalem:

*"One of the most splendid of the vaulted streets of the East": Ashbee's Reconstruction and Rehabilitation of the Cotton Market in the Old City*⁶³

The Old Cotton Market's restoration and rehabilitation in 1919 was undertaken with the intention of transforming a Mamluk architecture masterpiece into an Arts and Crafts school. This is apparently the first of about fifteen different architectural works built or planned by Ashbee in Jerusalem.⁶⁴ In order to understand the significance of this particular project, one must start by describing the historic building.⁶⁵

⁶² *The Observer*, 2 November, 1955.

⁶³ See illustrations to this case study, plates under the heading 2.2.

⁶⁴ For a complete chronological reconstruction of Ashbee's work in Palestine, see Appendix 3.2. The table brings together all the projects built and/or planned by Ashbee between 1918 and 1922, including town planning, urban landscape design, restoration and rehabilitation of historic buildings, architectural design and interior and furniture design. All these were located in Jerusalem and its immediate environs.

⁶⁵ Main sources used for the history of the Suk al Kattanin (all Hebrew editions) are: Chaim Rubinstein, ed., *Israel Guide*, vol.10, "Jerusalem" (Jerusalem: Keter and Ministry of Defence Publishing House, 1980), pp. 47, 64, 70, 198; David Kroyanker, *Jerusalem: A Guide to Neighborhoods and Buildings - An Architectural View* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1996), pp. 24-28; Bahat, Dan, *Great Historic Atlas of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2000), pp. 102-111.

Suk al Kattanin is the original Arabic name for the Old Cotton Market (literally, 'cotton-merchants' market', or in Hebrew, Shuk Mochrei HaCutna).⁶⁶ The Cotton Merchants' Market is one of the largest structures built by the Mamluk in Jerusalem. It reflects the process of Islamicisation of the city that had begun since the fall of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Mamluk rulers enhanced the importance of Jerusalem as a Muslim religious centre, and the city was accordingly prepared for the absorption of large numbers of Muslim pilgrims coming from the East to visit the Dome of the Rock and other sanctuaries on the Temple Mount.

The Old Cotton Market is a good example of this process. It was built in the fourteenth century as a continuous, two-storey cross-vaulted structure 95 metres long, limited at the ends by two arched portals, the first being the entrance from the street, and the second marking the access to the Temple Mount enclosure, the Harâm ash-Sherif. Running from west to east, the Suk layout is perpendicular to the western wall of the Temple precinct, and forms one of the gates leading to it.⁶⁷

As the end of a pilgrims' route, the Old Cotton Market linked one of the oldest streets in the city with the Temple esplanade; in fact, it formed part of a principal route within the Old City, HaGai, or Al Wad Street. This street runs the former course of the old Tyropeion stream. The route enters Jerusalem from the north through the Damascus Gate, forks to the southeast, crosses the Via Dolorosa at the Fifth Station, and ends in David Street. Two hundred metres before that lies the entrance to the Cotton Market.

⁶⁶ *Suk* (from the Accadian *sukaku*, square, or Hebrew: *shuk*), means literally a bazaar or market. It is an open space or covered building used by people for the purchase and sale of provisions, livestock, etc., especially with a number of different vendors.

⁶⁷ *Harâm ash-Sherif*, literally 'the Noble Enclosure', is the Arabic name for the Temple Mount in the Old City of Jerusalem, the *temenos* of the city. According to tradition, the place is the biblical Mount Moriah, where the sacrifice of Isaac took place. Later on it became the site of both the Salomonic and Herodian Temples. Islamic tradition venerates it as the place where Mohammed ascended to heaven. Since the early Middle Ages, it is the site of the Dome of the Rock, *El Aqsa* mosque and several other historic buildings that make the *Harâm* a magnificent architectonic complex. Ashbee, E.T. Richmond and K.A.C. Creswell were involved in conservation and archaeological work within the *Harâm*.

The overall width of the Suk reaches about fourteen metres. Taking away the walls' thickness, it allows nearly four metres depth for the stores – or 'booths' – on both sides and about five metres free width in the middle for the public passage to the Harâm. Along the route the Suk houses about fifty shops on the ground floor and offers lodgings on the upper level. Thus, one of the most striking architectural features of this bazaar is its natural lighting. Being closed and covered, the public space is fairly dark. Daylight dramatically penetrates the building through zenithal openings at the centre of every second cross vault, creating appealing light shafts along the route.

The Cotton Market, however, is a composite compound. Adjacent to its southern length there are a *khan*,⁶⁸ known as Khan Tanqiz⁶⁹ and two medieval bath houses, the Hamâm el-Ein⁷⁰ and the Hamâm es-Shaffei,⁷¹ besides contiguous courtyards for the beasts of burden.⁷² With its erection, the Suk el Kattanin was bestowed to the Wafq, which is the landlord to this day, and the profits it made were used for the upkeep of the shrines on the Harâm and of other public buildings.⁷³

⁶⁸ *Khan* means, literally, a caravanserai. Khans were traditional hostels for merchants travelling along commercial routes. A khan is usually built around a central courtyard, with a two-storied vaulted enclosure, offering stables on the ground floor and accommodation for guests at the upper level.

⁶⁹ Also known as Khan *Otuz Bir*, or Khan of the Thirty-One. Tanqiz is the name of the Emir who supervised its construction.

⁷⁰ Also known in Hebrew as or *Merhatz haMa'ayan*, or the Fountainhead Bath-House.

⁷¹ Also known in Hebrew as *Merhatz haMarpeh*, or the Cure Bath-House.

⁷² The etymology of the word Kattanin helps us understand the kind of activities that took place in the Suk. The English term 'cotton' (bot. *Gossypium*) derives from the Arabic *kuttun* and the Hebrew *kutnah* or *cotten*, all coming from the Aramaic word *kittan*, meaning linen, and further back from the Accadian *kitu* (fabric) or *kitintu* (cloth, clothes). Also derived from these are the biblical Hebrew word *cutoneth* (tunic or shirt, such as Joseph's: Gen 37:3), and probably also the Greek *chiton* and the English *coat*. *Katannin* in Arabic or *Kutnaim* in Hebrew denotes a person expert in growing cotton wool, spinning its fibres, weaving them into fabric or trading with textiles (not exclusively those made of cotton).

⁷³ *Waqf* (plural *Awqaf*): a Muslim religious authority in charge of religious endowments. The real estate holdings and properties of the *Waqf* cannot be sold, only leased, and the profits from them are to be used for charity work and public welfare.

At the eastern end of the Suk - the farthest end coming from the city - stands the splendid Bab al Kattanin, The Cotton Merchant's Gate, a Mamluk portal to the Temple Mount esplanade.⁷⁴ Bab al Kattanin was built in 1336-7 through the initiative of the Mamluk Sultan A-Nazir Mohammed ibn Kalaun, supervised by Emir Tanqiz e-Nazri, then governor of Damascus. The heavy wooden doors of the gate are decorated with geometric patterns, and bear to this day an original copper inscription telling the story of the building to pilgrims coming to the Harâm.

The portal is one of the six gates in the western wall of Temple Mount, between Bab al Silsila⁷⁵ and Bab al Hadid.⁷⁶ Connecting the Cotton Market with the Temple, this Cotton Merchant's Gate is an independent and splendid structure, complete with stairs coming down from the Temple Area and lateral openings giving straight ingress to the fine arcaded portico, or *riwaq*,⁷⁷ on the west side of the Harâm. This western *riwaq* - forming a covered passage 150 metres long - was built at the same time. The Cotton Merchant's portal features a high arch, decorated with stalactite-like stone carvings, *muqarnas*;⁷⁸ as in other buildings of the period, this gate is also embellished by the use of *ablaq*, the polychromic stonework combining red and yellow stones with white and black ones.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ *Bab*: Arabic word for a wide opening, especially in the wall of a city or in any other enclosure, capable of being closed by means of a barrier; hence, a gate. The term is particularly used to designate the gates in the Jerusalem Old City walls. The Hebrew equivalent is *sha'ar*.

⁷⁵ Also known today (in Hebrew) as Sha'ar haShalshet, the Chain Gate.

⁷⁶ Also known today (in Hebrew) as Sha'ar haBarzel, the Iron Gate.

⁷⁷ *Riwak*: Arabic term denoting a portico, *stoa* or arcade. Usually a passageway covered with an arched roof supported by columns at regular intervals, usually open along one of its lengths; a colonnade.

⁷⁸ *Muqarnas*: Stalactite-shaped architectural detail, a division of a squinch into a number of small niches or honeycomb-like units. *Muqarnas* were used for the first time in Egypt in the eleventh-century and developed to reach perfection during the Mamluk period, when were used in the conches of portals.

⁷⁹ *Abraq*: Polychromatic stonework, usually in red and white, combined in masonry construction. *Abraq* is a standard feature of Mamluk and Moorish architecture which widely

Coming from the city through the Cotton Market and passing through the *Bab al Kattanin*, visitors arrive just in front of the Mosque of Omar. On either side of the gate from the outside there are built-in stone benches, offering a pause at the end of the pilgrims' route; then a flight of ten U-shaped stairs leads up to the last goal: the Harâm. Next to the Bab al Kattanin, coming from the adjacent bath-houses, is Bab el Mat'hara (Gate of Purification), an even older structure dating from the second half of the thirteenth-century.⁸⁰ The openings of both gates are aligned with the east-west axis of the Dome of the Rock and face the mosque's western doors at a distance of eighty metres in front of them.

All these buildings were surveyed, drawn to scale and photographed by Ashbee and other Pro-Jerusalem members, especially Captain (later Professor) K. A. C. Creswell. KAC Creswell (1879-1974) was born in London and educated at Westminster School and trained as an electrical engineer at the City & Guilds Technical College. He began studying Muslim architecture in 1910 and came to the East first in 1916, when he was posted to Egypt with the Royal Flying Corps. Creswell's career in Islamic art and architecture moved forward in 1919 when he was appointed Inspector of Monuments in British General Allenby's military administration of the Occupied Enemy Territory (OETA); his first task was to compile a complete inventory of the monuments. Creswell was appointed to the eastern area - Aleppo, Hama, Homs, Damascus - but on the evacuation of Syria by the British forces, at the end of that year, he was transferred to Palestine, being stationed in turn at Amman, Haifa, and Jerusalem. Creswell was forty at the time and would pursue this line of research for the next fifty years.⁸¹

influenced Romanesque polychromic stonework. *Ablaq* was then also used in nineteenth-century Victorian Neo-Romanesque architecture and - as a result of Eclectic Orientalism - *ablaq* was also commonly used in British twentieth-century buildings in Jerusalem.

⁸⁰ *Bab el Mutawaza* (Gate of Purification) was built by Emir Allah-a-Din Ayduqday during the reign of Sultan Baibars (1260-1277). The gate owes its name to the fact that it leads the *Harâm* visitors from the baths and other ritual cleansing facilities to the Temple esplanade.

⁸¹ Subsequently Creswell moved to Cairo in 1926. He then conceived a project for a history of Muslim architecture of Egypt, to be preceded by a work on early Muslim architecture. King Fouad became patron of this scheme for the first three years. He was appointed to the Egyptian University (1931), where he founded the Institute of Muslim Art and

'By May 1920', [Creswell writes] 'I felt I had got an adequate knowledge of Syrian architecture, and I drew up a proposal for a History of the Muslim Architecture of Egypt.'⁸²

Creswell's later publications were, for the most part, illustrated with his own photographs. Prints of some of those are in Ashbee's Jerusalem Collection. On Creswell's death his collection of negatives was bequeathed to the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, forming what is today the Creswell Archive. This archive comprises over 6,000 images, including Creswell's exhaustive documentation of the Dome of the Rock.⁸³

The splendid Cotton Market complex obviously drew Ashbee's and Creswell's attention from the beginning. While summing up the records of Pro-Jerusalem, Ashbee had written: "Suq Kattanin, the ancient Cotton bazar [sic] leading to the Dome of the Rock. It is one of the most splendid of the vaulted streets of the East, built by the Emir Tenqiz in the time of Kait Bey."⁸⁴

Professor Creswell stated in his report on "Muslim Work touched by the [Pro-Jerusalem] Society" that:

This bazaar, the finest in Syria, is entered by two portals, of which the eastern, leading to the Harâm ash Sherif, is one of the noblest and largest monumental gateways to be seen in Syria.

Archaeology, which he directed for the next twenty years. Then he held the chair of Muslim Architecture in the American University in Cairo. Elected F.B.A in 1947, and appointed C.B.E. in 1955, for most of the remainder of his life he lived and worked in Cairo.

⁸² Quoted from KAC Creswell's biography in the Papers of Sir Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell, Rare Books and Special Collections Library at The American University in Cairo. Published on-line by the American University in Cairo, "About Sir Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell", section "In the Middle East".

⁸³ A second collection of about 5,000 photographs is kept at the Rare Books and Special Collections Library of The American University in Cairo, within the Papers of Sir Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell collection.

⁸⁴ C.R. Ashbee, "Conservation and Town Planning in the City of Jerusalem", unpublished typescript, n.d., (c. 1925), 8 pages, p. 2. Jerusalem Collection, Box 1, Portfolio 1: "Reports". Other documents on the Old Cotton Market Restoration project in the Jerusalem Collection are in Box 2: Portfolio 9: Suk al Kattanin; Portfolio 2: Haram al Shareef; [Harâm ash Sherif] Portfolio 3: Dome of the Rock, and Box 1 Portfolio 6: Blizzard of 1920.

This great portal is provided with lateral openings [...] and above these openings is some stalactite work of great beauty, which reminds one irresistibly of Tudor vaulting a century and a half later.”⁸⁵

The desolate state of the Suk demanded immediate action; by the end of the Ottoman period the market had begun to deteriorate seriously, and some attempts were made in the 1880s to restore it to its former glory, but without long-term success, as the market:

Was derelict when the English came to Jerusalem, used as a public latrine, and in part falling. The Pro-Jerusalem Society spent about £1000 on its maintenance, but only just in time, for it could not have stood the great blizzard of 1920 during which some 200 domes and houses in the city fell.⁸⁶

This last fragment helps us to date the beginning of the restoration of the Suk al Kattanin to sometime in 1919, very close to Ashbee's and Creswell's arrival to Jerusalem, and work on the Market was well under way before the great snowstorm of January 1920. The issue of conservation was urgent, not only because of accumulated neglect but also because of recent destruction. The miseries that the Great War had brought into the city only worsened the condition of historical buildings. Consequently Ashbee urged his campaign of preservation as a cultural and historical obligation. He explained this pointing out that:

The disaster of the Great War has forced upon all men and women the necessity of preserving all that is possible of the beauty and the purpose, in actual form, of the civilizations that had passed before. We have come to see, moreover, that this is not a mere matter of archaeology or the protection of ancient buildings.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ K.A.C. Creswell, "The Sûq el Qattanin" in "Muslim Work touched by the Society", in CR Ashbee, ed., the first Pro-Jerusalem *Records* (1921), p. 69.

⁸⁶ Ashbee, "Conservation and Town Planning in the City of Jerusalem", pp. 6-7.

⁸⁷ CR Ashbee, ed. for the Council of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, "The Work of Conservation", in the second *Records* (1924), p. 4.

He saw this task as fundamental in modern life. He considered that “in the blind mechanical order with which we are threatened everything that we associate with our sense of beauty is alike in danger”,⁸⁸ and that these general threats were all the more serious in the Holy City:

In Jerusalem, perhaps more than in any other city, these facts are brought home to us. It is a city unique, and before all things a city of idealists, a city moreover in which the idealists through succeeding generations have torn each other and their city to pieces. Over forty times it has changed hands in history.⁸⁹

On the social value of historical preservation of buildings, Ashbee had written, back in 1900, in his introduction to the first Survey of London volume, Bromley-by-Bow:

We plead that the object of the work we have before us, is to make nobler and more humanly enjoyable the life of the great city. [...] To preserve of it for her children and those yet to come, whatever is best in her past or fairest in her present, [...] and to stimulate among her citizens that historic and social conscience which to all great communities is their most sacred possession.⁹⁰

That is why, in the same spirit, he established in Jerusalem a policy of conservation that aimed to care for “not only the things themselves, the streets, the houses, [...] towers and domes, but the way of living, the idealism, the feeling for righteousness and fitness that these things connote.”⁹¹

Ashbee saw the potential of the abandoned bazaars. He dreamt of reviving the spirit of his own Guild of Handicraft in Jerusalem, setting up once again a craftsmen’s community complete with workshops and a school for apprentices. While referring to Suk el Attarin near the Old Cotton Market, he

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Hobhouse, *London Survey'd*, p. 17.

⁹¹ Ashbee, “The Work of Conservation”, in the second *Records* (1924), p. 5.

noted that “there is a good deal of room at the back and the building could certainly be used for public possibly educational purposes. It might be one of the School centres.”⁹²

Ashbee’s vision was to rehabilitate the market by adding new functions. He planned to use the premises to set up an arts and crafts school, and succeeded in organising weaving workshops, with a structured system of apprenticeship; the pupils were young Arab and Armenian boys. Taking into account the fact that the Suk al Kattanin was originally intended for the merchants, who bringing the cotton from the growing fields in the coast plateau, spun, wove and sold the goods *in situ*, Ashbee’s rehabilitation, then, had the merit of fittingly setting up a programme that respected and enlarged a tradition that was specific to the place since medieval times.

Further interesting information about this project appears in “Conservation and Town Planning in the City of Jerusalem,” an unpublished, undated typescript in Ashbee’s own Jerusalem Collection. This document is evidently the text of a lecture given by Ashbee in Britain (probably in London and possibly for the Arts’ Workers Guild) “on the work of the Pro-Jerusalem Society”, shortly after the publication of the second *Records* of the Society in 1924. That would place the date of this lecture at some point during 1925, about three years after Ashbee’s return from Palestine. Ashbee explains:

Within the city walling ... are a number of beautiful and interesting medieval Suqs or arcaded bazars [*sic*]. These were taken in hand wherever money permitted and as the need arose.⁹³

The dream of the Jerusalem Arts and Crafts School comprised weaving workshops, an initiative that the Red Cross had already started as war

⁹² CR Ashbee, “Report on the Arts and Crafts of Jerusalem and District”, unpublished bound typescript, August 1918. Jerusalem Collection, Box I, Portfolio 1: “Reports”, illustrations 123 and 124.

⁹³ Ashbee, “Conservation and Town Planning in the City of Jerusalem”, unpublished typescript, p. 2. Jerusalem Collection, Box 1, Portfolio 1: “Reports”.

refugees' relief. The human compassion of the project has merited recent mention by the historian Sir Martin Gilbert:

The British Military administration resembled no other in Jerusalem's history for its constructive work. Some seventy Armenians refugees, whom the American Red Cross had established as weavers, were provided with one of the more neglected and run-down areas of the Old City, the Cotton Market, which was restored and equipped for them.⁹⁴

Storrs in his memoirs also refers to the enterprise, recalling that "Ashbee's energies were also directed to weaving. We subsequently bought the looms which the American Red Cross had set up for the relief of Armenian and Syrian weavers, and installed them in the ancient Cotton Market."⁹⁵ Creswell on his part reported with sympathy on the progress of the project saying that "the booths at the west end of the bazaar have been reopened and turned into workshops, [...] but more than half still remain walled up. Let us hope they, too, will soon be opened."⁹⁶

In order to establish the workshops as a proper technical education institution, Ashbee drew up a detailed apprentices' articling contract to bind the weavers' master Mr. Shukri Batato of "the Jerusalem Looms", the apprentice's father or guardian, Major Tadman the Education Officer representing O.E.T.A., and the President of the Pro-Jerusalem Society (Colonel Storrs).⁹⁷ The contract was worded following the Samuel Montagu (Lord Swaythling's) East London Apprenticeship Fund under which many apprentices of the Guild of Handicraft had been bound in the 1890s. Ashbee was so pleased with the new

⁹⁴ Martin Gilbert, *Jerusalem in the Twentieth Century* (London: Pimlico - Random House, 1996), p. 66.

⁹⁵ Sir Ronald Storrs, *Orientalisms* (1937), p. 369.

⁹⁶ K.A.C. Creswell, "The Sûq el Qattanîn" in "Muslim Work touched by the Society", in CR Ashbee, ed., the first *Pro-Jerusalem Records* (1921), p. 69.

⁹⁷ C.R Ashbee, the first *Records* (1921), Appendix IV: Weaver's Apprenticeship Indenture, p. 76.

document that he thought “it should be studied as a useful working model for new enterprise in technical education.”⁹⁸

The festive ceremony of the market’s reopening was duly commemorated in two formal photographs which were each published as a whole-page illustration on the first *Pro-Jerusalem Records*.⁹⁹ There one can see that the apprentices were given uniforms, an outfit that closely resembles the medieval design of the uniform proposed by Johannes Itten for the Bauhaus.¹⁰⁰

The cost of the project was substantial. Even though, as Ashbee complained, “there had been very little money to do anything with” From the *Pro-Jerusalem Society Quarterly Bulletin* No.1 March 1922, we learn that Ashbee invested in the ‘Suk Kattanin’ (one of four rubrics in his report) the sum of 3 pounds in September and 72 pounds and 630 cents in October 1921. In order to understand the market value of the sum, we may compare it with the cost to the Society of the Citadel Gardens, which amounted to nearly 196 pounds during the whole year of 1921. All in all, as Ashbee recollected later, “the Pro-Jerusalem Society spent about £1000 on its [the Cotton Market weaving business] maintenance”¹⁰¹, which was certainly a considerable sum at the time. For a short while, the project seemed to thrive. Ashbee wrote to the editor of the *London Times* saying that the ‘Jerusalem Looms’ were “financially a success far beyond our expectations. All *that* is Armenian and

⁹⁸ Ashbee, the first *Records* (1921), p. 35.

⁹⁹ See Ashbee, the first *Records* (1921), illustration No. 62, “The Society’s Weaving Apprentices, and illustration No. 63, “Weaving Apprentices’ Ceremony of Indenture”. The original prints were found in the Jerusalem Collection, Box 2, Portfolio 9: Suk al Kattanin.

¹⁰⁰ It is worth noting here that, as with Ashbee’s school in Jerusalem, the Weimar Bauhaus in 1919-23 was an Arts and Crafts school, and one that likewise had emerged out of the economic chaos the Great War to train young pupils in weaving, ceramics and glass workshops.

¹⁰¹ Crawford, *CR Ashbee: Architect, Designer & Romantic Socialist*, p. 179.

Muslim”, but the dissolution of the Pro-Jerusalem Society impinged on the project and brought it to an end.¹⁰²

A piece of evidence as to the pride Ashbee took concerning the Cotton Market rehabilitation and to the enormous significance it had for him is a small illustrative map of Jerusalem Ashbee was asked to prepare by his friend Francis Keppel. This map was published in 1920 as a double-spread endpaper to the latter’s book *Built in Jerusalem’s Wall*.¹⁰³ The map is a charming bird’s eye view of the city drawn from the southwest, showing the main sights as little icons. In the area of the Old Cotton Market, Ashbee drew neither the building nor the gate, but sketched instead a line of three upright weaving devices, writing above them just ‘Looms’. Moreover, the label and the sketch were as large as those he drew for such holy sites as the Dome of the Rock, the Holy Sepulchre or the Via Dolorosa.

There have been later restorations to the Suk al Kattanin after Ashbee’s renovation of 1920. The place deteriorated and was restored anew in 1974, as part of works done in the Old City of Jerusalem after the Six-Days War. In this intervention, plaster was removed to reveal the superb craftsmanship of the medieval vaulted stonework. Kroyanker notes that the previous British restoration provided the Old Cotton Market with new lamps -probably electric-designed in the stylized shape of the Dome of the Rock, and that a few remain in place¹⁰⁴. Most probably these were Ashbee’s work, aided by the Hebron glass blowers - a traditional craft Pro-Jerusalem was supporting to rescue it from extinction - but Ashbee makes no allusion to these lamps in his accounts. A reminder of Ashbee’s intervention may be traced nowadays in the Suk as it nevertheless provides accommodation for a mixture of warehouses and workshops, albeit not very well kept.

¹⁰² CR Ashbee, “Reconstructing Jerusalem” *The Times*, 5 February 1919, Letter to the Editor.

¹⁰³ Francis Keppel, *Built in Jerusalem’s Wall* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1920).

¹⁰⁴ David Kroyanker, *Jerusalem: A Guide to Neighborhoods and Buildings - An Architectural View* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1996), p. 27.

Regardless of all these three attempts to preserve the place, the Old Cotton Market has remained empty and unused for the greater part of the time since. Some small repairs were undertaken in 2000, but still the dream of having the market flourishing as in medieval times has not yet come true.

1921, Jerusalem:

'Men working happily and humanly together': Ashbee's Interior Design for the Old Government House¹⁰⁵

This project of the decoration and furnishing of the residence of the first High Commissioner for Palestine was small in scale yet is very significant for its vision and status. It has been selected for examination because, in addition to any historical interest or design merits, it involves a Utopian thesis and raises relevant issues concerning the politics of reconstructing workshops and the fostering of local crafts; in fact, it was a reiteration, in the architect's mature years, of his own ideas on art, crafts, the ideal society and the education of the citizen.¹⁰⁶

Back in 1898, on the occasion of the visit of the Kaiser Wilhelm II and the *Kaiserin* to Palestine, a fund had been set up to erect in Jerusalem, as a gift to the city, a new hospital and pilgrimage centre for German Protestants. The name of the German Empress was given to the complex which, built on a beautiful location on the Mount of Olives, was designed in Neo-Romanesque style by Robert Leibniz and inaugurated in 1910.¹⁰⁷ Storrs described the

¹⁰⁵ See illustrations to this case study, plates under the heading 2.3.

¹⁰⁶ A version of this case study was presented as an article entitled "CR Ashbee's Interior Design for the Old Government House in Jerusalem, 1921" to the WSA Postgraduate Conference Welsh School of Architecture, Cardiff University, June 2005, and published in its *Proceedings*.

¹⁰⁷ David Kroyanker, *Jerusalem Architecture - Periods and Styles. European-Christian Buildings outside the Old City Walls* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1987). Hebrew edition, pp. 241-252.

compound as achieving the effect of 'massive Rhenish medievalism'.¹⁰⁸ 'Augusta Victoria', the German Hospice, or 'the Stiftung', all were colloquial names for 'Die Kaiserin Augusta Victoria Stiftung auf dem Oelberge'. With the outbreak of the Great War the building turned into the headquarters of the German army.

Since the conquest of Jerusalem in 1917, the British Administration had been using the Augusta Victoria Hospice as military headquarters and seat of government. Yet, with the beginning of the British Civil Administration in 1920 and the appointment of Sir Herbert Samuel as the first High Commissioner for Palestine, the former pilgrims' hostel was officially converted into Government House and part of its vast complex was transformed to accommodate Sir Herbert Samuel's residence.

Sir Herbert Samuel (1870-1963) was an extraordinary client. A statesman and philosopher, he had been born in Liverpool to a Jewish banking family, studied at University College London and attended Balliol College, Oxford. From a young age he was active in Liberal Party politics, being elected to Parliament in 1902, to become under-secretary of state at the Home Office in 1905. Samuel entered the cabinet in 1909 as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and was made Home Secretary in Asquith's coalition government. He was to serve as High Commissioner of Palestine from 1920 to 1925. In the memoirs of his son, the Second Viscount Samuel, one finds the following passage:

During the five years that my father [Sir Herbert] served as High Commissioner, he lived in state on the Mount of Olives. His official residence was the Augusta Viktoria Stiftung - a vast German hospice which also served as government offices.¹⁰⁹

This impromptu official residence - that would be the place of many important social and historical events - was to be specifically refurbished for its new

¹⁰⁸ Storrs, *Orientations*, p. 329.

¹⁰⁹ Edwin Samuel, *A lifetime in Jerusalem: The Memoirs of the Second Viscount Samuel* (Jerusalem: Israel University Press, 1970), p. 50. The 'five years' mentioned are the first of the British Civil Administration, 1920-25.

function by means of an unprecedented design trial carried out by CR Ashbee. It was to become for him 'The Experiment', an exercise in multicultural teamwork using craftsmanship as social amalgam.

While preparing for publication the *Records* of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, Ashbee set aside one complete section for the description of his own design for the living quarters of the High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel.¹¹⁰ Compared with the ambitious, urban size of the other efforts of the Society, at first glance this interior design project seems to be conspicuously out of scale in the *Records*, and possibly even too small to be worth mentioning at all. Considering that it was just the arrangement of four spaces for private use, the question arises of why were these rooms included in the report, amongst all the other major undertakings of the Society in the city.

Actually, Ashbee must have felt most comfortable dealing with this smaller, hands-on project, and working on a scale in which he had achieved his early designer's fame. It is obvious that he was delighted with the opportunity of putting those skills into service again. However, the deeper significance of the project is not so much artistic as ideological and political, as the author clearly explains from the opening. The section dedicated to this project in the *Records* of the Society, was entitled 'A brief description of the work done *by the local craftsmen* at Government House'¹¹¹, and Ashbee qualifies it as:

One of the most interesting pieces of constructive work ... done during the first year of the Civil Administration, a direct outcome of the Pro-Jerusalem Society's activities and experiments... It is interesting as showing *what can be done in Palestine by Palestinians*.¹¹²

The commission Ashbee received was to 'decorate and furnish' the drawing-room, the dining-room, the library, and Lady Samuel's boudoir. The budget

¹¹⁰ CR Ashbee, ed., the second Pro-Jerusalem *Records* (1924), pp. 60-63.

¹¹¹ Text own italics.

¹¹² Ashbee, ed., the second Pro-Jerusalem *Records* (1924), p. 60. [My italics].

allowed an expenditure of £3,000. There was, of course, the possibility of ordering the furniture from London; consequently the question arose, as to “Should this be done from England, by Maple or Waring, or some other firm, or could it be done in Jerusalem by local craftsmen?”¹¹³

A third alternative, that of selecting the goods out of the stock available in the stores of Cairo was hardly appropriate, because of cultural differences of taste. For instance, Ronald Storrs, Governor of Jerusalem at the time, had commented in a letter from Egypt to his mother, back in 1904, on the complications of equipping his first bachelor flat in the East:

Furniture buying out here is heartbreaking: no one can conceive the depths of Syrio-Italian taste: gilt, light-blue plush, marble-tops, grained wood, in shapes to make one gasp...¹¹⁴

As he had at the moment the architect Ernest T Richmond as flatmate, he recorded in his memoirs that “in the end Richmond designed and the local carpenter executed”. Following a similar line of thought, Sir Herbert chose to try out the ‘local venture’.¹¹⁵

Ashbee drew the plans and employed the craftsmen, and indeed for a while he was able to re-create in the East the spirit and the activities of his bygone Guild of Handicraft. John Sweetman refers to the link between the two:

113 *Ibid.*

114 Storrs, *Orientalisms*, p. 25.

115 *Ibid.* Major Ernest Tatham Richmond, ‘a wholehearted champion of the Arab cause’, was son of Sir William Blake Richmond (1842-1921), the well-known Victorian painter, and grandson of George Richmond, artist and close friend of William Blake. Ernest Richmond, whose friendship was ‘basic in my life’ to Ronald Storrs, was appointed in 1918 to the Department of Archaeology in Jerusalem and there collaborated with Storrs, Ashbee and Creswell. In Egypt he had been architect to the Waqf Ministry, taking care of many Islamic monuments; later on he worked at the Imperial Graves Commission. As architect in charge of the restoration of the Dome of the Rock, he discovered, above the structure known as ‘Solomon Stables’ (in the al-Aqsa Mosque), the original kilns and furnaces from which the Dome’s tiles had been produced. In this project he worked with David Ohanessian, the famous Armenian ceramist, recreating the missing tiles in the Dome of the Rock. While Storrs served as Military Governor of the Haifa district, they shared a house once again, living in the ex-Austrian Consulate there with Richmond and James de Rothschild, son of Baron Edmond (*Orientalisms*, *passim*, pp. 23-25, 366-367, 374-376).

The ideal of the community of craftsmen drawn together by conceptual guidelines and a regard for traditional methods was to be seriously taken up by the Arts and Crafts movement, notably by CR Ashbee in his Guild of Handicraft in 1888. Ashbee's own encounters with Islamic community art were to take a particularly interesting turn [...] in Jerusalem.¹¹⁶

The *Report on the Arts and Crafts of Jerusalem and District* that he prepared for the Government three years earlier served him very well in this work. As a result of this thorough study, Ashbee had by then a personal acquaintance with almost every workshop producing beautiful work in the city and its environs. From amongst them, Ashbee hired crews of masons, weavers, upholsterers, glass-blowers and blacksmiths. Of wood-workers he had groups of cabinet-makers and carvers; for ceramic work he had tile-makers and ceramic painters. Adding to them journeymen, seamstresses and subordinate labourers, the entire group reckoned about fifty craftsmen. Due to Jerusalem's peculiar ethnic configuration that meant hiring members of several different communities, each speaking his own native tongue, and harbouring a history of bitter clannish antagonism.

In order to coordinate the work, Ashbee found himself having to deal with a situation as difficult as that inflicted on the builders of the Tower of Babel, when their punishment was to "confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech."¹¹⁷ He reckoned that:

Of my four foremen, one talked Greek, Arabic, and French; the second Arabic, French, and Armenian; the third German and Arabic; and the fourth Arabic and Turkish. Among the Jewish [...] the Languages were Yiddish, Polish, Russian [...] classic Hebrew and American Bowery English.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture 1500-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 203.

¹¹⁷ Gen 11: 7.

¹¹⁸ Ashbee, ed., the second *Pro-Jerusalem Records* (1924), p. 61.

He therefore despaired: “how were all these different races and religions, with their various traditions and customs, to be got to work together?”¹¹⁹ Yet Ashbee believed in the healing power of handwork. The pride of one artisan in his own work would lead to respect for the skills of a fellow craftsman and, he trusted, would subsequently erase ethnic animosities. His old Utopian dream of a peaceful community doing creative work together was only strengthened and proven right during what he called ‘the experiment’. It could have been a recipe for fracas,

But craftsmanship and the love of craftsmanship - the cunning of a man’s own right hand - was found here to be, as so often before in human story, a great amalgam.¹²⁰

Unlike the biblical story, the end of this one was positive: craftsmen who were strange and suspicious of one another, ended up assisting and supporting each other. They broke bread together and collaborated towards a common goal. Instead of confusion and strife, Ashbee recorded for us a poignant picture, almost derived from Pre-Raphaelite imagery, of people “working, jesting, and in the end banqueting harmoniously together.” It was important to him to stress that “the experiment was not purely aesthetic, it was also human [...] all constructive ventures in the crafts have their human side, and may be submitted to a human as well as a mere aesthetic test”.¹²¹

This was a cardinal idea in the project. Ashbee sees the significance and achievement of the work in ethical rather than in aesthetic terms. It is not only the end product that really interests him, but the process and manner of its making. The Government House experiment bore a social and pedagogical message much more transcendental than success in the decoration of some spaces, and he expressly said so:

119 *Ibid.*

120 *Ibid.*

121 Ashbee, ed., *the second Pro-Jerusalem Records* (1924), p. 61.

Whatever the aesthetic merits of the work may be which this polyglot community produced, it was a *lesson in the futility of political methods* as set besides the cohesive power of the arts and crafts when practised rather than talked about...¹²²

The furnishing of Government House, taken as a pilot study, taught that human harmony and a better society can be created by a happy community of manual workers. The glad comradeship of [artistic] labour would cement a new, affable fellowship, transforming Utopia into reality:

This re-establishment of the crafts, [...] is of vital importance in Palestine. Work with the hands, the creative work, the work of the imagination applied to a man's personal labour, keeps men from empty political speculation. For every craftsman we create, we create also a potential citizen; for every craftsman we waste, we fashion a discontented effendi.¹²³

Although set in an atypical location, the Government House interior design was structured as an enterprise typical of the Arts and Crafts movement. In a subsequent passage in the *Records*, Ashbee presents once again the old Morrisian theory of arts and crafts, and speaks of the wiser economics of using manual work instead of industrial machines:

For it is a fact daily growing clearer to us that in this days of the industrial helot state, with its infinite subdivisions of mechanical labour, we often get better value for our money from work produced among groups of men working happily and humanly together, and conscious of their own personal creation, than from work done in the impersonal factory.¹²⁴

In order to convey the spirit of place, the choice of colours and materials was fundamental. Not only the craftsmen were local; Ashbee took care that the materials would also be so: local stone, local marble, Hebron glass,

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ Ashbee, ed., the first Pro-Jerusalem *Records* (1921), p. 34. *Effendi*: in Eastern Mediterranean countries, a man who is well-educated or member of the aristocracy. The word derives from the Greek *authentes*: doer, master. (Webster's Dictionary).

¹²⁴ Ashbee, ed., the second Pro-Jerusalem *Records* (1924), p. 60.

Bethlehem hangings and Armenian woven wool and cotton fabrics made at the Jerusalem looms (another of Ashbee's endeavours).

Nevertheless, he noted that he had to use the Indian wood available, as the country had none, and order the silks and the carpets to be woven in Cairo, according to the chosen colour schemes of the rooms. These colour schemes were important as part of his intentions to convey 'the character of the country', another noble aim of the experiment. Therefore, he chose colours that were traditional in local folklore; he used greenish blue for the drawing room and the dining room, together with purple and gold. The exquisite combination of turquoise, blue and green was derived from tile patterns he had been studying for the restoration of the Dome of the Rock. He knew that "in the rendering of these [colour] schemes the Kutahia workmen are masters".¹²⁵ Moreover, Lady Samuel's boudoir was white, with striped hangings in dark indigo and red. The library was designed in grey and raisin-hued silks.

Ashbee uses the same ideas, and others, in the design of his own house in Jerusalem. Unlike most of the British families, who preferred to occupy houses in the westernised German Colony, he chose to live in an old house in the Arab neighbourhood of Wadi al Joz, a valley between the north wall of the Old City and Mount Scopus. Edward Keith-Roach, the Civil Governor of the Jerusalem District, recorded in his memoirs a dinner at the Ashbees' house that marked the start of their friendship, soon after Keith-Roach's arrival from service in Africa:

The dining room with makeshift furniture had an air of distinction, from the tiles let into the sideboard to the old Armenian hammered-copper plates. [...] The contrast between

¹²⁵ Ashbee, ed., the second *Pro-Jerusalem Records*, p. 62. Kutahia (or Kuthaya) was the Armenian town of origin of the ceramics craftsmen who, led by David Ohanessian, came to Jerusalem as refugees of the Great War. Ashbee worked in close partnership with them. See Nirit Shalev-Khalifa, "David Ohanessian: The Founder of Armenian Ceramics in Jerusalem", in Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, curator, *Birds of Paradise: Marie Balian and the Armenian Ceramics of Jerusalem* (Tel Aviv: Eretz Israel Museum, 2000), pp. 14-21.

the grass hut in which I had been living and the graciousness of my surroundings here was singular.¹²⁶

Nevertheless, one can also feel the spirit of the times when Ashbee maintains that in his designs he worked with freedom, without following the restricting guidelines of any style, and in what may be considered a 'functional-contextual' way:

I worked to no style, but tried to make things that should first serve their needs and then have about them something of the character of the country.¹²⁷

Sir Ronald Storrs, who would not be eager in later days to admit Ashbee's contribution to the Pro-Jerusalem Society's undertakings, attributed the merit of the project mainly to Sir Herbert's own humanist thinking. Storrs repeatedly refers in his memoirs to the good co-operation and easy partnership he and Samuel had enjoyed in office. Later on, the Government House 'experiment' also engendered income for the Society.

Sir Herbert, [...] entering, as none of his predecessors or successors into the spirit of the thing, tiled the walls of Government House from Pro-Jerusalem kilns, curtained his windows from our looms and ordered his cupboards, tables and chairs from Palestine carpenters.¹²⁸

The artificial lighting devices that Ashbee invented stand as one of the more interesting features of the Government House interior design. Electricity was a very recent addition to the quality of life in Palestine, but the Augusta Victoria German Hospice had been equipped with an electric generator, among other modern amenities, since its inauguration.¹²⁹ The Government House could therefore benefit from electric lighting. The question as to how this new kind of

¹²⁶ Keith-Roach, *Pasha of Jerusalem*, p. 54.

¹²⁷ Ashbee, ed., the second *Pro-Jerusalem Records*, p. 62.

¹²⁸ Storrs, *Orientalisms*, p. 461.

¹²⁹ Kroyanker, *Jerusalem Architecture: European-Christian Buildings outside the Old City Walls*, p. 243.

lamp could be integrated into the scheme was not easy. It fell to Ashbee to design a new contrivance that would be able to blend tradition and modernity. He felt at first that the light bulb should be hidden, because "this method of light... will always need some sort of shell or screen around the glass bulb."¹³⁰

He then designed a prototype 'electrolier' out of oil lamps: a pendant cluster of blue and white blown Hebron glass oil lamps, each in the form of a small inverted cone cup, and decorated with glass beads. The lamp was reminiscent of the chandeliers hung in mosques and of Eastern churches' vigil lamps, even though it used the most modern form of energy. In this way Ashbee found employment and new orders for the dwindling glass-blowing craft, which the Pro-Jerusalem Society was trying to revitalize at that time.¹³¹

However, the material evidence that exists of the entire project is meagre; only Ashbee's text, some images, and a pair of minor drawings have survived. The images are particularly significant. In addition to Ashbee's textual description, he published three black and white photographs of this work, of very good quality, depicting respectively the completed drawing-room, the dining-room and a close-up of a sideboard from the dining-room suite. These photographs were published as illustrations of the 'experiment' in the *Pro-Jerusalem Society Records*. Seemingly for privacy's sake the other two rooms - the library and Lady Samuel's boudoir - were not officially photographed and remain undocumented.

Annotations found in Ashbee's Jerusalem Collection have helped identify some of the craftsmen who participated in the project. Original prints of the photos published in the *Records* were found in the Collection,¹³² but Ashbee did not add anything here to what he wrote in the official records. However, he glued the photos to double folio sheets, annotating the margins and adding

¹³⁰ Ashbee, ed., the second *Pro-Jerusalem Records* (1924), p. 62.

¹³¹ Ashbee, ed., the first *Pro-Jerusalem Records* (1921), pp. 32-33; 75.

¹³² CR Ashbee, Jerusalem Collection, Box 4, Portfolio 5: "Government House".

with pencilled arrows several new bits of information. That is how some of the master craftsmen's names were revealed. For instance, the sheet holding the dining-room sideboard photography is inscribed:

CR A. des [igned]
The Dome of the Rock Tile work
(Ohanessian and the Armenian [ceramics] workmen)
Schneller's cabinist work [with]
Old Faris the foreman

Through this note it was possible to determine that the workshop that built the furniture was the carpentry shop at Schneller's Syrian Orphanage. Father Johann Ludwig Schneller (1820-1896), was a German missionary who in 1860 founded one of the most notable educational institutions in Jerusalem, the Syrisches Waisenhaus, or Syrian Orphanage, famous for the excellent vocational training it offered to its pupils. This vast foundling home comprised - apart from the old Main building, a House for the Blind, several dwelling-houses and ancillary buildings - a recently built workshops courtyard that contained a shoemaker's workshop, a repairs shop, a printer's shop, a woodwork shop and a metalwork workshop. The two last were famous for good craftsmanship.¹³³

The Schneller's woodwork shop alone employed forty carpenters, half of whom were resident pupils. The shop was modern and mechanized, and the first gas-suction motor in town was fitted there to supply power for the machines. The carpentry shop used to make doors and windows for new buildings, and was also busy producing furniture, especially cabinet-making. It was in this last capacity that Ashbee employed their services.

Ashbee prepared detailed drawings for this project, but most of them have disappeared. At the bottom of the same page in the Jerusalem Collection in which he pasted the print of the dining-room cupboard and mentioned

¹³³ Kroyanker, *Jerusalem Architecture: European-Christian Buildings outside the Old City Walls*, pp. 129-144.

'Schneller's cabinist work', there is a note that refers us to the destiny of the drawings of the whole project. It reads:

[Illegible] ... work at the Government House (by C•R•A.)
all the rest of the drawings and designs were given to
Nebi Samuel.¹³⁴

Nebi Samuel was the local nickname given to Edwin - later Second Viscount - Samuel, a son of Sir Herbert and personal friend of Ashbee's. This sobriquet was a nice play of words, as "Nebi Samwil" is the Arab name for Samuel the biblical prophet, and is also the name of his traditional burial place, north of Jerusalem. Ashbee, through The Pro-Jerusalem Society, made extensive restoration work at the site.

The phrase '*all the rest of the drawings...*' (my italics) refers to the fact that although he gave away the design drawings of the project, Ashbee did keep a few secondary sketches, which he included in the portfolio. These are autograph drawings, labelled 'two tables, Government House', signed and dated 'Jerusalem, Jan[uary] 1921'. This allowed fixing the time of the project as early as six months after the arrival of Sir Herbert Samuel and his family in Palestine.

The sketches extant in the Jerusalem Collection show the plan and side elevations of two tables: one, probably a writing-desk, measuring 4x2 feet, with three drawers above and two side doors, and the other a square folding table, 3x3 feet when open. Both tables are designed to have inlay ornaments of mother of pearl, whose geometric configurations - triangular for the surface of the folding table and circular for the doors of the writing desk - are drawn on drafting paper and detailed at a 1:1 scale. The annotations of the drawing are written in German, presumably for the eyes of the German-speaking craftsmen at Schneller's workshop. No further documentation has been found. The Samuels' legatees may or may not have some other mementos - tangible or photographed - of the Government House rooms.

¹³⁴ Ashbee, Jerusalem Collection, Box 4 Portfolio 5: "Government House".

Ashbee's work in Augusta Victoria was to have an obscure fate. Ashbee returned home in 1922, shortly after finishing the four rooms at Government House. In 1925 Sir Herbert Samuel completed his service and also returned to Britain, while the Augusta Victoria Hospice remained the official house of the High Commissioner in Palestine. It is not clear if the furnishings were considered to be the private property of the High Commissioner, and as such taken back to England, or if they stayed part of the official household, for the use of the new residents.¹³⁵ Indirect evidence to the possibility that the Ashbee furniture did *not* remain in place, however, is found in a letter written to her family in September 1925 by Helen Bentwich, wife of Norman, the General Attorney of Palestine and niece of the former High Commissioner Herbert Samuel. In this letter she describes the arrival of his successor, Field Marshall Viscount Plumer (1857-1932), High Commissioner for Palestine 1925-28¹³⁶. With some disinclination, she comments on differences in taste:

A few days later they [the Plumers] invited us to tea with them alone. [...] They have already refurnished their rooms, and laid out his trophies and her objets d'art, and made Government House look like an old fashioned country-house belonging to a retired public servant.¹³⁷

In 1927, a severe earthquake that damaged most of the buildings in the City took its toll on the Augusta Victoria Hospice as well, causing serious damage to the building and destroying its tower. The Bentwicks recalled that:

¹³⁵ Sir Herbert Samuel returned to political life in England and in 1928 re-entered the House of Commons. In 1931 he became Home Secretary in the national government led by Ramsay MacDonald, resigning in 1932. He remained head of the opposition until 1935. Samuel had been knighted in 1920 and in 1937 was created 1st Viscount of Mount Carmel and Toxteth, Liverpool. He published his *Memoirs* in 1945, and was made Hon. Fellow of RIBA in 1948.

¹³⁶ Field Marshall Viscount Plumer, Lord of Messines and Bilton, was born in Torquay to a middle class family. Educated at Eton, he entered the army in 1876. Plumer fought at the Boer War and in the First World War. He was made Governor of Malta in 1924 and a year later, High Commissioner of Palestine.

¹³⁷ Norman and Helen Bentwich, *Mandate Memoirs: 1918-1948* (London: Hogarth Press, 1965), p. 105.

[The] earthquake destroyed Arab towns and villages, and rendered inhabitable the German Hospice on the Mount of Olives, which was used as Government House and his [Plumer's] residence.... The wreck of his house had serious consequences. Both he and Lady Plumer suffered in health when they had to move into a very unsuitable and monastic temporary home near Bethlehem.¹³⁸

Eventually the official residence of the High Commissioner was moved to Mahanaim House, the nineteenth-century manor of the late German banker Johannes Frutiger in Prophets Street. It would continue to be used as such throughout the rest of Lord Plumer's period of service, and also during that of the next High Commissioner, Sir John Chancellor.

Finally, a new, palatial and magnificent High Commissioner's House was built by the Public Works Department, in 1927, to a design by Austen St. Barbe Harrison, while much fun was being made in Jerusalem of the fact that the new Government House was built, of all places, on the Hill of Evil Counsel. Following the house's inauguration in 1933, the new - fourth - High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Wauchope, who was an old family friend of Ashbee's as well as godfather to one of his daughters, invited the architect for a last visit to Jerusalem.

Whatever happened to Ashbee's furnishings of the old chambers at Augusta Victoria through all these change remains a mystery. Augusta Victoria is today a modern Hospital in Eastern Jerusalem. The administration, on request, has been unable to establish the exact location of the former High Commissioner's residence within the precinct. A random inspection of some of the accessible rooms yielded no further information. One may only assume that in all probability the exquisite Armenian wall tiling lies unnoticed beneath layers of sanitized wall paint in some of the wards.

Ashbee's projects in Palestine are a significant body of work - covering town planning, urban landscape design, restoration and rehabilitation of historic

¹³⁸ Bentwich, *Mandate Memoirs*, p. 113.

buildings, architectural design and interior and furniture design - which has not hitherto been acknowledged or researched within the context of Israeli accounts of the architecture of Palestine under the Mandate. Nevertheless, Ashbee began a type of practice which would, for a while, continue to be carried on by others. In due time, it justified the assertion that Palestine/Eretz Israel during the interwar period, became not only a test bed for avant-garde town planning, but also the last outpost for the flourishing of the Arts and Crafts Movement.¹³⁹

1919-30, Jerusalem:

"For learning shall go forth from Zion": Geddes' Plan for the Hebrew University¹⁴⁰

Sir Patrick Geddes, the famous Scottish polymath who began his career as a biologist, would later be considered to be the father of regional planning, and his writings will be counted among the most influential in modern urban design history. Geddes worked in Palestine at the beginning of the British Mandate, at the same time as he was teaching at the University of Bombay, and on frequent occasions during the 1920s he made stopovers in Palestine on his way to India.¹⁴¹

Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) was born in Ballater and studied zoology in London under Thomas Huxley. He worked at Edinburgh University between

¹³⁹ Joseph Rykwert, "The Last Flowering of the Arts and Crafts?" Lecture given at the "Jerusalem and the British Mandate - Interaction and Legacy" International Conference, Session IV: Architecture in Jerusalem during the British Mandate: Historicism vs. Modernism, Jerusalem 11-14 March 2001.

¹⁴⁰ Micah 4:2. "And many nations shall come, and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the Lord of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for the law [learning] shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. This biblical verse became the motto of the Hebrew University project, as it refers to learning, teaching, Jerusalem, 'the mountain', (here meaning Mount Scopus) and 'the nations' (here implying an international academic institution).

¹⁴¹ See illustrations to this case study, plates under the heading 2.4. For a chronological reconstruction of Geddes' work in Palestine, see Appendix 3.4. This table brings together the projects built and/or planned by Geddes between 1919 and 1930, covering town planning and architectural design. Due to incomplete archival data, it is possible - but not probable - that further urban schemes were prepared which have not been recorded there.

1880 and 1888, as a biology demonstrator and as a zoology lecturer, but his unorthodox views prevented him from getting tenure there. Instead, he was appointed professor of Botany at Dundee University College a chair he would hold between 1888 and 1919, lecturing there only in the summer terms. During the rest of the time he travelled extensively, lecturing at many universities, and published widely on urban studies and town planning.¹⁴²

The year 1919 was a turning point in Geddes' life and career. He had suffered, in close sequence, the loss of his wife to illness and of his eldest son on the battlefield in the War. Furthermore, he had lost all the material of his first Cities and Town Planning Exhibition, sunk at sea, en route to being displayed in India. He decided to return home to Edinburgh.¹⁴³

P[atrack] G[eddes] returned to Scotland in the spring of 1919, in his 65th year, a broken man. He had lost two people whom he loved dearly and he felt as alienated as ever from mainstream educational thinking in Britain. His valedictory lecture at Dundee was ill attended.¹⁴⁴

At this low point, Geddes was approached by the World Zionist Organisation, and subsequently by the British Administration, to study, advise upon and plan several projects in Palestine. The first of these projects was to design the new

¹⁴² From the short biography of Geddes prepared by and presented with the "Records relating to Sir Patrick Geddes" at Dundee University Archives. A complete chronology of Geddes' life was published by Jacqueline Tyrwhitt in 1949 in her expanded edition of *Cities in Evolution*. See, for instance, the Spanish edition of Patrick Geddes, *Ciudades en Evolución* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Infinito, 1960), pp. 291-293.

There are several complete biographies of Patrick Geddes published; in this study the following have been consulted: Helen Meller, *Patrick Geddes: Social evolutionist and city planner* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990); Helen Meller, "Patrick Geddes: 1854-1932," Cherry, Gordon E., ed., *Pioneers in British Town Planning* (London: The Architectural Press, 1981); Philip Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes: Biologist, Town planner, Re-educator, Peace-warrior* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978); Philip Mairet, *Pioneer of Sociology: The life and Letters of Patrick Geddes* (London: Lund Humphries, 1957).

¹⁴³ Geddes had married Anna Morton in 1886 when he was 32 years old; they had three children: two boys, Alasdaire - who fell in the First World War - and Arthur, and a daughter, Nora, who married the architect Frank C. Mears. Mears (1880-1953) became Geddes' "drafting hand"; he accompanied Geddes to Palestine and was the designer of the Hebrew University.

¹⁴⁴ Sarah McLelland, "A Scot Remembered", a new biography of Geddes prepared "on the occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the birth of Sir Patrick Geddes, 2nd. October 2004", *Journal of Generalism & Civics* 6 (August 2005), published on-line. (http://www.hodgers.com/mike/patrickgeddes/feature_fifteen.html).

Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He accepted the offer, ended his connection with Dundee and accepted instead the Chair of Sociology at the University of Bombay, a post he would hold until 1924. By mid-September he was in Palestine.

From his early childhood Patrick Geddes had been deeply interested in Palestine, the land of the Book.¹⁴⁵ The house in which Geddes grew up was a simple small stone-cottage built on Kinnoul Hill, Perth, where his parents had moved in 1857. He had lived there from the age of three to twenty. His father, Captain Alexander Geddes, named the house 'Mount Tabor Cottage',¹⁴⁶ thus symbolically converting Kinnoul Hill into the place of the Transfiguration and its view, as into the landscape of Galilee. Hence, from an early age the spiritual presence of the geography of the Holy Land was an integral part of his daily life. Coming to Palestine many years later would, in more senses than one, have been felt as returning home. In a letter by Geddes to a Jewish friend, he acknowledged this by saying that "Jews probably know more or less how the Old Testament has dominated Scottish education and religion for centuries."¹⁴⁷ Philip Boardman, one of Geddes' biographers, alludes to this same issue, from another point of view:

So it was that, thanks to old Captain Geddes and his daily Bible readings, the son found himself half a century later spiritually qualified to plan improvements for the city of David.¹⁴⁸

Moreover, Geddes had studied the history and development of Jerusalem. The Holy City had figured prominently in the Cities and Town Planning

¹⁴⁵ Introduction, "Catalogue of The Patrick Geddes Centre for Planning Studies of the University of Edinburgh", unpublished typescript, Outlook Tower, Castlehill, Edinburgh, (centre since closed, material transferred to the National Library of Scotland).

¹⁴⁶ Philip Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes: Biologist, Town planner, Re-educator, Peace-warrior* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978) pp. 9-12.

¹⁴⁷ Amelia Defries, *The interpreter Geddes: The Man and His Gospel* (London: Routledge, 1927); also cited, Philip Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes*, p. 313.

¹⁴⁸ Boardman, *The Worlds of Patrick Geddes*, p. 313.

Exhibition that Geddes assembled in 1911. This was a major collection of plans, photographs, prints and drawings that he had laboriously collected over twenty years.

Examining the layout of the exhibition, as it was designed for the Ghent International Exhibition of 1913, one notes two significant details: first, that the space allocated to “Illustrations of Garden Village, Town + City Movement” is the largest by far in the entire exhibition; and second, that Geddes evidently thought very carefully which place in the exhibition to allocate for Jerusalem. As the visitor crossed the entrance hall and entered the first room, “Cities of Classical Antiquity”, the city of Jerusalem was symbolically flanked by Constantinople and Rome but remained hidden from view. Only when the visitor turned back towards the entrance he saw - as a final exhibit - the city of Babylon on the left side, and, on his right, the city of Jerusalem. Thus, Geddes caused the visitor to leave ‘remembering Jerusalem’.¹⁴⁹

The concept of a Hebrew institution for higher education, preposterous as it must have seemed in 1919, was not entirely new. As early as 1897, at the first Zionist Congress, Hermann Schapira, who was Professor of Mathematics at the University of Heidelberg, presented this idea for discussion, based on a series of articles he had developed some years earlier. At the fifth Zionist Congress, in 1901, Professor Chaim Weizmann became one of the chief advocates of the project. The establishment of such an institution, at a time when many young Jews were denied access to university study in European countries, would – in his words - be ‘a response to a deep-seated need of the homeless young Jewish intellectuals’, in his words. The next year he published a memorandum prepared in collaboration with Dr. Martin Buber and

¹⁴⁹ The plan of the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition at the Ghent International Exhibition of 1913 was republished in the *Town Planning Review*, 50th anniversary issue, vol. 30(1) (April 1959), p. 24. For a general analysis of the exhibition’s layout, without the part of Jerusalem in it, see Volker Welter, *Biopolis: Patrick Geddes and the City of Life*. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002), pp. 99-102.

Dr. Berthold Feiwel on the prospect of a 'Juedische Hochschule.' Finally, at the 11th Zionist Congress (1913) the plan was approved by the delegates.¹⁵⁰

Salman Schocken - the German-Jewish publisher, department-store magnate, patron of Erich Mendelsohn and commissioner of his department stores in Stuttgart, Nürnberg and Chemnitz - served as head of administration and chairman of the executive council of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem from 1938 to 1941. In 1939 he summed up the political motives for its foundation, saying:

The Hebrew University owes its origin to the two forces which, in their combined working, have decided the destinies of the Jewish people in recent decades, namely: the awakened national consciousness with its creative manifestations, and the ever-increasing pressure from without.¹⁵¹

Indeed, for Schocken the project encompassed a vision of cultural renaissance; he considered that:

A Jewish University - an institute where instruction and research could proceed without let or hindrance - was an imperative necessity; there a synthesis could be found, at last, between general and Jewish learning. [...] The Hebrew University in Jerusalem was envisaged as the centre from which the Jewish contribution to general culture would be made.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Because of its unique national significance as the focus of the cultural renaissance of the Jewish people in Palestine, there are many publications on the history of the Hebrew University; the most recent of them is an anthology edited by S. Katz and M. Weyd, *The History of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Origins and Beginnings*, published in Jerusalem in 1997, in Hebrew. The scope of these publications, however, is historical rather than architectural, and thus does not contribute much to this study. Nevertheless, Salman Schocken's article "The Hebrew University of Jerusalem: its History and Development" (Tel Aviv: Ha'aretz Press, 1939) was chosen from other contemporaneous historical sources because of his own personal involvement with modern architecture. On the architecture of the university proper Diana Dolev has written several articles based on her unpublished M.A. thesis for Tel Aviv University, 1990, entitled "The Architecture of the Hebrew University 1918-1948" (see bibliography).

¹⁵¹ Salman Schocken, "The Hebrew University of Jerusalem: its History and Development" (Tel Aviv: Ha'aretz Press, 1939), p. 1.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

Land was acquired on Mount Scopus before the outbreak of the Great War, with funds provided by Russian, English and American Zionists. This was then the estate of Sir John Gray, a distinguished lawyer from Liverpool, with a villa and a studio built in 1889 for his artist wife Lady Caroline Emily Gray Hill (1834-1924), a photographer and Orientalist landscape painter. They had used the place as starting point for expeditions for the last thirty years and, having decided to sell their property, "preferred to sell it to the Zionist Organization [...] because they believed that the house would serve as the 'core for a university to be built for the Hebrew race'."¹⁵³ The foundation stone was laid in 1918, and seven years later the university opened its gates. In the master plan for Jerusalem that Geddes prepared together with Ashbee, in 1921-22, he designated the entire ridge of Mount Scopus for 'a university'. The site was impressive, as a travellers' guide published at the time reflects:

From the top of Mount Scopus, from the road anywhere between the Hebrew University and the Empress Augusta Victoria Hospice can be seen one of the most wonderful and beautiful views disclosed to human eyes.¹⁵⁴

Looking down to the southwest was the Old City with its gleaming domes; to the east the landscape was untouched by man:

Nowhere else is there such a combination of natural beauty and historical interest....the land is bare, for it is the desert. The green strip of the [Jordan] river banks, a ribbon of oasis in a light brown desert, is easily picked out on an ordinary Jerusalem day, as is also the blue surface of the Dead Sea where the Jordan flows into it.¹⁵⁵

Geddes had been in contact with a prominent British Zionist, the writer Israel Zangwill, since the 1890s, but it was not until 1919 that the Holy land and its future became important on the international agenda. Dr. M.D. Eder, a friend

¹⁵³ Jacob Wahrman, "Caroline Emily Gray Hill: The Orientalist Painter from Mount Scopus", *Cathedra*, 112 (2004). Lady Caroline Emily Gray Hill's collection of watercolours and oil painting is kept by the University of Liverpool.

¹⁵⁴ Albert M. Hyamson, *Palestine old and new* (London: Methuen, 1928), p. 99.

¹⁵⁵ Hyamson, *Palestine old and new*, p. 100.



and kinsman of Zangwill, was involved between 1918 and 1919 with the Zionist Commission (later to be known as Vaad HaTzirim) and with their project for the new University in Jerusalem.¹⁵⁶ Geddes sent him a copy of his work in India, the Indore Report, including the plans for the university he had projected there. Dr. Eder replied suggesting that Geddes carry out a survey of Jerusalem, Past, Present, and Possible.¹⁵⁷ When the invitation came, Geddes was thrilled. After suffering his great double loss, the project was a godsend, and this would be his “best, greatest task”. Later on he would write:

Never more happy, active seasons' planning than o'er
Palestine:
 Thus Haifa, towards recovering Phoenician wealth's sea-mine;
 Outlining new Tiberias, that it, with healing spring's, renew;
 And first, best, greatest task, the [Uni]'versity, on Scopus
wondrous view.¹⁵⁸

Dr. David Eder recorded in his memoirs the impact of Geddes' first visit to Jerusalem in 1919, saying:

¹⁵⁶ Dr. Montague David Eder (1865-1936) physician, humanist and scholar, was one of the first psychoanalysts in Britain. His social and preventive medical work with London's East End poor brought him close to Geddes, who was doing similar work in Edinburgh's old city slums. He stayed in Palestine for four years, 1918-1922, working for the Zionist movement. *Vaad HaTzirim* (lit.: Board of Representatives) was a delegation of Zionist leaders and eminent personalities headed by Dr. Chaim Weizman. It was initially called “the Zionist Commission,” and it was active from April 1918 till 1921. The group consisted of seven deputies acting as an embassy for the Zionist movement and world Jewry. Dr. Eder was one of its members. MP W. Ormsby and James de Rothschild were link officers. They arrived to Palestine with the agreement of the British government; its aim was to advise O.E.T.A., in the spirit of the Balfour Declaration, to help solve problems of the Jewish community in Palestine. During the three years of its existence, the board was especially active on matters of public welfare, social assistance, health care and education, laying the basis for higher education. Among its main accomplishments was the transfer the supervision of the Technion Institute in Haifa to the World Zionist Organization, to lay the cornerstone of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus and to be accessory to the activities of Hadassah in the founding of clinics, laboratories and hospitals.

¹⁵⁷ See Helen Meller, *Patrick Geddes: Social evolutionist and city planner* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990) pp. 264, 265.

¹⁵⁸ This is the first of 59 stanzas of an unpublished poem by Geddes entitled “Jerusalem: Meyo-Shorim Quarter”. (Patrick Geddes, “Jerusalem: Meyo-Shorim Quarter”, unpublished poem in 59 stanzas, nine-page typescript with MS corrections, undated, (c. 1925), inscribed on upper right corner: “Corrected”. T GED 8/2/5. Geddes Archives, Strathclyde University Archives, Glasgow)

The first two weeks Geddes prowled round Jerusalem at all hours of the day and night. To my wife, who accompanied him whenever possible - and often, because he insisted, when it was impossible! - he would say no word of the planning of the university or the town.

As he went to this hillock or that, examined a suk, peered into a house, reverently touched a tree, Geddes had no set plan in his mind but he followed some inner vision. Ideas, too formless yet to find expression, were brooding in his mind.

It was the period of fecundation - not a note was yet put upon paper, not a line drawn. On any other subject he conversed freely and gaily...¹⁵⁹

As with Geddes' other projects, the university plan evolved more as a symbolic diagram than as an architectural commission. Geddes planned the University so as to follow his ideas of synthesizing knowledge and promoting an intimate relationship between university, city, and region. He explained this as the three 'S's, symbolised by three flying doves: Sympathy, Synergy and Synthesis. These represented an evolutionary process: first, understanding of one's fellow men and the environment, then the joining together of disciplines of learning and finally, a building up into a connected whole. Geddes abhorred narrow specialization; instead, he "saw education as a coming together of experiences and ideas to create an integrated system much greater than its parts."¹⁶⁰

Geddes and Mears prepared a first provisional plan, dated December 1919 and named "The University of Jerusalem - General Plan Showing Main Departments." It was a loose hexagonal net of long thin buildings enclosing open courtyards and gardens. Some of these were the gardens of the Gray Hill estate, yet Geddes planned a considerable extension that included building new terraces, and a botanical garden which survives today. In his mind, this was a most important component of the whole scheme:

What are we for - we City, College planners - if not "build up again the old waste places'?"

¹⁵⁹ Mairet, *Life and Letters of Patrick Geddes*, p. 184.

¹⁶⁰ McLelland, "A Scot Remembered", published on-line.

So thus for 'Versity Gardens. Wood, orchard, olives, vines, by
students tended
Mean more than health and exercise; more than "Received-Expended":
-Mean general economics, social science: Nature-sciences too, each,
every one:
Synthesis of Sciences; Synergy, with arts:-towards Etho-Polity.¹⁶¹

At the core of the layout there was a monumental fifty-metre diameter Great Hall, with the 'Dome of Knowledge' at its centre, a vault covering a span of thirty metres and of equal height: the Rosenbloom Memorial Building. The final drawings for this were prepared in Edinburgh and finished in 1929.

The Great Hall was surrounded by an open court planted with cypresses, and then encircled by a hexagonal enclosure of buildings housing the departments of Philosophy, Music and Mathematics to the north, and the access terrace, a reading room and dining hall to the south. From this branched out the rest of the scheme: to the east, the faculties of Biology, Chemistry and Physics surrounding the 'old buildings' on the site, which were partly set aside for administration; to the north, the buildings of Forestry, Agriculture and Engineering, including workshops; to the west, the buildings of Fine and Applied Arts and of History and Languages. The Architecture and Town Planning departments were designed as a long wing connecting the buildings of Arts and Engineering and enclosing a large quadrangular courtyard shared by these faculties. Finally, to the south, which was the direction facing the Old City, he placed the main processional entrance route, flanked by buildings for student societies, and by olives terraces and gardens. At every node of the layout net, Geddes placed pentagonal lecture theatres, and at the farthest wing, closest to the City and planned as a separate micro-cosmos, he located the institute for Hebraic Studies, the one institute that symbolized as in a nutshell the whole vision of a Hebrew University.

It is clear from this plan, that Geddes was creating spatial connections that reflected his own epistemological thinking, as well as his own pedagogical

¹⁶¹ Geddes, "Jerusalem: Meyo-Shorim Quarter", Geddes Archives, T GED 8/2/5., p. 6, stanza [40].

beliefs. If the plan was pure Geddesian theory, the design of the buildings themselves was the work of Frank C. Mears who, in this, his first major architectural commission, produced the most beautiful drawings of his whole career. He began the project when he was thirty-nine, and would continue to develop sections of it for the next twelve years.

Geddes was no advocate of modern design, certainly not while working in an historical context, and even less in the case of Jerusalem; he would prefer an architecture that referred to the past and would never seem to be 'new', but rather 'eternal' in its form and appearance. Under such guidance, Mears designed a complex that had strong Eastern connotations, a mixture of neo-Palestinian vernacular in the lesser buildings, Neo-Mamluk detailing for those buildings of middling importance, and Christian Byzantine for the major ones. These drawings were published in *The Architect* as early as 11 June 1920.

In accordance with Ashbee's municipal ordinances, all the buildings would be stonework or, if a concrete structure, faced with stone. Thus, considerable knowledge of local stonework was needed. The buildings were designed in collaboration with a supervising local architect, English-born Bernard Chaikin. Chaikin (1885-1950) was a Jewish architect trained at the Architectural Association. He had practised in London until the First World War; he had recently emigrated to Palestine and had been appointed director of the Architectural Department of the Vaad HaTzirim (Board of Representatives of the World Zionist Organization)¹⁶².

Chaikin would be the person in charge of the choice of different local stones to use in fine *ablaq* decorations, and who found the stonemasons, whose exceptional work can be seen in the few buildings that were realised. The architects chose to use Jerusalem stone worked in *tubzeh* fashion, which is the roughest, most vernacular way of using stone; but they left decorations to be done in a delicate and meticulous manner, using the most rare and

¹⁶² Ran Shehory, *Zeev Rechter* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1987), p. 85, note 5.

expensive quarry stones, black basalt and the red *malkie* – 'the queen' - which achieved a fine contrast with the *tubzeh* masonry. Just as Geddes was for long undeservedly forgotten in the world at large, so is Chaikin in Israel, yet his obituary attests to his work:

Benjamin Chaikin [F], who died on 23 April last, aged 66, was senior partner in the architectural firm of B. Chaikin and E. Neshet, of Jerusalem. Mr. Chaikin was the architect of health centres, university and municipal buildings, hospitals, post offices, libraries, hotels and institutions in Palestine, and specialized in quantity surveying and land valuation.¹⁶³

As the work progressed, a neighbouring site on the mount was chosen and was being prepared to become a war cemetery for 2,534 victims of the Great War and a memorial for 3,366 others missing in action:

Before the Hebrew University is reached there is [1928] the British War Cemetery, where human art has combined with the grandeur and beauty of nature to create a resting-place for the heroic dead.¹⁶⁴

The project was planned by the Scottish architect Sir John James Burnet, and it includes an exquisite Memorial Chapel planned with Anning Bell and Gilbert Bayes, designed in Neo-Byzantine style.¹⁶⁵ In a way that is lost today due to the interposition of new University buildings and of Erich Mendelsohn's brilliant Hadassa Hospital, these two projects – the cemetery and the university - had a bipolar symbolism in Jerusalem. The cemetery stood, to the west, as a silent city of death, a reminder of the terrible sacrifice of the recent past; the University, to the east, stood as a garden campus growing 'as the tree of life' with hope for the young of the future. Between the two run subtle stylistic

¹⁶³ Excerpt from the obituary published in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. 57 (June 1950). For a list of Chaikin works in Palestine, see Appendix 3.3.

¹⁶⁴ Albert M. Hyamson, *Palestine Old and New*, p. 100.

¹⁶⁵ For a description and analysis of the British War Cemetery on Mount Scopus, which is a masterpiece on its own right, see Ron Fuchs, "The Planning of the British War Cemeteries in Mandatory Palestine", *Cathedra*, 79 (March 1996), pp. 114-139 [in Hebrew]; for the cemetery as part of the planned official war memorials, see Gavin Stamp, *Silent Cities: An Exhibition of the Memorial and Cemetery Architecture of the Great War* (London: RIBA, 1977), p. 20 and *passim*.

correlations that link them together: the motif of a central dome, the use of the luminous Jerusalem stone, and the majesty of the old Christian churches of the East: the influence of Byzantine architecture.¹⁶⁶ Geddes was very proud of his achievement, later writing:

Poor sowings, think you? That's "College" – "Versity"? – Grand
buildings? gardens fair?
With playing fields and river? None here! - Candidates, hundreds, crowding
to prepare
For pass exams, or honours? - Not yet these modern thought-dams! What's
essential?
- Group learning, studying, thinking, searching, - Truth-
reverential.
[...]

How large? – Take Oxford, Cambridge: - great colleges, all England's
pride and glory!
Piety and wealth gave fellowships – men picked (given faith) for
learning hoary,
(Till lately, and still mainly). Seven centuries – how many, 'tween
the two?
Say full five hundred? So many, sure, learned world elsewhere ne'er
knew?

Save here; Jerusalem outside walls. In last two generations of century past
Since Montefiore endowed his scores of cottages, with modest stipends, fast
- From many cities, new groups thence named, some forty five, were
founded;
Five thousand fellowships! – say ten Oxfords, plus ten Cambridges, in
numbers rounded!¹⁶⁷

On 1 April, 1925 the festive opening of the university took place, and Geddes was invited to participate. The ceremony was momentous, in the presence of the High Commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel and of the architect of the Balfour Declaration, Lord Balfour, who, at the age of seventy seven had also come

¹⁶⁶ One can read in these links the strong influence of Lethaby's ideas, especially those he published in *Myth and Mysticism in Architecture*, where he refers repeatedly to the Temple, to Hagia Sophia, and to the right way of building domes, which are, in Lethaby's words, 'like the sky', spiritual symbols of infinity.

¹⁶⁷ Geddes, "Jerusalem: Mevo-Shorim Quarter", *op. cit.*, Geddes Archive, T GED 8/2/5.p.2, stanzas [9] , [11] and [12].

from England for the occasion.¹⁶⁸ At this point, only one building existed, the Chaim Weizmann School of Chemistry and Institute of Microbiology; yet, in that first year the new university boasted 164 students and a collection of 82,500 books.

Construction continued on the university campus: the Einstein Institute of Mathematics (1928); the Wolffsohn Building housing the Jewish National and University Library (1930); the Einstein Institute of Physics (1930). The same team of architects also rebuilt the Chemistry-Microbiology building after it had been damaged in the 1927 earthquake. The year 1933 saw the completion of the amphitheatre planned by Chaikin with the German architect Fritz Kornberg.¹⁶⁹ Further faculties and buildings were added, and by 1948, fifteen buildings made up the campus while the student body was composed of several hundred persons. Tastes, however, changed in the 1930s and the Board of Governors, headed by Salman Schocken, started doubting the wisdom of such a 'conservative design' for a modern university. Furthermore, the money promised to build the monumental Rosenbloom Dome of Knowledge was not forthcoming, and it was understood that, without this, the whole scheme ought to be revised, this time if possible by a Jewish architect.

Hence, Erich Mendelsohn was asked to take over the project and to continue the development of the university. Mendelsohn had returned to Palestine, after eleven years' absence, to build the residence of Professor Chaim Weizmann in Rehoboth; at the same time, the Hadassah organization intended to build a new university hospital and nursing school on Mount Scopus. Mendelsohn, however, could not agree with Geddes' vision and did not understand his intentions. Accepting the project in the winter of 1934, he wrote to his wife, describing what he saw at the place in the following terms:

¹⁶⁸ See illustration, plate G.I.9.

¹⁶⁹ For the building of the amphitheatre, Kornberg travelled to Gerash, in Jordan, to make acoustical experiments and learn from the Roman theatre there. On this specific part of the university, see Diana Dolev, "The president, the donor and another three architects: the story of the planning and construction of the amphitheatre on Mount Scopus", *Studio*, 28 (1991), pp. 34-36 [in Hebrew].

It is not simply a question of the Rosenbloom building, the Hostel building - Hadassah, but of an entirely new master plan for the whole University complex. The site is indescribably beautiful - yes, shattering - but the buildings are scattered about without any plan, in a terrifyingly small-minded way.¹⁷⁰

I have visited all the [existing] buildings on Mount Scopus. A God-given piece of country between the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean has been violated by devils' hands. A wretched, botched fruit of incompetence and self-complacency.¹⁷¹

Eventually, Mendelsohn did prepare a new master plan for the University, but just as with Geddes', it was not fully implemented. As would happen with other Mendelsohn's projects in Palestine, his former schoolmate, the architect Richard Kauffmann, took over, drew another plan, and finally got to build the Rosenbloom Building (without the dome) in 1940. Nevertheless, Mendelsohn's Hospital, Medical School and Nurse's Wing, were built, and together constitute a tour de force of modern architecture sensitive to its context.¹⁷²

In due course, the story of the Scopus campus was to be intricately entangled with future historical events. After the end of the Mandate, Jordan captured the eastern part of Jerusalem in the 1948 War and the university campus was cut off, becoming a demilitarized zone in Jordanian territory. At first the university departments were scattered throughout the rest of the city, but in 1958 a new campus was built in western Jerusalem: Givat Ram. After the reunification of Jerusalem in 1967, many of the faculties returned to Mount Scopus and many new buildings were added. The architect Ram Carmi, winner of the Israel Prize for Architecture, remodelled and expanded the campus, creating a new megastructure. Carmi's megastructure transformed

¹⁷⁰ Erich Mendelsohn, Letter to Louise from Jerusalem, 12 December 1934, in Oskar Beyer, ed., *Eric Mendelsohn: Letters of an architect*. (London New York and Toronto: Abelard-Schuman, 1967), p. 148.

¹⁷¹ Erich Mendelsohn, Letter to Louise from Jerusalem, 27 December 1934, in Beyer, *Eric Mendelsohn: Letters*, p. 139.

¹⁷² The literature on this project is vast. For a short description and good analysis of Mendelsohn's Hadassah Hospital on Mount Scopus, see William J.R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900* (London: Phaidon, first published 1982, revised, expanded third edition 1996), pp. 381-384.

the whole hill into one fortress of learning, complete with escalators and traffic tunnels. The scattered fragments of Geddes' grandiose Byzantine dream that were realised are still there. They stand, witnesses to other times, albeit engulfed and swallowed by the present complex. The slopes where Geddes and Ashbee joked about the implausibility of running a *Hebrew University*, have become one of the most emotionally charged national monuments for the Israeli people. As Geddes himself wrote,

In new University take full part. There your special Hall
Of Hebrew language, history, literature, already planned;
None the less you, your sons yet more, will stand.¹⁷³

1925, Tel Aviv:

"By leaves we live": The Geddes Plan for Tel Aviv¹⁷⁴

The exceptional - and almost unknown - Geddes' Tel Aviv plan has been selected next for examination. One of the major reasons behind its lack of wider recognition derives from the fact that almost all original documentation is missing.¹⁷⁵

The city of Tel Aviv is today the centre of a large metropolis - Gush Dan - and represents the financial, commercial and entertainment capital of Israel. Yet, unlike Jerusalem or even Haifa, Tel Aviv is a new town, planned and developed in the twentieth century. It was founded in 1909 as a garden suburb of the ancient port of Jaffa, and enjoyed such success, that fourteen years later it had evolved into a burgeoning township of 30,000 inhabitants. The legendary founding major of Tel Aviv, Meir Dizengoff, much worried by

¹⁷³ Patrick Geddes, "Jerusalem: Mevo-Shorim Quarter", Geddes Archive, T GED 8/2/5, pp. 8-9, stanza [55].

¹⁷⁴ See illustrations to this case study, plates under the heading 2.5.

¹⁷⁵ A different version of this section, explaining the methodology of the reconstruction of Geddes' plan from surrogate sources of information and contextual knowledge, was presented as a paper entitled "The Urban Orchard: On Patrick Geddes' Tel Aviv Plan of 1926" for the WSA Postgraduate Conference Welsh School of Architecture, Cardiff University, May 2003, and was published in its *Proceedings*, pp. 114-122.

this chaotic growth, approached Professor Patrick Geddes - who was visiting Palestine at the time - and asked him to propose a master plan according to the tenets of the Garden Cities Movement.¹⁷⁶ Geddes had been invited to return to Palestine early in the spring of 1925, to be present at the inauguration of his project, the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus, Jerusalem.

The requested plan was promptly prepared. Presented to the City Council together with a written report, it was officially accepted by the municipality a year later, on April 6 1926, under the Hebrew name of "*Tochnit Binyan Ir Tel Aviv 1926*" ("Tel Aviv General Town Planning Scheme of 1926"),¹⁷⁷ but nevertheless known to this day as "*Tochnit Geddes*", the "Geddes Plan".

Geddes, however, was not a qualified architect and could not prepare technical drawings. While we do not know for certain who drafted his town-planning scheme, we do know that his architectural projects for the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus were developed with the assistance of Benjamin Chaikin, and of Geddes' son-in-law, Frank C. Mears. This may support the hypothesis that they were also involved in the Tel Aviv plan. Some sources maintain, instead, that Geddes "produced a skeleton plan showing the network of [...] streets, and the Town Planning Department further elaborated the proposal producing a final map."¹⁷⁸ This map, assuming that it ever existed as a drawn document, has long been lost.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Ilan Shehory, "The Story of Building of Tel Aviv", in *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), pp. 32-35. [H]; Yaacov Shavit and Gideon Biger, *The History of Tel Aviv*, vol. 1: The Birth of a Town: 1909-1936 (Tel Aviv: Ramot -Tel Aviv University Press, 2001), pp. 21-23. [H].

¹⁷⁷ Neal I. Payton, "The Machine in the Garden City: Patrick Geddes' Plan for Tel Aviv", unpublished paper presented to the "Bauhaus in Tel Aviv" International Conference, Tel Aviv, 1994, p.1.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ Due to the lack of this central source of information, the main sources for the Geddes' scheme are: later municipal plans, especially the "Tel Aviv General Plan, 1931", drawn by the Municipal Technical Department, which shows to the north the Geddes plan of 1926 already incorporated to the city fabric; Geddes' own "Town Planning Report – Jaffa and Tel Aviv (1925)", unpublished typescript, 62 pages, Tel Aviv-Jaffa City History Museum Archives. (MS rough copies of this document are found at the Strathclyde University Archives; esp. T GED

Geddes devised a plan for a city of 100,000 inhabitants. He planned a new urban district to the north of the existing city: almost 900 acres of sand and dunes bordering on the Mediterranean seashore to the west, up to Yehuda Halevy Street and its planned continuation to the east, and to the Auja (Yarkon) River to the north.¹⁸⁰ The planned area was as large again as the whole built-up city at that time. Hence, it may be called Geddes' Tel Aviv "example", alluding to the name of the famous urban expansion of Barcelona planned in the 1860s by Ildefons Cerdà i Sunyer. In fact, rather than a Garden City, which he did not plan, Geddes devised a unique and original "city of gardens", indirectly referring to the meaning of the name "Tel Aviv", "hill of spring".

Biblical allusions are common in Geddes' thinking. Moreover, his knowledge of the Scriptures by heart meant that many phrases of his are, in fact, quotations, misquotations or his own expression of ideas drawn from the Bible. Reading Geddes' *Report for Tel Aviv*, the idea of creating an 'urban orchard' is explained by means of many allusions to the Song of Solomon and the prophets Micah and Jeremiah. One can compare, for instance, the following biblical verses with the subsequent Geddes' quotes. He seems to evoke such biblical phrases as:

"a garden enclosed..."

"a fountain of gardens..."

"an orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits..."¹⁸¹

"The flowers appear on the earth..."

"The fig tree putteth forth her green figs,

and the vines with the tender grape give a good smell..."¹⁸²

18/1/309: "Idealism in Practice – Tel Aviv as a Garden City"); extant built evidence in Tel Aviv's 'old north'.

¹⁸⁰ Discrepancies have been found concerning the extent of Geddes' plan. Other sources assign an area of 660 ha. enlarged later to 817 ha.

¹⁸¹ Song of Solomon, 4: 12, 15, 13.

¹⁸² Song of Solomon, 2:13-14.

"They shall seat every man under his vine and under his fig tree."¹⁸³

"As a tree planted by the waters, and that spreadeth out her roots by the river, and shall not see when the heat cometh, but her leaf shall be green."¹⁸⁴

For we find in his own writings about Tel Aviv, Hill of spring, the following:

"The joy of spring diffused by the almond in blossom increases from the second year after planting..."

"So too for the useful and beautiful lemon: and it needs no very large garden to find room there for an olive tree..."

"What better beginning than by spreading over this whole city, its verdant and expanding banner, fruit emblazoned in purple and gold"...

"Not only as one Garden City among many others in the world, but as peculiarly Fruit-Garden City - Orchard City, Vine and Fig Tree City - Orange City, Almond City... to convert this into reality is the very easiest and speediest of all biblical counsels of perfection."¹⁸⁵

The differences between Howard's Garden City, as implemented by Unwin and Parker, and Geddes' ideas have been the subject of recent research¹⁸⁶; in his *Report for Tel Aviv*, Geddes attempts to elucidate this issue, demanding public gardens right within the core of every urban block:

The model and ideal before us is the Garden Village. But this is no longer merely suburban; but as coming into town; and even into the very heart of the city block.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ Micah: 4-4.

¹⁸⁴ Jeremiah 17:8.

¹⁸⁵ Patrick Geddes, "Town Planning Report – Jaffa and Tel Aviv (1925)", unpublished typescript, 62 pages, Tel Aviv-Jaffa City History Museum Archives, pp. 47- 48.

¹⁸⁶ See Volker Welter, *Biopolis: Patrick Geddes and the City of Life, passim*, especially "Epilogue", pp. 250-255.

¹⁸⁷ Geddes, "Town Planning Report – Jaffa and Tel Aviv (1925)", p. 19.

Four basic elements form the Geddes' plan for Tel Aviv: a skeleton grid of main arteries and pedestrian lanes, a new urban fabric formed by super-blocks, provisions for controlled density and an organic union with the older part of the city.¹⁸⁸

Geddes designed an orthogonal grid of streets running both parallel and perpendicular to the sea. This basic structure carries the traffic of the city to this day. He established three north-south thoroughfares and six east-west arteries open to the sea, two of which were planned as wide, tree-shaded boulevards. These are the "main-ways", linking with the 'world without', for pursuing the active urban life. The areas framed by the main-ways grid became super-blocks, the cellular units of the plan. Access to these blocks is gained through a system of narrow residential streets and pedestrian lanes called "home-ways". Geddes intended these paths to sustain and lead to the contemplative life of 'the world within'.

This basic skeleton was conceived as an organic, rather than geometric, web, and was thus prone to deformations. While the central area of the plan remains relatively regular, forming a 'generating strip' of five contiguous blocks in the middle, Geddes allowed increasing deformations further north and south towards the edges of the plan, where the structure responded to site-specific interferences: the sea, the river, and the edge of the existing city.

The basic unit of the plan was a large urban block with a hollow core. These he called 'home-blocks.' Since he saw the city as a mega-organism in evolution, biological metaphors of 'cellular growth' for the creation of new urban districts, of 'living tissue' for the urban fabric within a gridiron plan and of 'living cells' for the urban blocks are implicit in Geddesian thought. These

¹⁸⁸ Parts of the following analysis, plus a biological interpretation of its elements which is not given here, were included in a longer research article entitled "'Till we have built England's green in Jerusalem's pleasant land': British Mandate Palestine as an experimental planning ground" (written with the architect Horacio Schwartz) and presented in September 2003 at a Research Symposium organized by the Department of Architecture of the School of Arts, Culture and Environment of the University of Edinburgh, "The Man-Made Future: Planning, Education and Design in the mid-20th Century".

metaphors have inspired other distinguished planners of the period. One may see their influence, for instance, in Sir Patrick Abercrombie's illustration of the 'pioneer plan' that he published some years later. Abercrombie presents the orthogonal grid as an organic rather than geometric scheme, each block standing for units symbolizing the urban tissue's 'cellular growth'. Moreover, he affirms that this is the long-established solution for working in a new country:

The Pioneer Plan of all ages is almost invariably a simple rectangle divided into square blocks of building, with streets intersecting at right angles: it has been nicknamed the Gridiron or Chessboard Plan.¹⁸⁹

Possible precedents for the Gedessian Tel Aviv block come from the world of civic design, as represented by historical maps in the Towns and Cities Exhibition. There is a certain formal similarity to the Roman *insula*, and even more to the hollow core blocks that appeared in sections of the famous plan Turgot of Paris and the plan of Edinburgh New Town. John Ruskin in his Edinburgh Lectures had already argued that:

"As far as I am acquainted with modern architecture, I am aware of no streets which, in simplicity and in manliness of style, or general breadth and brightness of effect, equal those of the New Town of Edinburgh".¹⁹⁰

Yet, the idea of a new urban fabric formed by large urban blocks had been considered by Geddes as a means towards the end of ensuring a green, public inner core, and a better community life, "giving more space, beauty and

¹⁸⁹ Patrick Abercrombie, *Town and Country Planning* (London: Oxford University Press, first published 1933, revised second edition, 1943), p. 13. For Abercrombie's own application of similar ideas in Palestine, see next case study "Ir HaMifratz, the utopian area by-the-sea: Chronicle of the Triple Planning of Haifa Bay", pp. 140-158.

¹⁹⁰ John Ruskin, (Joan Evans, ed.), *The Lamp of Beauty: Writings on Art* (London: Phaidon, 1959, 1995).

recreated value to the interior of each block; and with the further advantages of homely seclusion for half of the houses within the block itself."¹⁹¹

There is evidence of Geddes consulting his disciple and friend Lewis Mumford on this matter, and measuring his proposal against similar experiments being carried out at the time in the U.S.A. by Clarence Stein and Henry Wright. In an undated letter kept at the National Library of Scotland, Mumford answered:

As soon as I got your letter from Tel Aviv I asked Clarence Stein to send you the report of the Community Planning Committee; you will note the Diagram at the end of the report deals with your very problem; and gives statistical proof of the economy of the large block. It was a customary way of planning in America around Boston, at Longwood and Brookline, and because of it, those two suburbs have kept their rural character much better than most of the other adjoining towns. Moreover, the big block gives you the opportunity to produce charming little dead end streets as in the diagram. It is interesting that the very careful investigations of Stein and Wright should have brought them back to the same solution: the current age of Transportation sacrifices to it Road the money and space that should go into gardens.¹⁹²

Geddes had established close contact with Lewis Mumford since his visit to the U.S.A. in 1923; Mumford (1895-1990), Stein (1882-1975) and Wright (1878-1936) were founding members of the Regional Planning Association of America, a group instrumental in importing Ebenezer Howard's garden city model from England to the United States. Stein and Wright together designed model communities, the most famous being Sunnyside and Radburn. Sunnyside Gardens, a planned neighbourhood, was being built in Queens, New York, exactly at this time (1924-28), and is considered to be the first planned "Garden City" in the United States; Radburn, New Jersey, which was to be built in the next years (1928-32), is a canonic example of garden suburb, especially noteworthy for its super-block layout.

¹⁹¹ Geddes, "Town Planning Report – Jaffa and Tel Aviv (1925)", p.16.

¹⁹² Letter from Lewis Mumford to Patrick Geddes (probably 1925), Patrick Geddes Archive, National Library of Scotland, file MS 10575.

The new urban fabric proposed in Geddes' plan divided the district into sixty blocks, all similar in concept but varied in form and size. These blocks together produced, by their juxtaposition, an organic aggregate of cells, the proposed new urban tissue. The Geddesian urban block pattern is the most original and humane element in the plan. It consists of an external single or double enclosure of buildings surrounding a secluded, almost sacred public space. Home-ways lead from the main-way to a public garden at the core of the block, a communal green space with playgrounds, tennis courts and rich gardens, thus producing a new 'urban orchard'.

Surrounding the inner 'common green' he placed public institutions such as schools, kindergartens, clinics, police stations; along the outer main-ways he planned commercial buildings, having shops at the street level and dwellings above. Geddes' Tel Aviv urban block can be seen as a precious container in which human society, flora and foliage, geometry and architecture come together into a single living unit.

Controlled density was one of the aims of Howard's Garden City. In the same way, Geddes set a number of regulations to achieve that goal in Tel Aviv. Years earlier he had coined the plea for building 'houses, not tenements!' In Tel Aviv, to prevent even the erection of single-family terraced houses, he insisted on a minimum distance of three metres between each building and the edge of its plot. He allowed plots no smaller than 560 sq. m., of which less than fifty per cent 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 space -or 14 m. height- on the main roads and just two storeys-space - or 9 m. - along interior streets. Only exceptionally, in commercial zones, did he permit four storeys, and then only up to 15 m. height.¹⁹³

¹⁹³ Ilan Shehory, "The Story of Building of Tel Aviv", in *I Will Build Thee, and Thou Shalt Be Built: The story of building Tel Aviv and a memorial to its builders*, p. 34.

Geddes was aware of the need to unite the two parts of the city - the existing Tel Aviv and his proposed 'example'; to achieve this end he used public squares and the continuation of existing boulevards as urban links. He acted in response to the zigzag line that separated the city from the new district by ingeniously stitching the two areas together. Along this line he placed three major urban public places as connectors: an oval plaza by the sea, a hexagonal square in the middle and a rectangular one to the south-east, which he intended to become the cultural acropolis of Tel Aviv.¹⁹⁴ Eventually, all three were built: Kikar Atarim, Kikar Dizengoff and Kikar HaBima; the last two are major landmarks in the city today.

Present-day Tel Aviv, congested and fume-ridden, is not the model city dreamt of in the 1920s and hardly fits Geddes' intention of creating a new civic grouping "more beautiful and health-giving than any previous form of community in human annals."¹⁹⁵ Geddes would have realised the paradox of seeing his exemplary town transformed into a conurbation, a term he himself coined.

This contrast only reaffirms the considerable gap that time opens up between ideal visions and dynamic reality. Nevertheless, the urban fabric of the north-central area of the city confirms that Geddes' visionary urban pattern has survived and makes for habitable places which restore human scale to the large metropolis. Geddes' symbiosis between active and contemplative life persists. The proximity of intensive street life – the 'world without' - to quiet public space – the 'world within' – exists even now, and this might be the source of a regenerative urban process, even instrumental in the design of future environments. The 'Old North', as the area of the Geddes plan is known nowadays, represents the city of Tel Aviv 'not as it is but as it wanted to be'.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ See Volker Welter, "The Cultural Acropolis", in *Biopolis: Patrick Geddes and the City of Life*, pp. 232-244.

¹⁹⁵ Patrick Geddes, "Town Planning Report – Jaffa and Tel Aviv (1925)" unpublished typescript, 62 pages, (Archives, Museum of the City of Tel Aviv), p. 43.

¹⁹⁶ Esther Zandberg, "Ha'ir Halevana Tziricha Lihiyot Levana" [The White City ought to be white], *Ha'aretz*, 14 February 1999. [H].

1932-1936, Tel Aviv:

***“When camels fly”*: The Levant International Fairs¹⁹⁷**

Today, at the northernmost end of Tel Aviv's 'Old North', between the boundary of Geddes' plan and the Yarkon River, an apparently incoherent group of buildings in an evident state of disrepair confronts the unaware passerby. This is a small peninsula by the sea, which Geddes did not plan, and currently it is remarkably active, a heterogeneous assembly of warehouses, wholesale stores, small workshops, car repair facilities and popular seaside restaurants. One enters the place through a street whose name, 'Exhibition Road', hints at a secret story hiding behind the peeling plaster, loud commercial signs and haphazard additions. In fact, they conceal from the eye the once stark volumes of national and international pavilions, for these are the remaining structures of the splendid 1934 Levant Fair.

The idea of a biennial industrial fair originated informally in the early 1920s, with the intention of finding a proper stage on which the joint achievements of the Jewish Zionist settlement of Palestine and its organization of labour would be celebrated.¹⁹⁸ It started off as a few improvised stands along the path of the city's Purim carnival parade – the Adloyada -, one which had become a major event in the cultural life of Tel Aviv.

British Mandate Palestine was duly proud of its economic transformation. The development of industry was regarded as one of the foremost signs of modernization and progress. During the early 1920s, three young entrepreneurs founded in Tel Aviv the “Commerce and Industry Society”, a small company which endeavoured to organize exhibitions of local industrial products, creating a new platform for presenting and advertising them. Hence, the first exhibition took place in 1924, modestly located within the premises of a high school building in Tel Aviv. After a transitional period of eight years, this

¹⁹⁷ See illustrations to this case study, plates under the heading 2.6.

¹⁹⁸ Richard Ingersoll, *Munio Gitai Weinraub* (Milan: Electa, 1994), pp. 34-35.

enterprise prospered to the extent that by 1932 it could no longer be held without proper planning. It was then decided that the popular biennial exhibition should turn into an official enterprise of international level and a new name was coined to mark the change: Yarid HaMizrach, The Levant Fair.¹⁹⁹ Overall, six consecutive exhibitions took place, and only the last three, those of the years 1932, 1934 and 1936, were called by that name.

Thus the first international Fair to be held in Palestine opened on 7 April, 1932. Exhibits came from twenty four countries. For four weeks, up to 9 May, crowds streamed in, and this unprecedented success led to the decision to look for a better and larger site, even though it meant henceforth forfeiting the by then traditional location, near the Central Bus Station.

Most of the pavilions seem to have been improvised stands, yet one structure in that fair merits notice: the stand of the Histadrut designed by the young architect Arie Sharon. 'Histadrut' was the popular name of the General Federation of Hebrew Workers in Palestine (HaHistadrut haClalit shel haOvdim beEretz Israel), a powerful Socialist trade union founded in 1920 in Haifa by the workers' leader David Ben Gurion and led by him from then on. The Histadrut was paramount in pioneering settlement and struggling for Jewish workers' rights. It was one of the foremost institutions of the Zionist community during the British Mandate.

Arie Sharon (1900-1984) was a radical young architect trained at the Dessau Bauhaus and newly arrived from his studies in Germany and practice in Berlin and Moscow. As such, he was invited to design the Histadrut Pavilions for the Levant Fairs of 1932 and 1934.²⁰⁰ The Histadrut Pavilion at the 1932 Levant

¹⁹⁹ 'Levant' was the English translation chosen by the organisers for the Hebrew word *Mizrach*, literally 'east' or 'sunrise', and as that it became the trade name of the fairs.

²⁰⁰ The fact that Ben Gurion was leader of the Histadrut at the time fixes as early as 1932 the beginning of a long and fruitful cooperation with Arie Sharon, who would become his preferred architect and planner. In 1948, as first Prime Minister of Israel, Ben Gurion would appoint Sharon as Director and Chief Architect of the National Planning Office. Under Sharon this office produced the 1951 Israel Master Plan and designed in the following years twenty New Development Towns; see pp. 156-157.

Fair was the first important project that Sharon designed in Palestine.²⁰¹ Because of a certain formal similarity between the two Levant Fair's pavilions by Sharon - and because of the fact that both have been destroyed - there are inconsistent indications and confusion between them in the literature, sometimes misunderstanding them as if there were a single project.²⁰²

Arieh Sharon had emigrated from Poland in 1920; 'with a group of young pioneers', and joined Kibbutz Gan Shmuel south of Haifa, where he worked as chief beekeeper.²⁰³ Having heard of the ideas of Gropius and the Bauhaus programme, he came to Germany in 1925 to study architecture.²⁰⁴

Sharon joined the Bauhaus at the time of the inauguration of the Dessau campus, and stayed there until 1929. During this period he became especially attached to Hannes Meyer, the head of the architecture department and later director of the Bauhaus, and to the designer Guntha Stölz, the weaving workshops master, who became his lover and the mother of his daughter. Since 1930 Sharon had been assistant architect in the office of Hannes Meyer and Hans Wittwer, working in important avant-garde projects. After Meyer's departure from the Bauhaus, Sharon and Stölz joined the group that followed him to work in the Soviet Union. Three years later, Sharon decided to return to

²⁰¹ For a selected list of works of Arieh Sharon's bountiful practice, see Appendix 3.10.

²⁰² Analysis of contemporary photos and pieces of verbal evidence given by the architect allowed disentangling the projects, leading to the understanding of these works presented here.

²⁰³ *Kibbutz* (plural *kibbutzim*), literally 'grouping', is a collective rural settlement. The first kibbutz founded in Palestine by Zionist pioneers was Ein Harod in the Esdraelon valley in 1921; Gan Shmuel followed, the same year. Originally implemented by the P.L.D.C. (the Palestine Land Development Company) on behalf of the World Zionist Organisation, the pattern of the *kibbutz's* physical planning was created by the architect Richard Kauffmann. For Sharon's special programme of study at the Bauhaus, see Michael Levin, *White City: International Style Architecture in Israel: A Portrait of an Era* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Museum, 1984), p. 31.

²⁰⁴ The most complete reference hitherto for Arieh Sharon's life and work is his autobiography, *Kibbutz + Bauhaus: An Architect's Way in a New Land* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer; Israel: Massada, 1976).

Palestine and work there in order to realize his Socialist dream. He wrote that until then "I was plagued with doubt. I felt split between Russia and Israel".²⁰⁵

Sharon's Histadrut pavilion of 1932 has been pointed out as the first modern work realized in Palestine, but - as in the case of the pioneer merits of Mies' Barcelona Pavilion vis-a-vis Le Corbusier's Ville Savoye - this title is legitimately contested by a villa built by Zeev Rechter in Tel Aviv for the poetess Ester Rahav in 1927. As both buildings have since been demolished, information about them is very scarce. Nevertheless, Ilan Shehory mentions that "in order to plan the pavilions, Sharon made use of knowledge he acquired in Germany."²⁰⁶

The project consisted of four separate small pavilions, 'built of wooden beams and panels with open walls'.²⁰⁷ The pavilions were designed with sloping roofs, and were painted in bright complementary hues: blue and orange, or red and green. Traces of the Bauhaus' Basic Design courses are strongly felt, as is in the conscious use of very cheap materials, upgraded only by means of careful design. The pavilions were rectangular in plan, of various lengths and apparently ordered according to size, all showing the same trapezoid form and the same fixed width for the short facade. However, as the slope of the roof ran along the long axis, the height of the pavilions increased corresponding to their length: "the longer the pavilion was, the module kept on opening up", mused Sharon years later.

It was an austere, modular wooden construction, with V- form uprights, and walls made of wooden planks to which the different texts and signs were placed. As a result of the trapezoid form of the short end, the long walls slanted away slightly from the spectator, facilitating reading the texts and diagrams displayed. The overall effect was at once proletarian and sophisticated.

²⁰⁵ Ingersoll, *Munio Gitai Weinraub*, p. 47.

²⁰⁶ Shehory, "The Story of Building of Tel Aviv", p. 40.

²⁰⁷ Levin, *White City: International Style Architecture in Israel Era*, p. 31.

The four pavilions were built of different sizes, and painted according to purpose: the trade unions - obviously - used red; the blue structure was intended for displays of co-operative endeavours; green was used for the agricultural show; and the smallest one, orange in colour, was set aside for the citrus industry.

Arieh Sharon recorded in his autobiography of 1976 how the then High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Wauchope, who publicly supported modern experiments in the arts, helped to change the startled public's opinion of his own Pavilion for the Histadrut at the Levant Fair. The passage is long but important; on the reception of this, his first work, Sharon wrote:

This exhibition was one of the first Israeli attempts at expressing ideas visually in contemporary form. It was enthusiastically approved by the small circle of Tel Aviv artists and intellectuals. But it was strongly criticized in the trade union daily newspaper [*Davar*], who missed the usual plans, statistics and data [...]

I was in danger of being condemned by the workers' "Establishment"! The situation was saved unexpectedly by a third party: the High Commissioner for Palestine, Sir Arthur Wauchope, was enthusiastic about our pavilions, which were so different and striking in comparison with all the other conventional box structures, covered with greyish or beige plywood, [standing] in the exhibition area. He expressed his admiration for our contemporary endeavours in his opening speech. This unexpected backing from a VIP outsider saved the day, and dissipated the aesthetic doubts of the Histadrut Leaders. So, the exhibition, with its simple modular structures and the pure "Bauhaus" interior layout, was one of the starting points of avant-garde architecture in Tel Aviv in the early 'thirties.²⁰⁸

During an interview Sharon gave to the sculptor Yigael Tomarkin just before his death in 1980, he stressed again his own sense of the significance of the project:

²⁰⁸ Sharon, *Kibbutz + Bauhaus*, p. 47.

It is a pity that you did not know the Histadrut Pavilions of the year 1932. They were made of thin planks of wood ... their life-span was three weeks. Indeed, they were the first avant-garde buildings in Israel.²⁰⁹

A rare night photograph of the 1932 Pavilion was included in Dennis Sharp's introduction to the 1930s decade in his *Visual History of Twentieth Century Architecture*. The caption identifies it as "Housing exhibition in Tel Aviv, Palestine (now Israel) by Arie Sharon, 1937". This later date - if it is not mistaken - may indicate that the stands were re-used for other, later shows. In the photographs several kiosk-like stands can be seen, as well as part of an overpowering sign reading 'Histadrut Clalit' [General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine].²¹⁰

The Levant Fairs of 1932, 1934 and 1936 were of extraordinary importance in consolidating the acceptance of Modern architecture in Palestine, due to the quality of the pavilions designed and the excellence of the local architects involved. From 1934, all the buildings of the exhibition were designed according to Modern Movement guidelines.

It is a recognised fact today that big public events such as international exhibitions were among the instruments that facilitated the diffusion and reception of Modern Movement's architectural language in Europe after the First World War. These were a celebration of local progress, therefore a celebration of modernity. Famous precedent for them all was the equally innovatory Crystal Palace in London, of 1851, yet only a few of the international exhibitions held during the inter-war period were designed according to Modern Movement principles, namely the Weissenhof Siedlung Werkbund Exhibition at Stuttgart (1927), and the Stockholm International Exhibition (1930). Significantly, these two had appointed, respectively, Mies

²⁰⁹ Yigael Tomarkin, "Thanks to the Scale: Yigael Tomarkin interviews the architect Arie Sharon on the Bauhaus and the development of architecture in Israel," *Kav Art Journal*, No. 2 (January 1981), p. 81.

²¹⁰ Dennis Sharp, *Visual History of Twentieth Century Architecture* (London: Heineman, Secker & Warburg, 1972), p.109.

van der Rohe and Gunnar Asplund as architects-in-chief. The Levant Fair at Tel Aviv of 1934 belongs to the same category, as the buildings hosting national pavilions of over twenty European and Middle Eastern countries were to be - without exception - uncompromisingly modern, some of them most outstanding expressions of the local Modern Movement.²¹¹

At the time of the inauguration of the 1934 Levant Fair, Tel Aviv was a city with a population of about 60,000 and growing fast. Against the background of world depression and the ascent of fascism, Tel Aviv underwent a period of relative prosperity and substantial growth up to the start of the Second World War. This was due to the inflow of private capital coming from new emigrants as well as to a strong and vigorous labour union that organized the working force. Hence many young architects educated in Europe, some of them Bauhaus graduates, arrived at Tel Aviv, and with them the Modern Movement entered the professional scene. It is noteworthy that this was contemporaneous with the implementation of the Geddes plan. Thus, it would be the convergence of two utopian conceptions, Garden City and Modern Movement, which generated the singular urban landscape of Tel Aviv.

The festive celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the foundation of Tel Aviv, in 1934, were a suitable occasion to look for a new location for the Levant Fair, and in that year, it was transferred to new grounds on a wide, triangular, natural peninsula limited by the Mediterranean to the west, the Yarkon River to the east and north and the city itself, far to the south. It received the name of Ganei HaTa'arucha - 'The Exhibition Gardens' - and was intended to house permanent pavilions.

The Levant Fair began the transformation of Tel Aviv into a cosmopolitan city, and added greatly to the recreational facilities of its citizens. The new location acted as a powerful catalyst to the development of the city, drawing the city northwards just beyond the limits of Geddes' plan. This was possible especially

²¹¹ Parts of this section were included in a paper entitled "When camels fly: The 1934 Levant Fair, Tel Aviv", presented at the 7th DOCOMOMO Conference, Paris, 2002: The reception of the Modern Movement. This article was written with the collaboration of the architects Arieh Sivan and Horacio Schwartz.

due to the opening of two main arteries, both in accordance with the Geddes plan - Dizengoff St. and Ben Yehuda St. - which linked the city with the entrance to the exhibition grounds. Very soon, new houses were being built along the two streets, filling up the open gaps in the built-up area.

Eventually the second international Levant Fair was inaugurated by the High Commissioner on 26 April 1934, in the new fairgrounds north of Tel Aviv. It lasted six weeks, and featured exhibitors from thirty countries. From an architectural point of view, the 1934 Levant Fair would be the most important of all. Its success, too, was phenomenal; no one could have guessed that it was to be the penultimate exhibition.

A large team of young architects and designers was entrusted with the planning of the exhibition's buildings. Foremost amongst them were two female architects, Genia Averbuch and Elsa Gidoni, as well as Josef Neufeld and Arie Sharon, both of later international fame. Arie El-Hanani, planner, designer and artist, was appointed chief architect to the exhibition. Despite their young age – they were in their late twenties or early thirties - the career achievements of some of them were already significant, as will be noted later. Moreover, Richard Kauffmann (1887-1958), the German Jewish architect and planner, was asked to prepare the Levant Fair Master Plan. As a matter of fact, Richard Kauffmann - alone among the architects' team - belonged to an elder generation. Kauffmann's layout organized the fairgrounds along an axial scheme, linking the exhibition's entrance plaza with two future main urban arteries, Geddes' main-ways, the above mentioned Dizengoff and Ben Yehuda streets.

Thirty permanent pavilions were erected, with the aim of hosting future exhibitions; therefore the fair comprised many buildings, among them the following: the Maccabiah Stadium by Genia Averbuch; Cafe Galina, by the seaside, by Genia Averbuch, Shlomo Ginzburg and Elsa Gidoni; *Bitan*

Totzeret HaAretz, the Palace, or Pavilion, of the Produce of the Land,²¹² by Richard Kauffmann; the Great Britain Pavilion, designed by Joseph Neufeld; the Pavilion of the Farmers' Association, the Histadrut Pavilion, by Arie Sharon; the Pavilion of the Nations by Arie Elhanani; Hazafon Cinema, at the entrance, with attached blocks for the Belgium, France and Italy Pavilions. All these structures covered a surface of 17,000 sq. m. In addition, there were about forty other temporary or semi-permanent, smaller pavilions, covering an additional area of 4,000 square metres. Altogether the Levant Fair was in 1934 the sixth largest international exhibition in the world to that date.²¹³

Furthermore, important pieces of sculpture were located in the grounds. The most visible was 'The Sower', a concrete sculpture by Zeev Ben Zvi and two large works by Arie Elhanani, 'The Hebrew Worker', cast in concrete, which stood in the central plaza by the entrance to the Produce of the Land Pavilion and 'The Flying Camel', symbol of the fair, by the main entrance.

The Maccabiah Stadium, with its 5,000 seats, was the largest structure in the precinct. It was located at the north end of the site and was designed with its main axis parallel to the river. Festive opening and closure ceremonies and sport contests - the Maccabean Games - were held there. The stadium and the amusement park area around it had been designed by Genia Averbuch, and had been completed two years earlier.

All the pavilions were Modern Movement buildings, turning the Levant Fair into a 'white' exhibition. The average quality of the architectural design was very high, reaching excellence in several instances. At least four buildings merit special attention: the Great Britain Pavilion, the Palace of Local Products, the Galina coffeehouse and the pavilion representing the General Federation of Labour, the Histadrut. Unfortunately, the first has been disfigured and the other three have been demolished.

²¹² This building is also referred to (in English) under the name of 'Pavilion of Local Products'.

²¹³ Ofer Regev and Yoram Raz, *Yarid Hahalomot* [The Fair of Dreams] (Tel Aviv: The Council for the Conservation of Buildings and Sites, 1996), p. 21.

The Great Britain Pavilion was built to house exhibits coming from the British Empire, of which Palestine was part at the time. The pavilion had a surface of 1,000 sq. m. and was designed as a clean and apparently weightless volume, suspended above a recessed glazed entrance. To the iconic white plaster rendering were added further details in red and blue, a double allusion, to both the colours of the British flag and to the De Stijl aesthetics. The planner was Joseph Neufeld (1899–1980), an eminent *avant-garde* architect. Neufeld had just returned from a decade of studies, apprenticeship and extensive travels in Europe. He had worked in Berlin as assistant in the office of Erich Mendelsohn between 1927 and 1930, subsequently joining Bruno Taut's office, working as his assistant firstly in Berlin and later in Moscow up to 1933. Elhanani has argued that "Neufeld was one of the most talented among the architects of the 1930s, and his small number of intriguing works deserves listing and research."²¹⁴

The Pavilion of Local Products, Bitan Totzeret HaAretz, was the central and largest pavilion of the Levant Fair, with a built surface of 3,400 sq. m. It was designed by Richard Kauffmann and displayed a straight elevation eighty meters long. This facade was in fact designed as the backdrop of the central plaza of the fair, ending on its western side in an observation tower 27 m. high and in the east in a lower, apse-like semi-circular volume. This latter section is the only part that remains standing today. The interior space was left undivided but a perimeter gallery that exposed the reinforced concrete structural frames. These lifted the roof above the walls, allowing light to penetrate through a long strip window which was particularly striking by night. For these reasons, the pavilion has been seen by critics as "probably the most important public building planned by Kauffmann".²¹⁵

²¹⁴ Aba Elhanani, "Chapters in the History of Israeli Architecture", *Tvai*, 27-28 (1990), p. 15.

²¹⁵ Elhanani, "Chapters in the History of Israeli Architecture", p. 20. For a selected list of works from Kauffmann's prolific practice, see Appendix 3.7.

Café Galina was a two-storey coffeehouse built by the beach, designed by Genia Averbuch (1909-1977), with Shlomo Ginzburg and Elsa Gidoni. Its plan formed a rectangle ending in a semi-circle, the short straight façade facing the sea and housing services downstairs with an open air terrace above, while the round elevation faced the fair and housed the indoor café. Its generous glazing is exceptional in the exhibition, where most pavilions flaunted opaque solid walls. The design was remarkably simple and elegantly up-to-date. Furthermore, it is clearly reminiscent of Gunnar Asplund's Stockholm Exhibition Building (1930), and of Mendelsohn's De la Warr Seaside Pavilion at Bexhill-on-Sea (1933-5), which was currently under construction in England. Sadly lost, Café Galina has been considered "one of the most amazing buildings built in Tel Aviv during the British Mandate".²¹⁶

The Histadrut Pavilion (1934) by Arie Sharon was important and innovative: located behind the central Local Products Pavilion and in front of Café Galina, its main, inclined elevation slanted forward in a manner that echoed contemporary Constructivist experiments. The pavilion was inaccessible at ground level and could be approached only at the first floor, by a curved bridge-like deck that offered a fine view of the sea. Since his arrival in Tel Aviv in 1932, Sharon had participated in the foundation of the Chug, the local 'Circle of Modern Architects'. Most of the architects of the Levant Fair were active members of the group.²¹⁷

The reception of the fair was positive and immediate. Reading contemporary comments, the prevalent mood is one of eager acceptance. An enormous attendance of 600,000 persons visited the fair during the fortnight it was open. This was at a time when the Jewish community that promoted the Levant Fair

²¹⁶ Ofer Regev and Yoram Raz, *Yarid Hahalomot* [The Fair of Dreams], p. 25.

²¹⁷ *Chug*: literally circle in Hebrew. The name, chosen probably as an echo of the Der Ring architects' association in Germany, the *Chug* was an exclusive circle of young *avant-garde* Jewish architects active in Tel Aviv from 1934, and later on also in Haifa. On the *Chug*, its ideas and achievements, see Alona Nitzan-Shifan, "Contested Zionism - Alternative Modernism: Erich Mendelsohn and the Tel Aviv Chug in Mandate Palestine", *Architectural History* 39 (1996), pp. 147-180.

did not reach 200,000 people and the whole population of Palestine numbered just over one million.²¹⁸

It is therefore understandable that while it was still on paper, fulfilling the Levant Fair project seemed implausible. The Arab Mayor of neighbouring Jaffa, sceptically regarding the ability of such a new town as Tel Aviv to implement so ambitious a project, had remarked that “such a fair will take place only *when camels fly*”. Yet, the challenge was met. In due time, the sceptical remark became the inspiration for the defiant symbol of the Levant Fair, as team leader and architect-in-chief Arie Elhanani designed it: a flying camel.²¹⁹

There were, however, other opinions. Arthur Ruppin, eminent scholar, economist, and planner, was not among these detractors. After the inauguration, he wrote in his diary:

30 April 1934: Last Thursday the Levant Fair opened in Tel Aviv. Its new (massive) buildings and its fine architecture are most impressive.

Mr. Schenkar, chairman of the Manufacturers Association said to me: ‘perhaps it is only a bluff, but at least it is a bluff made of concrete’.²²⁰

The enthusiasm that the exhibition caused spread, and included in its wake the earnest embracing of the new architecture by the public. This popular enthusiasm is felt in the text of a documentary film of that period:

The Levant Fair symbolizes today the extraordinary development of Palestine, and this is expressed in the flags of all the countries that have erected their pavilions in this modern international fair of the Middle East. Visitors are

²¹⁸ According to the British census for 1931, the population of Palestine was then 1,033,314, of which 174,606 of them were Jews.

²¹⁹ Morechai Naor, *The Twentieth Century in Eretz Israel: A Pictorial History* (Bnei Brak: Steimatzky, 1998), p. 174.

²²⁰ Alex Bein, ed., *Arthur Ruppin: Memoirs, Diaries, Letters* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), p. 266.

amazed to see that a country that only fifteen years ago²²¹ had to import all its industrial products – has learnt to provide for its own needs. That is how one of the formerly most forsaken corners of the world has turned into an important centre of production...²²²

The 1934 exhibition was the fifth exhibition, and by far the most influential of all the Levant Fairs. Later on, civic unrest in Palestine impaired the success of the ensuing Levant Fair (of 1936) which, due to the Arab Revolt and outbreak of the Second World War, turned out to be the last one.²²³ Nevertheless, the Fair of 1936 opened on 30 April 'despite the disturbances'. This time only sixteen countries exhibited, and even though it was planned to last for a whole month, the exhibition had to close early, because of the 1936 Riots. On May 19, Tel Aviv port opened following the closing of the Jaffa port as a part of the Arab strike. As the political situation deteriorated, the Fair did not reopen. Then the Second World War began, and the whole enterprise stopped.

It is not only the Levant Fair's contribution to the development of Tel Aviv that is important. The acceptance of the Modern Movement through the exhibition is even more significant, as the Levant Fair was instrumental in driving Modern architecture in Palestine from the intellectual avant-garde into the acknowledged mainstream. The existing literature, although mentioning the Levant Fair and some of its buildings, has hitherto failed to take adequate account of the immense effect the fair had in encouraging the diffusion and the implantation of Modern Movement in Tel Aviv. Instead, one should come to the conclusion that the 1934 Levant Fair was a defining moment, a lever for the reception of the Modern Movement in Palestine.

This hypothesis is corroborated by municipal statistics: at the opening of the fair, Tel Aviv was a city of 60,000 inhabitants and counting 5,329 buildings,

²²¹ That is, by the end of the Great War, marking the beginning of the British Administration in Palestine.

²²² Narrator's text, excerpt from the script of the film "The Land of Promise" (1935). Quoted by Yigal Lusin in *Pillar of Fire: Chapters on the History of Zionism* (Jerusalem: Shikmona, 1982), p. 205. [in Hebrew].

²²³ On the 'Disturbances' of 1936, see also note 452.

800 of which (i.e., 14%) were modern. Four years later almost 1,200 new Modern Movement buildings had been added to the urban fabric, doubling their former share in the cityscape. At that moment, a third of all Tel Aviv's buildings were modern. Yet, ten years afterwards, the population had reached 180,000 and the city numbered 8,055 buildings, a corpus of 4,000 of which was Modern Movement. In other words, up to 1934 one in every seven buildings was Modern; by 1938, one in every three; and by 1948, one in every two houses in the city was a Modern Movement building.²²⁴ Hence, from 1934 onwards, the Tel Aviv architectural community and the city in general overwhelmingly adopted the principles of Modern Movement in concept and form. These tenets were very different from those of the British Mandate official architecture, which, flourishing at the same time, especially (but not only) in Jerusalem, combined Beaux-Arts guidelines in spatial layout with Orientalist detailing. Unlike Jerusalem, steeped in history, Tel Aviv was felt to be a *tabula rasa*, which encouraged experimentation: the freedom to be new.

In order to appreciate the extent of the change of architectural language in such a short period, it is useful to compare Neufeld's ultra-modern Great Britain Pavilion at the 1934 Levant Fair in Tel Aviv with, for instance, the Palestine Pavilion designed by Austen St. Barbe Harrison, then Chief Architect of the governmental Public Works Department, for the Commonwealth Exhibition held in Wembley in 1924, designed in an Oriental-Eclectic style that resembled the vernacular Palestinian tradition. The same contrast was articulated, at a wider and national level, in the text of a documentary film of that time:

The happy expression of the conversion of Eretz Israel from an agricultural land into a country of industry that masters modern technology - *that was the Levant Fair.*²²⁵

²²⁴ See Ilan Shehory, "The Story of Building Tel Aviv", p. 33.

²²⁵ Narrator's text, excerpt from the script of the film "The Land of Promise" (1935), in Yigal Lusin, *The Pillar of Fire*, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

1923, Haifa: The Crown of the City:

Mendelsohn's Hill Town on the Carmel ²²⁶

The Levant Fairs were not the first instance of a Modernist architectural complex being planned in Palestine. As early as ten years before the Tel Aviv international exhibitions, this was accomplished by Mendelsohn in Haifa and by Richard Kauffmann in the Esdraelon valley. These schemes were prepared for sites located in the North of Palestine, which will be examined next.

Mount Carmel was, at the beginning of the British Mandate, almost completely uninhabited. With the exception of a small community of Carmelite monks and several Druze villages, it had remained a natural reserve of Mediterranean woodland, rich in perennial trees that had earned it the name of "the hill that is green all the year", a unique occurrence in semi-arid Palestine. Commenting on this, A.M. Hyamson wrote in 1928 that "by the Arabs the hill was long avoided as place of habitation."²²⁷ The city of Haifa had developed instead on a narrow plain between its slopes and the sea.

Yet the pioneer settlement of Mount Carmel as the outcome of Zionist initiative was on its way. Back in 1919-1920, Patrick Geddes had surveyed the Carmel, chosen the sites and begun the general planning of several garden settlements on the mount, under the name of 'Carmel Top Estates'. In 1923 Richard Kauffmann took over the project on behalf of the P.L.D.C., the Palestine Land Development Company and planned these settlements in detail.²²⁸ The best evidence for the whole venture is a map drawn by P.L.D.C.

²²⁶ See illustrations to this case study, plates under the heading 2.7.

²²⁷ A.M. Hyamson, *Palestine old and new*, (London: Methuen, 1928), p.14. Albert M. Hyamson was a British Jew who had served as an official in the Mandatory administration. He would be co-author of the Hyamson-Newcomb proposal of 1937, an alternative to the Palestine partition plan.

²²⁸ The Carmel Top Settlements designed by Kauffmann were: Newe Shaanan, separate and to the east, and three others adjoining each other: Southern, Central and Western Carmel. The planning of the first two was initiated by Geddes; the last two were designed as garden suburbs or neighbourhoods rather than as independent villages or 'towns'. Furthermore, the garden suburb of Hadar HaCarmel – also initiated by Geddes – was planned, immediately above the existing city of Haifa, making up a total of five simultaneous new

over of the 1919 British Army map of Haifa and environs, showing the five new garden settlements. One of these, the Southern Carmel scheme, involved the largest tract of land by far, and it was apparently decided to subdivide it for further detailed planning. Erich Mendelsohn was asked to design one of these sections.

The design for a Garden City on Mount Carmel is one of the first three projects that Erich Mendelsohn planned for sites in Palestine. Mendelsohn designed these in 1923, about the time of his first visit. The other two projects are an electrical power station and a business centre, the latter developed in association with Richard Neutra. All three were meant for Haifa, but in the end none of them was actually built. These first three schemes were followed eight years later by twelve new projects, of which nine were built and are still extant, in varying degrees of conservation.²²⁹

Erich Mendelsohn (1887-1953), was thirty-six years old at the time and reaching the peak of his career. The visionary engineer and future industrialist Pinhas Ruthenberg had invited him to Palestine, since Ruthenberg had recently obtained from the British government the concession 'to electrify Palestine', which would lead to the erection of a series of power stations. The first of these, Haifa Aleph, he asked Mendelsohn to design. Accepting the invitation, Mendelsohn had intended to take with him his friend Michel de Klerk, the brilliant Dutch architect. De Klerk came from an observant Jewish

developments on the Carmel. For a selected list of works from Kauffmann's prolific practice, see Appendix 3.7.

²²⁹ For a chronological reconstruction of Mendelsohn's work in Palestine, see chart on Appendix 3.9.

For the Hill Town project on the Carmel the following published sources have been consulted (presented according to date of publication): Erich Mendelsohn, *Erich Mendelsohn: Complete works of the architect: sketches, designs, buildings* (London: Triangle Architectural Publishing, 1992, first published as *Das Gesamtschaffen des Architekten: Skizzen, Entwürfe, Baute*, 1930); Arnold Whittick, *Eric Mendelsohn*, (London: Leonard Hill Books Limited, 1940, 1956); Wolf von Eckart, *Eric Mendelsohn* (London: Mayflower, 1960); Oskar Beyer, ed., *Eric Mendelsohn: Letters of an architect*. (London New York and Toronto: Abelard-Schuman, 1967); Bruno Zevi, *Erich Mendelsohn* (New York: Rizzoli, 1985, first published in Italian by Nichola Zanichelli, Bologna, 1982); Gilbert Herbert and Silvina Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel: Architecture and Planning in Haifa during the British Mandate*, (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1993); Regina Stephan, ed., *Erich Mendelsohn: Dynamics and Function: Realized Visions of a Cosmopolitan Architect* (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 1999).

family, and Mendelsohn wished to arouse his interest in the Jewish national home. De Klerk declined the invitation due to poor health, and indeed he died, unexpectedly, that same year. Instead, Mendelsohn travelled with his wife Louise and another Dutch friend, the architect Hendricus Theodorus Wijdeveld, editor of the *Wendingen* 'building and decorating' magazine.²³⁰

Although none of the first three commissions would materialize, this visit was crucial for Mendelsohn's life: eventually he would open an office in Jerusalem and he and his wife would settle in Palestine for about three years (1938-1941). Moreover, since that first visit during the spring of 1923 until his death in the States thirty years later, there is evidence in his letters of his constant interest in Palestine, 'the land of his fathers' and in shaping the architecture of the Jewish national home, of which he began to dream "to guide it architecturally - to build ... all the important buildings".²³¹

The text of a postcard with a pen sketch by Mendelsohn, sent to his friend Oskar Beyer from Jerusalem during his first visit bears, supports this:

9 March 1923

Dear B.,

Don't expect anything written. The experience is great, beyond expectation, and will take time to settle. Once it settles, then it can only fortify what has long been strong. Blood and space: race and three dimensions!²³²

²³⁰ For further details on Mendelsohn's connections with Dutch Jewish architects and the preparations for this visit, see Ita Heinze Greenberg, "Around noon land in sight: Travels to Holland, Palestine, the United States and Russia", in Regina Stephan, ed. and curator, *Eric Mendelsohn: Dynamics and Function: Realized Visions of a Cosmopolitan Architect* (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 1999), pp. 56-65; for the relationship between Wijdeveld and Mendelsohn in particular, see Ita Heinze-Greenberg, "An Artistic European Utopia at the Abyss of Time: The Mediterranean Academy Project 1931-1934", *Architectural History* vol. 45 (2000), pp. 441-482.

²³¹ Beyer, ed., *Eric Mendelsohn: Letters*, p. 147.

²³² For the pen sketch, see illustration, plate 2.15.4.a. After Mendelsohn's death Beyer would edit his bulky, beautifully written correspondence. It is from that source that the above text is quoted: Beyer, *Eric Mendelsohn: Letters*, p. 59.

Despite its interesting features, the Carmel Garden City project has been rather neglected by historians.²³³ It is worth noting that this work bears several names in different sources. Bruno Zevi, Mendelsohn's biographer and compiler of his *Complete Works*, uses the denomination '1923: Project for a Garden City on Mount Carmel, Haifa', echoing the name adopted by Wolf von Eckart in his earlier review of Mendelsohn's *oeuvre*.²³⁴ In its time, however, the project was known under other names. The phrase "Garden Settlement Carmel Haifa" appears in handwriting on the plan itself, above the label "sketch M (for *Mastab*, scale) 1:1000". Presumably, that was what the project was called at Mendelsohn's office. Herbert and Sosnovsky refer to it as 'Carmel Garden Settlement'; but in some other plans it is instead called "Carmel Bergstadt", that is, "Hill Town on the Carmel".

Nevertheless, from the point of view of architectural history, the least known name is the most interesting of all: Sommerfeld Gartenstadt. This project connected Mendelsohn with one of the most famous supporters of Modern architecture in Germany, Adolf Sommerfeld, the Berlin Jewish entrepreneur, shipbuilder, contractor and lumber merchant, the patron and friend of Walter Gropius and sponsor of the Bauhaus in its first years.²³⁵ Sommerfeld was at the time a member of the Governing Board of the Circle of Friends of the Bauhaus, together with Albert Einstein, Marc Chagall, Peter Behrens and Arnold Schönberg, amongst others.²³⁶ Adolf Sommerfeld was then living in the

²³³ Among all the Mendelsohn's researchers consulted, only Herbert and Sosnovsky have made a really new contribution to the previously known prime data, tackling in particular with the complexities of the decision-making process; see Gilbert Herbert and Silvina Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel: Architecture and Planning in Haifa during the British Mandate*, (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1993), "Erich Mendelsohn and the 'Sommerfeld-Gartenstadt', 1923", pp. 98-103. Archival material on this project is found at the Central Zionist Archives, Mendelsohn/Kauffmann/Sommerfeld correspondence, CZA: A175/141E.

²³⁴ Wolf von Eckart, *Eric Mendelsohn*, London: Mayflower (1960).

²³⁵ On the special relationship between Sommerfeld, Gropius and the Bauhaus see Reginald Isaacs, *Walter Gropius: An Illustrated Biography of the Creator of the Bauhaus* (Boston: Bulfinch Press 1991), pp. 72-74 and *passim*.

²³⁶ See "An Invitation to Join the "Circle of Friends", information leaflet, typographical design by Laszlo Moholy-Nagy (1924), in Hans M. Wingler, *Bauhaus: Weimar Dessau Berlin*

wooden house Gropius had designed in 1920-21 for him in Berlin-Dahlem, and was also the owner of the celebrated experimental House Am Horn, built by Bauhaus students that same year (1923).²³⁷

The Southern Carmel Area, whose scheme Kauffmann was preparing at the time, had been bought by a group of Roumanian Jewish investors who had founded a co-operative society to build their houses in Palestine. Sommerfeld had bought a considerable tract of land within this area and, having already approached Mendelsohn's office for a different housing project in Berlin, and knowing that he was now in Haifa (involved with two other projects), decided to offer him the commission of the development of a housing estate on the Carmel.²³⁸

The layout for the Sommerfeld Gartenstadt designed by Mendelsohn arranged sixty-five houses of three different types, and did not hint at any planned extension. Nevertheless, such an extension must have been in the architects' mind: even allowing for large families, the population of the 'city' as planned would reach less than three hundred people. Yet in the centre of the settlement a high rise tower was planned, as the core of the composition and the nucleus of community life.

The overall map shows the topography of the site, a small round hill reaching 260 metres above sea level. This is exactly the height of Mount Carmel on its southern slopes, which means that, sitting on the ridge of a peninsula, the site must have had a wonderful view to the Mediterranean Sea and Haifa Bay. As Herbert and Sosnovsky have observed, the height is correct for the present

Chicago, (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1980), first published in German in 1962 by Verlag Grebr. Rasch), p. 78.

²³⁷ See "Report on the Audit of the Bookkeeping at the Staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar, booklet published by the Thuringian State Treasury at Weimar, September 1924, in cited Hans M. Wingler, *Bauhaus: Weimar Dessau Berlin Chicago*, p. 88.

²³⁸ Gilbert Herbert and Silvina Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel: Architecture and Planning in Haifa during the British Mandate*, pp. 95, 98-99.

neighbourhood of Ahuza on the South of Carmel²³⁹, but the configuration of the mound as drawn does not correspond with the situation as it exists, or at least with any site yet identified. The uniqueness of the plan resided in the strong urban character given to the tiny garden settlement, Zevi explains it:

Mendelsohn's garden city in Haifa was different, however. Its center assumed the character of a vibrant "urban heart," exalted by his monumental tower, the Crown of Carmel. It was an expressionist symbol, and its dynamism reverberated in the small buildings scattered about in the hillside.²⁴⁰

The question arises as to the plausibility of this proposal. It is not clear exactly for whom he envisioned the tower – whether just for the local residents or for a larger community - as the project did not evolve to the stage of detailed drawings. Mendelsohn explained, though, that he intended "the sharply cropped building" to shelter a school, include a water tower, and to use the outlook as an observation tower which would "sit on the hill like a crown".²⁴¹

The name given to the tower by the architect - Crown of Carmel - leaves no doubt; it points directly towards the writings of Bruno Taut of the late 1910s. Taut (1880-1938) had published in 1919 an influential article under the name *Die Stadtkrone*, Crown of the City, where he looked for a modern towering urban heart to replace the role played in the past by the medieval cathedrals. Mendelsohn aimed to apply these theories to his proposal for Sommerfeld. As an old friend and colleague, Bruno Taut had gained Mendelsohn's respect way back in the days of the Glass Chain (1919-20), and both were active members at the Arbeitsrat für Kunst.²⁴²

²³⁹ Gilbert and Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel*, p. 98.

²⁴⁰ Bruno Zevi, *Erich Mendelsohn* (New York: Rizzoli, 1985), p. 61.

²⁴¹ Erich Mendelsohn, *Erich Mendelsohn: Complete works of the architect: sketches, designs, buildings* (London: Triangle Architectural Publishing, 1992, first published in 1930, as *Das Gesamtchaffen des Architekten: Skizzen, Entwürfe, Baute*), p. 93.

²⁴² For Taut, the Glass Chain, Mendelsohn and the Crown of the City, see Kenneth Frampton, "The Glass Chain: European architectural Expressionism, in *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, first published 1980, revised and enlarged edition 1985), pp. 116-122. This could be the right place to note that the influence of Taut on architecture in Palestine has never been mentioned in the existing literature, in spite of the

Taut's illustrations were always a very important part of his publications; in fact, he used them as a visual text conveying forcefully his written ideas. On *Die Stadtkröne*, Taut uses the image of a big, mystical sun rising above the city. This image certainly became particularly relevant for Mendelsohn's first work in the Levant. In addition, Mendelsohn used two reproductions from Taut's *Alpine Architecture* as the first of a group of illustrations for his lecture "The Problem of a New Architecture", which he gave in Berlin at the Arbeitsrat für Kunst in 1923.²⁴³

Iñaki Abalos, who has published Taut's writings in Spanish, offers an interpretation of *Die Stadtkröne* in terms that apply directly to Mendelsohn's project on the Carmel. He explains that in Taut's view:

A society organized around the aspiration towards greater spiritual riches and autonomy... is not only the product of mystical, neo-romantic, or Nietzschean concepts, but maintains profound sympathies with the project of Utopian Socialism, with the concept of the subject as a free, sovereign individual. [...] Thus Kropotkin and Proudhon would give a specifically political frame to Expressionist fantasy, and an urban conception inherited from the autonomous productive co-operatives whose close model had been the first Garden Cities. But in them [the first Garden Cities] there was nothing that would express symbolically the new spiritual idea of the individual, and that would precisely be the theme of the *Crown of the City*.²⁴⁴

The design of the Carmel Tower is given in the plan of the settlement - as an asymmetrical layout with two outspread wings - and in two separate perspective sketches, one labelled "Carmel mountain town" and the other, rendered with strong black and white contrast of light and shade, labelled "Crown for the Carmel".²⁴⁵ The design is remarkably reminiscent of other

fact that besides affecting Mendelsohn, its power is obvious also on much of the work of Richard Kauffmann.

²⁴³ The text and the ensuing illustrations were published by Mendelsohn in 1930; see Erich Mendelsohn, *Erich Mendelsohn: Complete works, op. cit.*, p. 7.

²⁴⁴ Iñaki Abalos, "Taut, el Eterno Retorno", in *Bruno Taut: Escritos Expresionistas 1919-1920* (Madrid: El Croquis Editorial, 1997), p.11.

²⁴⁵ Erich Mendelsohn, *Erich Mendelsohn: Complete Works*, pp. 101, 93.

projects that Mendelsohn was developing at the time, especially the 'alteration' of the Meyer-Kauffmann textile factory at Wustegierdorf and - on a much smaller scale - the Rudolf Mosse Exhibition Stand, a booth made of wood and glass for the sale of newspapers, magazines, and books at an automobile exhibition.²⁴⁶ Yet, above all, the design derives from the imaginary sketches of 'high-rises' he was doing in 1923.²⁴⁷

Mendelsohn also designed relatively detailed plans for the dwelling units at the Sommerfeld Garden City, which are probably the smallest houses he ever designed. Type B – a three bedroom house - and Type C – a four bedroom house - appear in the standard Mendelsohnian literature. These houses, for all their apparent simplicity, have a powerful design and fine proportions, especially in the entrance verandah. Apparently the houses were to be built out of concrete, with white rendering. He obviously was pleased with the results, because he chose to include the project in his own *Complete Works* published in 1930.²⁴⁸

The drawings present the ground plan as well as an entrance perspective. These show the architects' climatic considerations by allowing, in the architect's words, 'a closed, south front and cool hallways'.²⁴⁹ Bruno Zevi, who compiled and published Mendelsohn's complete works, notes the fact that although he used for this project an 'anti-vernacular language', he was sensitive to local topographical peculiarities.²⁵⁰ In the design of the houses, Mendelsohn incorporated ideas and details he had been using in his other

²⁴⁶ Mendelsohn, *Complete works of the architect*, pp. 91, 116.

²⁴⁷ See, for instance, Mendelsohn, *Complete works*, pp. 76, 78, 174.

²⁴⁸ Mendelsohn, *Complete works*, pp. 93, 100-101. A printing error occurred there that has been reproduced without correction by Whittick and von Eckart: the plans of the houses are presented in mistaken correlation between plans and perspectives. See this chapter's illustrations for the corrected information.

²⁴⁹ Mendelsohn, *Complete works*, p. 100.

²⁵⁰ Zevi, *Erich Mendelsohn*, p. 61.

recent projects. It is easy to ascertain the similarity of his Carmel houses with the villa he planned for Dr. Stemfeld in Berlin - which was then under construction -, especially in the layout of the ground floor.

The tension created by Mendelsohn in the Sommerfeld Gartenstadt between small, detached single-storey houses and the skyscraper at its centre seems to embody contemporaneous thinking in post-Great War Germany about the significance of human settlement and its scale. In 1919 Heinrich Tessenow (1876-1950), a distinguished architect and educator who had been one of the founders of the Deutsche Werkbund, published *Handwerk und Kleinstadt*, where he compares metropolis, village and town. Tessenow had designed the first and most influential German Garden suburb, Hellerau, outside Dresden. He wrote:

Our epoch really seemed to want to bring heaven down to earth. [...] And while we thus aspired to the highest things, we got the war instead - something often quite incomprehensible to us. [...]

Insofar as we desire the existence of both village and large city, a great battle is virtually useless. [...]

Nothing occurs or can occur without our responsibility and accountability. [...]

The more we do this, however, disavowing our common ground and connections in order to justify sharp divisions and divisiveness, and with this also metropolis and village; the sharper our contrasts and antagonisms and the more we emphasize and develop the objective and superpowerful - then all the more surely the current war will be only a kind of foretaste of what will happen in the future. [...]

Metropolis and village are two different ways of life. They can assist each other superficially, but they are unable truly to connect or to fertilize each other. [...]

Village and metropolis are complete extremes.²⁵¹

Then Tessenow proposed - echoing Ebenezer Howard - that a middle ground should be the best and only compromise:

²⁵¹ "Metropolis, Town and Village", from Heinrich Tessenow, *Handwerk und Kleinstadt*, (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1919). Translated by Christiane Craseman Collins, in Francesco Dal Co, Francesco, *Figures of Architecture and Thought: German Architectural Culture 1880-1920* (New York: Rizzoli, 1990), pp. 313-318.

We shall have to accept the fact that we cannot avoid either the village [*Dorf*] or the large city [*Grossstadt*]. [...] But it certainly makes a difference if we compare them with the small town [*Kleinstadt*]. [...] Nowhere is our human dignity furthered as much as in the small town, and nowhere is a certain measure of values and humanity so important [...] The large city has never been very maternal [...] The town is in an urban sense what the craftsman is in human terms.²⁵²

Mendelsohn's Hill town on the Carmel, with its apparently incongruous juxtaposition of extreme scales, may therefore be best understood as a symbolic union between village and metropolis. It would thus create a more harmonious future for mankind, avoiding "this oscillation between the village and the large city, and also between the sensuous-autochthonous and over-intellectualization". It would be a town where, in Tessenow's words, "village and metropolis stand, as it were, at either extreme of the town, in order to assist it and protect it, and to attempt to establish and foster a mediation, an in-between, a middle ground".²⁵³

Furthermore, Kathleen James (amongst others) has pointed out the legacy of Camillo Sitte's ideas in Eric Mendelsohn's urban planning. Theodor Fischer (1862-1938), who was the teacher Mendelsohn admired most at the Munich Technische Hochschule, had been Sitte's principal German disciple. Sitte advocated a change of priorities, searching for a more picturesque approach to the formation of urban spaces. Examining the topography of the site as shown in Mendelsohn's plan, the streets he planned were to be either very steep or comfortably level, as the layout at times follows terrain and at others it cuts across topographic contours. Yet, the three streets that lead to the Crown are all steep, creating a symbolic 'ascent' to the urban heart. This, together with added the seascape, seems to indicate that Mendelsohn, who always remained close to Expressionist gestures, was seeking to create a new Modern sort of picturesque.

²⁵² Tessenow, *Handwerk und Kleinstadt*, p. 315.

²⁵³ Tessenow, *Handwerk und Kleinstadt*, p. 317.

Thirteen years later, when Mendelsohn was an emigré architect in London, he would design with his partner Serge Chermayeff the White City project, a housing development that reinterpreted the ideas behind the Mount Carmel settlement. At that time, he was busy with several new projects in Palestine, and he ran a dual practice, in London and Jerusalem. Even though the White City scheme provided dwellings for 2,000 residents in long blocks and six further towers with 74 apartments each, there are evident echoes of the earlier proposal. Yet, this new scheme did not fare any better than the former one, and also remained unbuilt.

Returning to the 1920s and Adolf Sommerfeld, there is a significant and hitherto unrecognized similarity between Mendelsohn's Haifa Carmelstadt and the Bauhaus Housing Settlement. This settlement, also called the Bauhaussiedlung, was planned by Walter Gropius in 1922 for a site at Weimar am Horn, and was likewise financed by Sommerfeld.²⁵⁴ The scale of this project, its general layout and, to a certain extent, the designs of the houses are very close. Gropius presented his plan and models of the houses at the famous first Bauhaus exhibition in Weimar in 1923. The financial basis was also similar, as the Bauhaus settlement was founded as a corporation and registered as a co-operative enterprise at the district court at Weimar, with the purpose of building houses for sale or rent to its members. In Haifa Sommerfeld asked for an urban concept inherited from the self-sufficient productive co-operatives, whose model had been the first Garden Cities.

Among other factors, as well as their common attachment to Taut's ideas, the circumstance of both architects being in close contact at the time with a common client/sponsor - Sommerfeld, who was always an active participant - probably influenced their work and explains these similarities. As for the differences, however, while both plans propose a public centre for the settlement in the form of one large, long building, Gropius' approach is much

²⁵⁴ For a detailed description of the Projekt Bauhaussiedlung, Weimar am Horn, 1922, see Winfried Nerdinger, *Der Architekt Walter Gropius* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1996), pp. 58-61.

more restrained, and his central building does not exceed the height of the overall skyline. Unlike Mendelsohn, Gropius had been quicker to forego Expressionist extravagances, and so there is no heroic tower in his scheme. The effect of this difference is remarkable: Gropius' project pursues standardization, but lacks the force of the 'will to form' of Mendelsohn's Haifa proposal.

This was noted by the sponsor. Nerdinger records that when Adolf Sommerfeld finally saw the experimental house that Gropius built at full scale in August 1923, 'he was rather disappointed by the "insignificant" architecture'.²⁵⁵ It was indeed much more subdued than the wooden residence Gropius and his students had built for him in Berlin-Dahlem in 1922; yet, it might also have been because he had the glorious Crown of Carmel in mind.

Sommerfeld apparently led the group of Roumanian private small investors organized and represented by his brother in law, Joseph Loewy, who was of Roumanian origin. Loewy, who was an engineer, had worked for Sommerfeld's building company and lived in Palestine since 1920. However, because of financial problems, this group eventually broke up and fell short of materialising the hill town on the Carmel planned by Mendelsohn. Undoubtedly, Mendelsohn's colossal tower did not help. Even if the co-operative's members had managed to build the houses, it is highly improbable that such a small pioneers' community could have raised the resources necessary to erect such a monumental building.

The co-operative society that they founded was called 'Ahuzat Herbert Samuel' - Herbert Samuel's Estate - in honour of the new High Commissioner, first Jewish ruler of the land of Israel since the Romans, and who was seen by the Zionists as the bringer of better days. Perhaps because Sir Herbert fought

²⁵⁵ The Bauhaus experimental house, called 'Am Horn', at Weimar (1923). Project planning was by Fred Forbat, and it was developed by Georg Muehe, built by the students and furnished in the Bauhaus workshops, supervised by Adolf Mayer and Walter March. The house reflected the shift towards 'objective' aesthetics in the school.

hard in his administration to maintain a neutral position on Arab-Jewish issues and had tried not to bias his decisions towards the Jewish interest, his name was eventually dropped, and the settlement - now a sought after neighbourhood of Haifa - is called simply Ahuza, 'The Estate.'

Yet, although Mendelsohn's project was not realized, one can clearly spot resonances with his design, especially with the House Type B verandah, in several houses built on the Carmel during the 1930s and still extant. This could be due to advertisements for the settlement published in the 1920s, that would have caught other architects' attention. Furthermore, an attractive and modest house built by Harry Rosenthal in the settlement village of Pardess Hanna, near Haifa, a project which has been noted by historians, shows in its massing and in the design of its façades the clear imprint of Mendelsohn's ideas in Carmelstadt.²⁵⁶

Finally, forty years after the Carmelstadt proposal, Oscar Niemeyer, fresh with fame from his Brazilian projects, was invited by the then Haifa Mayor Abba Houshi, and was intrigued by the opportunity to erect a new University on the Carmel ridge. Haifa of the 1960s was a predominantly Socialist workers' town, lacking a university of its own. A city known as 'Red' appealed to Niemeyer's own political sympathies. Eventually, he designed Haifa University, producing a scheme with the same 'monumentality of a built witness' attributed by Zevi to Mendelsohn's proposal: a twenty-nine storey skyscraper, then the highest in town, rising over the horizontal line of the Carmel ridge as a crown; and he built it just two miles to the southeast from Carmelstadt, the original site of Sommerfeld's abortive venture.

²⁵⁶ Harry W. Rosenthal (1892-1966), a German Jewish architect, interior designer and painter who had worked under Hans Pöelzig and Bruno Taut, emigrated to Palestine at the rise of Nazism, settled in Haifa for a few years, planned Pardess Hanna, and left for London in 1938 where he lived the rest of his life. For Rosenthal's career, see Charlotte Benton, *A Different World: Emigré Architects in Britain 1928-1958* (London: Wiley Press, 1995), pp. 205-207; see documentation of Rosenthal's project in Pardes Hanna in Myra Warhaftig, *Sie Legen den Grundstein: Leben und Wirken Deutschsprachiger Architekten in Palästina 1918-1948* (Tubingen and Berlin: Wasmuth, 1996), p. 286.

Even though no textual evidence has been brought to prove the connection between these two projects, it is most likely that Niemeyer was aware of Mendelsohn's project and that he followed swiftly along its guidelines. He apparently even incorporated into his scheme a "loading dock" structure that Mendelsohn had sketched in the 1920s, using it to design the University main buses stop.²⁵⁷ Via Niemeyer, the main tower of the University - a regional landmark because of its location - is a built tribute to Mendelsohn's intended Crown of the Carmel.

²⁵⁷ See Erich Mendelsohn, *Erich Mendelsohn: Complete works, op. cit.*, p. 124.

1925-36, Haifa:

Ir HaMifratz, the utopian urban area by-the-sea: Chronicle of the Triple Planning of Haifa Bay²⁵⁸

The first person to understand the potential of Haifa Bay and to imagine its future urban settlement was, according to Carmela Mazursky, her father J. Loewy. This was corroborated by Richard Kauffmann in an essay published in 1952, where he wrote in the opening paragraph:

After the First World War, [...] it was clear to the connoisseurs – who indeed were only a few – that on account of its location, there was perhaps no other region in our country that needed organic development as much as the area stretching from Haifa to Acre, therefore demanding comprehensive and visionary regional planning. [...] Everlasting credit is due to the late Joseph Loewy, who was the first to understand the full significance and importance of the Valley of Zebulun for the future development of Haifa.²⁵⁹

Joseph Loewy (1885-1949) was a Jewish engineer of Roumanian origin, a planner and business entrepreneur, and an eminent figure in the development of Haifa and its environs. Above all he was a visionary Zionist dreamer, who usually would lose interest in a project the moment it began to materialise. His Haifa Bay vision developed, literally, from a (landscape) view, as in the mid 1920s Loewy took to daily scrutinize and study the area with the help of a telescope, from the terrace of his new house on the top of Mount Carmel. This house, now destroyed, was located at 9 Panorama Road and was among the first houses to be erected in Central Carmel (one of the new Carmel Top Garden Settlements planned by Kauffmann). Loewy's house was built on the northern slopes of the Carmel, overlooking Haifa downtown, the Bay of Acre

²⁵⁸ See illustrations to this case study, plates under the heading 2.8.

²⁵⁹ Richard Kauffmann, "Tichnun Rishon shel HaEzor Haifa-Acco (baShanim 1925/26) uBe'ayotav Hayom" [The First Planning of the Haifa-Acre Region (in the years 1925/26) and its Problems Today], in Ephraim Keinan (Kutznok), ed., *In the Circle of my Generation* (Tel Aviv: Masada, 1952), pp. 184-196, p. 185. [In Hebrew, my translation, henceforth referred to as "The First Planning of the Haifa-Acre Region"].

and, further north on the seaward side, Lebanon and the Hermon Mountain.²⁶⁰ The marshy baylands that separated Haifa from the ancient port city of Acre - the crusaders' famous Saint Jean d'Acre - were, in his mind's eye, the opportunity of a lifetime to develop a new, perfect city, Ir HaMifratz, "The City of the Bay".

In the mid-1920s Haifa had a population of about 25,000 inhabitants, but it was at the threshold of a process which would augment its population fivefold over the next twenty years; the planning and building of the Carmel Top Settlements had just begun, new industries were being established, and the central government had decided to build a modern harbour in town, the first deep-water port of Palestine.²⁶¹ For Loewy's dream City of the Bay, three proposals were produced: first Kauffmann's plan of 1926; second, the Holliday and Abercrombie plan of 1934, finally, Abercrombie's plan of 1936. Hence the title here of "the triple planning" of Haifa Bay.²⁶²

²⁶⁰ Conversations with Carmela Mazursky, Nahariya, 1997, especially interview, 1 June 1997 and conversations, 9 and 17 September 1997. Mrs. Mazursky is the daughter of Adolf Sommerfeld and adopted daughter of Joseph and Külle (nee Sommerfeld) Loewy.

²⁶¹ For the development of Haifa 1900-1947, see Arnon Soffer and Baruch Kipnis, *Atlas of Haifa and Mount Carmel* (Haifa: University of Haifa, 1980), especially pp. 48-53. Haifa counted 24,640 inhabitants in 1922 (1922 census); this population grew to 50,403 in 1931 (1931 census), and then to 128,800 in 1944 (estimate, 1944).

²⁶² The Haifa Bay project appears in the standard literature of the architecture of the British Mandate in only one source: Gilbert Herbert and Silvina Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel and the Crossroads of Empire: Architecture and Planning in Haifa during the British Mandate* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1993). The authors dedicate an entire section to the subject, chapter five: "The Redemption of Haifa Bay: Visionary Dreams and Regional Plans", pp. 156-210. Their information has been found through the research in Israeli archival sources.

From Sir Patrick Abercrombie's Papers, (private collection, UK), the following documents have been consulted: Patrick Abercrombie, (Gerald Dix, ed.), "Abercrombie and Palestine / Holliday: Details," [excerpts from Abercrombie's pocket agenda, April 1st 1930 to January 1st 1934], unpublished manuscript, 3 pages; Patrick Abercrombie, (Gerald Dix, ed.), "XIV: Haifa" [excerpts from "Autobiographical Notes"], unpublished typescript, 1940, pp.101-110; Patrick Abercrombie, Letter from Paul Singer to Dr. Granovsky, 25 May 1944, includes letter of Abercrombie to the [unnamed] District Commissioner entitled "Haifa Bay Plan", copy of unpublished typescript, 1 page; Patrick Abercrombie, Letter to J. Dashevsky in Jerusalem, 31 December 1953, unpublished typescript, 1 page.

Other contemporaneous sources of information consulted on the Haifa Bay project are: Joseph Loewy's Papers, (private collection, Israel); Patrick Abercrombie, *Town and Country Planning* (London: Oxford University Press, first published 1933, revised second edition, 1943); J. N. Kenworthy, "Haifa Harbour and the British Empire", *Palestine and Middle East Economic Magazine*, 5-6 (1933), pp. 229, 259. An important additional source of information is Richard Kauffmann, "Preliminary Regional Scheme for Opening up the Territory of Haifa

By 1924 Joseph Loewy had succeeded in transmitting his enthusiasm to two other entrepreneurs, founding with them a business association named the "Haifa Bay Development Company". While all three tackled financial and land acquisition matters, Loewy took upon himself recruiting the architects. His first choice was Erich Mendelsohn. Mendelsohn, at the time back in Berlin, knew Loewy very well both through Sommerfeld's (as his brother-in-law) and through the Carmelstadt Garden Suburb in Haifa, by then on the point of failing. Disillusioned by the disappointment of his three Haifa projects of 1923, Mendelsohn did not trust Loewy and decided not to become personally involved with Haifa Bay. Nevertheless, he did study the plan and was impressed enough with the idea, even if slightly sceptical, to comment to his wife in a letter written from Berlin:

This morning Loewy came and we went on a tour of the Einstein Tower - much joy in the memory and the road. [...] Joseph Loewy ... you remember about Tel-Aviv - came to see me with a great building plan. Building on the coastal ground between Haifa and Acre ... I am not sure it is absolutely believable.²⁶³

After considering several other options, and apparently also a competition, Richard Kauffmann was the architect chosen for the planning.²⁶⁴ Occasional land purchases notwithstanding, Kauffmann convinced his clients that it was necessary first to organise and plan the entire region, from Haifa in the south up to Acre in the north, a vast area of 250 sq. km. Loewy, always a man of impossible dreams, agreed. This was the moment when the first Haifa Bay project begun to develop a tendency towards utopian grandeur which would prevent its success in the future.

Bay, Palestine", *Town Planning Review*, vol. 12:3 (June 1927), pp. 206-211; this article was the basis for a much expanded version, Richard Kauffmann, "Tichnun Rishon shel HaEzor Haifa-Acco (baShanim 1925/26) uBe'ayotav Hayom" [The First Planning of the Haifa-Acre Region (in the years 1925/26) and its Problems Today], in Keinan (Kutznok) Ephraim, ed., *In the Circle of my Generation* (Tel Aviv: Massada, 1952), pp. 184-196 [in Hebrew]; this last publication was issued in a small edition and meanwhile has become a rare book.

²⁶³ Mendelsohn, Letter to Louise from Charlottenburg, 28 January 1925, in Beyer, *Eric Mendelsohn: Letters*, p. 76.

²⁶⁴ Herbert and Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel*, pp. 165-166.

Subsequently, Kauffman set up a planning office on Mount Carmel and organised a working team including Loewy as a consultant engineer, and the engineers Shimon Reich and Joseph Treidel, plus surveyors, harbour engineers, architects and draftsmen such as the German architect Kurt Reinsch (1892-1952), who would prepare the famous bird's eye perspectives that made the project known to the public.²⁶⁵ Kauffmann named the resultant proposal a "Diagrammatical Sketch for Regional Scheme from Mount Carmel to Acre", intended as a means of conveying the preliminary character of the project and explaining only the main design directives.²⁶⁶

In May 1926 Kauffmann on behalf of the Haifa Bay Development Co. Ltd., produced a development plan of the whole area, at a scale of 1:20,000. It is an attractive document, showing Haifa, Mount Carmel and Acre. By this time the gulf is no longer called, as it had been for centuries, the "Bay of Acre" but definitely 'Haifa Bay'. Linking the two cities there is one main thoroughfare, a clean, sweeping line on the map parallel to the curve of the coastline and the railways: the Haifa-Acre Road, now the Histadrut Avenue.²⁶⁷ In the middle, but closer to Haifa, there is a large and open new industrial zone with a passenger-cargo harbour, surrounded by commerce and small industries. Further to the north, there is Ir Hamifratz, a workers' utopia by the sea, edged by a green belt of parks, woods, recreation grounds, garden allotments and intensive agricultural zones.

Kurt Reinsch rendered a perspective drawing of all this, labelled "Bird's eye view of proposed exploitation of Haifa Bay". In its form and details it showed the clear influence of Berlage's Plan Zuid for Amsterdam, complete with perimeter blocks of workers' housing not unlike those developed by the

²⁶⁵ For further information on Kurt Reinsch, painter and architect, see Warhaftig, *Sie Legen den Grundstein*, pp. 270-275.

²⁶⁶ Richard Kauffmann, "The First Planning of the Haifa-Acre Region", p. 189.

²⁶⁷ Gilbert and Sosnovsky, and Ingersoll, (see bibliography) have seen in this the imprint of the ideas of Arturo Soria y Mata's "Ciudad Lineal" (1882). It is worth noting, though, that the first implementation of these ideas in a residential suburb of Madrid dates from 1927, i.e., had not happened yet.

Amsterdam School in about 1920.²⁶⁸ It also described the harbour as “a polygonal ship basin worthy of ancient Ostia”.²⁶⁹ The question of the future port was crucial, as Kauffmann adamantly opposed the location proposed by the Government (and realised in 1933). He considered the only solution that would allow for the necessary services’ hinterland was to locate the harbour at the mouth of River Kishon. He intended to keep Mount Carmel sparsely built-up, as a natural green belt, and to use the land on the Bay to accommodate workers’ estates for thousands of factory-workers in the future harbour’s industrial zone. He travelled to Germany to study port cities, visiting Bremen and Hamburg. Many of these ideas would be carried forward, and eventually implemented, but the imminent progress of the new harbour, built not next to the Kishon mouth but further to the west on landfill by Haifa’s Downtown, caused Kauffmann’s proposal to lose much of its relevance. After several years of countless difficulties,²⁷⁰ a new expert was called in, namely Professor Leslie Patrick Abercrombie.²⁷¹

During the period of his work in Palestine, Patrick Abercrombie (1879-1957), architect and planner, was Lever Professor of Civic Design at the Liverpool

²⁶⁸ Hendrik Petrus Berlage (1856-1934) designed the Amsterdam South master plan between 1902 and 1915. Since the Housing Act of 1901, Dutch public housing had been among the best in Europe; its legislation aimed ‘to improve living conditions for ordinary people’, and new city districts were laid out according to expansion plans, such as Berlage’s. The act is best known, however, for its housing associations, which were non-profit organizations that provided good, affordable housing. Michel De Klerk’s *Eigen Haard Workers’ Housing Development*, ca. 1920, is one of the most famous examples. All these made the plan Zuid a worthy inspiration and a model for Kauffmann’s Haifa Bay plan.

²⁶⁹ Ingersoll, *Munio Gitai Weinraub: Bauhaus Architect in Eretz Israel*, p. 53.

²⁷⁰ The brunt of the difficulties resided in the Zionist authorities’ indecision as to how necessary it was to acquire a new district to colonize, at a time when the Plain of Esdraelon agricultural settlement was in full swing. The president of the Jewish National Fund, Menachem Ussishkin, was reluctant to finance the purchase of ‘more swamps’. The person who would sway the decision was Salman Schocken who, believing in the Haifa Bay venture, advanced his own money at a certain point as a down payment in order to close the deal with the Arab landowners. Thanks to him, the JNF took full ownership in 1928 (Anthony David, *The Patron: A Life of Salman Schocken, 1877–1959* (New York: Holt, 2004), pp. 145, 158-159, 227). Gilbert and Sosnovsky have reconstructed the “Conflicts and Complexities” of the process.

²⁷¹ The Haifa Bay projects are, in fact, the only ones Abercrombie designed personally in Palestine. His influence, however, was much wider and deeper than that. For a table of projects and events which are connected or contemporaneous with his involvement in Palestine, see Appendix 3.1.

School of Architecture, a chair he had held since 1915; in 1935 he was appointed Professor of Town Planning at the University of London. Because of these occupations, he would work as a visiting consultant, arriving in Palestine for either Easter or Christmas vacations and so also avoiding the harsh summers. Professor Abercrombie was informed of the former history of the project. The company, he wrote, “had not prospered”, its assets and the directorship were taken over by the Jewish National Fund and the new Bayside Corporation; these two, he believed, “were much more sober developers” than the private promoters of the previous initiative.²⁷²

It is worth noting here that Abercrombie knew Kauffmann personally and was familiar with the Haifa Bay project years before he was asked to participate in it. They had met in the autumn of 1925, while Kauffmann was studying harbours in Europe and Abercrombie had just finished his regional plan scheme for the Doncaster coalfield towns.²⁷³ This was the first regional plan to be prepared in Britain and in future a model for planners elsewhere, including Palestine.²⁷⁴

Furthermore, early in the summer of 1927, Abercrombie had published in the *Town Planning Review* - the influential magazine of which he was the founder editor - an article by Kauffmann on the Haifa Bay plan; this article, entitled “Preliminary Regional Scheme for Opening up the Territory of Haifa Bay, Palestine”, presented Kauffmann’s concept of ‘a diagrammatical sketch for a regional scheme’.²⁷⁵ Hence, Abercrombie was familiar with Kauffmann’s professional work, but he considered the plan ‘grandiose’ and was a bit

²⁷² Patrick Abercrombie (Gerald Dix, ed.), “XIV: Haifa” [excerpts from autobiographical notes], unpublished typescript, 1940, Sir Patrick Abercrombie’s Papers, private collection, pp.101-110 [henceforth referred to as “Haifa”], pp. 101-102.

²⁷³ Letter Kauffmann / Abercrombie, 29 November 1925, Central Zionist Archives, CZA: A175, cited by Herbert and Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel*, p. 167, note 42.

²⁷⁴ For Abercrombie’s Doncaster Regional Planning Scheme, see Gerald Dix, “Little Plans and Noble Diagrams”, *Town Planning Review*, vol. 49:3 (July 1978), pp. 229-352 (pp. 333-336). Dix refers to L. P. Abercrombie and T. H. Johnson, *The Doncaster Regional Planning Scheme, 1922* (London: Hodder and Stoughton and University of Liverpool Press, 1922).

²⁷⁵ Richard Kauffmann, “Preliminary Regional Scheme for Opening up the Territory of Haifa Bay, Palestine”, *Town Planning Review*, vol. 12:3 (June 1927), pp. 206-211.

dubious about the aims of the original company. Using his customary non-capitalised first pronoun, he noted in his diary:

Before i was called in the brilliant German Architect & Planner, Richard Kauffmann who was responsible for the designing of many of the Jewish Agricultural settlements, had made a grandiose scheme for Haifa Bay: it was done for a somewhat speculative company in the first flush of the early National Home enthusiasm.²⁷⁶

He also agreed with the new developers' critical attitude towards the realisation of two other ongoing projects: Tel Aviv and Afula. An efficient method should be found – they thought - to avoid and control extreme deviations from the plan at the time of implementation; he noted that “although they fully realized the great future of Haifa whose Harbour was at that time being constructed”, they wished:

To avoid being tied down to a monumental plan which had no dominant factors to control it. They intended on the one hand to avoid the mistake of Tel-Aviv which was always leaping ahead of any plan that could be made: and on the other, to escape the fate of Afuleh in the Emek which was prepared for a colossal town and has never realized more than a railway station & a few shacks.²⁷⁷

Abercrombie visited Palestine on five occasions altogether: three times in connection with the Haifa Bay project, once in 1938 at Easter, with his family, “but that was purely a visit of pleasure to see my son who was working there”,²⁷⁸ and a last time in 1951, at the invitation of David ben Gurion, then Prime Minister of Israel. Of the visits he paid in relation to the Bay proposal, the first and longest one was at Easter 1930, the others being in midwinter, 1931-32 and 1933-34.²⁷⁹ During these years, he developed a special rapport towards that “glorious country and its insoluble political & racial problem”.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶ Abercrombie, “Haifa”, p. 102.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

²⁷⁹ Patrick Abercrombie (Gerald Dix, ed.), “Abercrombie and Palestine / Holliday: Details,” [excerpts from Abercrombie’s pocket agenda, April 1st 1930 to January 1st 1934], unpublished manuscript, 3 pages, Sir Patrick Abercrombie’s Papers, private collection, p. 1.

Following his first visits to Palestine, Abercrombie had written about what he saw in Jerusalem. The accumulation of historic layers of urban interventions had fascinated him, and he regarded the eternal city as offering one of the best urban landscapes in the world. He had experienced the magic route to the Temple Mount through the Cotton Market rehabilitated by Ashbee, and wrote in his book:

Jerusalem is one of those inextricable palimpsests of planning: what exists today (apart from David's city and the temple topography) is probably Roman in origin; but a fusion of Roman, Crusader Gothic and Islamic design has produced one of the finest cumulative civic effects in the world; the narrow vaulted approach, shot with beams of light, through continuous *suks* (or bazaars), the sudden vast, open, golden-hued sunlit esplanade, the central Dome of the Rock (one of the five domes of the world) and the grey Mount of Olives as background – beyond this human magnificence using a background of austere nature can no further go.²⁸¹

Abercrombie was concerned with the 'complicated problem' of the historic centres of old towns, which, he regretted, was not receiving adequate attention in Britain. He was critical of the manner in which Oxford and Stratford-on-Avon were growing, to the detriment of their historic fabric. He then referred to measures which were taken at the same time in Palestine – through the efforts of Ashbee and Holliday, but without mentioning them - and pointed to these policies as an example of what should be done 'at home':

Jerusalem has heroically resisted wheeled traffic in the old city [...] which remains intact, all new growth (except religious establishments) being outside.²⁸²

²⁸⁰ Abercrombie, "Haifa", p. 101.

²⁸¹ Patrick Abercrombie, *Town and Country Planning* (London: Oxford University Press, first published 1933, revised second edition, 1943), p. 38.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 157. This publication is particularly relevant here due to the fact that it was in the process of being written at the time of Abercrombie's first visits; it was first published in 1933 and then revised by the author in 1944.

Abercrombie, however, was not an enemy of modernization; he just demanded 'extremely skilful care' and subtlety while introducing it in historic contexts, especially in matters of adherence to the existing scale. This meant that without an historic context, he felt free to act in the 'spirit of the times', admitting the greater good they brought. Thinking, for instance, of the effects of electrification on the landscape, 'where cables cannot be buried', he wrote:

Some of these disfigurements may be unavoidable adjuncts of modern life. [...] The Pylon, a new arrival, has given rise perhaps to more heat and illogical discussion than any other feature. Pylons, where they are really needed, [...] may save a country or town from worse damage - the smoke nuisance.²⁸³

Furthermore, he considered that the apparatus of modernization could add aesthetic interest and even new visual character to otherwise uninteresting or monotonous regions anywhere. Even in the Holy Land he was willing to condone their use, comparing these structures with similar supply lines built up in ancient times. He argued that:

The series of pylons seen striding across the bare and rather dull hills of Palestine may possess some of the impressive qualities of the aqueducts on the Campagna.²⁸⁴

The Haifa project was developed along this line of thought. Abercrombie decided early on that "this was about as perfect a Tabula Rasa as a planner could ask for".²⁸⁵ Devoid of any major historical heritage, the area presented, in comparison with Jerusalem, "a much simpler technical problem which I was asked to solve." Nothing, in his opinion, was worth bearing in mind, neither the small Arab villages, "nor were the sandhills to be reckoned as natural features for they were constantly shifting."²⁸⁶ As had been the case with Tel Aviv, the

283 *Ibid.*, pp. 237, 235.

284 *Ibid.*, p. 235.

285 Abercrombie, "Haifa", p. 102.

286 *Ibid.*

land was a stretch of dunes by the Mediterranean Sea. Abercrombie noted in his diary that he would deal with:

The great expanse of sandhills facing the noble sweep of the Bay of +Acre and cut off from the furthest extension, industrially, of Haifa by the Kishon.²⁸⁷

He concluded that the area “contained only one human feature, the railway that ran roughly parallel with the sea”; on second thoughts he mentions that “there was also a rough enclosure with its ancient Khan”²⁸⁸ but this feature was not identified by name, and, did not affect or inform the new plan at all.

Abercrombie seems, then, to have adopted the Zionist notion of Palestine being an ‘empty land’. In contrast to his opinion, the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) Survey of Palestine of 1886 - a detailed and today most important map which must have been one of Abercrombie’s cartographical references - shows Tel El Khiâr, the very small villages of Jidru, Ayün el Bas and El Wustany (“huts”), the village of Kefr Etta, and the remains of Tell Abu Hûwâm, Tell en Nahl, Tell Es Sûbât, Tell Kurdane with Kh. (*khûrbet*, ruin) Kurdane nearby and also Burj Es Sahel, Khûrbet Sherta, Khûrbet Abu Musilsil, Khûrbet Jelameh, Khûrbet Dáúk, all in the area of the Haifa Bay plan.²⁸⁹ As had happened with the former nameless *khan*, all these places became invisible for the planner.

Kauffmann and Loewy had intended to plan a new city between Haifa and Acre. Abercrombie’s vision differed; in his autobiographical notes he refers to the Haifa Bay project as “the extension of the town of Haifa, from the mouth of

²⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 102.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid*.

²⁸⁹ Moreover, it is significant that, despite the names in the PEF map, Abercrombie adopted for his own use the Hebrew forms of biblical geographic names, such as Naaman River (not Nahr Namein), Kishon River (not Nahr el Muküttá or Fuwarah stream), and *emek* instead of *wadi*, for ‘valley’. These, of course, were also the names his commissioners used. Even this project, which was called ‘Haifa Bay’, would appear in the plans as “Emek Zebulun”, the valley of the tribe of Zebulun, according to the biblical allocation of the land amongst the sons of Israel.

the Kishon along the Bay to Acre”,²⁹⁰ which makes his work in Haifa Bay similar to Geddes’ in north Tel Aviv, an ‘example’ of an existing town, not a new separate entity. Faced therefore with this ‘perfect’ tabula rasa, Abercrombie felt he could indulge a planner’s whim and try out the implementation of one of the perfect utopian schemes: the hexagonal grid. He candidly wrote:

I had long wanted to use a hexagon as the unit basis of a plan, and this blank featureless site seemed to offer an opportunity for the attempt: we spent several of our precious sixteen days trying to work this out.²⁹¹

What Abercrombie and Holliday might have intended by setting up a hexagonal grid in the Haifa Bay plan was to implement a solution that had proved right for existing regions. Precisely at that time, the German geographer Walter Christaller (1893-1969) had enunciated his hexagonal hierarchy of regions; in the 1930s, this was one of the newest ideas in the emerging planning profession. Christaller was working at the time on a hypothetical scheme, the basis for his ‘Thresholds’ or Central Place Theory; by 1933 he had published his idea that ‘settlements cluster naturally in hexagonal formations’.²⁹² He suggested that ‘several small tributary areas focusing on small towns would be found within a large tributary area focusing in one large city’. This was in accordance with Howard’s regional schemes for the Garden City, but the underlying geometrical concept was different: instead of the flower-shaped cluster of circles visualized by Howard (and illustrated as such by Bruno Taut), Christaller proposed a more compact grid based on a regular hexagonal pattern.²⁹³ The question arises as if these theories inspired

²⁹⁰ Abercrombie, “Haifa”, p. 102.

²⁹¹ *Ibid*, p. 107. These were the days of his third visit of December-January 1934.

²⁹² Geoffrey Broadbent, *Emerging Concepts in Urban Space Design* (London: E&FN Spon and Chapman & Hall, 1990, 1996), p. 342. See also Emrys Jones, *Towns & Cities* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966; 1970), pp. 85-94.

²⁹³ It is worth noting here that Howard’s scheme was set up *a priori* as a theoretical point of departure before physical planning, whereas Christaller’s grid was the result of field research on the regional distribution of settlements in Southern Germany. Christaller deduced that this invisible net had been formed ‘spontaneously’ out of the people’s needs. He then proceeded to claim ‘that the pattern would extend to the whole of Western Europe’.

the hexagonal pattern chosen by Abercrombie to design the Emek Zebulun Plan, or if both planners were trying the same ideas in parallel.

Abercrombie thought that hexagonal site planning, the 'spider's web', was "capable of producing some unusual results with building blocks and open spaces" and was intrigued by this 'insect-type hexagonal unit plan'.²⁹⁴ He was, however, a reasonable person, and utopian visions or fashionable theories did not mar his professional judgement; after juggling with geometry for some time he reckoned that they had better abandon the idea, largely because "we had to provide varied sized population units and the hexagon was not flexible enough".²⁹⁵ He was also aware that "when humankind sets to be orderly there is always the danger of carrying regularity to excess".²⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the allure of the regular form was too strong to be completely dismissed, and Abercrombie admitted that even if the idea of the grid had been discarded, "almost unconsciously the hexagon form persisted in the main structure and has given a distinctive look to the plan".²⁹⁷

Examining the resulting drawings, however, a different design precedent comes to mind: Sir Christopher's Wren London Plan of 1666. Abercrombie admired Wren's plan for rebuilding London after the fire 'as one of the selected modern examples of existing sites developed by main roads', calling it 'an unequalled example of Renaissance design'. The chief merit of this plan consists, he said, in the bold simple way in which he connected up these points - St Paul's site, the Guildhall, and London Bridge - with straight streets. Back in 1923 he had published an article on this plan where he showed its contemporary relevance for the laying out of new roads,²⁹⁸ confronted with a

²⁹⁴ Abercrombie, *Town and Country Planning*, pp. 160-161, 14-15.

²⁹⁵ Abercrombie, "Haifa", p. 107.

²⁹⁶ Abercrombie, *Town and Country Planning*, p. 15.

²⁹⁷ Abercrombie, "Haifa", p. 108.

²⁹⁸ Patrick L. Abercrombie, "Wren's Plan for London after the Great Fire", *Town Planning Review*, vol. 10:2 (May 1923), pp. 71-78; *Town and Country Planning*, p. 59.

similar problem in Haifa Bay, the connection between the two plans might have dawned on him. Although Abercrombie praised Wren's plan for rational and functional motives, it is also possible that Wren's Scriptural considerations, of building in London 'celestial Jerusalem', reverberated in a different way with Abercrombie while tackling such a vast project in the Holy Land.

Abercrombie returned to London with an outline plan and "enough information as to geology, water, wind, drainage, etc.", upon which to begin to work.²⁹⁹ The introductory chapter for his new book, which he was writing as the plan progressed, reads as a reflection of his thinking on the Palestinian project:

It is possible to trace two sources of planning activity: the Pioneer work in a new country and the Control of growth in an old one. The chief conditions in a new country are a clear site, with no past encumbrances of human endeavour [...] and an absence of lines of communication. The plan will be laid down as a whole, and it usually takes some standard form or composition.³⁰⁰

By 1934, the plan began to come together. There was also a sense of accomplishment, as "it was fine, after years of negotiating to be able to produce a plan at last that knit together all these formerly antagonistic elements, including some of the remains of Kauffmann's plan."³⁰¹ A new team had been formed; it included Clifford Holliday as design partner, with Eunice Holliday and Jack Lazarus as assistants. Working in Jerusalem in an office improvised at the new YMCA complex, they designed and drew the plan in two weeks; Abercrombie revealed that "it was one of the hardest spells of work" he had ever undertaken.³⁰²

²⁹⁹ Abercrombie, "Haifa", p. 104.

³⁰⁰ Abercrombie, *Town and Country Planning*, pp. 12-13.

³⁰¹ Abercrombie, "Haifa", p. 107.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 106.

Albert Clifford Holliday (1897-1960) was a young British architect and planner who had replaced Ashbee in 1923, running the Pro-Jerusalem Society until its closure. He had studied at Liverpool, under Sir Charles Herbert Reilly and Abercrombie, who had made him joint editor of the *Town Planning Review*. It had been through Abercrombie's recommendation to Ronald Storrs that he was appointed Civic Adviser for Jerusalem; Holliday arrived in Palestine with his wife Eunice, who was one of the first women to qualify at the Liverpool School of Architecture,³⁰³ and they would stay there until 1937. Holliday ran a thriving practice full of activity; he was at the time working on the new reclaimed area between the new port and the city, his masterful Kingsway project.³⁰⁴

The rhythm of working in Palestine during the Mandate, its swift progress and rapid official approval notwithstanding, could become too dynamic for the planners' peace of mind, as unnerving changes to the project's programme kept occurring midway. This situation could have easily disrupted any progress, but the team took the modifications with surprisingly good humour. Abercrombie recalled that:

The JNF [Jewish National Fund] were constantly giving us sketches for groups or units of population which had to be found a place, and, of course, redesigned to fit in with the general plan. One plump engineer would every morning be thrusting his smiling face round the door: "just one more leetle [*sic*] thing - 250 poor Jews from Transylvania - they want their native village - - -". Holliday's boisterous laugh would greet this - "can't be done, Baruchoff", but we always gave in. It was a happy busy time.

³⁰³ Professor Gerald Dix, letter to the author, 1 September 1997.

For a charming account of life in Mandate Palestine as a young couple of architects, see Eunice Holliday (John Holliday, ed.), *Letters from Jerusalem 1922-1935*. (London: I.B. Tauris, 1997).

³⁰⁴ These were essentially two different plans: He planned the Reclaimed Area Development Plan (1928-31) in association with Richard Kauffmann and Kingsway North (1935) with Robert Pearce Steel Hubbard (1910-1965), a Glaswegian architect and fellow graduate of Liverpool. For a chronological table of A.C. Holliday's work in Palestine, see Appendix 3.5.

Soon, however, a new factor of 'first-class importance' appeared which indeed disrupted the planning process. I.P.C., the Iraq Petroleum Company, decided to make Haifa its British point of emergence of the pipeline on the Mediterranean.³⁰⁵ Abercrombie could not disguise his fury. He noted:

A High Commissioner with a smattering of engineering knowledge³⁰⁶ gave the Company the concession of a long strip of land along the foreshore on which though leased to the Bay Development Co., the Government had prior rights; this was done without consulting either the Public Works Dept., or the owners of the Haifa Bay land.³⁰⁷

Certainly, the planning team were not consulted either. These were matters of imperial macro-politics on a scale beyond his sphere of influence. In a final modification, Abercrombie and Holliday accommodated the oil terminal, with a green belt separating heavy industry from residential zones. Lastly, Patrick Abercrombie devised a new Emek Zebulun Town Planning Scheme in October 1936. He had written in 1933: "The garden suburb of the wealthy was at least a century old. It was now time to democratize it."³⁰⁸

This democratization would take place with the detailed planning of Haifa Bay, its subsequent settlement and its later expansion. Famous professionals participated in planning the residential units; Red Vienna and Neue Frankfurt were the social model, and this would be "Red Haifa", the Histadrut workers' perfect dwelling place. Organised labourers settled the cluster of garden suburbs which comprised the plan; these were called *Krayot*.³⁰⁹ Noteworthy

³⁰⁵ The pipeline was to connect the oilfields of Mosul and Kirkuk with the sea. Mosul had been recently (1926) incorporated into British mandated Iraq, and nearby Kirkuk was a new oilfield established in 1927. This would lead to the erection of an oil terminal, with oil refineries and an area of oil tanks, in the industrial zone of Haifa Bay.

³⁰⁶ He is referring to Major-General Arthur Wauchope (1874-1947), who was High Commissioner for Palestine for seven years, (1931-1938).

³⁰⁷ Abercrombie, "Haifa", p. 104-105.

³⁰⁸ Abercrombie, *Town and Country Planning*, p. 86.

³⁰⁹ *Kiryah*, *kiryat*, pl. *krayot*, literally 'town', is used in the Bible as a synonym for 'city', as in Lam. 1:1: "How doth the city sit solitary..." In the absence of a specific place name, the term is used in Scripture to refer to Jerusalem, 'the city'; in Modern Hebrew, the word began to be used by planners and authorities of the twentieth century to denote a garden suburb, or a new

are the Kiryat-Bialik B Scheme (1936) – also called Gartenstadt der Rassco - and the Kiryat-Yam plan (1937) by Alexander Klein (1879-1961),³¹⁰ the German architect and housing expert, and also the expanded plan for Kiryat Haim by Munio Gitai Weinraub (1909-1970), disciple of Mies van der Rohe and Bauhaus graduate, with his partner Al (Alfred) Mansfeld (1912-2003).³¹¹ They designed simple single-family houses with a minimum of forty sq. m. surface each, built on a one dunum -1,000 sq.m.- site, with an allowance of a further dunum in the garden allotments of the plan's enclosing green belt. This smallholding was proposed to ensure the workers' sustenance by means of combining self-sufficient food cultivation with part-time industrial work.

Considering the three Haifa Bay plans together, one can see how the detailing progressively diminishes. Kauffmann's is the most beautiful, the most ambitious, and the most utopian; Abercrombie and Holliday's (1934) is a middle ground of 'practical' utopia and careful planning; Abercrombie's last (1936), is a 'disappointing' net of roads, the bare minimum needed to begin realisation. Not surprisingly, this was the one most implemented; it was presented to the Haifa District Town Planning Commission, and was approved in 1938.

After completing the plan, Abercrombie returned to Britain to follow a most distinguished career: he was Vice President of RIBA from 1937-39, he prepared the famous 'County of London Plan' (1943) and subsequently the 'Greater London Regional Plan' (1944), both known as the 'Abercrombie plan'. For these achievements he was knighted in 1945, awarded the RIBA Gold Medal in 1946 and received the Gold Medal from the American Institute of

town. The term has been frequently used as part of the name of new, planned settlements, frequently workers' estates, translating the German *Arbeitsstadt*. This is the case with the organised workers' suburbs of Haifa Bay: Kiryat-Yam, Kiryat-Chaim, Kiryat Bialik, etc.

³¹⁰ See Herbert and Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel*, pp. 203-210.

³¹¹ See Richard Ingersoll, *Munio Gitai Weinraub: Bauhaus Architect in Eretz Israel* (Milan: Electa, 1994), chapter 4: "Kiryat Chaim and the workers suburbs of Haifa", pp. 52-81, 107. For further information on Munio Weinraub's work, see also Olivier Cinqualbre and Lionel Richard, *Munio Weinraub Gitai: Szumlany – Dessau – Haifa: Parcours d'un Architecte Moderne* (Paris: Centre Pompidou, 2001), and Myra Warhaftig, *Sie Legen den Grundstein: Leben und Wirken Deutschsprachiger Architekten in Palästina 1918-1948* (Tubingen and Berlin: Wasmuth, 1996), pp. 156-161.

Architects in 1949. The Greater London Plan, prepared with J.H. Forshaw, was basically a cluster of garden cities; the Haifa Bay Development Scheme, planned eight years earlier, was in fact a draft of the same idea. After 1946, following the New Towns Act, 33 New Towns were planned in Great Britain: 21 in England, five in Scotland, four in Northern Ireland, two in Wales. Stevenage, designed by Clifford Holliday was the first of these new towns to be built in the London region.

Finally, between 1949 and 1951, the architect Arie Sharon - then Director of the Planning Department, Home Ministry of the new State of Israel - was working hard with a team of 170 professionals "to produce the first draft of a National plan, dividing the country into 24 planning regions";³¹² this, in accordance with Geddes' and Abercrombie's planning procedures, was done following a survey that studied economic resources, geographic features, communication factors and historical background. According to contemporaneous ideas about decentralisation, each region was planned as a separate geographic and economic unit.

The regional structure would be completed by the development of a regional urban centre, a medium-sized town; an 'optimal population of 50-80,000' was envisaged for each. Master plans for twenty new towns were prepared, including a new plan for the divided Jerusalem, all at a scale of 1:20,000.³¹³ Before embarking on the implementation of such a vast programme, an expert was needed to assess the results. Sharon recalled that "we invited Sir Patrick Abercrombie, the father of contemporary town-planning, to study and to criticize our proposals"³¹⁴. Prime Minister Ben Gurion asked to hear directly from the visitor his opinion; an informal meeting was arranged and Sharon presented the plan. The reaction was favourable:

³¹² Arie Sharon, *Kibbutz + Bauhaus*, chapter 5: "Planning a New Land, Regions and New Towns 1948-1953", pp. 77-95, (p. 78).

³¹³ See Arie Sharon, *Planning Jerusalem: The Old City and its Environs* (Jerusalem: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973)

³¹⁴ Sharon, *Kibbutz + Bauhaus*, p. 79.

Abercrombie warmly praised our approach, and mentioned the similarity of our planning policy to that of the Greater London Plan, which aimed at taking one million inhabitants out of London and settling them in 20 new towns, on the periphery of the metropolitan area. [...] We studied and learnt from the planners of the English new towns; we even made the same mistakes as they did, setting our population marks and density targets too low. These mistakes were corrected later on.³¹⁵

In a spiral trajectory, the Haifa Bay plans of 1934 and 1936 had been a test bed for the Greater London Plan of 1944 which, in turn, defined the Israel Master Plan of 1951, a plan which shaped the State of Israel. Despite the major influence of this work, Abercrombie's obituary, written by Thomas Sharp half a century ago (1957), while it mentions his practice abroad (Hong-Kong, Cyprus, Ethiopia), does not mention his work in Palestine, which indeed has been utterly forgotten with the passing of time.³¹⁶

The former marshy bay lands by the sea are today known as Haifa's Krayot, and are home to a population of over 150,000; together with the oil refineries' industrial zone they form a continuous urban area from Haifa to Acre, and form the inner ring of the metropolitan area of Haifa.³¹⁷

1921, Plain of Esdraelon:

"The valley is a dream": Kauffmann's *Rounddorf*³¹⁸

Zionist settlement of the Plain of Esdraelon had begun in 1911, when a group of young pioneers, members of the HaShomer organization, established the village Merhaviah. During the British Mandate, Jewish settlement in this valley

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

³¹⁶ Thomas Sharp, "Memoir: Sir Patrick Abercrombie", *Architectural Review*, vol. 122 (1957), pp. 75-76.

³¹⁷ Before the implementation of the Haifa Bay project the area counted 50 (!) inhabitants (census, 1931); this population grew to 1,300 (census, 1934); then to 9,410 in 1938 and to 19,400 up to the end of the Mandate (estimate, April 1948).

³¹⁸ See illustrations to this case study, plates under the heading 2.9.

increased considerably and turned the area into the focus and paradigm of *halutzit*, the pioneering spirit of the third *aliyah*, or wave of immigration.³¹⁹ All this was feasible mainly because after the Great War several Arab *effendis* resident in Beirut and Damascus offered for sale large tracts of land in the valley, which were in general swampy and infested with malaria.³²⁰ The Zionist Organization obtained the money and bought the land, seizing the opportunity to begin the realization of the vision of the Jewish National Home endorsed by the Balfour Declaration.

Starting in 1919, the Third Aliyah brought to Palestine 35,000 new immigrants, mainly from Russia and Poland and the rest from Lithuania, Roumania, and other European countries. Many of them were graduates of the HeHalutz [Pioneer] youth movement in Russia and Poland, and of the HaShomer HaTzair [the Young Watchman] movement in Galicia. These young pioneers constituted a strong creative force, which transformed the character of the *yishuv*,³²¹ and - together with their predecessors of the Second Aliyah - would play a prominent part in the future leadership of the Jewish community. They founded the Histadrut (the comprehensive, nationwide labour organization), provided workers for the construction of housing and roads and for the beginnings of industrial manufacture, and strengthened Jewish agriculture. The Third Aliyah also expanded the map of Jewish settlement by establishing many new collective and co-operative settlements.

³¹⁹ *Aliyah*, literally 'ascension', or pilgrimage, is used to mean either the personal act of a Jewish person immigrating to the land of Israel, or any one of the waves of mass Zionist immigration to Palestine - and later into the State of Israel - since 1882 (in which case it is preceded by an ordinal number, i.e., First, Second Aliyah, etc.). The Third Aliyah took place between 1919 and 1923.

³²⁰ *Effendi*: in Eastern Mediterranean countries, a well-educated person or a member of the aristocracy.

³²¹ *Yishuv*: literally colony, or settlement, *yishuv* was the name given to the Jewish community of Palestine in the Pre-State of Israel period, during both Ottoman rule and the British Mandate. The pre-Zionist Jewish community is generally designated the 'old *yishuv*', while the new community evolving out of the Zionist immigration waves from the 1880s onwards is known as the 'new *yishuv*'.

Usually just called haEmek, “the valley”, the Plain of Esdraelon was soon to become the main symbol of pioneer Zionism. In 1921 the *Moshav Nahalal* was established in the valley as a small-holders co-operative.³²² In 1923 a new group belonging to *HaShomer* founded Tel Adashim not far from Nahalal. At the same time, two ‘divisions’ of the famous ‘Labour Battalion’ of young pioneers settled very close to each other on the Eastern part of the valley, forming the communes of Ein Harod (1921) and Tel Yosef (1922). Immediately afterwards Kevutzat Geva, the *moshav* Kefar Yehezkel and the *kibbutzim* Beit Alfa and Heftzibah were planned and built.³²³ Most - if not all - of these new communities were planned by Richard Kauffmann, aided at the time by the architect Lotte (Charlotte) Cohn.³²⁴

Emek Yizre’el, literally the valley of Jezreel, is the Hebrew name for the biblical Plain of Esdraelon, a flat and fertile inland valley stretching southeast from the coast north of Mount Carmel to the Jordan River; this area is the border between Samaria to the south and Galilee to the north.³²⁵ The Plain of Esdraelon is only twenty miles long and ten wide, rising gradually to the east until it is several hundred feet above the Jordan River valley, forming a plateau above it. In ancient times the fertile alluvial soil of the valley made it

³²² *Moshav* (plural *moshavim*), literally meaning seat or settlement, is a smallholders’ agricultural co-operative forming an independent rural settlement. Originally devised by the P.L.D.C., the pattern of the *moshav* physical planning was created by the architect Richard Kauffmann. Nahalal in the Jezreel valley was the first *moshav*.

³²³ *Guide of Israel* (Ministry of Defence, 1980), vol. 8: The Northern Valleys, pp. 1-62. *Kibbutz* (plural *kibbutzim*), literally meaning a grouping or federation, is a collective rural settlement. Ein Harod in the Jezreel valley was the first *kibbutz*. The pattern of the *kibbutz*’s physical planning was created by the architect Richard Kauffmann for the P.L.D.C.

³²⁴ Lotte Cohn was the first woman architect who worked in Palestine, as well as one of the first to open her own private practice. She studied in Berlin, being one of the first women to graduate as an architect in Germany, and the first from the Berlin-Charlottenburg Technische Hochschule. She was a close friend of the Sommerfeld family, the Bauhaus’ patrons. An ardent feminist with an extraordinary personality, her contribution to Kauffmann’s projects has not yet been recognized in its just measure.

³²⁵ The name Esdraelon is a Greek derivation from the Hebrew Yizre’el, which appears as such in the Biblical book of Judith. Yet the valley was also known as Campus Legionis, Plain of Megiddo, Great Plain, Merj ibn-’Amir, Jezreel Valley and ‘The Valley’; to the crusaders it was Parvum Gerinum, or Le Petit Gerin, to distinguish it from Le Grand Gerin (today Jenin).

the best agricultural land in Palestine, which is reflected in the name Yizre'el, meaning "God Will Sow" or 'May God Give Seed'. By Ottoman times, however, circumstances had deteriorated. A traveller's guidebook of the late nineteenth-century, describing the valley as it was then, said:

The plain is of surpassing beauty, its extent, its verdure, its hills, are all most strikingly picturesque. Esdraelon is well watered [...and] is also remarkable as the richest land in Western Palestine.³²⁶

Yet old guidebooks of the Holy Land tend to omit negative reality; in fact, for many centuries the plain had been a sparsely inhabited swampland, owing to poor natural drainage and neglect. After their conquest of Palestine in 1517, the sultans declared Esdraelon Turkish crown land, but by the beginning of the twentieth century large areas had passed to absentee Arab landlords.

In 1920 the British lifted wartime land restrictions and large tracts were offered for sale. After the purchase of marsh land in 1921, the PLDC (Palestine Land Development Company) headed by Arthur Ruppin and with Richard Kauffmann as chief planner, set up a comprehensive reclamation, development and settlement plan for the valley. This plan allocated a net of new co-operative and collective settlements and a central garden city, Jezreel, later to be called Afula.

Arthur Ruppin (1876-1943) was a liberal socialist and a distinguished scholar, economist and lawyer; because of his ground-breaking demographic research, Ruppin is considered to be the father of Jewish sociology. By 1907 he had become involved with the Zionist movement and turned into a prominent leader. One year later Ruppin settled in Jaffa as the director of the Zionist Organization's Palestinian Office, which he founded to acquire land and to establish Jewish settlements. From 1926, he taught at the Hebrew University, as a lecturer in Palestinian Economy and 'Contemporary Jewish

³²⁶ L. Valentine, ed., *Palestine, Past and Present: Pictorial and Descriptive* (London and New York: Frederick Warne, 1893), pp. 126, 128.

Settlement of Palestine', and later as professor of the Sociology of the Jews.³²⁷ Ruppin's training in economics gave him the ability to combine theoretical thinking and practical achievement; he rapidly became an efficient and systematic man of action. Ruppin's vision, which he set out to realise, was to establish Jezreel as a region with dozens of settlements, combining intensive agriculture with light industry. The planning of the Valley of Esdraelon can be interpreted as the ideal model for a future Jewish national home, and is emblematic of Ruppin's vision.

When Kauffmann arrived in Palestine, Jewish agricultural colonization in the country was already fifty years old; yet, from 1921 the colonising work of the Zionist Organisation had begun a 'period of extension', of which Ruppin was the mastermind and the commissioner. This new period began, in Ruppin's words:

Through the employment of larger means and the acquisition of large connected areas, especially of those in the Emek Yezreel [Plain of Esdraelon], the period of the founding of Nahalal, Kfar Yeheskiel, Tel Yoseph, etc.³²⁸

For security reasons, the farms and other agricultural settlements built by the Zionist Organization before the Great War were planned according to the "closed courtyard" principle. Ruppin pointed out that much greater internal security was felt in the country since the advent of the British Administration. As a direct result of this new situation, settlements "could be constructed from new points of view", with comprehensive regional planning in mind. Ruppin wrote:

Such plans should include the different settlements, their communications with each other, all highways and roads down to footpaths, the division of the fields, and the water supply and

³²⁷ Salman Schocken, *The Hebrew University of Jerusalem: its History and Development* (Tel Aviv: Ha'aretz Press, 1939), p. 43.

³²⁸ Arthur Ruppin, *The Agricultural Colonization of the Zionist Organization in Palestine*, (London: Martin Hopkinson, 1926), henceforth referred to as *Agricultural Colonization*, p. 4.

irrigation systems, thus *treating whole districts as single entities*.³²⁹

Consequently, the first axiom established was that the new settlements should be professionally planned, on the assumption that this would also lead to a much higher aesthetic quality. Many of the first colonies had been founded by the pioneers' own initiative, and developed "without any systematic plan". Ruppin decided that this was the reason for their present ugliness and lack of harmony, and regretted that "this lack of foresight did not fail to cause many faults".³³⁰ In his memoirs he explains how this dissatisfaction was the motive behind the invitation of Kauffmann to Palestine:

Most of the small houses in Tel Aviv were built without the help of an engineer or an architect.[...] It is hardly surprising that many monstrous houses were produced in that way.³³¹
As some of our districts, especially in the Emek Yezreel, are capable of very intensive colonisation, it will soon be found necessary to construct *systematic plans for whole districts*.³³²

In 1920, when we were about to settle the Jezreel [Esdraelon] valley, I was cautious to avoid a repetition of the ugliness in the layout of the old settlements and invited to Palestine Richard Kauffmann, a town-planning engineer and architect who was at the time working in Christiania.³³³

Richard Kauffmann (1887-1958) was born in Frankfurt-am-Main and had studied art at the Stäedel Kunstakademie of the same city.³³⁴ In 1908 he went to Darmstadt to study architecture at the Großherzogliche Hochschule; he then moved to Munich, and to the Königlich Bayerische Technische

³²⁹ Ruppin, *Agricultural Colonization*, p. 66. [My italics].

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

³³¹ Alex Bein, ed., *Arthur Ruppin: Memoirs, Diaries, Letters*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), p.123.

³³² Ruppin, *Agricultural Colonization* p. 59. [Ruppin's text italics].

³³³ Bein, ed., *Arthur Ruppin: Memoirs, Diaries, Letters*, p.123. Christiania is now Oslo.

³³⁴ For a detailed short biography of Kauffmann, see the entry by Uriel Adiv in the *MacMillan Dictionary of Art*. Jane Turner, ed., *Dictionary of Art* (London: MacMillan, 1994), q.v. 'Kauffmann, Richard Yitzchak'.

Hochschule, where together with Erich Mendelsohn he studied under Theodor Fischer. Kauffmann graduated as an architect in 1912, and executed his first professional work under Georg Metzendorf, in whose office he was employed in 1913. Metzendorf (1874-1934) was then working for the Krupp family and planning Margareten-Hohe, a workers' village for the Krupp firm's employees near the industrial steel plants in Essen. This experience was especially significant for Kauffmann, due to how the new estate is considered today:

Probably the most accomplished example of the German Garden Cities movement built before the Great War [was] Margarethen Hohe, a garden village planned and erected under the patronage of the Krupp family in 1912 by the outskirts of the city of Essen in the Ruhr region. It was a small settlement, aimed for the workers of the Krupp's steel mills, reaching a population of a little over 5,000 during the thirties. The designer, Georg Metzendorf, "faithfully followed the Unwin-Paker tradition to create a magic little town."³³⁵

Recruited for army duty at the beginning of the Great War, Kauffmann had served for four years on both the eastern and the western fronts, was wounded, and honoured with the Iron Cross. After the war (in 1919) he participated in an international competition to plan Raigorod, a new Garden City in the Ukraine, winning the first prize. Subsequently Richard Kauffmann travelled to Scandinavia, working in Oslo under Oskar Hoff and at the municipal planning office, and participating at several other international competitions.

At this point he was contacted by Arthur Ruppin and invited to Palestine. He arrived in autumn 1921, at the age of 34, commencing a brilliant local career

³³⁵ Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Town Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988, 1996), p.115. For a more detailed description of Margarethen-Hohe see also Simon Eisner *et. al.*, *The Urban Pattern* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1963, 1992.), p. 137.

It is worth noting that in 1916, Hannes Meyer - the future director of the Bauhaus - was employed by George Metzendorf's office in Munich. Two years younger than Kauffmann, Meyer was then 27 years old. While Metzendorf and Kauffmann served in the war Meyer, a Swiss citizen, became chief architect in charge and continued the development of the Margareten-Hohe estate, on which Kauffmann had worked from the beginning.

that would continue until his death in Jerusalem in 1958.³³⁶ Soon Kauffmann was appointed Chief Architect of the Palestine Land Development Company and also Director of the Architecture and Town Planning Department of the Zionist Organization, replacing Professor Patrick Geddes; he would hold both posts until 1932. The collaboration between Ruppin and Kauffmann proved to be remarkably successful. Ruppin conveyed this in his diary, saying of Kauffmann's appointment:

It was a happy choice. He [Kauffmann] worked out the plans for the settlements of the Jezreel valley - first for Nahalal and Kfar Yehezkel and later for many other settlements - and also *created a certain style for the layout of our communities.*³³⁷

The name of Nahalal, the first of these new communities, was taken from Scripture. Biblical Nahalal had been an ancient village in the Plain of Esdraelon, "inheritance of the children of Zebulun".³³⁸ An old name from the geography of the Holy Land was explicitly chosen, in order to consecrate the new settlement; yet it was also a reflection on the title of one the principal texts of Zionism, Herzl's utopian novel *Old-New Land*: they were building the new and remembering the old at the same time.³³⁹

One of the main characteristics of Kauffmann's planning was the application of the principle of zoning; his settlements were rationally divided into zones according to function. For smallholders' co-operative villages, the system devised by Kauffmann consisted of a concentric arrangement of these

³³⁶ For a selected list of works from Kauffmann's prolific practice in Palestine, see Appendix 3.7.

³³⁷ Alex Bein, ed., *Arthur Ruppin: Memoirs, Diaries, Letters*, p.123. [My italics].

³³⁸ Joshua, 19: 15-16.

³³⁹ Theodor Herzl, *Old New Land*, first published 1901 in Leipzig as *Altneuland* by Hermann Seemann Nachfolger.

For current criticism of the use (and abuse) of both biblical scholarship and modern archaeology to achieve political, religious or ethnic gains in Palestine, see Sián Jones, "Nationalism, Archaeology and the Interpretation of Ethnicity in Ancient Palestine", *Boletim do CPA*, Campinas, 3 (January-June 1997), pp. 49-80.

functional zones. This was first implemented in the scheme for Nahalal. Ruppin recorded:

He [Kauffmann] exchanged the old village, built more or less in one row, for *one circular shape*, in which the dwellings of the individual settlers are grouped as regularly as possible circle-wise around a centre or nucleus composed of the public and common buildings.³⁴⁰

Modern architecture and Zionism share a cult of the new and, with it, the idea of 'starting from scratch' in every project. Because of the valley's depopulation, the Plain of Esdraelon was seen by Ruppin and Kauffmann as a proverbial *tabula rasa*, an opportunity to make a fresh start. This was true, however, at surface level only. A more thorough examination of the plan of Nahalal reveals several clear precedents that Kauffmann consulted and learned from while preparing the scheme: Ledoux's Saline de Chaux, Howard's diagrams and Taut's drawings for *The Dissolution of the Cities*.

Kauffmann's obvious reference to Ledoux's Saline de Chaux has already been mentioned by Israeli historians;³⁴¹ their shared attribute of being an Utopian self-sufficient community, as well as identity of form – an ellipse, misunderstood as a circle in perspective – are difficult to ignore. In addition, looking again at Ebenezer Howard's famous Garden Cities diagrams, it seems that Kauffmann adopted them as literal layout solutions, which Howard insisted they were not.³⁴²

Yet another precedent has hitherto escaped notice. At the time of the planning of Nahalal, Bruno Taut had just published his book *The Dissolution of the Cities*.³⁴³ Rather than a book, it is a series of programmatic sketches

³⁴⁰ Ruppin, *Agricultural Colonization*, p. 65.

³⁴¹ Michael Levin, "Richard Kauffman, Pioneer of Town and Country Planning in Eretz Israel", *Kav Art Journal* 1 (June 1980), pp. 47-57, p. 50. [H].

³⁴² Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, first published 1902 (London: Faber and Faber, 1974).

³⁴³ Bruno Taut, *Die Auflösung der Städte*, (Hagen i w, Westfalen: Folkwang, first published 1920).

accompanied by short slogan-like texts. This publication was solidly based on romantic agrarian ideas of the "Back to the Land", or Volkisch Movement; these ideas informed Ruppin's thought and Kauffmann's practice, and are imbedded to this day in Zionist ideology.³⁴⁴ The German Volkisch Movement was a powerful cultural tendency uniting ethnocentric populism and nature mysticism. It combined patriotism and a return-to-the-soil philosophy comparable to the ideas of William Morris; it was also overtly anti-urban and conveyed a vision of a better but simpler life to be lived in mystical communion to the land.

Oddly, Taut's book reads as a blueprint for Nahalal. As Taut writes on the first page, the complete title is *The Dissolution of the Cities or The Earth, a Good Dwelling or also Towards an Alpine Architecture in 30 Drawings*.³⁴⁵ He then continues, saying that "naturally, this is just a utopia [...] a parable or even a paraphrase of the third millennium".

Illustration number 1 bears the slogan: "Now our land begins to flower", which, showing the city as a chaotic entity, leads us to a bird's eye sketch of a region of flower-shaped settlements;³⁴⁶ illustration number 2 describes "A Work Co-

³⁴⁴ For specific links between the 'Back to the Land' Movement and architecture in Germany, see Wolfgang Pehnt, *Expressionist Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973), chapter 1 Background: Politics and Society, pp. 23-33, especially "Back to the Soil", pp. 28-30.

For tracking the 19th century roots of the 'Back to the Land' Movement in Germany and to follow its development in the Weimar Republic and during the Nazi era, see Janet Biehl and Peter Staudenmaier, *Ecofascism: Lessons from the German Experience* (Edinburgh, Scotland and San Francisco, CA: AK Press, 1995), especially the chapter by Peter Staudenmaier, "Fascist Ecology: The "Green Wing" of the Nazi Party and its Historical Antecedents", published also on-line [last accessed November 2005]. (<http://www.spunk.org/library/places/germany/sp001630/ecobib.html>)

³⁴⁵ The word Taut uses is *zeichnungen*. *Zeichnung* also means plan, sketch, chart or diagram.

³⁴⁶ This echoed exactly the Zionist motto of 'making the wilderness bloom', alluding to Isa. 35:1, "and the desert will rejoice, and blossom as the rose". A modern translation of Isaiah 1-4 reads: "The desert and dry land will become happy; the desert will be glad and will produce flowers. Like a flower, it will have many blooms. It will show its happiness, as if it were shouting with joy. It will be beautiful like the forest of Lebanon, as beautiful as the hill of Carmel and the Plain of Sharon". Taut entitled his illustration 14 *Die Grosse Blume* [the Great Flower], intending 'to revive ancestral wisdom'; illustration 29 is *Heilig, Heilig, Heilig* [Sacred, Sacred, Sacred].

operative, 100 houses. 500-600 persons”, focusing on one schematic plan shaped as a flower, and specifying its components:

All work in the orchards and in the crafts.
Unity based on plurality.
A meeting-room for work and common life.
5 workshops [and] before them a place for recreation.
Here work is joy.

A path of union among the houses. There are no fences, because this is a community.³⁴⁷ Thanks to [mutual] help and interchange, everyone lives off what the community produces. Bread and anything necessary is obtained in exchange of its [the community's] professional activity.³⁴⁸

Moreover, Illustration number 3 describes an 'Agricultural Co-operative', and gives further details:

Owner's orchards, that is, [belonging] to the farmers.
Hall and Administration. Stables, granary. [...]
50 families instead of [one] owner's house. Between them and the communal yard: administration and meeting-halls.
The neighbouring craft co-operatives help with the harvest of corn and potatoes, at the harvest, in the forest, etc., as temporary labourers and receive in exchange flour, milk and similar [products]. This mutual help will be given also to small and middle industries, in case they exist.³⁴⁹

Finally, with Illustration number 6, 'In the Region of the Crystal Gardeners', Taut states that:

The principle of abundance sustains the world.
Competitive work is superfluous work.
Co-operative work leads to abundance. [...]
All fruits of the world are produced here.

³⁴⁷ This is a clear reference to Thomas More's *Utopia*: "The houses be of fair and gorgeous building, and on the street side they stand joined together in a long row through the whole street, without any partition or separation." Thomas More, *Utopia*, first published in Latin in 1516, (London: Phoenix and Orion Books, 1996), p. 8.

³⁴⁸ Bruno Taut, *Escritos Expressionistas 1919-1920* (Madrid: El Croquis Editorial, 1997), pp. 240-241. [My translation].

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 242-243. [My translation].

And the practice of crystal architecture becomes something more than practice.³⁵⁰

As is the case with the Saline de Chaux, the similarity with Nahalal goes beyond content, to infuse the formal design: the shape given by Taut to his ideal settlements looks as if they were first sketches for Nahalal and the Plain of Esdraelon.

Ruppin noted down in his diary the beginning of the building of Nahalal:

Nazareth, 21 January 1922:

Last night we stayed in Nazareth, after a fairly adventurous ride in the pitch darkness on roads made slippery by the rain. This morning we drove to Malul in heavy rain. The car had to be left on the road and we walked for an hour across soft clay. Terrible mud. In Malul our architect, Richard Kauffmann, explained his plan for building the settlement.³⁵¹

It is a noteworthy fact that later that year, Ruppin and Kauffmann travelled together to Europe with the mission of inspecting and studying those precedents they had set as models. Sadly, the complete itinerary has not survived, but important stops in it were recorded by Ruppin, visits to Garden Cities in Holland, Germany and Britain. Arriving in Britain he recorded that earlier in the month they have been to Essen “to inspect the worker’s settlements at Krupps.”³⁵² From London they visited Letchworth and the new Welwyn Garden City, where they were received, hosted and showed around by the planner, Louis de Soissons.

Considering all these precedents, Kauffmann in the end designed the new settlement as a ‘round village’, actually calling it *Runddorf* Nahalal. It was planned on a site located by the Haifa-Nazareth road, on a low hill 100 metres above sea level; once the swamps were drained, the soil was dark and heavy

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 248-249. [My translation].

³⁵¹ Alex Bein, ed., *Arthur Ruppin: Memoirs, Diaries, Letters*, p.196.
Malul was the name of the nearby camp where the settlers lived, for fear of malaria, while the swamps were being drained.

³⁵² Alex Bein, ed., *Arthur Ruppin: Memoirs*, diary entry of 25 October 1922, p. 200

clay, the best for agriculture. The settlers wished to build a community based on social justice and manual work but without disrupting the family as the basic social unit (as was happening in the *kibbutz*). Hence, Kauffmann planned private single-family houses together with communitarian buildings.

The plan of Nahalal resembles a circle from a bird's eye outlook, but it is an ellipse. This pristine elliptical form proved to be a triumph: its powerful visual image made it easy to understand for laymen, and for experts it suggested a vision of utopian perfection. Nahalal brought international fame to Kauffmann, and is even today mentioned as one of the classic examples of twentieth-century planning.³⁵³

As in the Garden City diagrams, there are in Nahalal 'boulevards' – the ring ways - and 'avenues' – the radial roads. Kauffmann planned three concentric elliptical roads: the first of these circumscribed the centre of the village and the public buildings, creating 'the forum' of Nahalal, with a kindergarten and a school, administrative and cultural offices, co-operative shops and warehouses. The second ring delimited the houses of the few villagers whose occupation was not agriculture and therefore did not need immediate access to farming land. A final outer ring comprised 75 radiating farms, each measuring about 20 metres along its narrow front. Every family was allotted a plot of 80 *dunums* (20 acres). Eight radial paths lead outwards from the communal centre; of these, four were formed by the two main perpendicular ways that crossed the village and intersected at its centre:

An inner circle, comprising the dwellings of artisans, teachers, doctors, etc., is built around the [central] buildings and is itself surrounded by an outer circle composed of the actual farmhouses.³⁵⁴

³⁵³ For instance, Nahalal figures in Sybil Moholy-Nagy, *Matrix of Man: An Illustrated History of Urban Environment* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1968), pp. 77-78, and also in Norman J. Johnston, *Cities in the Round* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press: 1983), pp. 110-111.

³⁵⁴ Arthur Ruppin, *Agricultural Colonization*, p. 65.

The village layout in Nahalal became the pattern for many of the *moshavim* established before 1948. Yet the Nahalal scheme, for all its beauty, is rigid and did not allow for further growth; today the elliptical shape has been preserved only at the cost of a stationary population and a great deal of debate about bequest issues. Hence, Nahalal counts today less than a thousand people, not much more than the original number of settlers; however, it is acknowledged to be the 'crown' of new villages in Israel: as the Plain of Esdraelon was planned as a 'dream valley', a model in miniature of the future Jewish national home, Nahalal, regardless of its small size, is the 'ideal city' of its anti-urban vision.

1925, Plain of Esdraelon:

The master plan for Afula: **Kauffmann's New City of Jezreel** ³⁵⁵

Following the growth of collective and co-operative agricultural settlements in the Jezreel valley, the need was felt for the creation of a new urban centre to provide services. Ir Jezreel [the City of Esdraelon] would be, according to Ruppin's vision and Kauffmann's planning, the capital city for the region. The initiative to build the town came from an American shareholders company, Kehiliath Zion [The Zion Community] which had, that same year, founded the town Herzliya by the sea, also designed by Kauffmann. The new city in the valley, it was thought, would attract new commercial and industrial enterprises, and as national and governmental offices would have their seats there, this new urban centre would offer services to the whole agricultural hinterland and enrich the settlers' cultural life. Midway along the valley's east side, this principal urban centre was planned.

However, there were also solid reasons for the choice of name and place: the will, once more, to reconstruct links with ancient Jewish history. The biblical walled city of Jezreel, allotted to the tribe of Issachar, had been the capital of the northern kingdom of Israel under King Ahab.³⁵⁶ In fact, the valley of

³⁵⁵ See illustrations to this case study, plates under the heading 2.10.

³⁵⁶ Joshua, 19:18.

Jezreel takes its name from this ancient city of Jezreel. It was felt that the large new settlement, that would be located to the north of the ancient site, should echo the valley's urban past. Nevertheless, today the city is named after a small Arab village formerly at that site. The village of El-'Affule, with a population of 562 inhabitants in 1922, stood on the road between Jenin and Nazareth; the village took its name from *fûleh*, a local kind of pulse, and from a neighbouring historical site. Fûleh was mentioned in one of the many guidebooks published in Britain at the end of the Victorian era because of its heroic memories of the Crusades:

Ten miles from Jenin is the village of Fûleh, where the Crusaders had a noble castle, called the *Castellum Fabæ*, "Bean Castle," Fûleh also means bean. It belonged to the Templars and the Knights Hospitallers jointly. After the battle of the Horns of Hattin, Saladin captured and destroyed it.³⁵⁷

The guide's author, following research by the Palestine Exploration Society, regrets that on the ground "a ruined fosse, the remains of a wall, and a few foundations are all that are left of it".³⁵⁸ Thirty years later, in 1918, German military air photographers took pictures of the village from the air. These show the houses and the estate of the Lebanese landlord, Sursuk *effendi*; a few months after that photograph was taken, British forces bombed the village and the nearby railway station, demolishing even these meagre constructions.³⁵⁹

Afula was founded in 1924, on land purchased from the Sursuk family by Yehoshua Hankin on behalf of the PLDC.³⁶⁰ The site selected was in the

³⁵⁷ L. Valentine, ed., *Palestine, Past and Present: Pictorial and Descriptive*, p. 125.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁹ Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Looking Twice at the Land of Israel* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi and Ministry of Defence, 1991, 1994, sixth edition), pp.198-199. [H].

³⁶⁰ Yehoshua Hankin (1864-1945) was an early Zionist pioneer. Born in the Ukraine, he came to Eretz Israel in 1882. Since 1887 he established relations with local Arab landowners, which helped in negotiating the purchase of land to expand the Jewish settlement. He made his first land purchase in 1890, buying the land on which Rehoboth was established. In 1908 Hankin joined the Palestine Land Development Corporation (P.L.D.C.), established by the Zionist Organization to purchase and cultivate land for the Jewish National Home. Hankin had negotiated the purchase of Jezreel Valley lands as early as 1897, but the sale was delayed

centre of the widest section of the Esdraelon valley, a rural intersection of main roads and rail tracks; a stop on the Hedjaz railway line built by the Ottoman Turks had existed there since just before the Great War.

By the time he planned the 'new City of the Valley', Kauffmann had already been involved in the design of nearby Nahalal, the project which brought him international fame. Afula's plan was more daring and detailed, as can be seen from its drawings.³⁶¹ Here, as on several other occasions, Kauffmann complemented the ground plan with a bird's eye perspective view of the project. This kind of representation was much in vogue in the 1920s, and Kauffmann used them frequently, but did not draw them himself.

Robert Hughes has commented on this type of drawing after the First World War:

The central image of the new architecture was not the single building. It was the Utopian town plan, and the planners of the time saw their paper cities *with the detachment granted to possessors of the bird's eye view* - very high up, very abstract, and thus nearer to God.³⁶²

This particular kind of drawing had been used widely by other Utopian architects: Ledoux and Considérant began the trend, and Kauffmann and his European contemporaries - Unwin, Garnier, Perret, Taut, Hilbersheimer and Le Corbusier - followed. Of all these, Garnier's renderings of the Cité Industrielle and Unwin's well known drawing "The Garden City Principle

until 1909, when he succeeded in purchasing the land on which Merhavia had been established. In 1920 he concluded a major purchase in the Jezreel Valley. As a result of this important acquisition, Hankin became known as "Redeemer of the Valley." In 1927, Hankin presented the Zionist leadership with a daring 20-year plan for the acquisition of Palestinian lands. He became director of the P.L.D.C. in 1932. Kfar Yehoshua in the Jezreel Valley is named in memory of him.

³⁶¹ At the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem two such documents are kept. One is Richard Kauffmann's plan for the city at a 1:2000 scale, dated March 1925 and labelled 'Urban Settlement in the Centre of the Valley of Esdraelon near Afule'. The second is a perspective drawing dated April of the same year, labelled 'Bird's Eye View of the Projected Town in the Valley of Esdraelon as Seen from South-west', drawn by one Maximilian Romanoff. Both plans point out that the project is being run 'under the administration of the American Zion Commonwealth and Meshek Co.Ltd.'

³⁶² Robert Hughes, *The Shock of the New: Art and the Century of Change*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993), p. 184. [My italics].

applied to Suburbs” almost certainly exerted a direct influence on Kauffmann. Garnier’s project had been published in 1917 and, given its ideological similarity, it is very likely that Kauffmann – who was always very up-to-date in matters of planning - knew the project and, approving of it, took it as an example for his work.

One of the main features of the plan was the prominence given to the Haifa-Damascus Railway, which crossed the city in a cutting, dividing the ring-shaped scheme into two semi-circles. These two halves were re-connected by means of bridge-streets.³⁶³ At the centre of the town Kauffmann placed the railway station, echoing Tony Garnier’s Cité Industrielle, planned two decades earlier; or rather, since the station was already there (built in 1913), he planned the town around it, using the railway station as both landmark and nucleus of the design.

It was to be of circular shape, strung on the Haifa Damascus railway line which was to pass through a cutting below the level of the town.³⁶⁴

Afula was planned following the principles of Howard’s Garden City quite literally. The scheme developed from the nucleus both radially and concentrically, with a central district occupying the inner ring and containing services and commerce. Nowadays it is possible to discover in Afula the traces of those few parts of the plan that were implemented: a palm-tree flanked avenue, Arlozorov Boulevard, is one of the few reminders of the ambitious scale of the project. Further traces are to be found in the layout and form of several other streets, or in the memories of veteran founding settlers.

³⁶³ The Afula master plan is strikingly similar in its form to another: apart from scale, it closely resembles the inner city of Paris on the late eighteenth century, as shown, for instance, in Tardieu’s plan of 1778, whereas in Afula park belts take the place of the walls, and the railroad the place of the Seine. The second similarity to notice is with the plan of Letchworth.

³⁶⁴ F. Schiff, “Richard Kauffmann’s Basic Principles in Planning and Building”, in Anon., *From Planning to Reality: An Exhibition of Plans and Photographs Representing the Work of Richard Kauffmann Architect and Town Planner to Mark His Sixtieth Birthday* (Jerusalem, Bezalel Jewish National Museum and Keren Hayesod, 1947), exhibition catalogue, p. 6.

The buildings in the central district were built peripherally, around the limits of the plot, leaving an empty core. This same strategy had already been proposed by Kauffmann three years earlier, in his project for the Antiochus Business Quarter Scheme in Jerusalem.³⁶⁵ The light industry zone, situated to the south of the centre, was designed in a similar way. It was horseshoe-shaped in plan and located adjacent to the central ring, to its south. Commercial plots were planned to be not smaller than 600 square metres, and industrial building sites not smaller than one dunum [1000 sq.m.]. A park belt separated the industrial zone from the residential ring next to it.

A second ring, comprising an area of 4000 dunums, was assigned for housing, allotting building plots of no less than 300 square metres. This allowed for single-family, detached, medium-to-low density housing with gardens and farmland. Beyond that a green belt, including parks and farms, connected the town with the agricultural landscape of the valley.

The perspective drawings show the height of the buildings as being intended as one to two storeys for private houses, and two to three storeys for commerce, services and industry. Kauffmann also designed some public buildings for Afula. He prepared perspective drawings of the industrial zone, where he showed porticoed façades and smoking chimneys. The rendering in these sketches is expressionist, with deep shadows in black pencil hatching. He planned the Opera Square, with an opera house on a U-shaped plan that, alas, was never built.

The surreal idea of planning an opera house in the middle of a former swamp came to Kauffmann straight from one of the most important texts of Zionist Utopia, the novel *Altneuland* [Old New Land] by the father of Modern Zionism, Theodor Herzl. The following excerpts convey the vision:

³⁶⁵ This Antiochus Scheme was a commercial and residential scheme for central Jerusalem, but it was never executed. Complete documentation was found in C. R. Ashbee's Jerusalem Collection.

-You must be tired from the trip. First of all you must rest, and this evening, should you be so inclined, we shall go to the opera. [...]

- When I listen to you [...] I might be ready to believe this thing real, and not a Utopia. [...]

The ladies were already in evening dress[...] Sarah glanced at the newspaper. -There's "Sabbatai Zevi" at the opera. At the National theater there is a biblical drama called 'Moses...I should recommend the opera.

-The box office will probably be sold out by this time, replied David, because most of the co-operators must have used their subscription tickets. But I have had a box ever since the opera house was built.

-Is the opera a co-operative society?

-Subscriptions, Fritze. They call it co-operative here.

He began to draw on a pair of white gloves.

When they entered their box at the opera, [...] were surprised at the magnificence of the building.

Yes, said David, it has been under construction for five years, and was subsidized by the New Society.³⁶⁶

However, the difference between vision and reality could be very painful. David Benvenisti, who was at that time a photographer and a teacher at an isolated boarding-school in the Esdraelon valley, recorded in his diary:

It was our good luck that close by the Children's Village, through the then Arab village of Affuleh, passed the life artery of the valley: the railway running from Haifa to Tzemah by the shore of the Sea of Galilee and from there to the East of the Jordan river. Thus, the Afula railway station was our connection with the wider world of Eretz Israel and our brothers from abroad. We used to walk the two km. stroll from the school to the station, just to be able to meet the passengers. I remember one day I came with my students into the station, just as the train from Haifa arrived. Two tourists from Poland alighted onto the platform, holding in their hands a plan and a sketch of the new city that was to be built by the Arab Affuleh. They asked us for directions to the Opera house. As we replied in astonishment which Opera could exist in such a forlorn village, they explained: "Just in front of the Opera are located the two plots we purchased to build our houses on!"³⁶⁷

³⁶⁶ Theodor Herzl, translated into English by Lotta Levensohn, *Old New Land* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, first published 1901; 1997) pp. 80, 81, 95-96, 103.

³⁶⁷ David Benvenisti, *The Magic Lantern: Travels in once-upon-a-time Eretz Israel* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1994), p. 112. [Hebrew edition] (My translation).

The master plan for the City of Jezreel was approved in 1926. It comprised an overall area of 19,000 dunums. The same year, a Local Council was established there. Hopes soared. Owing to the unprecedented investments in infrastructure spent there up to 1928, the town was usually mentioned together with Tel Aviv as one of the two big centres of urban building, the pride of private enterprise. But obstacles and complications were to follow. World depression brought economic crisis and unemployment. With them came discouragement and many pioneer settlers left the town. Afula developed during the 1930s at a much slower pace than had been hoped. By 1935 its population reached only 1,000 inhabitants. Consequently, the great expectations of the first years were abandoned more or less for good.

In the long run, common usage determined that the place remembered in the name of Afula, the capital of the Esdraelon valley, was that of the original Arab village and not ancient Jezreel. Moreover, twenty years after the foundation of the city, the gap that had opened between the dream and daily life was so wide that the ambitious plan for the 'Capital of the Esdraelon Valley' was subject to public ridicule and became the subject of bitter mockery. The Afula plan had transformed into one of the most blatant miscalculations of Zionist settlement during the British Mandate. Even the careful wording chosen to describe the project in the catalogue of a major exhibition of Kauffmann's works, held in 1947, cannot hide the widespread disappointment:

When the architect plans for a town, he knows that only part of his ideas is realizable. [...]

Affuleh in the Emek Yezreel is still one of the dreams which have not come true. The idea that gave birth to it was that the growing density of population in that region would call for a country town as its natural centre.

One day this dream, too, may find fulfilment.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁸ F. Schiff, "Richard Kauffmann's Basic Principles in Planning and Building, in Anon., *From Planning to Reality: An Exhibition of Plans and Photographs Representing the Work of Richard Kauffmann Architect and Town Planner to Mark His Sixtieth Birthday* (Jerusalem, Bezalel Jewish National Museum and Keren Hayesod, 1947), pp. 5, 6.

Eventually the city did grow, but at a much slower pace than was anticipated, and by 1945 it attained a population of 2,310 inhabitants. Today, eighty years after its foundation, there are about 35,000 residents in Afula, which sets it at the ideal size fixed by Howard for his Garden City and by Tony Garnier for the Cité Industrielle, the two principal precedents that guided Kauffmann in the 1920s. Nevertheless, in the meantime the city of Tel Aviv, that was once considered equal or twin sister of Afula, has grown into a metropolis of a million citizens.

1926, Plain of Esdraelon:

Fourier in the Levant: Krakauer's Phalanstery for Kibbutz Beit Alpha³⁶⁹

A very short time after Leopold Krakauer arrived to Palestine he was asked to design a new settlement in the valley of Jezreel. His clients were a radical group of young pioneers who intended to create a new communal, egalitarian society: Kibbutz Beit Alpha.³⁷⁰

Leopold Krakauer (1890-1954) was to become one of the foremost architects in Mandate Palestine. He was a painter and graphic artist as well as an architect, and his black pencil and ink sketches of desert thorns have become landmarks in Israeli art history. Krakauer was born in Vienna and trained there as an architect under Otto Wagner. He is best known today for his design of the Dining Hall of Kibbutz Tel Yosef (1933-6) and for the Teltsch Sanatorium on Mount Carmel of 1934-5, both masterpieces of the Modern Movement in Palestine.

³⁶⁹ See illustrations to this case study, plates under the heading 2.11.

³⁷⁰ There are two major published sources of information on Krakauer: Abraam Erlik, *Leopold Krakauer* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1987) [in Hebrew] and Meira Perry-Lehmann and Michael Levin, editors, *Leopold Krakauer: Painter and Architect* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1996).
For a selected list of works of Leopold Krakauer in Palestine see Appendix 3.8.

Krakauer's first plan for Beit Alpha, dated 1926, is a somewhat forgotten project, possibly because it has puzzled modern historians. Architectural researchers who admire Krakauer's brilliant modern avant-garde projects of a later date have for the most part neglected this work. The phalanstery for Beit Alpha, which was never executed, was designed in a Romantic-Orientalist manner, which they considered inappropriate, whilst at the same time responding to a most radical utopian programme. It is, for precisely those reasons, one of the most interesting 'transitional' projects of the 1920s.³⁷¹ Moreover, this proposal seems to be especially significant for the present study, because it proves the close connection between Utopian Socialism and Zionism, and consequently it helps one to understand the influence of these two ideologies on architecture. The philosopher Martin Buber, a close friend and admirer of Krakauer, finely expressed the special spirit of this project when he compared the latter's dual skills as an Expressionist painter and visionary architect:

The depth of his experience in the anguish of solitude was the driving force in his graphic work, *while his buildings derived from a longing for the cordial life of friendship...a longing for the joy of comradeship.*³⁷²

Krakauer's first biographer, the architect and critic Abraham Erlik, mentions the Beit Alpha commission as his first 'big work' in Palestine, but is evidently not too enthusiastic about it. Being a modern architect himself, who during the 'sixties planned and built additions to several of Leopold Krakauer's projects, he calls the proposal 'romantic' - which was anathema for him - and accuses it of using 'borrowed style'.

³⁷¹ Transitional projects: This term is adopted here to designate early architectural works of future International Style masters, which clearly show the influence of an earlier mode, at once Eclectic, Historicist, Picturesque, Orientalist and Romantic. Most of these transitional projects belong to the 1920s. They usually, but not always, consist of early works by young designers, a preliminary phase before these architects adopted the modern avant-garde vocabulary. It should be noted that, because of subsequent censure, many of these works would eventually be disowned by the authors themselves.

³⁷² From "The Anguish of Solitude", eulogy by Martin Buber, written in January 1955, to honour the 30th day after Leopold Krakauer's death, quoted in Erlik, *Leopold Krakauer* p. 91, and in Perry-Lehmann and Levin, *Leopold Krakauer: Painter and Architect* p. 15, in the latter translated into English. [My italics].

Leopold Krakauer had arrived in Palestine from Austria in 1924, at the age of thirty four. Refusing to hebraicise his name, he used instead his initials, LK (pronounced as in German, El Ka) as his name. LK began practicing in Alexander Baerwald's studio in Haifa, where he was employed for about four months. After that he tried his luck at the British government's Public Works Office in Jerusalem, under Austen St. Barbe Harrison, who was 'extremely interested' in keeping him on as assistant; yet he stayed there only a short time. At some time between these two occupations, he worked on the Beit Alpha proposal.

Beit Alpha was one of the first *kibbutzim* built in Eretz Israel, shortly after the foundation of Ein Harod, by Kauffmann and Lotte Cohn, and Gan Shmuel, where the architect and planner Arie Sharon had settled. Beit Alpha was founded in 1922 by members of the Hashomer Hatzair pioneer youth movement, on land bought in the eastern part of the Jezreel valley, at the foot of Mount Gilboa. It is worth noting that by 1926, when Krakauer designed the Beit Alpha complex, it was not at all clear what physical form would be most appropriate for a kibbutz. The material and visible shape of this new collective community, whose structure had just started to emerge, was a challenge for the imagination, one which engaged Kauffmann at the same time. Looking for the most appropriate form to express the kibbutz idea, Krakauer's thinking was very clear and convincing: he proposed to erect *one* central, integrated building to house the whole commune.³⁷³

Five years earlier, in 1921, Richard Kauffmann had designed the first co-operative settlement in the valley of Esdraelon, Nahalal. As we have seen, he had based this scheme on Ledoux's design for the Saline de Chaux by. In the Beit Alpha project, we can observe a genuine attempt to design a community

³⁷³ Erlik mentions in passing that "it is indicative that Erich Mendelsohn proposed *something like that a few years earlier*". I have not been able to trace that specific proposal, unless Erlik refers here to the Karmelkroene project in Haifa of 1923 (the Sommerfeld Gartenstadt).

along the ideas of another utopian theorist, Charles Fourier.³⁷⁴ The link with the latter's ideas is so direct that an eminent Israeli architectural historian, Erlik, gives the structure the name of *phalanstère*, whenever he mentions the Beit Alpha proposal. This recalls the name of the ideal community in Fourierian utopia, and to appreciate the Beit Alpha building one has to go back to that. Indeed, Fourierism stands at the base of the thinking of several other architects of the twentieth century, from Moisei Ginzburg's semi-collectivized Narkomfin housing complex in Moscow to Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation in Marseilles, and Fourier's ideas certainly influenced Modern Movement architecture. William Curtis, writing on the 'ideal community' as an alternative to the industrial city, said:

Utopian Socialists as Henri Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier
Had argued in favour of alternative social structures based
on new forms of rule and co-operation.³⁷⁵

To appreciate the influence of Fourierism on Krakauer, one should retrace some of Fourier's theories and among them the idea of his original *phalanstère*. In contrast to the urban tradition, which he rejected in favour of a new type of association with nature, the architectural guidelines in Fourier's theory call for multiple, standardised social micro-units dispersed in the countryside. This reflected the influence of Rousseau's thinking upon Fourier, which would be reflected, in turn, in Zionist ideology: "this dream of a natural co-operation untrammelled by the irrelevancies of former social contracts was carried out through the fantasy of an ideal collective place: a *phalanstère*".³⁷⁶

When Krakauer referred to Fourier's theories in his project for the Beit Alpha collective, these theories were already a century old. As early as 1822 Fourier

³⁷⁴ Francois Marie Charles Fourier (1772-1837) was a French socialist, writer, and reformer. He was the author of the social system under which society was to be organized into associations (*phalanxes*), each large enough for all industrial and social requirements. This system is now known as Fourierism.

³⁷⁵ William JR Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900* (London: Phaidon Press, 1994), chapter 12: "The Ideal Community: Alternatives to the Industrial City", pp. 241-255, (p. 242).

³⁷⁶ William JR Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900*, p. 242.

had published the *Traité de L'association Domestique Agricole*; seven years later, he completed *Le Nouveau Monde Industriel*, one of the more fully-fledged visions of progressive urbanism published in the nineteenth-century. In this work, Fourier described a new society, relying on the establishment of a myriad of ideal micro-communities of 1,600 members, called *phalanxes*.³⁷⁷ These associations would hold their property in common and dwell in a communal house, the phalanstery. This word was a neologism he created to recall the word monastery. The idea behind the term implied that while a monastery is built for 'monastic' life, that is, for persons living in social units of one, the phalanstery would be the habitat of the *phalanx*, the collective group. Fourier proposed to erect these phalansteries in rural areas, if possible in virgin countryside, and planned their economy to be based mainly on agriculture, creating a self-sufficient economy. In addition, he allowed for some light manufacture.

Subsequently, in the 1860s, the French architect Victor Considérant tried to plan a physical environment for realising Fourier's theories.³⁷⁸ He took Versailles as his model, with the intention of planning a 'palace for the people'. Considérant designed a single-building-community three storeys high, for 1,600 inhabitants. Martin Buber, who was to become one of the ideologues of the *kibbutz* movement, while searching for the roots of communal life and criticising authoritarian Socialism, wrote of Fourier's ideas:

There are those who have compared his [Fourier's] phalanstery to a grand hotel [...] that provides a great part of its needs through self-production. But in the phalanstery the guests themselves take care of the production, and instead of the few

³⁷⁷ *Phalanx*, Latin word derived from the Greek. In Ancient Greece, it meant a body of soldiers in close formation for fighting. The term evolved to imply a number of persons banded together for a common purpose, but the paramilitary sense has somehow stuck to the wider, second meaning of the word. According to Fourierism, the phalanges are co-operative agricultural communities that bear responsibility for the social welfare of the individual. A constant shifting of roles among the members is one of the principal characteristics of the *phalanx*. (Webster's Dictionary of the English Language, E.B.)

³⁷⁸ Victor-Prosper Considérant (1808-1893). French Socialist, he was the leader of Fourierist Utopianism after the death of Charles Fourier. Educated at the *Ecole Polytechnique*, he served in the Army as an engineer. From 1837 onwards, he dedicated himself to the cause of Fourierism.

minimal regulations that that we are aware of from the notice in the wall of the hotel rooms, here every detail of daily routine is fixed by law.³⁷⁹

Kenneth Frampton has seen the phalanstery as a 'miniature town'. He wrote:

In his earliest writings Fourier outlined the physical attributes of his communal settlement; it was modelled on the layout of Versailles, its central wing being given over to public functions (dining hall, library, winter-garden, etc.), while its side wings were devoted to the workshops and the caravansary.³⁸⁰

It is noteworthy that these two analogies - the town in miniature and the hotel - both accommodate small, autarchic communities, which is exactly what the *kibbutz* aimed at.

One outstanding architectural feature of the Fourierian phalanstery was a long, internal street, a spatial symbol planned to represent the equality of its members: along this street, casual, frequent encounters helped to consolidate the ideal society. This street was the prototype of the *rue galerie* designed by Considérant, a covered street protected from the elements; in Krakauer used the same solution in his Beit Alpha project as the infrastructure of social intercourse.³⁸¹ Krakauer also found the prototype for the workshops at Beit Alpha in the workrooms Fourier added to his programme, his renowned *ateliers de travail*, which were also forerunners to C.R. Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft.³⁸²

³⁷⁹ Martin Buber, (Abraham Shapira, ed.), *Paths in Utopia* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, first published 1945, 1983). [H.]. There is also an English translation of 1949 published by Routledge and Kegan Paul. I am referring to the Hebrew edition, p. 34. [My translation].

³⁸⁰ Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), pp. 22-23.

³⁸¹ This *rue-galerie* would also be source of the idea for the '*rue intérieure*', the inner street designed by Le Corbusier at the Unité d'Habitation, as well as the inspiration for Alison and Peter Smithson's 'street-decks', a device they used in Sheffield University and previously in the Golden Lane scheme in London (see Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900*, pp. 442-444). It is not mere coincidence that the Unité d' Habitation seems so well suited to house a *kibbutz*, as they share a common trace: the spirit of Fourier's phalanstery.

³⁸² At exactly the same time - 1925 - Fourier's *ateliers de travail* inspired Walter Gropius to design the *werklehre* workshops' wing in the Bauhaus Campus at Dessau.

Frampton has noted that "Fourier detested the meanness of the individual house".³⁸³ Thus the programme Krakauer organized and devised, deriving directly from Fourier's ideas, concluded that the human collective needed a collective building. That is why a second precedent worth noting, is that of the co-operative dwellings planned by Unwin and Parker for a Yorkshire town and published in 1901, in *The Art of Building a Home*.³⁸⁴ This project, not unlike a university college, features a quadrangular enclosure of terraced houses around a courtyard, including several communal rooms for the use of all the resident members.

The drawings for the Beit Alpha phalanstery show a two-storey building, eighty-two metres long and about nine metres high, with massive stone walls 45-cms in width on the ground floor and 40 cms in width on the upper floor. The roof is flat, and both the roof and the middle floor are thin enough to suggest the use of reinforced concrete, while the ground floor is built above packed earth. Yet, sadly, only a part of the ground plan survives. Analysis of the three elevations seems to suggest a U-shaped plan for the complex. This is not unlike the usual layout of the *hatzer* building type, an inner courtyard layout used before the Great War for pioneer settlements of the second *aliya*, for instance, Tel Hai (1907), Kinereth (1908) and Degania (1910).³⁸⁵

Krakauer used a modular room for the dwelling rooms. It had a square section, measuring 4.60 by 3.50 m., and 3.50m. in height, with one door and a big, shuttered double window. Above the window, on its centre line, he placed a little rectangular opening, echoing a traditional cross-ventilation detail.³⁸⁶

³⁸³ Frampton, *Modern Architecture*, p. 227.

³⁸⁴ Barry Parker, and Raymond Unwin, *The Art of Building a Home: A Collection of Lectures and Illustrations by Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin* (London, New York, & Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901), Lecture VII, "Cooperation in Building", plates 6-10, 34,35,38,39.

³⁸⁵ The drawings are kept at the Zionist Central Archives, CZA WVZ 003.

³⁸⁶ One explanation for the existence of this detail in Ottoman buildings argues that as coal braziers were used for heating, this upper little window helped to renew the air without cooling the rooms. Indeed, in summer, as hot air tends to rise, an upper window aids the

The rooms are connected by an external terraced corridor, onto which they opened. As with the windows, he placed an upper opening, this time lunette-shaped, above the doors.

It was perhaps his training in Vienna that had instilled in Krakauer a sense of respect for tradition. Yet, undoubtedly, this was a transitional project for Krakauer. Four years later, in 1930, when he designed the children's quarters in Beit Alpha, his work would be deliberately modern: whitewashed concrete and framed ribbon windows, in a rectilinear composition. In 1926, however, as a newcomer, he was still overwhelmed by the presence of the local architectural tradition. Under the influence of Baerwald and Harrison, both architects very sensitive to the historical context, his design is committed to the local architectural heritage, and searches for a new synthesis between the Levant and his own European education. If the famous Technion building complex designed by Baerwald in Haifa ten years earlier had included a boarding school, or students' dormitories, those might have looked very similar to the Beit Alpha project.

In designing the Palestinian phalanstery, Krakauer used traditional stone masonry and arched openings, with round, either pointed or stilted arches, and circular openings, arranged in asymmetrical, picturesque facades. All the roofing is flat. By means of breaking the mass of the building into different parts and using asymmetrical compositions, Krakauer refers simultaneously to two different sources. On the one hand, he is recalling the contemporary experiments of Adolf Loos and De Stijl, but on the other he is paying homage to the Arab vernacular.

Searching for the reason for the failure of the Beit Alpha proposal, it should be remembered that there were two main problems in the project that would lead to its lack of success. The first one was architectural and ideological: Krakauer was using the wrong language for posterity; orthodox Modern criticism would

circulation of cooler air. Alexander Baerwald had successfully used this feature in the façade of the Technion building in Haifa, but there he had used a lozenge form for the upper window.

not be able to forgive the romantic, historicist, Oriental eclecticism of its design. Therefore, they preferred to forget it. "Krakauer's transition from eclecticism to modernism was smooth, without concessions, vacillations or stumbling steps", wrote Michael Levin, ignoring this problematic project. One should ask if the transition was really that smooth.³⁸⁷

The second problem was much more prosaic in nature: cost. A series of mall, lightweight pavilions would prove considerably less expensive to build than one massive central building. The ambitious stone masonry and detailing demanded by Krakauer was out of the question within the meagre funds of the Palestine Land Developing Company. The P.L.D.C. had to divide its resources among many groups that were by then organizing themselves as *kibbutz* collectives, and the phalanstery was a precedent that could not be set. Affordable standards would have to be much more modest, in harmony with the 'heroic' - or stoic - economy of the settlers.

Nevertheless, according to Erlik, the project failed not because of financial problems, but because the pattern chosen for the *kibbutz* would be a prototype proposed, and realised, by Richard Kauffmann.³⁸⁸ Not Fourier but Ebenezer Howard would set the model. Kauffmann's pattern consisted of a scheme of small, separated, detached buildings, spread widely apart on lawns, forming a settlement inspired by Garden City ideas and conceptions. This pattern would be universally adopted in the future, regardless of the fact that it was far less adequate for the climatic conditions of the zone, as green lawns need expensive watering to survive in this part of the world.

Consequently, the phalanstery of the Esdraelon valley was never built. Yet the settlement of Beit Alpha was established and even prospered. According to a census published in 1926, there were in the Hashomer Hatzair group settled in Beit-Alpha:

³⁸⁷ Michael Levin, "Krakauer the architect", in Meira Perry-Lehmann, and Michael Levin, eds., *Leopold Krakauer. Painter and Architect 1890-1954*, pp. 67-77, (p. 69).

³⁸⁸ Abraam Erlik, *Leopold Krakauer*, p. 46.

122 souls, 104 engaged in agriculture, a cultivated area of 3,295 *dunums*,³⁸⁹ 34 draught animals, 107 cattle and sheep, 515 heads of poultry, 70 beehives ... [and] 31 *buildings including barracks*.³⁹⁰

Clearly, the Utopian principle of a single central building had already been abandoned. Nevertheless, Krakauer's connection with Kibbutz Beit Alfa "was to develop into a deep involvement with the collective communities in general";³⁹¹ this would be expressed in his future work.

In 1929, archaeological explorations undertaken by E. L. Sukenik, on behalf of the Hebrew University, discovered beside Beit Alpha the remains of an ancient synagogue built in the fifth century, under Byzantine rule. In layout, it was a basilica, measuring 15 x 30 metres, with an atrium, vestibule, and large rectangular nave with aisles and gallery. When the floor of the synagogue was exposed, it revealed a splendid mosaic floor in three panels, including a zodiac disk with a chariot of Helios, the Holy Ark and the sacrifice of Isaac, all executed in striking colours and primitive style.³⁹² This discovery had an enormous resonance for the settlers of Beit Alpha and all pioneers of the valley of Esdraelon: here was authentic, scientific proof of the existence in the remote past of a Jewish agricultural village in the valley, not unlike the new collective and co-operative villages they were trying to establish again. Moreover, it had been located in the valley, not in Jerusalem, and the tolerant or cosmopolitan attitude of the ancient villagers had permitted them to commission an exquisite work of art for their community, using Jewish and pagan imagery together. This fitted very well within the secular, open Judaism that the settlers had adopted as a way of life, and also with their ideal of hard

³⁸⁹ About 824 acres. The *dunum* is a local metric unit of area, equivalent to 1,000 sq. m., ¼ acre or 1/10 hectare.)

³⁹⁰ Figures published in Table II, "Position of the Settlements according to the census of May, 1925, in the pursuits financed by the Agricultural Colonisation Department", Arthur Ruppin, translated by R. J. Feiwel, *The Agricultural Colonization of the Zionist Organization in Palestine* (London: Martin Hopkinson, 1926), p. 82. [My italics].

³⁹¹ Perry-Lehmann and Levin, eds., *Leopold Krakauer. Painter and Architect*, p. 44.

³⁹² Professor Eleazar Lipa Sukenik was to be the scholar who recognized the antiquity and significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls found in Qumran, Desert of Judea, in 1947, the "*editio princeps*" of which appeared posthumously in 1955.

work combined with high culture in their assembly rooms. Indeed, some years later, the neighbouring Kibbutz Ein Harod would find the means to erect the "Mishkan HaOmanuiot" [The Tabernacle of the Arts], an *avant-garde* gallery of modern art which, for this *kibbutz* choosing not to build a synagogue, became the sacred space of the villagers.³⁹³

Even if the phalanstery proposal did not materialise, Krakauer did not lose contact with the settlers of Beit Alpha. He would eventually return to the valley and design several other important buildings for the kibbutz: two residential structures – a members' living quarters in 1929 and the children's quarters in 1934 - as well as his celebrated Dining Hall in 1932. These, however, are projects completely different in nature: in all these later works, the transition towards the Modern Movement vocabulary has been completed. Moreover, the mere fact that he designed these structures as ones separated from each other proves that in the interim Krakauer had adopted Richard Kauffmann's mode of planning for the *kibbutzim*.

Because of the communal life that they fostered, individual buildings in the *kibbutz* tended to be bigger in scale than in the *moshav*. Yet, by 1925, only a few comprehensive plans had been designed. Ruppin explained that:

Though the [*kibbutz*] settlement forms one self-contained whole, the different parts of the settlement, such as the school and kindergarten, the actual dwellings, the agricultural buildings and stables, are all *clearly separated from each other*.³⁹⁴

Small individual buildings spread out across the terrain (and easier to finance), as endorsed by Ruppin, had become the standard form, one that is used to

³⁹³ The 'Tabernacle' building designed by Shmuel Bikeles and opened in 1948, was probably the best building of the final decade of the British Mandate. It features an exceptional daylighting solution, which has been internationally admired. The Mishkan HaOmanuyot of Tel Harod continues to be the central art museum on the Plain of Esdraelon, and has become famous for hosting a series of controversial exhibitions of contemporary art.

³⁹⁴ Arthur Ruppin, *The Agricultural Colonization of the Zionist Organization in Palestine*, p. 65.

this day, unquestioned. The alternative of one monolithic complex remained "the path not chosen..."

It is worth noting that the Beit Alpha phalanstery was not included in the great retrospective exhibition of Krakauer's works at the Israel Museum held in the summer of 1996. The major catalogue (or book) issued for the event,³⁹⁵ which contains the most recent research on Leopold Krakauer, only mentions the project within the list of works provided at the end.³⁹⁶ In that document, the project is merely described as 'main building, community structure, Kibbutz Beit Alpha, 1926'.

Considering the failed Palestinian phalanstery from a perspective of almost eighty years, it seems that a very interesting path of possible development for Israeli architecture was cast aside before being afforded serious examination. Given the opportunity, Krakauer's phalanstery could have led to a series of startling, single-building settlements. Designed within the double context of Modern architecture - that was soon to sweep the country - and Mediterranean climate, these would-be complexes seem potentially full of promise.

Hence, *kibbutzim* built as phalansteries might have recalled the three-dimensional labyrinths of Cretan palaces and at the same time could have anticipated the 1960s megastructures of the Japanese Metabolists or the British Archigram. Given the *avant-gardist* disposition of architecture in Palestine in the 1930s, projects in the spirit of Le Corbusier's Unités d'Habitation or Moshe Safdie's Habitat 67 in Montreal could have been developed a generation earlier. Leopold Krakauer was pointing in that

³⁹⁵ Meira Perry-Lehmann and Michael Levin, editors, *Leopold Krakauer: Painter and Architect* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1996).

³⁹⁶ That list had been assembled by Christa Illera for her Ph.D. thesis, *Der Architekt Leopold Krakauer, 1890-1954* (Vienna, 1992), and is reproduced there with her permission.

direction with his Beit Alpha proposal. His proposal, however, was not taken up, and he himself did not pursue it any further.³⁹⁷

Yet someone else did follow this line of thinking, albeit at a much later date. In the early 1970s, Paolo Soleri planned a project for a megastructure-settlement in the Sinai desert, designed for 2,500 inhabitants, with an overall floor area of 82,500 square metres. Fitting Soleri's sense of monumentality, the building rose 120 metres high, while the intended density was 128 persons per acre. It comprised a complex combination of cantilevered housing quarters, a roof-tent structure for shading, public spaces, a community centre and a desert promenade, as well as a raised podium for storage, warehousing and crop processing. Soleri named it Archikibbutz. Just like Krakauer's phalanstery, it was never built.³⁹⁸

1927, Plain of Esdraelon:

"To dwell together in unity": Kauffmann's House of the People in Nahalal³⁹⁹

Twenty years before Kibbutz Ein Harod erected its 'Tabernacle of the Arts', and seeing that the Afula Opera House would possibly never be built, Kauffmann returned to Nahalal with the commission to plan, in the centre of the settlement, the Beit Ha'Am. As its Hebrew name announced, this building was to be the 'House of the People', the main public building and assembly rooms for Nahalal.

This project was part of an ongoing programme set up by Arthur Ruppin to improve the quality of life of the settlers. The historian Alex Bein summed up Ruppin's concern by affirming that:

³⁹⁷ Perhaps he did, to a certain extent in the Teltsch Sanatorium, Haifa, which was a 'house of repose for the workers', i.e., a kind of hotel rather than a medical institution. In this his masterpiece of 1936, LK returned to tackle with the challenge of designing a building that would house an entire community.

³⁹⁸ See AA (AEAI, Association of Engineers and Architects in Israel), 3 (February 1974). [H].

³⁹⁹ See illustrations to this case study, plates under the heading 2.12.

The basis of Ruppin's success was his recognition of the fact that the most important element in settlement was the settler, and not the settlement agency. [...] He created conditions for their activities and did not dampen their enthusiasm or the will to fulfill their aspirations.⁴⁰⁰

The programmatic function of the Nahalal assembly rooms was clearly defined from the start, as they reflected ideas that were omnipresent in Zionist thought: building a community as a work of art. The sculptor Boris Schatz (1866-1932), who was also a utopian Zionist writer,⁴⁰¹ had described clearly how this ideal artistic community should function, and determined that:

The workers' children receive their education at school, the workers themselves at the House of the People; every worker perfects his knowledge through reading, and enjoys concerts and theatre [performances] there, together with the circle of his comrades.⁴⁰²

The building, however, also had a symbolic role for the village. As had happened with the overall planning of Nahalal, the design of the House of the People was also influenced by Taut's ideas. Indeed, the Beit Ha'Am was meant to become the *Dorfkröne*, the 'crown of the village' for Nahalal, which itself was the 'crown' of the villages of the Jezreel valley. Ruppin is very clear as to the visual role Kauffmann established for this *Dorfkröne*. He explained:

The public buildings are situated on the highest and most favourable point of the settlement and are, if possible, within easy reach of all the different parts of the settlement. This "village forum" forms not only the economic, but, conformably to its purpose, *the architectural centre of the colony*.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰⁰ Alex Bein, ed., "Introduction", in *Arthur Ruppin: Memoirs, Diaries, Letters*, p. XIX.

⁴⁰¹ Schatz is best known for being the founder, in 1906, of the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts in Jerusalem (today the Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design), which was the first institution of higher education in Palestine.

⁴⁰² Boris Schatz, *Bezalel, Toldotav, Mahuto Ve'Atido* [Bezalel, its History, Essence and Future] (Jerusalem: Snunit, 1910), p. 6, cited Yigal Zalmona, *Boris Schatz* (Jerusalem: HaKibbutz HaMeuhad and Keter, 1985), p. 28. [In Hebrew, my translation].

⁴⁰³ Arthur Ruppin, *Agricultural Colonization*, p. 65. [My italics].

Ruppin meant here a forum, in the double meaning of a place to meet and the meetings that take place there; Kauffmann explained:

Thus it has been attempted to turn a colony into a living organism possessing a natural central and culminating point, an organism which conforms also to all the demands of hygiene, security, architecture and aesthetics.⁴⁰⁴

Illustration number 12 from Taut's *Dissolution of the Cities* was specifically dedicated to 'The House of the People'. Taut annotated:

The House of the People [*Volkshaus*]
For the assembly of the workers
Interchange of experiences,
Examination of the best works,
Popular feast. [*Volksfest*]

Moreover, in a chapter of his book *Die Stadtkrone* entitled *Geibt Eine Fahne* (Rise a Flag),⁴⁰⁵ Taut described the idea of the House of the People as the crown of the new city. He begins by saying that the crown of the old cities always was linked to a religious building, a cathedral; yet in the new city, the church is absent, even the idea of God evanesces. As religion is not the driving force it used to be, Socialism will fill the spiritual need of the people to have faith in 'something'. Socialism, in an apolitical and supra-political sense, he said, can bridge the abyss between social classes and 'unite man with man'. If anything can crown the new city, Taut continues, it is the expression of this idea. And it is the architect who is responsible for shaping that idea, if he sincerely wishes to be true to his own destiny.⁴⁰⁶ He then mentions Horta's *Maison du Peuple* in Brussels (1896-9) and Berlage's *Diamond-Workers' House* in Amsterdam (1899-1900).

⁴⁰⁴ Richard Kauffmann, "Architectural Plan of Construction of Nahalal and Kfar Yehezkiel". This fragment is cited by Arthur Ruppin, *The Agricultural Colonization of the Zionist Organization in Palestine*, p. 65. (1926), but the document itself has not been found.

⁴⁰⁵ Bruno Taut, *Die Stadtkrone*, (first published in Jena: by Eugen Diederichs 1919).

⁴⁰⁶ Bruno Taut, *Escritos Expressionistas 1919-1920*, pp. 45-50.

The resultant proposal was as up-to-date in architectural design as the village had been in planning eight years earlier. Kauffmann designed a simple and beautiful building, symmetrical along its long axis. He used a modular measure of 6,30 m; the length equaling seven modules (44,10 m) and the width, three modules for the back - or stage - elevation (18,90 m) and four and a half modules for the front. The half-module was placed at the centre, forming a low tower with a projection room at the top. It was planned for an audience of 800, and described in the drawings as 'Theatre and House of the People'.

Kauffmann took care to orient the longer axis of the House of the People in a north-south direction, so exposing the long facade to the cooling western winds. Perhaps influenced by Horta's structural iron roof in the Maison du People, or perhaps due to financial exigencies, Kauffmann designed a lightweight metal roof which, however, could not have been very efficient in matters of heat insulation. Indeed, it was soon changed for a new one cast in concrete, supported by reinforced concrete beams.

Kauffmann's office prepared two perspectives for the House of the People, both from the same angle, but in completely different techniques, and showing slight design disparities.⁴⁰⁷ One is unlabelled, on ochre-coloured paper, with the sky in a vibrant, Mediterranean blue, and strong shadows in white: this shows the massing. The other is in black and white, and shows the linear form of the building. It also shows the original intention of using long, sweeping Corbusian ribbon windows, which in practice had to be subdivided, probably due to structural limitations.⁴⁰⁸ This latter drawing is labelled "Plan of Theatre and House for the People for Nahalal District, Palestine", and is dated in Jerusalem July 1929 and signed by Kauffmann in German and Hebrew. But Kauffmann's "handwriting" in German and Hebrew, is very different from the

⁴⁰⁷ These are kept at the village's archive. The archive of Nahalal has also kept a complete set of measured drawings (minus the ground plan). The building was duly erected and still stands, albeit in a dilapidated condition.

⁴⁰⁸ In 1925 Le Corbusier had published his seminal "Five points towards a new architecture". On the ribbon window, one of the five, he wrote that "experiments have shown that a room thus lit has an eight times stronger illumination than the same room lit by vertical windows with the same window area."

beautifully delineated lettering on this document, which is the same one used on the measured drawings. The writing in the labels is the 'signature lettering' of Lotte Cohn, as is found in many of her later independent projects. This evidence opens the question of the measure of her personal contribution to the House of the People project.

The House of the People is monumental, even if its size is modest. At first sight the project resembles Wright's Robie House (1910). As with Wright's Prairie houses, the House of the People shows a strong horizontal emphasis, one that here stresses the flat horizon line of the Jezreel valley.⁴⁰⁹ The formal vocabulary it uses is taken from the Modern Movement, but a neoclassical spirit pervades the design, a remnant from his years as a student and his interest in Enlightenment architects. This tendency to monumentality was present at that time in the works of Auguste Perret (1874-1954) and Willem Marinus Dudok (1884-1974). Furthermore, in matters of massing and design, a probable precedent for the House of the People is the rectilinear Town Hall at Hilversum, designed in 1924 by Dudok and built in 1928-31.⁴¹⁰

Dudok's explanation of his own idea of monumentality, one that is free from the constraints of a gigantic scale but celebrates human dignity, may well reflect Kauffmann's intentions for the community building in Nahalal. Dudok had expressed clearly this idea:

Monumentality is the most pure expression of the human sense of harmony and order. It stresses the most essential not only in the material but above all in the spiritual sense. That is the

⁴⁰⁹ It is reasonable to assume that Kauffmann knew of this project. The Wasmuth Portfolio of Wright's early work had been published in 1911 through the initiative of CR Ashbee, and was the first major exposure of Wright's work in Europe. The architect Hendrikus Theodorus Wijdeveld had re-published most of the projects in 1925, in a series of seven special issues of the Dutch art magazine *Wendingen*. These were collected and reprinted together several times, becoming so influential that are today known as the 'Wendingen edition'.

⁴¹⁰ The Town Hall of Hilversum would become Dudok's masterpiece; it had been designed by him up to the smallest details, including the furniture. A whole issue of the then influential *Wendingen* magazine, edited by Wijdeveld, had been dedicated to it.

reason why it [this monumentality] is not limited to splendour and why a small object can also be monumental." ⁴¹¹

While designing the interior of the House of the People, Kauffmann chose to furnish it only with rough dark wooden benches, almost monastic in their severity, and stark white walls: the ideal village was represented through a conscious choice of austere Spartan decor. This was carefully premeditated, since the search for the proper way of planning spaces that would warrant social harmony was a basic aim for Ruppin and Kauffmann. They used a combination of the Bible and popular culture to achieve it. By the 1920s, the words of Psalm 133:1 had been converted into one of the most popular songs amidst the valley's pioneers. They sang:

"Behold, how good and how pleasant
it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." ⁴¹²

The original Hebrew word for the verb to dwell – *lashevet* - literally means to sit, but also seat (settle); in other words, the verse's meaning could be interpreted as "brother settlers sitting together". Thus, at the House of the People, through the act of sitting together on benches to discuss the future of the community - or even better, to hear music - Nahalal's utopian 'harmony in austerity' was made visible. At the same time, the Psalmist's promise could be fulfilled: it was a pleasure to see this happening. Taut had ended his *Dissolution of the Cities* with a question:

"Utopia? To draw HAPPINESS?
We - all – are able to experiment and BUILD IT.

With the House of the People in Nahalal Kauffmann reached the peak period of his career, usually reckoned as running between 1929 and 1934, when he

⁴¹¹ Quoted in "Hilversum Town Hall", *Global Architecture* 58 (1981), p. 3.

⁴¹² Psalm 133:1 has also been translated as "How very good and pleasant it is when kindred live together in unity!"

built the Pavilion of Local Products for the Tel Aviv Levant Fair. Uriel Adiv summed up the main features of his architectural design at this point:

The buildings all have a clear and functional ground plan, a simple form, rationally calculated structural details (such as roof projections, concrete panels to provide protection from the sun, high ceilings, wide windows and ventilation holes) and the reinforced concrete as a visible load-bearing element.⁴¹³

All these were first apparent in the Nahalal project, which therefore should be considered as the moment in which his personal style was established and matured. As it was intended, the House of the People at Nahalal became much more than the assembly room of the *Moshav*. Owing to the international status of the artists who came to perform there, the Beit Ha'Am would play a central role in the cultural life of the pioneers of the valley of Esdraelon, truly becoming the crown of 'the crown of the villages'.

The work of Richard Kauffmann - architect, visionary, Zionist, and pioneer of urban and rural planning - were indeed pivotal to the architecture of the British Mandate period. It is surprising, then, that no complete research of his *œuvre* exists. A doctoral thesis (on his architectural design work alone) was prepared at the Technical University of West Berlin in the 1980s,⁴¹⁴ yet only short fragments from it have been translated and published. As for primary sources, the situation is complicated: the texts are mainly handwritten in German and the drawings are incomplete; in addition, a considerable part of both has been lost. In 1948, shortly before his retirement, Kauffmann's office was seriously damaged and most of the plans in his private archive burnt as the result of a car bomb attack against the *Palestine Post*, in whose building he had his office. Most of the papers that could be saved from the fire passed, in the late 1970s, to the Central Zionist Archives, where they are currently

⁴¹³ Jane Turner, ed., *Dictionary of Art* (London: MacMillan, 1994), q.v. 'Kauffmann, Richard Yitzchak'.

⁴¹⁴ Uriel Adiv, "Richard Kauffmann (1887-1958): Das architektonische Gesamtwerk", unpublished dissertation, Berlin Technische Hochschule, ((West) Berlin 1985).

kept. Other plans remain in the local archives of the settlements he planned and so they are widely dispersed.⁴¹⁵

The role Kauffmann played in the architecture of the *yishuv* was so fundamental that for many years he was known to the public not by his own name but just as “the architect”. Indeed, a street named in his honour in Jerusalem bears to this day the cryptic name ‘Rehov HeAdrichal’ [The Architect St.]. On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of his death, the architect Eliezer Brutzkus acknowledged this unique role, saying that Kauffmann was:

Perhaps more than anyone else [the man who] has left a lasting imprint upon the physical features of our towns and villages. Architect Richard Kauffmann was a pioneer of planning in this country and undoubtedly “the” town planner of its Mandatory period.⁴¹⁶

1934-36, Jerusalem:

‘Bibliotheca Salmaniana’: Mendelsohn’s Schocken Library⁴¹⁷

By the mid 1930s, Erich Mendelsohn was a very different person from the young professional he had been eleven years earlier at the time of his first visit to Palestine. In the intermediate time two basic changes had taken place: firstly, during the decade 1923-1933, his practice had achieved considerable distinction, building some of the most interesting modern projects of its time; Mendelsohn had reached the pinnacle of his career and his Berlin office was the world’s busiest modern architectural practice. Mendelsohn led a team of over forty employees and was building all over Germany and abroad.

⁴¹⁵ The *Palestine Post* was founded in 1932 by Gershon Agron (1894-1959), becoming the *Jerusalem Post* in 1950. It soon developed into the largest English daily paper in Mandate Palestine. The *Post* took a clear stand in favour of a Jewish national home and against British government restrictions on Jewish immigration; this served as the motive for the attack.

⁴¹⁶ Eliezer Brutzkus, “Tribute to Richard Kauffmann – Planner who left mark of genius on face of Israel”, *Jerusalem Post*, 12 February 1968.

⁴¹⁷ See illustrations to this case study, plates under the heading 2.13.

Secondly, in the spring of 1933, Hitler was elected Chancellor and at once Mendelsohn decided to leave. He left Germany, the office, and also his recently finished dream-house; he would never go back.

For some time Mendelsohn entertained the idea of founding a 'European-Mediterranean Academy' on the French Riviera, with H T Wijdeveld, Amédée Ozenfant and Eric Gill, among others, but this project came to nothing. Instead, he settled in Britain establishing a partnership with Serge Chermayeff.⁴¹⁸ Nevertheless, while staying in the Cote d'Azur, he was smitten again by the Mediterranean and thought of the Levant, where he considered establishing a new home. He wrote to his wife:

I see a new Ruperhorn,⁴¹⁹ with a broad horizon, more inward activity and the ease, the blessedness of this coast, which every time brings me back to my sources...⁴²⁰

The Mediterranean is a first step towards a return to that country, to that final stage where we both belong. One is glad to know that. Glad of the fate that has driven us, that drives us...⁴²¹

Birkin Haward, who was then a young architect in Mendelsohn's new London office, wrote in his memoirs that, "early in 1935 Mendelsohn decided to establish an office in Jerusalem".⁴²² Mendelsohn divided his time between England and Palestine:

⁴¹⁸ For a brilliant study on that particular venture, see Ita Heinze-Greenberg, "An Artistic European Utopia at the Abyss of Time: The Mediterranean Academy Project 1931-1934", *Architectural History* vol. 45 (2000), pp. 441-482.

⁴¹⁹ Am Ruperhorn was the name of Mendelsohn's villa in Berlin. Built as a statement about the success of Modernism, it was planned and detailed like a labour of love. Mendelsohn and his family had enjoyed it for less than two years. Here "A new Ruperhorn" means: 'a new ideal home for us'.

⁴²⁰ Letter to Louise from Cavalières, 30 May 1933, in Beyer, ed., *Eric Mendelsohn: Letters*, p. 135.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*

⁴²² Birkin Haward, "Birkin Haward, OBE, FRIBA, Hon MA, FSA, Architect: Autobiographical Notes", unpublished illustrated typescript, extract pages 3/4a-4/5a, Ipswich, 1996, private collection, p. 4/2

In these years I have two offices -- London and Jerusalem. I travel much and learn a great deal of the ancient world around the Mediterranean Sea. My feeling for organic unity receives a new stimulating confirmation.⁴²³

Then, from Jerusalem, in an important letter written at the end of 1934, he began to take a decision concerning his future:

What obliges us to live in a northern country?

Civilization, enrichment coming from outside -- shall we be the less for the lack of them? Is not our place here -- is not Palestine for eighteen millions the only island, the point of departure and the historical point of conclusion?

The static and the dynamic elements came together in the equilibrium of the Mediterranean -- the eternal creative force, which achieved the union of death and life in the timelessness of great art. Everywhere in the Orient this force is present. I believe I am myself a part of it.

I am resolved to remain here. Every day I come to regard the people in the fields, even the towns' people, a little more as my brothers. Behind their faces is our own history, good and bad, happy and desperate, always aware of the dangers, but still always victims of destruction.⁴²⁴

Some days later, he wrote to Louise again: "once I am here for good, any position I want can be sought".⁴²⁵ It was at this point that the second Palestinian period of Mendelsohn began. Unlike the former time, which had yielded only hopes, and disappointment, this time he faced eight years of busy activity (1934-1941), of which he would spend the last three as a resident of Jerusalem.

In London Mendelsohn had re-encountered his patron Salman Schocken, for whom he had planned famous department stores in Germany, and through

⁴²³ Mendelsohn, from "My own Contribution to the Development of Contemporary Architecture" Delivered at the University of Los Angeles, School of Architecture, 17 March 1948, quoted in Beyer, ed., *Eric Mendelsohn: Letters*.

⁴²⁴ Letter to Louise from Jerusalem, 10 December 1934, in Beyer, ed., *Eric Mendelsohn: Letters*, p. 137.

⁴²⁵ Letter to Louise from Jerusalem, 23 December 1934, in Beyer, ed., *Eric Mendelsohn: Letters*, pp. 138-139.

him renewed contacts he had in Palestine. The outcome was a series of commissions yielding brilliant projects and several masterpieces.⁴²⁶ These represent a period of deep reflection and significant change: in an unprecedented manner, the spirit of the vernacular is present in his work, revealing a strong link with local and ancient building traditions.

In parallel, Mendelsohn began to see himself as destined to become the architect of the Jewish National Home. High Commissioner Wauchope loved his work and encouraged him in this respect. In the summer of 1936, Wauchope affirmed his intentions explicitly. Mendelsohn announced to his wife

I arrived late for lunch because I had to see H.C. Delightful, friendly twenty minutes. [...]
He said the National Home will exist as long as England exists and he wishes me to guide it architecturally - to build, as he said, all the important buildings.⁴²⁷

Salman Schocken stood out amongst the clients who had most shaped Mendelsohn's practice there. He had seen the Mendelsohn's Cassirer exhibition of 1919, with his trenches sketches, and in 1926 he approached the architect and began a series of commissions and brilliantly conceived projects that would cement a unique relationship between the architect and his client. Schocken Department stores were for Mendelsohn "especially decisive for the expression of his own style."⁴²⁸ Schocken was ten years older than Mendelsohn, and it is amazing to see how similar their paths would turn out to be in the future. After the shared triumphs of Nuremberg, Stuttgart and Chemnitz, their next meeting place was in Rehavia.

⁴²⁶ For a list of these projects, see Appendix 3.9.

⁴²⁷ Letter to Louise from Jerusalem, 7 August 1936, in Beyer, ed., *Eric Mendelsohn: Letters*, pp. 147.

⁴²⁸ Peter Rumpf, q.v. "Mendelsohn, Erich", in Lampugnani, Vittorio Magnano, ed., translated from the German by Barry Bergdoll, *Dictionary of 20th-Century Architecture* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1996, expanded and revised edition, originally published in 1963 as *Encyclopaedia of Modern Architecture*).

Rehavia was a new Garden Suburb designed by Richard Kauffmann and established in the western new city of Jerusalem.⁴²⁹ In an abandoned windmill at the entrance to the settlement, the only remnant of the area's agricultural past, Mendelsohn established his home and his office. Schocken acquired two plots on the southern edge of Rehavia, by the Terra Sancta College and bordering the elite Arab neighbourhood of Talbieh. The plots were separated from each other by a street and by the Agion House, which was then under construction.⁴³⁰

The site for the villa was spacious, and would allow for ample paved terraces, a swimming pool and a vast garden that was designed by Sir Geoffrey Jellicoe (1900-1996), architect and planner, and one of the most famous landscape designers of the twentieth century. The site allotted to the library was rectangular with the street entrance on its narrow side to the east; hence the longer sides to the north and south, where other buildings closed in on it.

According to Mendelsohn's design and Schocken's wishes, the library presents a very simple, almost forbidding-appearance from the outside. It is built in reinforced concrete with Jerusalem stone facing, as was mandatory according to the municipal ordinance of 1921 prepared by Ashbee and Storrs.

⁴²⁹ Seven 'Garden Cities' were planned by Kauffmann and approved for erection by the City Advisers Ashbee and Holliday during the government of High Commissioner Herbert Samuel. They were Zanziriye (Rehavia), Talpioth Garden City and Boneh Bayit (now Beit HaKerem) (all founded in 1921); Ademat Amos and Givat Eliyahu (1923); Moses Montefiore (1924) and Bayit Vagan Garden Suburb (1925). Together they represented the main part of the extension of Jerusalem during the Mandate. Of these garden suburbs, Rehavia turned to be the most famous, and most prosperous. As Zionist leaders of the highest rank as well as scholars at the Hebrew University lived there, it became the symbol of the Jewish elite in Jerusalem in the Mandate period. Kauffmann, Mendelsohn, Krakauer and Lotte Cohn lived and planned buildings in Rehavia; Kauffmann also designed the private houses of Menachem Ussishkin and Arthur Ruppin there; the scholars Gershom Scholem and Hugo Bergman lived in houses designed by Lotte Cohn. Julius Jacobs and Bernard Joseph, two prominent public figures, built houses designed by Benjamin Chaikin. Amongst Rehavia's residents was also the archaeologist Professor Eliezer Lipa Sukenik. See Amnon Ramon, *Rehavia: A Neighborhood in Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi, 1998). [H].

⁴³⁰ The Agion Residence was designed by Richard Kauffmann for the family of an Egyptian Jewish magnate of Greek origin. Agion, like Schocken, was a patron of modern architecture; Auguste Perret had designed his factory in Alexandria. The design of the villa was remarkable, a worthy companion to the house Schocken would build beside it; in 1974 Agion House was purchased by the Israeli government, and since 1977 it has been the official residence of the Israeli Prime Minister.

Keeping a private and quiet studious atmosphere was deliberate from the start, so windows are few and high; this had the additional advantage of protecting precious manuscripts from direct light and allowing enough wall surfaces for display. The library is built in two storeys and has a flat roof. The address is also significant: Balfour St. 6.

The scheme is T-shaped in plan, formed by two adjoining volumes: the first and shorter one is parallel to the street and occupies almost the entire site frontage; it consists of a narrow entrance porch, three front offices and a carefully detailed glazed staircase, placed at one side of a square double-height space. Salman Schocken's private study was located on the second floor, above the street, with two additional small offices.

The second volume in the composition is perpendicular to the first, narrower but much longer, and built behind it, up to the very back of the plot. On the ground floor, it contains secondary reading and study rooms along a corridor branching off from the staircase hall. Daylight is gained by a two-storey-high window open westwards to the back of the site, exploiting the difference of width between the volumes. This staircase hall acts as a spatial link, connecting the volumes horizontally and vertically at the same time.

On the upper floor, the whole length of the second volume contains the library: a long, narrow reading room. Behind it, hidden from sight by light wood panelling with concealed doors in it, there is a square storeroom for the most precious and rare items of the collection.

The main reading room is lit by an high level narrow strip window opening to the north. The other three walls are blank, save for one dramatic interruption in the wood-veneered wall: a cylindrical oriel window, the same height as the room. Its design is almost a signature, echoing several previous works by

Mendelsohn, it protrudes to the south and lets in, (in Mendelsohn's own words) "Rembrandt light" into the otherwise uniformly lit reading room.⁴³¹

The materials for the interior of Schocken's Library were carefully and surprisingly chosen. Mendelsohn specified lemon wood and white-on-white pin-striped upholstery for the furniture, translucent glass textured with fine horizontal lines for the staircase window; white rendering for all interior walls bar the reading room and the study; lemon wood for the wall panelling of the concealed book cupboards in the reading room; dark aubergine marble with white-and-purple veins for the table tops, floor slabs are of many different hues of off-white, creamy Hebron marble.

The Schocken Library was an exercise in holistic design. Mendelsohn not only prepared specifically designed furniture, but also proceeded to design a series of items in metal: an umbrella stand for the entrance; blackened bronze lampstands for indirect artificial lighting; cast iron radiators and grilles for humidity-control instruments, matt steel door handles; milky-white glass and steel hanging lamps; and, probably the most accomplished, an elegant, continuous curved handrail in stainless steel for the central staircase.

A complete set of prints of the original drawings is kept in the library's archives; these are labelled in Hebrew and English "Private Library Salman Schocken Jerusalem Nikephoria, Architect Erich Mendelsohn London Jerusalem" and dated "1.1.35". The set contains architectural measured drawings of the building at a 1:50 scale, as well as furniture drawings, at 1:10 for tables, chairs and armchairs. These furnishings are also presented in interior perspective drawings of the main spaces. The latter are dated "3.8.36". Birkin Haward recalled that:

Through nearly the whole period of my work with Mendel[sohn] and Schreiner I was engaged mainly on formative sketch schemes or final presentation drawings. I prepared some

⁴³¹ Schocken's painting collection included several Rembrandts. *Rembrandt as an Educator*, a book of libertarian and self-assertiveness ideas by Julius Langbein, was one of Schocken's favourites and he owned an autographed copy.

further design drawings for Salman Schocken's house, but the working drawings were made by others.⁴³²

As a result of the examination of the library's drawings on the one hand, and by studying its owner's personality on the other, a possible new interpretation of the project has emerged. This reading has been confirmed and encouraged by a brilliant new biography of Schocken that has recently become available⁴³³; it links the library project with the Italian Renaissance, and argues that the building should be construed as a variation on a theme by Michelangelo.

Salman Schocken, publisher, collector, patron of writers, and promoter of the Hebrew University was a very cultivated man, yet an autodidact. During his early adulthood he had been compelled to stop his studies and start earning his living. He had done this extremely well, and succeeded in building up a sound business empire; yet, in the presence of scholars, his pride was always thwarted and he felt inferior. Excellence in the business world would never compare, in his mind, with academic success; nor could trade stand up to scholarship.

This personal impasse would be skilfully addressed from 1907 onwards. Schocken was established enough by then to allow himself a vacation, and he travelled to a luxury spa in Bavaria with his wife. He took with him one specific book: Burckhardt's classic, *The Civilization of the Italian Renaissance*. It had been published in German thirty years earlier, and Schocken was interested in the author mainly because Jacob Burckhardt had been the mentor of his most admired thinker, Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche. The book would affect him deeply. Schocken found in it some very inspiring passages; for instance, on the self-education of the renaissance ideal court man, Burckhardt had written:

⁴³² Haward, "Autobiographical Notes", pp. 4/2-4/3. Hannes Schreiner was Mendelsohn's chief assistant from the Berlin office. According to Haward, before the establishment of the Jerusalem office he and Schreiner developed the Schocken commissions of Jerusalem in the Oxford St. office in London. Later, the two of them would come to work in Mendelsohn's office in Palestine.

⁴³³ Anthony David, *The Patron: A Life of Salman Schocken, 1877-1959* (New York: Metropolitan Books and Henry Holt, 2003).

It was for this society - or rather for his own sake – that the 'Cortigiano' as described to us by Castiglione, educated himself. He was the ideal man of society, and was regarded by the civilization of that age as its choicest flower.⁴³⁴

Schocken was particularly struck by the tales of "the merchant princes who put their stamp on the era by pouring money into culture. [...] It was an eye-opening discovery for the thirty-year-old Schocken to see how culture could go hand in hand with buying, selling, dealing, and trading. Thoughts of backing a Jewish renaissance germinated."⁴³⁵ Such a Jewish Renaissance was an idea that Schocken had probably found whilst reading the essays Martin Buber published in the 1900s. Buber, like Schocken, "had grown up in a traditional Jewish environment and moved beyond it, and now, under the influence of Zionism, he was working his way back to his Jewish roots"⁴³⁶.

The influence of Burckhardt's ideas would become even more powerful for Schocken and Mendelsohn, when they both had to leave Germany. Banishment was a common method of punishing citizens in Renaissance Italy, and in this book they may have found some comfort, and encouragement, for their future in England, Palestine and the U.S.A. Furthermore, exile was, in Burckhardt's view, one of the catalysts for the Renaissance; he mentions, for instance, that:

Dante [...] finds a new home in the language and the culture of Italy, but goes beyond even this in the words, 'My country is the whole world'. [...] 'Can I not everywhere behold the light of the sun and the stars?'⁴³⁷

'Only he who has learned everything', says Ghiberti, 'is nowhere a stranger'; robbed of his fortune and without friends, he is yet

⁴³⁴ Jacob Burckhardt, translated by SGC Middlemore, *The Civilization of the Italian Renaissance: An Essay*, (Oxford: Phaidon, 1945, 1981), first published in German in Switzerland, 1860; first published in English 1878, p. 235.

⁴³⁵ David, *The Patron*, p. 66, quoted also in Hillel Halkin, "Money and Soul: A Review" [of *The Patron: A Life of Salman Schocken, 1877-1959* by Anthony David], published on-line [last accessed November 2005]: http://www.powells.com/review/2004_01_08.html.

⁴³⁶ Hillel Halkin, "Money and Soul: A Review".

⁴³⁷ Burckhardt, *Civilization of the Italian Renaissance*, p. 83.

the citizen of every country. [...] In the same strain an exiled humanist writes: 'Wherever a learned man fixes his seat, there is home'.⁴³⁸

Figures such as the Duke of Montefeltro and his humanist court at Urbino, the Venetian aristocratic circle of scholars who built the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza, and above all, the Medici in Florence - particularly Lorenzo the Magnificent - provided the pattern he moulded himself on.

Mendelsohn, as was pointed out earlier, maintained an especially intimate relationship with Schocken. He adopted his patron's vision and contributed to reinforce it, through renaissance architecture allusions of his own. Firstly, there was Palladio. The Teatro Olimpico project was relevant because, like the library, it served as the meeting place for a select group of humanist scholars – the Academia Olimpica - who lived in a new extension of a small town. Schocken intended to convert the library into a research institute open to scholars, where, as in the Renaissance, lectures and discussions would take place. This made Rehavia parallel to northern Vicenza, and the professors of the Hebrew University to Venetian humanists.⁴³⁹ Mendelsohn hinted at this in his design. He even wrote to his wife saying that "today, I sketched the plan of the library with the lecture room and the research institute for Jewish literature. The site is absurd, but the plan has spirit and something of Palladio".⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁴³⁹ For Schocken, the Teatro Olimpico also had, the added recommendation of Goethe, who, coming to visit it in the eighteenth century, declared it an absolute masterpiece. Schocken was a member of the Goethe Society and was reputed to be, in pre-Hitlerian Germany, the foremost connoisseur of his work. Furthermore, Goethe's maxim in *Wilhelm Meister's Adventures* - "Man's greatest accomplishment occurs when he determines his circumstances as much as possible and when he allows them to determine him as little as possible" - has been Schocken's life motto since his youth.

⁴⁴⁰ Letter to Louise from Jerusalem, 7 December 1934, in Beyer, ed., *Eric Mendelsohn: Letters.*, p. 136; also cited by Ita Heinze-Greenberg, in "I am a free builder: Architecture in Palestine 1934-1941", in Regina Stephan, ed., *Eric Mendelsohn: Dynamics and Function: Realized Visions of a Cosmopolitan Architect* (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 1999), pp. 204-241, (p. 218).

It was certainly not a mere coincidence that Geoffrey Jellicoe, the architect in charge of the elaborate garden of Villa Schocken, had ten years earlier published a book on Italian Gardens of the Renaissance which had become a classic. Moreover, this publication had already led to a commission for the design of the garden at Ditchley Park., the last major British garden to be designed in the Italian style.⁴⁴¹

Mendelsohn used a series of concepts from the architecture of Renaissance prince-merchants: he planned Schocken's office as a proper *studiolo*, with concealed cabinets along the walls, as in a *cabinet de curiosités*. He evoked the idea of *piano nobile*, using the ground floor for offices and employees and the first floor for the most representative use - the master's study and the study and reception area – therefore giving it added height. He divided the marble flooring in the main reading room with dark marble strips beginning at the column bases, as Filippo Brunelleschi had done with the nave of San Lorenzo, to reveal the modular measure used throughout in the space.

The spatial relationship between Schocken's villa and the library reinforced the link with the Medicis. As was the case with the Palazzo Medici vis-à-vis the Laurentian Library in Florence, they were located separately, but within a very short walking distance, in both cases across the street and round the corner. If Schocken saw himself as a Medici prince and Mendelsohn was to take the role of Michelangelo, in this aspect the correspondence also fitted.

Therefore, of all the connections, for obvious reasons, the principal one would be, the Medicean Library that Michelangelo had planned in the premises of

⁴⁴¹ J. C. Shepherd and G.A. Jellicoe, *Italian Gardens of the Renaissance* (London: Benn, 1925). Jellicoe wrote the text and Shepherd did the drawings, which are superb; Jellicoe and Shepherd toured Italy as students and did many measured drawings of Italian gardens. Their conclusion was: 'the lines of the garden should grow less defined as they left the house, like water ripples spreading from a centre, to die away in their surroundings - lines always formal but less and less emphasised'. Renaissance gardens were built on hillsides overlooking cities, as Schocken's would be. The garden of villa Schocken does not exist any more, but detailed drawings of Jellicoe's design are kept at the Schocken Library Archives.

San Lorenzo four hundred years earlier.⁴⁴² Known as *Biblioteca Laurentiana*, it featured several details that Mendelsohn reflected in Schocken's Library: the celebrated, double height entrance space; a most famous, curvilinear stair design; a rectangular, long and narrow reading space, equipped with specifically designed wood furniture; marble flooring; vertical modular division of the walls; even a specially designed repository for the rarest books. In 1930s Rehavia, Mendelsohn offered Schocken a true *Biblioteca Salmaniana*. It functioned as such for about twenty years

Today the library nowadays is home to the Schocken Institute for Jewish Research of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, which has owned the collection since 1961, following Salman Schocken's will. Of Mendelsohn's work in Mandate Palestine, the Maimonides Government Hospital in Haifa has grown to an extent that the later accretions hide from view the original building, which still exists, but has been completely disfigured; the Hadassah Hospital underwent fundamental rehabilitation and modernization after the Six-Day War, although this was done with care, and enough of Mendelsohn remains to be able to be appreciated. Weizmann's House in Rehovoth has become part of the Weizmann Foundation, is open to the public, and recently underwent an award-winning conservation process led by the architect Hillel Schocken, a grandchild of Salman Schocken. The future of Schocken's own villa is uncertain; as it has been abandoned for some years, and a public campaign recently succeeded in preventing its demolition. Consequently, the Schocken Library has fared much better than most of Mendelsohn's projects; barring Schocken's private office which has been dismantled (the original marble top tables stay in place), the library remains almost intact, and it sends the visitor, as if in a time-warp, back to the last – and best – creative years of the Mandate.

Historically, local appreciation of Mendelsohn's heritage passed through a convoluted and interesting process. The glory of the 1930s was transformed

⁴⁴² The project dates from circa 1524-34. The *Biblioteca Laurentiana* received its name both from the church, dedicated to the patron saint of the Medici, San Lorenzo, and in memory of Lorenzo II Magnifico, the founder of the splendid collection to be kept within it.

into widespread public repulsion after his leaving Palestine for the USA in 1941. Mendelsohn was then regarded as a traitor to the Zionist cause, having committed *yeridah* - literally a descent - the unaccepted act of emigrating from the National home. This near excommunication led to a deliberate erasure of his memory, and indeed succeeded in obliterating his work from scrutiny and study for a quarter of a century. The 'years of amnesia' – the mid 1940s to late 1970s - coincide with a period in which only one school of architecture existed and the Modern Movement became the only architectural local mainstream in Israel.

Nevertheless, in 1979 a fundamental change began with an exhibition of Mendelsohn's work in the Tel Aviv Museum of Modern Art, under the apparently innocent name of "Erich Mendelsohn: Drawings of an Architect" (in fact an expanded reconstruction after sixty years of Mendelsohn's famous "Architecture in Steel and Concrete" of 1919). Marc Scheps, then Director of the museum, expressed his wish that "the present exhibition [...] will enable the Israeli public to become familiar with the work of a man who had first visited this country in 1923, worked here from 1935 to 1941 and in 1939 settled for a few years in Jerusalem". The special contribution of the exhibition, he explained in the catalogue, "lies in the comprehensive display of Mendelsohn's buildings and projects in Israel".⁴⁴³ Hence one entire room of the exhibition was dedicated to "Mendelsohn in Eretz Israel"; the curator, Nehama Guralnik, published a first list of local works and a groundbreaking research article on the subject. From the point of view of historiography, this article concludes with a most significant remark:

Mendelsohn's contribution to the development of modern Israeli architecture lies not only in the important buildings he left behind, bespeaking his concept of "organic unity", *but on the influence he exerted, along with the Bauhaus school, on local architecture of the Thirties and Forties.*⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴³ Nehama Guralnik, *Erich Mendelsohn: Drawings of an Architect* (Tel-Aviv: The Tel Aviv Museum, 1979), p. 78.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46. [My italics].

The show and its catalogue were exceptionally influential: Mendelsohn was re-discovered by the public, admired by students of architecture, and re-adopted by the architectural profession. No mention was made of the former passionate criticism of his departure; there was, instead, understanding:

The amount of work that Eretz Israel of the Thirties could offer an architect, who only a few years before had headed one of Europe's biggest offices, was naturally limited. [...] His great ambition was to be appointed as Chief Government Architect and Planner. This wish did not come true.⁴⁴⁵

This renewed reception of Mendelsohn, since 1979, has produced an ample bibliography of works on him to be written in Israel. Currently, almost every local architectural historian has published on some aspect of his work; this reflects a complete change of attitude towards the architect, from rejection and oblivion back to the centre of the consensus.⁴⁴⁶

1927-38, Jerusalem:

The enduring monument: **Harrison's Rockefeller Museum of Antiquities**⁴⁴⁷

At exactly the same time that Mendelsohn was putting the finishing touches to his projects for Schocken in Rehavia and to the Hadassah Medical Centre on

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁴⁴⁶ The following are the publications which stand out, presented on chronological order: Guralnik, Nehama, *Erich Mendelsohn: Drawings of an Architect* (Tel-Aviv: The Tel Aviv Museum, 1979); Abraam Eriq, "E. Mendelsohn in Palestine - Israel", *Tvai* 20 (1981), pp. 3-6, [H]; Omri Eitan, "Eric Mendelsohn in Eretz Israel", *Kav* 2 (1981), pp. 49-58 [H]; Ram Aharonov, and Christina Toren, "A vision to the future without denying the past: Eric Mendelsohn: the Weizmann House in Rehoboth," *Studio* 28 (1991), pp. 37-39, [H]; Gilbert Herbert, "The Divided Heart: Erich Mendelsohn and the Zionist Dream", in G. Herbert and I. Heinze-Greenberg, eds., *Erich Mendelsohn in Palestine*, (Haifa: Architectural Heritage Research Center, Technion, 1994), pp. 11-15; Heinze-Greenberg, Ita, "Erich Mendelsohn in Palestine: In Search of Architectural Roots", in G. Herbert and I. Heinze-Greenberg, eds., *Erich Mendelsohn in Palestine*, (Haifa: Architectural Heritage Research Center, Technion, 1994), pp. 7-9; Ita Heinze-Greenberg, "The Impossible Takes Longer: The Planning of Weizmann's House in Rehovoth", *Cathedra*: 72 (June 1994), pp. 99-112. [H]; Alona Nitzan-Shifan, "Contested Zionism - Alternative Modernism: Erich Mendelsohn and the Tel Aviv Chug in Mandate Palestine", *Architectural History* 39 (1996), pp. 147-180.

⁴⁴⁷ See illustrations to this case study, plates under the heading 2.14.

Mount Scopus, another splendid building was completing construction in Jerusalem. It stood halfway between the two Mendelsohn works, but could not have been more at odds with the architectural language used in them. This was the new Museum of Antiquities donated to Jerusalem by John Rockefeller Junior and planned by Austen St Barbe Harrison.

The museum had been commissioned in 1927, the same year that the Pro-Jerusalem Society was closed, and in many ways it was a direct continuation and realisation of its aims. The project had been delayed for several reasons, but by the mid-1930s it was on the verge of completion. Abercrombie, amongst many others, was taken to the building site. He visited the museum on 2 January 1934, and he later he noted that, tight as his schedule was, he could spare time for nothing else:

We broke for lunch each day at the YMCA; for Xmas day at Bethlehem, a dash round [Ashbee's rampart walk on] the walls one Sunday, a visit to the unfinished Rockefeller Museum with Harrison. [...] St. B. Harrison, the brilliant architect of the Government House & the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem.⁴⁴⁸

Designed by the Chief Architect of the Public Works Department, Austin St. Barbe Harrison, the Antiquities Museum was erected using a generous donation of two million dollars. The museum is rightly considered to be the best architectural design of the British Mandate period, and remains to this day one of the best buildings of the twentieth century in the country. The detailing is exemplary and both the craftsmanship and the use of materials are superb.

It should be noted that the British Mandate in Palestine was a time of flourishing archaeological activity in the country, as in the whole Middle East. Central to this development was the PEF (Palestine Exploration Fund), an organisation founded in 1865 by a group of eminent academics and

⁴⁴⁸ Patrick Abercrombie, (Gerald Dix, ed.), "XIV: Haifa" [excerpts from autobiographical notes written in 1940], unpublished typescript, Sir Patrick Abercrombie's Papers, private collection, pp.101-110, pp. 107, 104.

clergymen, most notably Sir George Grove and Arthur P. Stanley. The purpose of the PEF was - and is - "to promote research into the archaeology and history, manners and customs and culture, topography, geology and natural sciences of biblical Palestine and the Levant".⁴⁴⁹ The PEF undertook 'ambitious and well-chosen projects' that considerably advanced the knowledge of the Holy Land; one of the most important of these was the previously mentioned Survey of Western Palestine (1871-1878), undertaken mainly by Claude R. Conder and Horatio H. Kitchener.

The archaeological activity started by the PEF in Ottoman times continued with added impetus during the Mandate period; amazing discoveries were being made at the excavation sites of Meggido, Samaria, Beisan, at the Hisham Palace in Jericho, and so on. By 1924, the bounty of findings brought the recently established Antiquities Department in Jerusalem to think about the need for a modern museum, with proper exhibition and research space, but financial support was missing.⁴⁵⁰

The American scholar James Henry Breasted of the Oriental Institute in Chicago visited Palestine in 1925 and was aggrieved by the absence of proper premises for the display of the finds unearthed in recent excavations.⁴⁵¹ He contacted John Rockefeller on this matter, succeeding in bringing about the philanthropist's agreement to contribute toward the project.

⁴⁴⁹ This is how the organization presents itself today; See Palestine Exploration Fund, home page and background [<http://www.pef.org.uk/Pages/intro.htm>] [last accessed November 2005].

⁴⁵⁰ For a good reconstruction of the British archaeological activity and the persons and institutions involved in it, see Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, "Non-Jewish Institutions and the research of Palestine during the British Mandate Period: Part One", *Cathedra for the History of Eretz Israel and its Yishuv*, No. 92, (Jerusalem, June 1999), pp. 135-172 [H]; for a review of the excavation sites and their main findings, see "Appendix: Excavated sites and Bibliography", in Kathleen Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land*, London: Ernest Benn, 1971, first published 1960), pp. 305-327.

⁴⁵¹ James Henry Breasted (1865-1935) was a distinguished American anthropologist, historian and archaeologist. Educated at Yale and Berlin, he was the first American to achieve a PhD in Egyptology and the first to hold a chair in Egyptology and Oriental History in the USA. Some years earlier, in 1919, Breasted had obtained funding from John David Rockefeller, Jr. for the establishment of the Oriental Institute, expanding the former Haskell Oriental Museum.

Norman Bentwich, then attorney general, noted how the city's need was opportunely met:

The munificent gift of Mr. John Rockefeller, Junior, of a sum of \$2,000,000, to establish an archaeology museum in Jerusalem ensured that the service of antiquities of the most historic country in the world should be worthily conducted.⁴⁵²

The donation stipulated that half the amount be saved for future upkeep and maintenance.⁴⁵³ The Palestine government had also contributed by granting the land as a gift. Rockefeller had intended to build an Antiquities Museum in Cairo, but his offer had been turned down. David Rockefeller, the son of the donor, who as a child accompanied him to the East, has recently recalled that:

Although Father's proposal to build a new museum in Cairo foundered on the rocks of international politics, he was much more successful with a similar idea in Jerusalem.

Wandering the Via Dolorosa, visiting Bethlehem, the Garden of Gethsemane, the Dome of the Rock, and the Wailing Wall on the site of the Second Temple convinced Father that something needed to be done to preserve the antiquities of the Holy Land after centuries of neglect by the Ottoman Turks.

Again, with Dr. Breasted's encouragement, Father offered to build a museum of archaeology to house these antiquities and provide the facilities for scholars to study them. This time the British government, which controlled the Palestinian Mandatory State, agreed with the proposal wholeheartedly.⁴⁵⁴

The donation was so generous, that even if the official name was to be The Palestine Archaeological Museum, from the beginning the building was commonly known as the "Rockefeller Museum".

⁴⁵² Norman Bentwich, OBE MC, *England in Palestine* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1932), pp. 164-5. Bentwich was Attorney General of Palestine 1922-31.

⁴⁵³ Martin Gilbert, *Jerusalem in the Twentieth Century* (London: Pimlico and Random House, 1996), p. 137.

⁴⁵⁴ David Rockefeller, "Three months among the Pyramids", *University of Chicago Magazine* vol. 95:2 (December 2002), published on line, unpaginated [last accessed December 2005] (<http://magazine.uchicago.edu/0212/features/pyramids.html>).

The design was entrusted, without competition, to Austen St Barbe Harrison. Harrison (1891-1976) was a British architect born in England but educated at McGill University, Montreal, and University College, London. In the early 1920s he had studied at the British School in Athens, especially Byzantine and Early Muslim architecture. Then he had worked in the Department of Construction, Eastern Macedonia, planning villages and houses for war refugees from Asia Minor; for a short while, he had worked as assistant to Edwin Lutyens in New Delhi. Austen St Barbe Harrison had come to Palestine in 1922, to work for the government in the Architectural Office of the Public Works Department (DPW). By the time of beginning the planning of the museum, he had been appointed Chief Architect there and, as such, was responsible for the Mandate's principal buildings in the country during the 1920s and 1930s.⁴⁵⁵

The site selected was a large triangular one, with a surface of 32 dunums (about 32,000 sq. m.). Its situation was remarkable, immediately in front of the north-eastern corner of the Old City walls, on the land once occupied by the medieval Crusaders' farm of Belvoir. The farm's name, 'beautiful sight', hints at the magnificent panorama open from it, which had not changed considerably since the Middle Ages. In a city endowed with panoramic beauty, the museum's selected site allowed a majestic view of Suleiman the Magnificent medieval walls and of the Mount of Olives. Furthermore, the site had strong historical significance. The future Rockefeller Museum would stand just in front of the spot where the crusaders had gained entry to the City in 1099. It is known from several sources that a great cross was erected in this place at the beginning of the Crusaders' rule. It meant to commemorate the

⁴⁵⁵ For a list of Harrison's work during his fifteen years in Palestine, see Appendix 3.5. For a detailed account on Harrison and his work in Palestine, see Ron Fuchs, "Austen St. Barbe Harrison: A British Architect in the Holy Land", unpublished research thesis for the degree of Doctor of Science, Technion, Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa March 1992. [H]; also, Ron Fuchs and Gilbert Herbert, "Representing Mandatory Palestine: Austen St Barbe Harrison and the Representational Buildings of the British Mandate in Palestine, 1922-37", *Architectural History* 43 (2000), pp. 281-333. For the Rockefeller Museum, see also Chaim Rubinstein, ed., *Israel Guide*, vol.10: Jerusalem (Jerusalem: Keter, Ministry of Defence, 1980), pp. 135-137 [H]; David Kroyanker, *The Period of the British Mandate 1918-1948: Jerusalem Architecture - Periods and Styles* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1991), pp. 113-121 [H].

exact place where the wall had been breached before the conquest of Jerusalem. In addition, exactly from this point Salah-a-Din had broken into the Old City on 10 October 1178, ending the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem.⁴⁵⁶ At that time, the site was known as Karm el-Sheikh and was owned by the al-Halili family. An old stone summer house and a centenarian pine tree stood at the site. Rockefeller stipulated that both should be preserved and incorporated into the design.

At the time when Harrison began to tackle this commission, existed a preliminary scheme ready for this project. Patrick Geddes had proposed the erection of a museum in Jerusalem in the report he prepared together with the Ashbee-Geddes plan of 1922; this was consistent with his ideas of the educative role of the 'houses of the Muses' in the city. The idea had begun in parallel with the preparations for his Cities and Town Planning Exhibition, installed at the (British) Boys' School of Jerusalem.⁴⁵⁷ Frank Mears had designed a preliminary sketch for a "Proposed Museum Group" in November 1919 showing the museum plan, its organization reflecting the educational route the visitor should pass.⁴⁵⁸ The scheme remained unbuilt, but several of Geddes' ideas would be incorporated into Harrison's design.

The programme of the Rockefeller Museum allowed for a public garden, which took up half the entire area, in front and behind the building; scores of old olive trees were transplanted from Bethlehem and beds of Palestinian wild flowers were planted. The building was to house the museum itself and the offices of the Department of Antiquities. The museum was planned around a hollow core: a central courtyard in whose longitudinal arcades the largest

⁴⁵⁶ See Part 3, "The new crusaders' vision".

⁴⁵⁷ The Jerusalem version of the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition was open to the public from 24 September to 11 October 1920. See Volker Welter, *Biopolis: Patrick Geddes and the City of Life*. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002), Table 5.1: "Venues for the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition and accompanying city design reports", p. 29.

⁴⁵⁸ The plan for this museum is kept in the Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem; it was published in Fuchs and Herbert, "Representing Mandatory Palestine, pp. 281-333, p. 310. For Geddes' ideas on museums, education and the city, see Welter, *Biopolis*, pp. 90, 120, 198-199, 234, 250.

archaeological pieces would be displayed; the central axis of the building crossed the entrance hall, passed through this court and ended at the ancient pine tree at the back of the site. The scheme is single storeyed throughout, but the spaces change in height.

In the planning J.H. Breasted, representing the donor, participated actively, as did Professor John Garstang, the founding Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine, T.E. Richmond, architect in charge of the Department of Antiquities, and John H. Iliffe, who was the first curator of the museum.⁴⁵⁹ As Geddes had intended, Iliffe designed an 'educational route' that would guide the arrangement of the displays, and thence Harrison's plan.

This route, which governs the permanent exhibition up to the present day, guides the visitor chronologically through the thirteen different spaces: eight major halls, four minor ones containing ladies and gents 'conveniences', and the central court. The major spaces comprise one entrance hall rectangular in plan, which is ample and reserved for temporary exhibits and formal receptions; its length determines the width of the adjoining courtyard. It is called the tower room, as an octagonal tower rises from it, its height checked by Richmond so as not to compete with the Old City walls. Harrison planned two octagonal rooms, one on each side of the entrance hall, each leading to a long rectangular gallery, which in turn defined the length of the enclosed court. Each of these galleries lead in turn to a square room at the back of the scheme. These connect with a final hall which, as the entrance hall, closes the central court along its width. Iliffe's educational route starts at the tower and leads, clockwise, from the prehistory to the 1700s through all the spaces, finishing at the entrance again.

Yet this rather rigid scheme was given a much more dynamic feeling through two features: Firstly, the addition of the Department of Antiquities premises, which form two additional triangular courts. These wings extend beyond the

⁴⁵⁹ Garstang and Richmond had also been active members of the Pro-Jerusalem Society.

former orthogonal scheme at an angle of 45 degrees, forming at the entrance the 135 degrees angle characteristic of the octagon. These wings project forward from the two octagonal halls and contain, on one side, a lecture theatre, and, on the other, the museum's library. The other two sides of the triangular courts are formed by offices.⁴⁶⁰ Secondly, the approach route to the Museum does not coincide, as the scheme suggests, with the central axis. On the contrary, it skirts the building along its southern side, leading the visitor past the offices into the entrance garden. This direction of movement was stressed by the curving of one of the sides of the triangular southern court, which is the only deviation from perfect symmetry in the whole project.

Harrison used many architectural precedents in the design of the Rockefeller Museum, using his vast knowledge of the architecture of the East, both historical and vernacular. He combined Muslim architectural features with Mediterranean traditional elements, but he used these precedents in a modern way, after considerable geometric simplification. He also used several different types of vaulting, which he built according to traditional methods.

For the central courtyard Harrison was inspired by the Alhambra's Court of the Lions and the pool courts at the Generalife in Granada. For the plan organization he referred to the Cairo mosques. Furthermore, a pool was placed in the middle of the court, and a masterfully tiled contemplation niche containing the pool's fountain echoed the Alhambra famed arabesque motifs.

The British sculptor Eric Gill was invited to prepare decorative reliefs for the museum. He worked in Jerusalem in 1934, and produced ten reliefs for the arcade spandrels in the central court and one for the main entrance. This last

⁴⁶⁰ This is remarkably reminiscent of the entrance planned by Geddes in his Hebrew University project, whose model survived and in fact had been prepared by the same artist as would prepare the model for the museum. Harrison knew very well the Geddes' Hebrew University proposal, as he had been initially asked to "to act as one of a jury of assessors in a competition for a Building to house the Jewish National Library" and he had "consequently requested the Trustees to let me have a contoured map of Scopus showing the boundaries of the properties of the University with the Mears - Geddes scheme superimposed". (Austen St. Barbe Harrison, Letter to Professor Patrick Geddes from Jerusalem, 22 April 1925, labelled "Confidential; Subject: Proposed Jewish National Library", typescript, two pages, T GED 12/3/68, Geddes Archives, Strathclyde University Archives, Glasgow).

relief represents the Holy Land as a palm tree, being the meeting place of Asia and Africa. The other ten reliefs represent the major cultures that had left a major impression on the Holy Land: Phoenician, Mesopotamian, Israelite, Canaanite, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Islamic and Crusader. All the reliefs show a significant influence of Geddesian views of history and resemble the iconographic order of Geddes' *Arbor Seculorum*.⁴⁶¹

For the building's execution, the Italian firm Ernesto De Farro was put in charge of construction. Apart from the smaller vaults, the larger span roofs and wall structures were designed in reinforced concrete. After much deliberation, the legally obligatory stone was quarried from a site near Jerusalem. It was white limestone of the best kind available in the country; this bestowed a palatial aspect upon the building, and certainly contributed to its present excellent preservation.

The project had a prolonged gestation of over twelve years, from the donor's first offer, made in 1925, to the eventual opening of the museum. This resulted in scepticism among the public, with recurrent remarks that the museum was taking 'longer than Solomon's temple to be finished'. Nevertheless, Rockefeller's gift made possible the erection of a building bearing a measure of excellence in detailing and furnishing that were well beyond the local standard. The foundation stone for the museum was laid in the summer of 1930, and five years later, the building had achieved a stage of completion that allowed to the Department of Antiquities to move in, and to offer research facilities for scholars⁴⁶². Harrison's museum turned out to be an outstanding piece of architecture: elegant and serene, it evoked a double sense of perennial grace and local pertinence. Because of these qualities, one could easily select it as the best project of the British Mandate and even one of the best buildings of all periods of the country.

⁴⁶¹ For an explanation of Geddes' *Arbor Seculorum*, the 'Tree of the Centuries', see Volker Welter, *Biopolis: Patrick Geddes and the City of Life*, pp. 88-91.

⁴⁶² Fuchs and Herbert, "Representing Mandatory Palestine", p. 312. Amongst the first to use these facilities were the eminent archaeologists Sir William Flinders Petrie (1853-1942) and William F. Albright (1891-1971).

As had been the case with Ashbee's project for the residence of Herbert Samuel, the museum created a fellowship of craftsmen: masons, stonecutters, tilers, designers, master carpenters. From these, it was possible to interview the elderly craftsman Joseph Levy (1912-2004). He comes into this in this study to represent the contribution of the skilled craftsmen to the architecture of Palestine during the Mandate. These persons are a significant missing link in the reconstruction of the chain of efforts that produced the best works of architecture of that time; through his memories of the work in the Museum, a different insight into this project was gained.⁴⁶³

Joseph Levy (1912-2004) was born in the Old City of Jerusalem and retired to Tel Aviv in his old age. He trained as a master carpenter at the well-known Schneller's Syrian Orphanage in Jerusalem. Later in his life, he became the owner of a busy carpentry workshop that took orders for very special buildings during the British Mandate and the first years of the State of Israel. His early training at Schneller's permits us to draw a parallel between that crafts' school, founded and run by Germans in Jerusalem, and the guilds' tradition of the *Bauhutten*. It was the same tradition that at that time nurtured the Bauhaus ideology in Weimar and Dessau. It is worth noting that Schneller's traditional, workshop-oriented training did not impair, but possibly fostered, modern practice. Also, Mr. Levy's testimony helped to put into context CR Ashbee's connection with Schneller's workshops five years earlier, at the time of the furnishing of Sir Herbert Samuel's residence. Levy recalled that when he was in his early twenties:

One day I was called to the new Museum of Antiquities, the Rockefeller Museum. They needed there an expert wood craftsman. I was offered the opportunity to be in charge of assembling the woodwork. It is all still in its place there: the big entrance doors, the galleries' doors... [My contact at the Museum] was an old, hunchbacked engineer, Mr. Benitick

⁴⁶³ These otherwise anonymous craftsmen are a group of persons that architectural history has failed so far to acknowledge. First and foremost among them stands the Armenian potter and tile-maker David Ohanessian (1884-1952), who worked with Ashbee, Holliday and Harrison on their best projects. He left Palestine for Lebanon in 1948 and died in Beirut over forty years ago.

[Benedict?] He described a big commission, and offered me to be subcontractor, adding that there was no need of any investment [in materials] because everything was coming in boxes from Britain, all the furniture ready-made.⁴⁶⁴

Levy told about the excellent quality of the finishing materials. He recalled the acoustic features of the selected flooring tiles, arriving 'probably from some tropical colony':

[In the interim] big boxes arrived for us at the Museum. It was cork.⁴⁶⁵ We glued and set in its place the whole cork flooring there. Beautiful stuff. Do you know why it was cork? Because it must be perfectly quiet in a museum, and at that time you had so many military folk walking around with their nailed boots, you could hear their steps loud and clear. However, when one treads on cork, it does not bother you. Go to the Museum, you will see how quiet it is there.

It was his job to take care of the display boxes for the collection. But these he had not to build, just to assemble:

The furniture was sent from Britain in boxes. What a beauty! Where from exactly? I think Scotland. Yes, it was from Scotland. In each box, you would get the parts, ready to be assembled, and a sheet of drawings explaining everything. It was a real pleasure to do this work. Never ever, something was missing from the boxes. On the contrary, there were always some little spare parts sent for you. Even the boxes themselves were so nice, that I asked if we would bring them back to the shop in town and use the planks at the carpentry.

I will tell you more about these boxes. Imagine. We would get these plans, catalogue plans within, in which every piece was shown with its proper number. The [furniture] parts, on the other hand, were numbered accordingly. Beautiful. Masses of boxes. We would unload them according to the instructions, and [would find] the numbers in the wooden parts. Then it was our work to glue the pieces together.

Thus, we assembled the doors, even the round [arched] ones, and the cupboards. These were the cabinets to contain the exhibits. They were [designed in] two parts: first a wooden table

⁴⁶⁴ The following are quotations from the transcription of an informal interview, Tel Aviv, February 2002.

⁴⁶⁵ Mr. Levy used here the Hebrew word *pkak*, which means the stopper of a bottle, and not the botanical term *sha'am*, in Hebrew, e.g. 'corchorus', in Latin.

and up above them big glass cabinets for the permanent display. We assembled fifty of these.

By 1935 the Archaeology Museum was on the verge of being completed; it was not inaugurated yet, but for Harrison very little remained to be done in Palestine. Harsh reality and day-to-day struggle in Palestine had by then eroded the visionary enthusiasm of the first years, and consequently a sense of disenchantment is felt in most documents of the late 1930s. This was due to a severe change for the worst in the political situation, as violence again erupted in April 1936. A new organization representative of the Arab population in Palestine was formed, under the name of the Arab High Command, 'to protest Zionist advances in Palestine'. It called for a general strike of Arab workers; it overtly opposed the increase in Jewish immigration and land purchases. Violent incidents escalated into a major Palestinian rebellion. The people in the street felt these severely. The master carpenter Levy, who joined the museum team in its finishing stages, recalled:

We worked at the Museum, seven hired workers and me, and it was wartime. Everyday we were driven to the site by a taxi driver, David Vivas, an uncle of Leah [my companion] here. I sat in front by the driver, and the rest were behind. It was wartime. Do not call it disturbances. What did they mean by 'disturbances'? It was war!⁴⁶⁶ As we passed the English College of St. George, an Arab came forward with a *mauser* and started firing at us: one, two, three, four, five times. It was obvious he did not know how to use a gun. He missed. When we finally arrived to the Museum, I called the police. A Scottish officer wearing a kilt came to take declarations, and from that day on we were driven back and forth in an armoured military car with a police escort, every single morning. Again, as we finished work at four or five in the afternoon, we would call the police and they would come to fetch us.

This was not the only time that the museum builders were attacked. Seven years earlier, at the start of construction, there had been another outbreak of

⁴⁶⁶ These were the major riots that had erupted in 1936, which nowadays are known as "the Arab Revolt". To diminish their psychological impact on the public, official government sources as well as the press used the euphemism 'disturbances', or the Hebrew word *meora'ot* [meaning 'events']. These would last until 1939.

violence, which is known today as 'the 1929 Riots'. The brotherhood of craftsmen 'working happily together' beyond ethnic differences that Ashbee has strived to create in Augusta Victoria had been re-established at the museum; yet the times were more difficult and the trial of fellowship much more dangerous. On 3 September, the press reported how four Jewish workers at the Rockefeller Museum building site were "saved from death by Arab comrades who bravely opposed a large Muslim mob".⁴⁶⁷

For the craftsmen, then, it was time to start looking for work abroad, as job opportunities in Palestine became risky and scarce. Mr. Levy recalled that early in 1938, having just completed his work in the museum, "my ex-boss Mendel Cohen came to see me about a big commission in Transjordan. I did not understand. 'On the other bank of the Jordan?' I asked. 'Yes', he explained to me, 'there is a kingdom there now, and Emir Abdallah needs a palace in Amman'.⁴⁶⁸ For the next three years, I worked there as master woodworker with seven of my carpenters."

For the architects, as well, the effect of the disturbances was strongly felt. Harrison's unhappiness with the current political and economic affairs was reflected in a long and remarkable letter written to CR Ashbee in the summer of 1937. Most of the architects who had worked around him had decided to leave Palestine, and he felt extremely unsure about the future.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁷ *Palestine Gazette*, 3 September 1929; cited by Martin Gilbert, *Jerusalem in the Twentieth Century*, p. 125.

⁴⁶⁸ Britain had severed the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan from Palestine in 1922, following a decision of the Colonial Office and a visit to Jerusalem by Winston Churchill, then Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs in Lloyd George's government. More than fifteen years later, Jordan was still a 'new development' for the people of Palestine-Eretz Israel. Furthermore, for the great majority, there was nothing 'over there' apart from desert land.

⁴⁶⁹ It is not clear if Harrison had already met Ashbee in 1922, the year in which when he arrived in Palestine and Ashbee left. Most probably they missed each other by a few months. If so, they must have met in Jerusalem in 1934, at the time of Ashbee's last visit to Palestine. Ashbee was then the guest of his long-time friend, High Commissioner Wauchope, and stayed with him at the palatial new High Commissioner's House on the Mount of Evil Counsel, which had been designed by Harrison. Wauchope surely introduced them, as the designers of the old and the new High Commissioner's residences. Despite their age difference, Ashbee and Harrison had many architectural ideas in common, and a friendship seems to have evolved between them. As Harrison burnt most of his personal correspondence before his death, only two letters found in Ashbee's papers provide evidence of this friendship.

First, he updated Ashbee about recent conservation work on the Temple Mount, a matter that even now, fifteen years after his own departure, interested Ashbee a great deal. Significantly, this work had by then passed into the hands of Egyptian professionals. Harrison wrote:

Dear Ashbee

I have twice begun to write to you but each time been interrupted. [...]

Mahmud Bey of the Conservation Committee in Cairo has just been to see me. It will interest you to know that he is here to repair and conserve the Dome of the Rock. These conservators are queer birds – not human. He told that all he cared about was not to be criticized by Brother Conservators. He's terribly puritanical technically. He asked my advice about the tiles and told him that, if I gave him any, it would be from the points of view of the architect, the worshipper and the man in the street. He then proudly told me he was no worshipper. These conservator-birds always want to do too much or too little. The happy mean does not exist for them.⁴⁷⁰

Then Harrison continued, telling of his present occupations, hinting at old and new grievances, as well as of Ashbee's enduring presence in the Town Planning Adviser's office:

For three months I am, as well as architect, also Acting Town Planning Adviser – Kendall being on leave.⁴⁷¹ This draws my attention to things that make me see red. By the way, in the files of the TPA's [Town Planning Adviser's] office I came on one containing a copy of portion of an article by you which had appeared, I think, in the *English Review*. It had been circulated for comment on things said by you on Town Planning.⁴⁷²

⁴⁷⁰ Austen St. Barbe Harrison, Letter to CR Ashbee, from Jerusalem, 25 August 1937, manuscript on cards, CRA Journal 1934-37, 7/58–7/60, 7/58. The Papers of Charles Robert Ashbee, CRA., King's College Archive Centre, Cambridge.

⁴⁷¹ Ashbee had held the post of City Adviser for Jerusalem 1918-1922; then AC Holliday replaced him up to 1934, when he retired to take over the Haifa Bay and Haifa Downtown Reclaimed Area projects. Subsequently Henry Kendall assumed the position; Kendall would continue to serve as Town Planning Adviser until the end of the Mandate in 1948. Unlike the rest of the British architects, he would stay on in Jerusalem under Jordanian rule.

⁴⁷² Austen St. Barbe Harrison, Letter to CR Ashbee, from Jerusalem, 25 August 1937, CRA Journal 1934-37, 7/58.

Then Harrison passed to a personal note, describing his despondent frame of mind: "I am very tired – the result of two years with nothing fruitful to do. Job after job has been transferred to private architects & those left to me had been abandoned."⁴⁷³ Also, professional rivalries with Erich Mendelsohn led him to recall the latter's current work:

Mendelsohn got my Haifa Hospital after I had prepared sketch, plans & estimates. By the way he has done what (outside anyhow) is a very lovely house in Rehavia for Schocken. His Hadassa Hospital is rising a hundred yards or so from the War Cemetery on Mount Scopus. He has done also a very bad house in Rehovoth for Weizmann.⁴⁷⁴

Thoughts of imminent retirement emerged, due to the unstable situation during the Arab Revolt; Harrison, however, was too young to retire. He confided to Ashbee that "I am taking advantage of the obscure political situation to try and get out. D.P.W. [The Department of Public Works] has recommended the abolition of my post at my request and the CS [?] and HE [His Excellency] have both given the necessary kick. It lies now with the Secretary of State."⁴⁷⁵ Next, Harrison dared to speak openly of his present depression and bleak future prospects. The return to Britain was not an option he looked forward to:

I have got into such a state mentally that I can stay only at the risk of going off my head. I ought of course to be doing my best

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.* Harrison refers here to the project for the Maimonides Government Hospital in Haifa that Mendelsohn was building in parallel to the Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem; this was part of High Commissioner Wauchope's promise to let him design "all the important buildings". This, among other things, may have been the cause of Harrison 'seeing red'. The Weizmann Residence is today considered a masterpiece, yet its central court, including a pool, is tackled in an unconventional manner and is isolated from the house proper; this, Harrison would probably have considered a mistake. However, circumstances were not easier for Mendelsohn either. As these commissions ended and no new ones appeared, by 1941 he was also compelled to leave.

⁴⁷⁵ Austen St. Barbe Harrison, Letter to CR Ashbee, from Jerusalem, 25 August 1937, CRA Journal 1934-37, 7/58-7/59. D.P.W. was the Palestine Government Department of Public Works, where Harrison had worked since 1923. HE (His Excellency), is Major-General Arthur Wauchope (1874-1947), High Commissioner for Palestine 1931-1938. It is not clear to whom he refers as CS.

work – I am 45. If I go I must, I suppose, give up architecture. I am thinking of living in Greece or in the Bosphorus.⁴⁷⁶

I must learn to live [on] one third of my salary too – which I don't think it will be so very difficult if I have not to keep appearances.

What I should really like was to get a lectureship or something of that kind at Cairo University. I have theories on how the history of architecture should be taught – alas the Professor of Architecture (I don't know him) knows that he has a good job.⁴⁷⁷

I purpose wandering – that is if I do really get away from here – for 6 to 9 months to recover my mental equilibrium. I don't think I could live in England more than a month.⁴⁷⁸

Finally, he tells of the virtually complete 'hegira of architects' that was taking place, naming a few of Ashbee's acquaintances:

I miss Richmond so much – he was such a rock – so sound fundamentally. Holliday (who was never a friend) left and set up practice at some splash address in the West End.⁴⁷⁹ My great friend Hubbard (temporarily Holliday's partner) with his sculptor wife has recently left. Bouman has left. Rowlands, a canny Welshman but an imaginative one has left.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁶ This he would eventually realise: Harrison subsequently lived and worked in Egypt, Ghana, Aden, and Malta. He then retired, first to Cyprus and afterwards to mainland Greece, where he died at 85.

⁴⁷⁷ The 'professor with the good job' is probably Professor K A C Creswell, who was Ashbee's friend and had moved to Cairo in 1926; Creswell had been appointed to the Egyptian University in 1931 and founded there the Institute of Muslim Art and Archaeology.

⁴⁷⁸ Austen St. Barbe Harrison, Letter to CR Ashbee from Jerusalem, 25 August 1937, CRA Journal 1934-37, 7/59.

⁴⁷⁹ This was only temporary. Probably as reluctant as Harrison to return to England, Holliday subsequently became Consultant to the Ceylon Government, a post he held up to 1943, when he was appointed Consultant to the Colonial Government of Gibraltar. He served there for three years, up to 1946, finally returning to Britain only then. Having been awarded the R.I.B.A. Distinction in Town Planning in 1945, Holliday became Chief Architect and Planner to the Stevenage Development Corporation, working with L.G. Vincent and Oliver Carey, then Chief Architect to Stevenage New Town. In his later years AC Holliday turned to academic work at Manchester University, as Assistant to Professor Cordingly. In 1952 he was appointed first professor of Town Planning at Manchester University, holding the post until the time of his death at the age of 63.

⁴⁸⁰ Austen St. Barbe Harrison, Letter to CR Ashbee, from Jerusalem, 25 August 1937, CRA Journal 1934-37, 7/60. His departure notwithstanding, Hubbard (1910-1965) would become Harrison's junior partner that same year, the partnership continuing until 1955. Hubbard had married Frances Bruce, Rome Scholar in Sculpture, in 1934, after meeting her in 1932 at the British School in Rome, where each had gained a scholarship. The architect

And he finishes, tongue in cheek, with more than a hint of bittersweet humour: "I hope this letter is not unduly mournful – my cook has not [been] looking after me too well of late". Then he has an unexpected petition from Ashbee:

You don't know a Maharaja, a Sultan or other Oriental potentate who wants the services for ten years or less of an architect saturated with Near Eastern tradition do you?

I should make a good court architect & should be careful not to design anything so perfect that mylord [sic] should be tempted to cut off my head.⁴⁸¹

Two months later, in a second letter to Ashbee from Jerusalem, he would reiterate this romantic wish. Full of ennui and discontent, Harrison informed him that "it may interest you to know that the Secretary of State has agreed to retire me. So here I am, thank God, about to leave this country".⁴⁸² The reverie about some fabulous Indian prince recurs, however, as it seems to be constantly present in his mind at this time. In the final paragraph he asks from Ashbee again:

If you know a Maharajah who wants an architect, a town planner or a Civic Adviser who loves the East and who loves his trade more than money and who is old enough to have acquired experience and young enough to feel that he is still capable of

Major Ernest T Richmond had worked with Ashbee and Creswell on the Temple Mount and was an expert on the conservation of Islamic architecture. It has not been possible to track his whereabouts after his departure from Palestine. Bouman and Rowlands have not been identified.

⁴⁸¹ Austen St. Barbe Harrison, Letter to CR Ashbee from Jerusalem, 25 August 1937, manuscript on cards, CRA Journal 1934-37, 7/60.

Harrison refers here to an architect's horror story well known in Jerusalem. Suleiman the Magnificent, the builder of Jerusalem's city walls in the sixteenth century, so the story goes, was so pleased with the work done by the two architects he commissioned for the project that he sentenced them to death by decapitation. This, he explained, was to prevent them from improving on their mastery achievement in a future commission for any other patron. Their tombs stand to this day in the Old City, immediately inside the Jaffa Gate, at the beginning of David Street.

⁴⁸² Austen St. Barbe Harrison, Letter to CR Ashbee from Jerusalem, 24 October 1937, manuscript on cards, CRA Journal 1934-37, 7/67 – 7/71, 7/70. The Papers of Charles Robert Ashbee, CRA, King's College Archive Centre, Cambridge.

doing something worth while before being put on the shelf
please recommend me to them.⁴⁸³

It is thus not surprising that by the time the Museum of Antiquities was officially open to the public, in January 1938, its architect had already left Palestine.⁴⁸⁴ As the last of the architects holding a 'new crusaders' vision, Jerusalem was indeed lost for Harrison in 1937; he would persist, however, in considering the Levant as his home.

Very soon Harrison did obtain a new ideal patron, not in the East as imagined but in Oxfordshire and not exactly a maharajah but a manufacturer, who would ask him to do 'something worthwhile'. William R Morris (1877-1963), the maker of the Morris-Oxford car and founder of the Morris Motor Company, gave Harrison a new assignment by entrusting him in 1939 with the design of Nuffield College. This was intended to become the first college in Oxford University to be open for full-time workers as students.⁴⁸⁵ He would develop this commission with Robert Pearce Steel Hubbard, his friend of former times in Palestine.

The Nuffield College project, as the Antiquities Museum, would take long years to complete (1949-60). Closing a circle started by Ashbee at the beginning of the century, Harrison would include in this design as much research on the vernacular architecture of the Cotswold villages as he had

⁴⁸³ Austen St. Barbe Harrison, Letter to CR Ashbee from Jerusalem, 24 October 1937, CRA Journal 1934-37, 7/71.

⁴⁸⁴ Fuchs and Herbert, "Representing Mandatory Palestine, p. 312.
It was a sign of the times that the official ceremony - that had been scheduled to take place two days earlier- was cancelled owing to the death of one of the members of the Department of Antiquities, the British archaeologist G. L. Starkey, victim of a terrorist attack on his way to the Museum festivities.

⁴⁸⁵ William Richard Morris had had no formal education and had started his empire with a bicycle repair shop at age 15. He had been knighted in 1929, created Baron Nuffield in 1934 and made 1st Viscount Nuffield in 1938; having no children of his own, he dispersed a large part of his fortune to charitable causes. Morris founded the Nuffield Foundation in 1943 with an endowment of £10 million, to advance education and social welfare, and donated all in all over £30 million to Oxford University. On Nuffield College, see Nikolaus Pevsner, and Judy Nairn, eds., (revised Jennifer Sherwood), *The Buildings of England: Oxfordshire*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, series first published 1951, volume first published 1974), p. 65.

previously done in Jerusalem with the Eastern tradition of building. Yet, it is not difficult to recognize in the rectangular pool at the centre of the main courtyard of Nuffield College, echoes of other pools elsewhere: those in the Islamic courtyards of Granada and the one at the central court of the Rockefeller Museum.

CONCLUSION:

The different languages of architecture during the Mandate

Seen as a group, the fourteen projects presented and examined as case studies in Part Two form an incongruous general picture. Considering that they were envisaged within a period of time of just about twenty years,⁴⁸⁶ and were all located in places not too far away one from the other - at a maximum distance of about 100 miles -⁴⁸⁷ it is logical to expect a greater uniformity in matters of layout, form and materials. However, as has been seen, this was not the case.

Searching for the reasons behind this manifest lack of consistency, two theoretical factors emerge: the issues of language and visions and their influence on architecture. This study, based on archival research and fieldwork evidence, argues that a conjunction of five different architectural languages and five main spiritual visions occurred simultaneously during the creative period of the British Mandate in Palestine. These languages and visions, which appear occasionally in a pure state and at times mixed one with the other, lie at the root of the plurality of aspects in the projects discussed earlier. As a conclusion, a short description of the languages follows. The question of the visions and their influence will be examined in Part Three.

⁴⁸⁶ The time span is in fact less than twenty years: the earliest case studies presented (Ashbee and the Pro-Jerusalem Society and Geddes' Hebrew University) date from 1919; the latest (the Schocken Library and the Rockefeller Museum), date from the mid-1930s.

⁴⁸⁷ The distances are all within the hundred-mile range: Jerusalem-Haifa, 160 Km; Jerusalem-Afula: 125 Km; Jerusalem-Tel-Aviv, 60 Km; Haifa-Tel-Aviv, 90 Km; Afula -Tel-Aviv, 90 Km.

The languages

By language we mean here an articulate means of communicating architectural ideas - and feelings - through the use of conventional signs and using clear syntactical rules. This means should be understood by a substantial community of people, even if – as in the case of the Modern Movement - it has not yet been established by a long usage. Thus, language connoted something deeper and wider than does the concept of style, which refers mainly to formalistic issues.

British Mandate architecture comprised, first and earlier, the language of the vernacular: clustered dwelling architecture, derived from the primitive Mediterranean. This was the local, pre-industrial tradition that prevailed almost single-handedly up to the 1900s and would continue to dominate Arab rural architecture until modern materials were introduced.

Yet, from the mid-nineteenth century up to the Great War, a second architectural language arrived at the Holy Land, one transplanted Europe, Beaux Arts Academicism. This was an architecture representing foreign, Western culture, most manifest being the German, Russian, French and Italian. It is worth noting here that British building in Palestine prior to the Mandate used the local tradition as far as possible, comparatively restricting the incorporation of British national architectural features.⁴⁸⁸

A constant influx of Western architects, Jewish and Christians alike, arriving ever since the last years of Ottoman rule and more so with the establishment of the mandate, caused the 1920s to become a time of pluralism and therefore of lesser certainty. The question of the style in which one should build was increasingly present in the architects' minds, and this sent them in a quest for an architectural language 'befitting the Holy Land'. The answer to that problem was a compromise, and a third architectural language evolved, one which

⁴⁸⁸ See David Kroyanker, *European-Christian Buildings outside the Old City Walls: Jerusalem Architecture – Periods and Styles* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1987), chapter 5: The English Build, pp. 387-426; "Characteristics of the English [way of] Building", p. 426. [H.]

featured a Beaux-Arts layout combined with Oriental elements in massing, materials, natural ventilation and in the design of the façade. Derided by Israeli modernist historians and designers alike following the establishment of the State of Israel, this language has been labelled by them Oriental Eclecticism. Nevertheless, this had been established as urban mainstream by the beginning of the British Mandate. Indeed, the country's busiest practice in the first quarter of the 20th century - the office of Alexander Baerwald - belonged to and led this trend. Yet, this architectural language would shortly fall into a certain decline, as emergent Modern architecture triumphed.

Against the former open to doubt pursuit of style, the 1930s became a period of certitude, a 'Golden Age' of Modernism, following the implantation of the tenets of the Modern Movement. Seven Bauhaus graduates returned to Palestine and in the years following the Mandate, their influence was to dominate. This new *avant-garde* would become the prevalent – even exclusive - language of the architecture of the future State of Israel, yet during the period of the British Mandate, it was just one, recent addition to the range of possible options.

Finally, fresh attempts at synthesis engendered a fifth language, one that strived to combine Modern Movement architecture with the local context, revealing a strong link with climate, topography and traditional building practices. Pioneered by Erich Mendelsohn in the 1930s, this represents an early indication towards critical regionalism and the creation of a local Modern Movement. The outcome was meagre in quantity yet it yielded brilliant projects and several masterpieces. Recent historiography of twentieth-century architecture has pointed out the formerly overlooked marriage of modernism with local tradition during the 'thirties.

Because of its political history and special ethnography, Palestine had always been a polyglot country. During the period under study, Arabic, Turkish, Armenian, English, Hebrew, Yiddish, Ladino, Russian, and German all together were used and simultaneously heard in the streets; a common person had to have a good command of several of these tongues in order to

manage daily life. One may argue that this multi-cultural character underlies a similar, tolerant attitude towards a multilingual architecture.

Amongst the few scholars who have begun to acknowledge this architectural pluralism is Gilbert Herbert, who in a brilliant entry for "Israel" in the *Dictionary of 20th-Century Architecture*, alluded to the co-existence of different architectural languages, even if he did not explicitly name them:

In the beginning of this century the architecture of the land of Israel, then part of the Ottoman Empire, consisted of the monuments of the successive masters of the Holy Land, set in a context of compound European eclecticism and a prevailing Arab vernacular. In a seemingly timeless landscape, the only obtrusions of the machine age were the railway, the brickworks outside Jerusalem, and those monuments to the functional tradition, the wineries in the newly established Jewish settlements of Zichron Yaacov and Rishon Lezion. Only a few architects, such as Alexander Baerwald, in the Technion building at Haifa (1912-24), sought an indigenous style in a synthesis of East and West. [...] By the 1920s Erich Mendelsohn had paid his first visit to Palestine, and left, in his unrealized but influential projects, an important legacy. His vision of a regional mutation of the International Style, responsive to the climate and culture of the Middle East, was realized, not only in his later work in the country, but by other European architects, most notably by Richard Kauffmann.⁴⁸⁹

To sum up, there were five principal, distinct ways of 'speaking architecture' during the Mandate. Of these, one was an authentic, indigenous language, the vernacular; two were successive imports or transplants from the West, namely Historic Academicism and the Modern Movement; and these last two alternated with two attempts to merge East and West, Oriental Eclecticism and Proto-Critical Regionalism.⁴⁹⁰ Given the precedence of the first of these

⁴⁸⁹ Vittorio Magnano Lampugnani, ed., translated from the German by Barry Bergdoll, *Dictionary of 20th-Century Architecture* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1996, expanded and revised edition, originally published in 1963 as *Encyclopaedia of Modern Architecture*), q.v. "Israel". More on this important entry, see in "Summary and Conclusions: (Re)Vision: The Need for a New Historical Representation".

⁴⁹⁰ The first academic publication on these five – instead of two – architectural languages coexisting in early 20th century Palestine, was a poster presented and exhibited at the 7th DOCOMOMO Conference in Paris, 2002, by Raquel Rapaport, Arie Sivan and Horacio

languages, a short study follows on the traditional architecture of Palestine, its characteristics and influence.

The presence of the (now absent) vernacular⁴⁹¹

During the period under study, an architectural vernacular tradition without architects existed in Palestine that has since been lost. Yet, the influence of this tradition on the architects' architecture of the period is clear and strong. Professionals coming from Europe were deeply impressed by the quality of traditional building, and amazed by its ingenious adaptation to the local climatic conditions.⁴⁹²

This can be noticed from contemporary descriptions of the built landscape, such as this one of the first sight of the Holy Land as seen on arrival to the old Jaffa port, the gate to Palestine from the West:

The flat-roofed oriental houses bunched together on the side of a slight hill and their overflow lining a slightly curved bay form an immediately attraction to the new-comer filled with expectation of what the new country must mean to him.⁴⁹³

This strong and compelling presence is absent nowadays. Modernization and war have devastated the vernacular heritage, while lack of awareness and apathy has endangered most of the few remains. On the one hand, hundreds of Arab villages have been either destroyed or abandoned since 1948. On the

Schwartz under the name of "Implant / Transplant: The Introduction of Modern Movement Ideas to the Holy Land".

⁴⁹¹ See illustrations to this case study, plates under the heading 2.15.

⁴⁹² Best sources on the Palestinian vernacular architectural language are: T. Canaan, *The Palestinian House: Its Architecture and Folklore* (Jerusalem: Syrian Orphanage Press, 1933); Henry Kendall, and K.H. Baruth, *Village development in Palestine during the British Mandate* (London: The Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1949); Yizhar Hirshfeld, *Dwelling Houses in Roman and Byzantine Palestine* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1987). [H]; Ron Fuchs, "The Palestinian Arab House Reconsidered: Part I: The Traditional Vernacular", *Cathedra* 89 (October 1998), pp. 83-126. [H].

⁴⁹³ Albert M. Hyamson, *Palestine Old and New*, p.3.

other hand, the massive introduction of reinforced concrete as the main structural material into the extant Arab villages - a process that began as early as the 1920s and is entirely pervasive today - contributed to obliterating the vernacular heritage. In the 1930s, however, the situation was very different, and the *Architectural Forum* recognized it:

Architecture in Palestine is traditionally Arabic. The flat or domed roofs of the houses, their thick mud or stone walls, small window openings, and central courtyards are the outcome of century-old experience in providing against cold and extreme heat. Placed on mountain slopes or ridges, these square, squat houses form as natural a part of the landscape as the rocks themselves.⁴⁹⁴

Undoubtedly this tradition merits further research in its own right. It impinges upon this study, first because vernacular architecture was such an important part of the built landscape during the Mandate years, and second, because of its cultural influence on the architects who during the Mandate chose either to assimilate and relate to the vernacular language or to deliberately make a contrast with it in their own work. Patrick Geddes, in a frequently quoted letter that he wrote to his friend Mrs. Fels, the wife of an American soap industrialist and philanthropist, claimed for himself the discovery of the Palestinian vernacular, but he was far from being the only one who appreciated it:

Thus any Western eye [...] is all too likely to overlook the qualities of their [the Arabs'] buildings, even those of the fine houses of Damascus type in Jerusalem, with ample courtyards, airy rooms of ample proportion within, and so on. The plain little box-like houses are appreciated hardly at all [...] Now try to recall even the poorest Arab village, piled up on its hillside, box above box – but also, often, dome above dome. Here, with all its faults, is real architecture: that of the old craftsmen by no means merely sub-conscious in their building, like the bees, [...] completing the piled-up masses into a composition, one often of true art...⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹⁴ Anon., "Architecture in Palestine", *The Architectural Forum*, International Section, December 1936.

⁴⁹⁵ See Philip Mairet, *Pioneer of Sociology: The life and Letters of Patrick Geddes* (London: Lund Humphries, 1957), pp.186-187; also quoted by Diana Dolev in "Architectural Orientalism in the Hebrew University: The Patrick Geddes and Frank Mears Master Plan", *Assaph - Studies in Art History* 3: 12 (1998), pp. 217-234, pp. 223-224.

To be precise, there were not one but two main established traditions of vernacular building in Palestine: one for the coastal plain, in the west, and another inland for the hilly region, in the east. These two modes of building differed drastically and affected architect designed buildings in different ways.

The rural architecture of the coastal plain area, was defined by the use of earth - transformed into sun-dried mud bricks - for walls, and thatch for roofing. This tradition had developed all the way along the Mediterranean coast from Egyptian El-Arish in the South to the Lebanese littoral in the North, and it extended east to up to the central plateau. As far as can be ascertained on grounds of the meagre evidence available, its choice of detailing and ornament has a distinctly East-African quality. Documentation of these types of buildings can be found in old photographs of Isdud (today the port city of Ashdod) and of other small villages in Western Galilee. Due to the impermanent quality of earth buildings and moreover, because of their manifest simplicity and modest materials, this vernacular architecture was ignored and dismissed by the British. The only exception was the vernacular architecture of Jericho, by the Dead Sea, where beautiful, plastered earth buildings, albeit with tiled roofs, can still be seen. Overall, however, this tradition was the more vulnerable of the two and consequently, it has all but disappeared.

The second tradition of vernacular building, found in the rural buildings of the Galilee, Samaria, Judaea and Hebron regions, and it characterised a great part of the urban dwellings of Jaffa, Lydda, Ramle, Hebron and Jerusalem. This was a tradition culturally richer in detailing and more sophisticated in technique, endowed with an Oriental- Mediterranean spirit. It used stone as the main building material, and so it had a more permanent and solid character. The roofing system was either cross-vaulting or peasant, 'false' corbelled domes. Consequently, bearing walls had to be thick and could therefore contain deep niches. Arches, both round and pointed, were used for openings. These buildings did not usually stand alone, but were packed

together forming clusters. This mode of building has endured, even if it is no longer a living tradition, through the surviving remains of old structures.

Europeans were culturally conditioned to better appreciate this second, stone tradition, which they romantically assumed to be a continuation of the biblical way of building. Furthermore, it corresponded with the popular image of the country transmitted to the West by travellers and pilgrims across the ages and had therefore become identified with the historical built environment of the Holy Land. In addition, artists responded immediately to the allure of these vernacular buildings, documenting them in sketches, oils and prints. Especially interesting, because of their architectural detail, are those works produced by the artists of the German 'Jerusalem School' of painting, such as Anna Ticho, Yaacov Steinhart and Leopold Krakauer.

Likewise, many architects of the period expressed their admiration and respect for the stone vernacular tradition through study drawings. In turn, interpretation and adaptation of aspects of this tradition can easily be found in their own architecture. Conrad Schick and Alexander Baerwald, the two most prominent architects in Palestine at the end of the Ottoman period, used the vernacular as a source of inspiration in Pre-Mandate days. In the mandate period, architects such as Chaikin and Krakauer, as well as Ashbee, Holliday, Mendelsohn and Harrison - every one in his own way - were amongst the architects that this latter tradition of Palestinian vernacular influenced the most. Mendelsohn extended his admiration to the entire Mediterranean basin. After a visit to Capri, he wrote to his friend the architect Julius Posener saying:

I conclude that no one ought to build in Palestine who has not first studied the rural buildings of the Mediterranean. They are the origin even of palaces and of the dramatic freedom of all architecture.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹⁶ Letter to Julius Posener from Capri, 30 March 1937, in Oskar Beyer, ed., *Eric Mendelsohn: Letters*, p. 148.

However, with the advent of the Modern Movement and its cult of innovation, the influence of the vernacular tradition decreased considerably, and for some decades, it almost disappeared from the architectural scene. Nevertheless, while reconstructing the architectural scene of the inter-war period in Palestine, the - today absent - presence of the vernacular should be remembered.

PART THREE:

Architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate:

A REFLECTION ON THE CONFLICTING VISIONS OF THE PERIOD

A work can be created only when its author is completely filled with one vision, when he is no longer himself but the mouthpiece and hand of the spirit that drives him.¹

INTRODUCTION:

The concepts of Vision and *Hazón*

The third part of the thesis aims to explain the reasons behind the significant discrepancy discovered between written history - the existing historiography outlined in Part One - and primary evidence - presented in Part Two - the discrepancy that became the motivator of the research.

In order to understand the divergence that exists between them, Part Three of this study explains the main bodies of thought that lay behind the decisions made by the architects of the period and, as a result of this, unfolds a series of tacit codes that existed then and prefigured their work. This body of knowledge has so far been kept silent, inferred but not made explicit by researchers. As an area of study, this theoretical reflection on ideas, languages and visions, and on their influence upon architecture holds the key for a better understanding of the architecture produced in Palestine during the British Mandate, and constitutes an hitherto untried approach to this subject matter.

¹ Erich Mendelsohn, transcript of letter of 8 December 1911, Resource Collections of the Getty Centre for the History of Art and the Humanities, Mendelsohn Papers, Series I, Folder 2, quoted in Regina Stephan, ed., *Erich Mendelsohn: Dynamics and Function: Realized Visions of a Cosmopolitan Architect* (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz Publishers, 1999), p.11.

By vision we mean here a mental picture, imaginary or theoretical, which is structured in detail and informed by metaphysical values so as to outline an alternative to an existing reality. In this context, the vision becomes a model of the desired (future) reality. Visions, then, are preconceived anticipations for architecture and planning. A basic premise of this study is that the British Mandate in Palestine was a period in which numerous different visions coexisted, in harmony or in conflict with one another.

Therefore, this study proposes that by attempting to reconstruct the intellectual and ethical framework of the persons involved, a deeper and probably broader understanding of the architecture of the period would appear. Fitting in with the discovery of pluralism, the research hypothesis was that a plural reality in architecture might have stemmed from a plural realm of ideas. Because visions imagine architectural projects in advance of their realisation, they herald, prefigure and foreshadow them. Consequently, it is essential to begin to disentangle the descent of the ideas that were current and present in designers' minds.

During the period under study, the opposing concepts of vision and reality were frequently used in the speeches and in writings of architects and politicians. One should remember that, at that time, the Jewish population of Palestine had assumed the challenge of renewing the Hebrew language and transforming it into a living tongue. Moreover, British civil servants at higher levels, as well as Christian religious scholars resident in Palestine, also had a good command of Classical Hebrew. Therefore, Hebrew words and their usage were of especial significance, particularly in the case of biblical words.

The biblical word *hazón*, (n.) has had three main meanings. The first relates to a picture that a person sees in a dream, in his imagination or 'with the eye of his spirit', a sight regarded as spectacle, an appearance, not unlike the Greek idea of *theoria*. The second meaning carries a sacred subtext indicating a prophetic image, in other words, prophecy. *Hazón* is a noun derived from the Hebrew verb *hazáh*: to see, to look, to observe, to see with one's spirit, or to

look upon the Holy Spirit, as in a revelation. The King James Version normally translates *hazón* into English as “vision”, as in Isaiah 1:1:

The *vision* of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, kings of Judah...

The third meaning of this word, one in use in Modern Hebrew, denotes an ideal plan, a description of future things according to a certain aspiration or ambition, and the ‘seer’ is one with the ability to anticipate future developments creating them in his imagination. Hence the use of the word *hazón* in planning will always encompass a spiritual dimension, endowing the architect with the status of ‘seer chosen from above’.

The role of the architect and the concept of *Hagshamá*

Philip Mairet, who had been linked with the circle of craftsmen around Ashbee and the Guild of Handicraft, succeeded better than most chroniclers in pinpointing the unique, visionary nature of those times. In his preamble to his account of Geddes’ work in Palestine, he states:

The idealists, both British and Jewish, who in 1919 [and later] converged upon Palestine to implement the Balfour Declaration under the Palestine Mandate, *had many different dreams to realize.*²

This contrasting duality of dream, imagination and visions on the one hand and of reality on the other was bridged by means of the concept of *Hagshamá*.

² Philip Mairet, *Pioneer of Sociology*, p. 184. [My italics; see previous use of this quotation in the thesis, p. 38].

Hagshamá literally means the act of bringing something into existence, of materialization. This word is a Hebrew neologism. Previously, this word had had other meanings, stemming from the word *geshem*, a word meaning rain, but also body, material or object, indeed anything apparent to the senses but not to the spirit. Thus, just as vapours condense into rain, *hagshamá* came to denote materialisation, execution, bringing a plan into practice and, especially, fulfilling a vision. Hence *hagshamá* became one of the fundamental concepts in Zionist ideology, meaning the pioneers' striving to realise the dream of the Jewish national home. This vision was to be fulfilled; it was believed, only by means of personal sacrifice and collective effort. By extension it came to mean the realisation of any spiritual or political vision.

During the period under study, the charge of connecting vision with fulfilment was seen as a task not only for the pioneers, but also for creative thinkers, artists and architects. The importance of the planner at this time thus derived from his work being seen as a bridge, mediating between vision and reality; by setting out detailed plans and drawings, the architect was able to transform one into the other. Moreover, architectural practice was seen then as instrumental to this transition, being endowed with the power of bringing forth a vision from the realm of ideas into the reality of life in the material world.

A sense of urgency and anticipation ensues from the idea of *hagshamá*. It was, in the spirit of the times, a keen insistence on the pressing need for immediate action. Visionaries earnestly demanded crystallisation; the vision was to be materialized not at some undefined time but in the visible future.

"The time is nigh, fulfilment awaits us", said Adolf Loos in 1908 in his famous article "Ornament and Crime". "Soon the streets of the city will glisten like white walls. Like Zion, the holy city, the capital of Heaven. Then, fulfilment will come!"³

³ Adolf Loos, "Ornament and Crime": Selected Essays (Riverside, California: Ariadne, 1998), p. 168.

One last word should be said about visions informing those projects which did not, in the end, materialise. Raimund Abraham has written on 'the Reality of the Unbuilt', saying that these projects belong to "a universal form of memory - not a memory that we can remember but a memory that remembers us".⁴ The significance of unbuilt schemes is not diminished by the fact that they remained on paper, as that is material evidence sufficient for the researcher, even if in fact they did not achieve *hagshamá*. Moreover, even such paper projects had the power to inspire others which eventually were realised.

The visions

This study, based on archival evidence, has found that several major, fundamental visions were present in the minds of the architects and also, to a great extent, of political authorities and the general public. Among the myriad new ideas that made the Mandate period in Palestine such an interesting time, an effort has been made to elucidate the principal ones and to locate architects and their projects in relation to these languages and visions. The first should be called the 'New Crusaders' vision'. It represents the frame of mind of Christians coming back to the Holy Land as rulers after seven centuries, and asserting their cultural roots in the land's heritage. As this significant, and highly influential vision has been utterly ignored in existing literature, the discussion of it will be more extensive than of other visions.

The second vision, 'Utopian visions of Society', depicts the messianic yearning to turn this same Holy Land into a perfect, egalitarian community. This vision might be mentioned in passing in the existing literature but has not been studied by architectural historians as a proper topic in its own right.

Third, there is the vision conveyed by the Garden Cities movement, which was welcomed and adopted as a practical Utopia. This vision, on the contrary, is

⁴ Raimund Abraham, *[Un]Built* (Vienna: Springer Verlag, 1996), p. 132.

widely acknowledged in the existing literature; yet it has not been fully assessed in relation to comparable alternatives, or criticised.

Then one must present as a fourth vision the Zionist dream of rebuilding a Jewish national home in Palestine. On this there is a vast political, historical (mainstream and revisionist) bibliography that has recently begun to address art historical topics; but its expression in architecture remained as a self-evident truth, and has not been examined in depth.

Fifth, the separate vision of Labour Zionism described a Socialist worker's communal state built by young immigrant pioneers. Labour Zionism - and its swift appropriation of the Modern Movement - is considered a development so evident that has remained implicit within most of the architectural discourse, without actually being discussed.

Considering these visions as a group, it is evident that their sources are all European and, moreover, all based on late eighteenth and nineteenth-century thought: Romantic Nationalism, Socialism, and Academic Historicism. The existing literature does not as a rule embark on the analysis of ideas that prefigured the projects. Exceptions to this are some studies on Garden Cities and on Zionism, which do roughly explain these ideas, albeit almost without referring to their origins, development and critique. The visions of an Utopian Society and of Labour Zionism, are usually mentioned or implied under the umbrella of 'Zionism'. The New Crusaders' vision is entirely nonexistent in the standard literature. A short examination of these visions and their links with architecture follows.⁵

⁵ In-depth analysis of each one of these five visions lies beyond the scope of this study and should certainly become the subject of further investigations.

The New Crusaders' vision⁶

Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem.⁷

"Ay, but," said the Templar, "these adventurous Crusaders may succeed, and again plant the Cross on the bulwarks of Zion..."⁸

One of the strong impressions that emerges from archival research is the great measure of identification of British architects and policy-makers with the Crusaders' legend. It is remarkable to realise that a majority of these people, who came on duty and stayed to live in Palestine at the beginning of the Mandate saw themselves in many aspects as 'the New Crusaders'.

This vision accompanied them from the time of the Great War campaigns until the late 1930s, when the Arab Revolt, Jewish extremists' bombings and the general deterioration in internal security wiped out romantic and legendary dreams and brought about a pragmatic decade of *realpolitik* and firm control. Yet while it lasted, this vision of the New Crusaders affected many decisions in design and planning, especially in Jerusalem. The discussion of some significant instances follows here. The evidence is widespread in contemporaneous documents, but it has not been studied hitherto as a dominant factor in architectural thought.

Since the disintegration of the Crusaders' Kingdom, Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman Sultans had ruled the Holy Land; that came to a total of six to seven hundred years of Muslim control over the Holy Sites. For a Christian 'liberation' army, this was an extremely significant fact. For obvious reasons, this glorious, new Crusaders' vision did not affect all communities in Palestine in the same way. The vision was alien to the Jews, due to the Christian connotations inherent in it, but also for its nostalgic vein, so far removed from

⁶ See illustrations to this section, plates under the heading 3.1.

⁷ Psalms, 122: 2.

⁸ Sir Walter Scott, *The Talisman* (London: John Dent and Everyman's Library, 1991, first published in Everyman's Library 1906; first published June 1825 as part of the four volumes of the *Tales of the Crusades*), p.116.

the Zionist cult of progress. It certainly was alien to the Arab community, who did not find many positive aspects in the Crusaders, traditionally regarding them as foreign European invaders who were – and would be - eventually defeated and forced to retreat.⁹

This vision had its strongest influence on the resident educated British, at the beginning of the Mandate, while the elation of the capture of Jerusalem was still fresh in their memory. And within this group, the architects were, together with the archaeologists, the most affected. Their dream left Palestine with some poetic new buildings and the seeds of an architectural preservation policy that undertook preserving the image of the past. As one of their most significant legacies, they left the love and awareness of Jerusalem stone as a noble building material, the only one worthy of the Holy Land. The late Israeli poet Yehuda Amichai, who in his work refers amply to this issue, has written:

Jerusalem stone is the only stone
That feels pain. It has a nervous system.¹⁰

It has been recognised that nineteenth-century Romantic literature and art rediscovered the Crusaders' *epos*. Yet how these works affected the architects in Mandate Palestine is an issue that has not been pursued. Well known lines and romances certainly echoed in their minds: William Blake's *Jerusalem*, Disraeli's *Tancred*, Scott's *The Talisman*.

Ashbee, Storrs, and the Department of Antiquities, and later Holliday and Harrison were the principal supporters and developers of the New Crusaders' vision. As with many other initiatives, Ashbee pioneered it. In his hefty 24-volume "Journal" kept at King's College, Cambridge, a significant collection of newspaper cuttings is found which may be considered as the starting point of this vision. These are a group of caricatures published in the international

⁹ As recently as Mandate days, little Arab children in Palestine were warned to behave, otherwise the parents would summon 'Melek Rik' [King Richard] to come and fetch them.

¹⁰ Yehuda Amichai, 'Poems of Jerusalem, Jerusalem 1967', in "Now in the din before the silence – 1963-1968", published in *Yehuda Amichai : A Life of Poetry 1948-1994*, trans. by Benjamin & Barbara Harshav (New York, [Harper Perennial] 1995), fragment 12, p. 83.

press during 1917-18, in which British troops are seen at the gates of Palestine, led, accompanied or approvingly observed by ghostly crusaders in coats of mail.¹¹ These caricatures frequently feature King Richard the Lionheart, who sees his unrealised dream of entering Jerusalem fulfilled thanks to the bravery of the Great War soldiers; the crusaders' standard and the Union Jack are depicted side by side. Furthermore, Ashbee was an avid reader and admirer of Sir Walter Scott's novels, particularly of the *Tales of the Crusades*,¹² and was under the direct influence, as a disciple of William Morris, of Pre-Raphaelite imagery, in which the "departure for the Crusades" and legends of Arthurian chivalry were vividly present.¹³

Foremost in this vision were the figures and deeds of the 'old' Crusaders, as the elements of the Crusaders' legend are rich in detail and depth. They contain, among many things, some gallant kings and queens: Richard the Lionheart, who embarked in 1190 on the Third Crusade, Robert the Bruce, King of Scotland, whose heart was sent to Jerusalem; then others, such as King Baldwin, Eleanor of Aquitaine, Queen Melissande. Certainly, the legend includes Jerusalem's liberators - Gottfried of Bouillion, Tancred, Raymond of Saint-Giles, Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy - and the event of the conquest of Jerusalem on 15 July, 1099, after five weeks of siege. Since 1917, medieval liturgical songs carried fresh and contemporaneous meanings:

Let us rejoice and sing a song of victory,
And shout aloud the praises which we owe the King of Glory
Who today has saved David's city from the heathen.

Refrain:

The celebrations have begun,
We honour the day

¹¹ See, for example, plates 3.1.2; 3.1.5.

¹² Conversations with Felicity Ashbee and Alan Crawford, summer 1997.

¹³ The time gap between fifth-century Arthur and eleventh-century Richard the Lionheart has usually been erased in art and popular culture; the Knights of the Round Table, following Mallory's descriptions are usually described as belonging to a much later period. In an even more drastic anachronism, the Biblical King David has been often described as a medieval King, see Plate 3.1.4.

When Dagon was broken
And Amalec conquered;

The son of Agar is driven back,
Jerusalem snatched from the hands of her enemies
And restored to Christians.
So let us celebrate this day!¹⁴

To the gallant figures of Biblical and Crusaders' heroes, a last significant addition should be made with the figure of St. George. It was none other than King Richard who, once in the Holy Land, adopted George of Lydda (Diospolis), the third-century Roman officer and Christian martyr, as his protector, and made him the patron saint of England. His choice was later officially accepted by King Henry III. This fact was duly remembered from 1917 onwards, when the old city of Lydda, with its crusaders' buildings notably St. George's Church was conquered by the British. That was one of the reasons behind the special British relationship with this small town, which was made district capital and seat of a major military base, as well as the principal airport. This infrastructure remained in place, later to become the Lydda (Lud) main international airport of Israel, now officially named Ben Gurion Airport, but in popular usage, still known as "Lud", the name of the nearby city where St. George was born.

As has been noted from the beginning, the British set up a new, rational infrastructure for government. After the separation of Transjordan and the establishment of French rule in Lebanon, the British reorganized the subdivision of the land, setting up new borders, new districts and new principal cities for them. This redivision instituted five districts: Galilee, Haifa, Samaria, Lydda, Jerusalem and Gaza. These districts replaced the old Ottoman Turkish Empire division into *vilayets*. Approximately the same territory had been contained before the War in three *vilayets*: Akka (Acre), Nablus (Siquem, Neapolis), and El Kuds (Jerusalem). This division was laden with meaning. In the first place, it is logical to expect that a Christian administration would

¹⁴ Excerpt from *Nomen a Solemnibus*, Medieval liturgical song dedicated to the liberation of Jerusalem, performed customarily nowadays as one of the hymns of the Jerusalem Festival of Music and Performing Arts.

translate 'El Kuds' back to 'Jerusalem', and make it the country's centre of government, as it had been during the Crusaders' Kingdom of Jerusalem. It was equally significant to re-create Galilee as a district. The case of Lydda was more delicate. The territory of this district contained both the old port city of Jaffa, where the majority of population was Arab, and the neighbouring new, Jewish city of Tel Aviv. The British were reluctant to give either existing name to the newly formed district, thereby implying favour towards one of the two communities. The administration found a solution that, whilst politically wise, also had deep symbolic meaning. Lydda (or Lod, Lud or Diospolis) was, according to the *Golden Legend*, the birthplace and burial place of Saint George. The crypt had survived from Byzantine times in the local Church of Saint George. Giving tiny Lydda the seat of district government was a most proper way of honouring Britain's patron saint.¹⁵

Hence, the Crusaders' revival was ever present in the period's mindset. The local press frequently alluded to the subject, often connecting it with architecture, which offered the most vivid relics of the era:

The English crusaders left their mark in Palestine, and the visitor who comes to Ramleh or Athlit may rub his eyes when he sees the good Norman architecture of a tower or castle¹⁶.

Visitors actually strolled by the old streets and squares looking for traces of the Crusaders' presence, mirroring the Crusaders themselves who had wandered through the same places looking for marks of Biblical times. Thus, for instance,

¹⁵ Nevertheless, to leave Akko (Saint Jean d'Acre) as a part of the Galilee district, and give instead to Haifa the role of seat of power in its region was surprising, and a sign of the future strategic importance of the city in British policy. Thus, out of the five new divisions, four were charged with historic, Christian and 'new Crusaders' motives, while the brand-new Haifa district looked forward to the future. If the subterranean Crusaders' city of Saint John d'Acre that was discovered after the Mandate has been known then, an interesting conflict would have emerged as to which city appoint as the principal one, but probably Haifa would have won because of imperial politics.

¹⁶ "Links between England and Palestine", in *Palestine & Middle East Economic Magazine*, Nos. 5-6, Tel Aviv (1933), p. 238.

The historically-minded tourist may discern the resemblance, without having his attention drawn to it, between the headgear of Christian Arab women in Bethlehem, and the high peaked headdress of the Frankish ladies of the thirteenth century.¹⁷

Probably the Crusaders were first amongst the “cloud of unseen witnesses” whose presence Storrs felt “seemed to inspire our work”.¹⁸ From an architectural point of view, the New Crusaders vision adopted some stylistic features that could be labelled as Neo-Romanesque. Recent archaeological excavations of Crusaders’ fortresses supplied the historical and academic references needed; this made Palestine a place in which architectural historicism was regarded as most appropriate and serving a strong cause, the confirmation and materialization of a legendary Christian vision, at a time when Modernism was challenging this manner of architectural practice in Europe.

After enjoying for many years the novels of Sir Walter Scott and Pre-Raphaelite imagery, romance had finally materialised in Ashbee’s real life. Yet he must also have felt as walking into one of the *Arabian Nights*’ tales, and consequently, Ashbee and others - such as Richmond, Storrs and Creswell - enlarged the Crusaders’ theme by transferring their sympathy to all that was ‘medieval’. This promptly encompassed Arab culture and architecture. In reading documents from this era, one can sense how the architects of this vision, very soon came to equally admire Crusaders and Sarracens. This process of assimilation is not unlike the one that occurred to the Poulain, as had been called later generations of crusaders who had been born in the Holy Land, and their own better relationship with the Arabs. This was also reflected in the words of Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs, Winston Churchill, when paying his respects at the Military Cemetery on Mount Scopus in March 1921. He said:

¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁸ Storrs, *Orientalisms*, p. 366.

These veteran soldiers lie here where rests the dust of the Khalifs and Crusaders and Maccabees. Peace to their ashes, honour to their memory and may we not fail to complete the work which they had begun.¹⁹

Amongst the architectural works that the New Crusaders' vision informed, the following stand out. The earliest is probably Ashbee's 1918 restoration of Nabi Samuel, a Holy Place destroyed in the First World War. The site of the tomb of the Prophet Samuel, sited 885 m. above the sea level and six km. to the northeast of Jerusalem, it has one of the most splendid views of Jerusalem. Originally the Biblical Mizpeh, it was renamed by the Crusaders 'Montjoie', or in Latin 'Mons Gaudii', the mountain of joy, and had retained a symbolic significance, originating the traditional battle cry of French forces.²⁰ This was probably the spot where, coming from the northwest, the Crusaders saw the Holy City for the first time, in 1099. They built there a rectangular fortress (100 x 67 m.) surrounded by walls and a church at its centre, Saint Samuel de Siloam.²¹

The strategic potential of the site was rediscovered by the British forces during the First World War, and heavy fighting there preceded the conquest of Jerusalem. By the end of 1917, Nebi Samwil's range was the line of the main British offensive to the city, 'both sides suffering fifty per cent losses in two days of inconclusive fighting'.²² Not surprisingly, the historical buildings were heavily damaged. Pro-Jerusalem, under Ashbee, reconstructed them and honoured the dead Turkish soldiers. Ashbee proudly wrote to a friend: "have

¹⁹ Quoted in Gilbert, *Jerusalem in the Twentieth Century*, p. 88.

²⁰ "We hear the clear-voiced trumpets of the French / And the uproar of the battle cry "Monjoy", *La Chanson de Roland*, 160:2150-1.

²¹ This church was turned into a synagogue during the 15th and 16th centuries, and later into a mosque, Nebi Samwil. The present reconstruction is Ashbee's. Ashbee's contribution, however, has not been recognized. No source mentions his name, down to the latest reports on archaeological sites and findings. For instance, the most recent official publication merely states: "It [Nebi Samwil] was badly damaged in 1917. *The mosque was restored after World War I and took on its present appearance.*" Hillel Geva, ed., "Nebi Samwil: Site of a Biblical Town and a Crusader Fortress", *Israel Archaeological Sites* 7, (2001), pp. 30-34. [My italics].

²² Pope and Wheal, *The Macmillan Dictionary of The First World War*, pp. 256-257.

rebuilt Nebi Samuel". In fact he included Nebi Samuel in his personal map of Jerusalem's principal sites.²³ Furthermore, it is very probable that Ashbee was well aware of the tradition that the legendary Crusaders' Queen Melissande (or Melisandra) had built and 'reconstructed the triple bazaars of Jerusalem in the middle of the 12th century' (1152).²⁴ These markets are located in the geographic centre of the Old City, about two hundred metres from the Cotton Market he was working on. Queen Melissande built this 'triple' market by means of the subdivision of the width of the old Roman major street, the *Cardo Maximus*, inserting the central bazaar down in the middle. Nowadays they are known (from east to west) as the Jewellers', the Perfume Merchants' and the Butchers' Market. Just like the Cotton Market, the structure is cross-vaulted, supported by pointed arches. Here and there along the bazaars, it is possible to discern on the arches the inscriptions 'S.A' or 'T', attesting the ownership of the place by either the Convent of Sancta Anna or the Templar Order.²⁵

In addition, Harrison's Rockefeller Museum Library (1927-37) was designed as a Romanesque crypt, probably the Auxerre Cathedral crypt of c. 1030.²⁶ Furthermore, the entrances of two contiguous buildings in Haifa's old civic centre, the Haifa Old Courts of Justice by Harrison (1931-2) and the Haifa Town Hall by Chaikin (1940), use receding arched portals clearly reminiscent of Romanesque architecture. Using crusaders' terms, Kroyanker has referred to the Rockefeller Museum as 'a fortress of culture.'²⁷ Echoes of this new crusaders' vision in Palestine arrived also in Britain. For instance, the New Government House in Jerusalem - the palatial official High Commissioners'

²³ Letter to Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson from Jerusalem, 10 February 1920, The Papers of Charles Robert Ashbee, King's College Archive Centre, Cambridge, GBR/0272/CRA/1/45. Also quoted in Crawford, *CR Ashbee: Architect, Designer & Romantic Socialist*, p. 185. For Ashbee's map showing Nebi Samuel see illustration, Plate 2.2.14.

²⁴ Praver, *The World of the Crusaders*, caption to ill. 87.

²⁵ Rubinstein, editor, *Israel Guide*, vol.10, *Jerusalem*, pp. 197-198.

²⁶ See illustration on Plate 2.14.4.

²⁷ Kroyanker, *Jerusalem: A Guide to Neighborhoods and Buildings*, p. 122.

Residence designed by Harrison for the Public Works Department - was reviewed in the British architectural press in 1931; the project was described there as "a Crusaders' palace of today".²⁸

A major 'Crusaders' event' had happened in 1927 when an important crusaders' tomb was restored by the then architect of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, Clifford Holliday. Jerusalem's governor Storrs wrote in his memoirs:

And it is owing to Pro-Jerusalem that the only surviving gravestone of a Crusader, the English Philip d'Aubigny, signatory of the Magna Charta, Governor of the Channel Islands and Tutor to Henry the Third, is preserved, safe at last under a iron grille from the trampling of feet, before the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.²⁹

John Holliday, the son of C. A. Holliday and editor of the letters of his architect mother, indirectly mentions the pervading scope of the idea of the New Crusaders, saying:

The crusaders get little mention in the correspondence, but the moving of the tombstone of Philip d'Aubigny in the precincts of the Holy Sepulchre was an important matter [...] The tomb had to be opened and a new grill, designed by Cliff[ord Holliday], put over the stone.³⁰

Holliday's excellently designed St. Andrew's Church in Jerusalem (1927-30) was dedicated to Scotland's patron saint and built as a Memorial Church to Scottish soldiers fallen in the Great War. The cornerstone was laid by General Allenby, and it contained a dedication to King Bruce, who in 1329 had ordered his heart to be brought to Jerusalem, but the messenger entrusted had been killed en route.³¹ The church is also fortress-like and has a pilgrim's hostel

²⁸ "A Crusaders' Castle of Today: Government House, Jerusalem". *Country Life*, 31 October 1931.

²⁹ Storrs, *Orientalisms*, pp. 514-515.

³⁰ Eunice Holliday, (John Holliday, ed.), *Letters from Jerusalem 1922-1935* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1997), p. 57.

³¹ Rubinstein, editor, *Israel Guide*, vol.10, q.v. "St. Andrew's Church" *Jerusalem*, p. 96.

attached with cross-vault cloisters; even the annexed clinic (early 1930s) that Holliday built nearby for the Ophthalmologic Hospital of St John, was named and known by the medieval and evocative name of “Khan and Hospice of the Knights of the Order of St. John, Jerusalem”.³²

As has been explained, by the time the Archaeology Museum was opened, harsh reality and day-to-day struggle in Palestine had eroded the visionary enthusiasm of the first years. A sense of disenchantment is felt in the documents of the late 1930s, and even more so in those of the 1940s. The Middle Eastern dream of surpassing Richard the Lionheart had become if not a nightmare, certainly an anachronism. While confronting material reality in the Holy Land, the historic Crusaders who had stayed on to live there had suffered a similar disillusion to that of the ‘new crusaders’. It is worth noting that Joshua Prawer, the late prominent Israeli researcher of the Crusaders’ period, chose to dedicate an entire chapter in his study to analysing the gap between dream and reality in the Crusaders’ Kingdom of Jerusalem and the strains it caused. He entitled it “Ideals and Reality”, and the following excerpt seems equally fitting for the British Mandate ‘New Crusaders’:

Despite the messianic glimmer which accompanied the birth of the kingdom, its future as a lay state, no different from any other, was sealed. Recognition of this fact, in turn, dampened the messianic *elan* of the messianic movement. Jerusalem was destined to exist as earthly Jerusalem, and Zion meant no more than a hill in the mountains of Judea.³³

Moreover, the menace of another world war in Europe was growing and becoming a reality by the late 1930s; this would create for the British in the following years a new legend and ethos of chivalry. During the 1940s, the romantic admiration for the crusaders’ deeds would be replaced with a new, machine age admiration for the bravery of the pilots of the R.A.F.

³² This building was planned with cross-vaulted arcades surrounding an inner courtyard, while the coats of arms belonging to the families of the main donors were carved on the court’s walls. Kroyanker, *Jerusalem Architecture: The Period of the British Mandate*, p. 98.

³³ Joshua Prawer, *The World of the Crusaders* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1972), Chapter 5, “Ideals and Realities”, pp. 67-82.

Utopian visions of society³⁴

Let us rise up and build!³⁵

As for their cities, whoso knoweth one knoweth them all, they be all so alike one to another as far as the nature of the place permiteth.³⁶

Utopia?

TO DRAW HAPPINESS?...!...?

We all can experience it and BUILD.³⁷

Names such as 'the Land of milk and honey', 'Land of youth', 'the Promised Land', 'the New Jerusalem', 'Canaan', 'Erewhon' and 'Nowhereland', have all been used at different times as synonyms of Utopia. Therefore it is not surprising that for architects working ON projects in Palestine, the inherently visionary spirit of places such as Jerusalem and the Holy Land only served to strengthen the Utopian character generally prevailing at this time. When the Great War finally ended, states art historian Robert Hughes, "the main result was a longing for a clean slate. Some of them [the survivors] wanted to create literal Utopias of reason and social justice, created (not merely expressed) by architecture and art."³⁸ Thus the interwar period in western culture was especially disposed towards the creation of Utopian visions; in Mandate Palestine the non-place of Utopia found its natural and time-honoured location.

Even if one allows for the fact that "the twenties were a great Utopian period",³⁹ the ideal society has been a recurrent vision in western civilization;

³⁴ See illustrations to this section, plates under the heading 3.2.

³⁵ Nehemiah, 2: 18.

³⁶ Thomas More, *Utopia*, translated by Paul Turner (Chatham, W & J Mackay, 1972), first published in Latin in 1516.

³⁷ Bruno Taut, Illustration number 20: "The Trinity in the Cosmos", *The Dissolution of the Cities* (1920), Abalos, *Bruno Taut : Escritos Expresionistas*, p. 297.

³⁸ Robert Hughes, *The Shock of the New: Art and the Century of Change* (London: Thames and Hudson] 1980, 1991), p. 58.

³⁹ Wolfgang Pehnt, "Introduction", in ed. Gerd Hatje., *Encyclopedia of Modern Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1963, 1975), p. 17.

while the Graeco-Roman Classical world used to look for it in the remote past, a long-ago Golden Age, the Judeo-Christian tradition added to this idea of an original 'paradise lost' the vision of a future, perfect society that will be constituted 'at the end of all days'. This was fomented by the Biblical prophets' visions. Therefore, one could compare with Scripture Ovid's description in the *Metamorphoses*:

Golden was that first age which unconstrained,
With heart and soul, obedient to no law,
Gave honour to good faith and righteousness.
No battlements their cities yet embraced ...
No sword, no helmet then-no need of arms;
The world untroubled lived in leisured ease.
Anon the earth untilled brought forth her fruits,
The unfallowed fields lay gold with heavy grain,
And streams of milk and springs of nectar flowed
And yellow honey dripped from boughs of green.⁴⁰

Nevertheless, the message coming from Scripture, evolves from a similar image of a delightful Land of milk and honey in early times, to a later vision of otherworldly harmony and peaceful co-existence between natural enemies:

And I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land, unto a good land and a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey.⁴¹

If the Lord delight in us, then he will bring us into this land, and give it us; a land which floweth with milk and honey.⁴²

The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them.⁴³

The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock: and dust shall be the serpent's meat. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, translated by A.D. Melville (Oxford: Oxford University Press, first published 1986, 1998), Book I, 88-90; 98; 108-114.

⁴¹ Exodus, 3:2.

⁴² Numbers, 14:8.

⁴³ Isaiah, 11:6.

⁴⁴ Isaiah, 65:25.

The Utopian vision in Mandate Palestine comprised a series of images of social harmony, models for agrarian and handicraft-based communities, in which co-operation amongst equals formed a strong comradeship. The members were portrayed ideally, as young and strong. Ethnic conflicts are notably non-existent, or superseded by a new fellowship, and their most appropriate occupation was to be manual work: agriculture or construction.⁴⁵

Ashbee's thinking had been intrinsically Utopian long before his arrival in the blinding sunlight of Palestine, having already set up two 'utopian' communities, in East London and then in Chipping Campden; this is clearly reflected in 'The Song of the Builders of the City of the Sun', a poem he wrote circa 1900 with clear reverberations from Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*.

Comrades, our city of the sun!
A quest unfound, a joy unwon;
Ay, here in England shall it rise
Beneath her grey and solemn skies.
Far in her golden past, or far
Ahead where her Utopias are,
For hearts that feel and souls that find
Their inner life within the mind,
The inner life yet scarce begun,
Here stands our city of the sun!⁴⁶

As has been explained earlier, Expressionist utopias represented by the writings of Bruno Taut profoundly informed Utopian conceptions of planners in Mandate Palestine; therefore, Tafuri's 'family tree' of the former fits the latter remarkably:

Rousseau + Kropotkin + Tolstoy = Lenin: This was the synthesis more or less unconsciously proposed by the heirs to the activist pole of expressionism.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ For an index of the principal utopian and civic design texts that architects referred to in Palestine, see Table 3 on page 257.

⁴⁶ Pages from 'Echoes from The City of the Sun', with interleaved autograph manuscript and typescript poems and songs, together with notes, CRA/10. This series contains songs assembled for a possible second edition of 'Echoes From the City of the Sun' (London: Essex House Press, 1905). The Papers of Charles Robert Ashbee, King's College Archive Centre, Cambridge.

⁴⁷ Manfredo Tafuri, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth*, (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 4th ed., 1995), p. 124.

As utopian thinking is so closely linked with the modern *ethos*, a great deal of bitter criticism against Utopian thinking is to be found in contemporary post-modern discourse, as an indirect arrow aimed to undermine what is rightly considered one of the foundations of Modern thinking. The failure of 1920s Utopias is seen today by many thinkers as a triumph of the freedom of the individual and a deliverance from pernicious delusions, particularly criticising the potential impairment of human rights. By prescribing a new social order, utopias predetermine the destiny of their members, denying them the opportunity of political choice; hence "The builders of utopia claimed to give freedom to the people, but freedom that is given ceases to be freedom".⁴⁸

Hence, most of the "classics" of Utopian planning have come to look inhuman, or even absurd. Who believes in progress and perfectibility any more? Who believes in masterbuilders or formgivers?⁴⁹

Misgivings about coercive authority were added to the recurrent premise of a strong centralized state, implying or asserting a totalitarian administration.⁵⁰ The vision of perfection, they argue, is better kept as a model and refrained from implementation, as the cost in human suffering may become too high. They say with Kant that in reality:

Out of timber so crooked as that from which man is made nothing entirely straight can be built.⁵¹

⁴⁸ M. L. Berneri, "Journey through Utopia", quoted in Rudolf Moos and Robert Brownstein, *Environment and Utopia: A Synthesis* (New York: Plenum Press, 1977), p. 36.

⁴⁹ Robert Hughes, *The Shock of the New: Art and the Century of Change*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993), p. 207.

⁵⁰ Moos and Brownstein, *Environment and Utopia: A Synthesis*, Chapter 2: Utopias and Utopian Thought, pp. 23-57 (p. 35).

⁵¹ Immanuel Kant, "*Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in welt burgerlicher Absicht*" (1784), *Kant's Gesammelte Schriften*, (Berlin, 1910-) vol. 8, p. 23. This anti-Utopian maxim was used by Isaiah Berlin as the title of his collected essays, Henry Hardy, ed., *The Crooked Timber of Humanity: Chapters in the History of Ideas* (London: John Murray, 1990).

Table 3: The Utopian vision and its ramifications: An index of principal Utopian and civic design texts that architects referred to in Palestine.

| date | author | publication |
|-------------|------------------------------|---|
| 1516 | Sir Thomas More | <i>Libellus vere aureus nec minus salutaris quam festivus de optimus reip. statu. deque nova insula Utopia.</i> |
| 1623 | Tommaso Campanella | <i>City of the Sun</i> |
| 1648 | Samuel Gott | <i>New Jerusalem</i> |
| 1829 | Charles Fourier | <i>Le Nouveau Monde Industriel</i> |
| 1876 | Dr. Benjamin Ward Richardson | <i>Hygeia or the City of Health</i> |
| 1887 | Edward Bellamy | <i>Looking Backward 2000-1887</i> |
| 1889 | Camillo Sitte | <i>Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlersichen Grundsätzen</i> |
| 1890 | William Morris | <i>News from Nowhere</i> |
| 1893 | Max Austerberg-Verakoff | <i>Das Reich Judaea im Jahre 6000 (The Kingdom of Judea in the year 6000 [2240])</i> |
| | Elhanan Leib Levinsky | <i>Masa' le-Eretz Israel bi-Shnat Tat (A Journey to Eretz Israel in the Year 5800 [2040])</i> |
| 1896 | Theodor Herzl | <i>The Jewish State</i> |
| 1898 | Ebenezer Howard | <i>Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Reform</i> |
| 1899 | Henry Pereira Mendes | <i>Looking Ahead</i> |
| | Emil Zola | <i>Fecondité</i> |
| 1901 | Emil Zola | <i>Travail (following ideas of Fourier)</i> |
| 1902 | Ebenezer Howard | <i>Garden Cities of Tomorrow</i> |
| | Theodor Herzl | <i>Altneuland (Old New Land)</i> |
| 1917 | Tony Garnier | <i>Une Cité Industrielle: etude par la construction des villes</i> |
| 1919 | Hillel Zeitlin | <i>In der Medinas Yisroel in Yor 2000 (In the State of Israel in the year 2000)</i> |
| | Bruno Taut | <i>Die Auflösung der Städt,</i> |
| 1924 | Boris Schatz | <i>Bi Yerushalaim HaBenuyah (In Jerusalem Rebuilt)</i> |

The vision of the Garden City as a practical utopia⁵²

'I will not cease from mental strife,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land'

-Blake.

With this famous quotation Ebenezer Howard opened the first chapter of *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*.⁵³ Little could he have imagined then (1898) that a quarter of a century later the same city of Jerusalem would renew itself through his own vision and that the entire Holy Land would be repopulated with settlements planned according to his programme and designed according to the principles he explained through his book's text and illustrations. But his readers in Palestine would see the quotation, and perhaps feel an added point of connection with his ideas. The Garden City vision would sweep Palestine as early as 1911, and would become the prevalent model for the entire project of Zionist colonization, rural and urban alike.

Two other special links between Howard and British Mandate Palestine have been discovered in the course of research. The first link relates to A.J. Balfour, in 1898 a young Member of Parliament, who is mentioned twice by Howard in *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*.⁵⁴ This was the same Arthur James Balfour who was British Foreign Secretary in 1917, and who signed on behalf of the government the historic declaration that bears his name. Howard's first mention of him is a note with a long quotation from *Parliamentary Debates*, 12 December 1893 from a speech by Balfour "on migration into towns". The second mention is another quotation of Mr. A.J. Balfour's speech from a convention held in 1894. Again, the positive inclusion of Balfour's ideas would have made a positive impact for Zionist planners, for whom the Balfour

⁵² See illustrations to this section, Table 2 in text and Plate 3.3.1.

⁵³ Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1974, first published 1898 as *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*; reissued 1902 as *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*), p. 50.

⁵⁴ Howard, *Garden Cities*, pp. 110 n., 130.

Declaration was the starting point for the realisation of their dream of a National home. The sympathy for Lord Balfour and respect in which he was held in Palestine was very high; he was honoured by his name being given to a new settlement⁵⁵ and to streets in several cities.

The second link relates him to Theodor Herzl, the father of Zionism, and this concerns common sources of ideas, as will be explained in the next section. As to the vision of the Garden City as a practical – instead of literary or impracticable – Utopia, it had for the planners in Palestine, the supreme advantage of offering a shortcut to Hagshamá. The 'official' short definition, which was adopted in 1919 by the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association in consultation with Ebenezer Howard, states that:

A Garden City is a Town designed for healthy living and industry; of a size that makes possible a full measure of social life, but not larger; surrounded by a rural belt; the whole of the land being in public ownership or held in trust for the community.⁵⁶

Ebenezer Howard's main goal was to achieve a significant improvement in the quality of people's life by non-revolutionary ways, hence the title of the first edition, *A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*. He offered a plan for achieving this by means of combining the amenities of urban life with the gratification of ready access to nature.

The Garden City movement was, in Abercrombie's words, England's one-sided but first-rate contribution to the modern subject of the planning of towns and country. Through the proposal of the house and garden type of residential planning, it offered an alternative to the town house or the tenement block. Yet, the Garden Cities movement would not have come to pass without the Industrial Revolution, the dreary workers' suburbs and industrial slums it

⁵⁵ This was the *moshav* Balfourya, founded in 1922 in the Plain of Esdraelon near Afula, designed by Kauffmann according to Howard's ideas. Today Balfourya numbers about 300 inhabitants. See location on map in plate 3.4.1.

⁵⁶ F.J. Osborn, "Preface: A Note on Terminology", in Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1974), p. 26

produced and the ensuing depopulation of the countryside. That is why it began in Britain and took root in Germany, the first countries to undergo massive industrialization. Fitting in with the Aesthetic Movement's aspiration to avoid ugliness, it was rightly felt at the time that the natural beauty that was intrinsic to ancient villages, should now be planned, if it was to be achieved.

It has been established elsewhere that the Garden Cities movement stemmed out from the "principles and architectural statements of the Domestic Revival".⁵⁷ Therefore, we should consider the ideas and practice of Garden Cities as a branch developed from the Arts and Crafts movement, the latter's counterpart in the field of civic design. Hence the movement's preference for low density, rustic houses, in a pre-Industrial Revolution environment.

The logic of the proposed Town-Country combination was presented in Howard's celebrated 'three magnets' diagram, which listed both the benefits and disadvantages of living in either town or country.⁵⁸ Peter Hall has already pointed out that Howard is the least utopian of all visionary writers on planning: his observations are deeply founded in reality, and his proposals, practical and viable.⁵⁹

Three successive occurrences previous to the Mandate would be cardinal for the future, wide application of Howard's ideas in Palestine; first, in the eighth Zionist Congress held in The Hague (1907), the leader Chaim Weizmann demanded that political Zionism be combined with Hagshamá, stressing the need to start organised colonisation in Palestine. This would lead to the

⁵⁷ Vittorio Magnano Lampugnani, ed., *Dictionary of 20th-Century Architecture* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1996), q.v. 'Arts and Crafts'.

⁵⁸ The 'three magnets' was the first of his famous diagrams published in 1898. In a cleverly manipulated symmetrical analysis, Howard established eleven major disadvantages for each of the two alternatives of Town and Country. Similarly, he counted six main advantages to each. But while explaining his new Town-Country (or Garden-City) proposal, he was able to ascertain only the benefits to the people in the new combination: eighteen 'good' points, without any drawbacks at all. See plate 3.3.1.b.

⁵⁹ Peter Hall, *Urban & Regional Planning* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1974), Chapter 3: "The Seers: Pioneer Thinkers in Urban Planning, from 1880 to 1945", pp. 44-52.

establishment in Jaffa of the Palestinian Office under Arthur Ruppin and of a planning department that, from 1920 would be headed by Richard Kauffmann. Ruppin and Kauffmann would work under the direct influence of the Garden Cities movement. Second, in 1909, the Deutschen Gartenstadt Gessellschaft had been established in Germany. This German Garden Cities Association, closely followed the British model that had existed since 1899. About seven years later, they began to erect Hellerau, the first German Garden city. Hellerau was planned by Theodore Fischer - the teacher of Mendelsohn, Kauffmann, Bruno Taut and Ernst May - working together with Herman Muthesius (1861-1927), Richard Riemerschmid (1868-1957), Fritz Schumacher and Heinrich Tessenow (1876-1950).

The subsequent diffusion of Garden City ideas to Germany is of fundamental importance for this study, as this means that the two main groups of professionals working in Palestine during the Mandate - the British and the German Jewish – both recognised Howard’s tenets as the best foundation on which to base the planning of sound settlements in the future. Simultaneously, in Britain, Unwin, Parker and Lutyens planned and designed the first application of Garden City principles to suburbs and not just to new independent cities, an idea which Kauffmann would realise in Jerusalem; Geddes, Abercrombie, Holliday, Mendelsohn and Kauffmann would try out this ideas in Haifa; and Geddes would develop them in Tel Aviv.

The overall influence of the Garden City idea is so primordial for understanding the history of planning in Mandate Palestine, and also later in Israel, that Herbert and Sosnovsky refer to it as “the constant paradigm”.⁶⁰ In order to assess the prevalence of this paradigm, see Table 4.

⁶⁰ Gilbert and Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel*, p. 58.

Table 4. The prevalence of the Garden City vision:
A chronological index of thirty town planning projects in Eretz-Israel inspired by the ideas of the Garden Cities movement.

| date | planner | original name ⁶¹ | present name (if different) | location |
|---------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| c.1911 | Arthur Ruppin, Treidel & Krause | Kerak-am-See Judische Villenstadt | unbuilt | Lake of Galilee |
| 1914-20 | Akiva Jacob Ettinger | Garden City Proposal | Kibbutz Kiriath-Anavim | Judean Hills |
| 1919 | Alexander Baerwald | Nordau Gartenstadt | unbuilt | South of Haifa (?) ⁶² |
| | Alexander Levy | Gartenvorstadt bei Haifa | unbuilt | Hadar, (?) Haifa |
| | Fritz Kornberg | Gruppenhauser Siedlung | unbuilt | Hadar, (?) Haifa |
| 1919-20 | Patrick Geddes | Polytechnicum Garden Village | Hadar-Hacarmel | Haifa |
| | Patrick Geddes | Carmel Top Estates | Carmel | Haifa |
| 1920s | Patrick Geddes | Newe Sha'anun Garden Suburb | Newe-Sha'anun | Haifa |
| | Patrick Geddes | Ahuzat Baith Garden Suburb | Kiriath-Shmuel | Tiberias |
| 1921 | Richard Kauffmann | Boneh Bayit | Beth-Hakerem | Jerusalem |
| | Richard Kauffmann | Talpioth Garden City | Talpioth | Jerusalem |
| | unknown | Ir Ganim (Garden City) | Ramat-Gan | N.Tel Aviv |
| 1922 | Richard Kauffmann | Technicum Garden Neighbourhood | Hadar Hacarmel | Haifa |
| | Richard Kauffmann | Carmel Western Area | Western Carmel | Haifa |
| | Richard Kauffmann | Bat-Galim Garden Suburb | Bat-Galim | Haifa |
| | Richard Kauffmann | Janzirieh. | Rehaviah A Garden Suburb | Jerusalem |

⁶¹ Deliberately, the names of the projects in this column have not been translated. In order to preserve their original ones; i.e., they are presented as they appear on the original drawings, with names either in German, English, Hebrew, Arabic, or in a combination of these languages.

⁶² The sign (?) denotes probable intended location of an unbuilt proposal.

| date | planner | original name | present name (if different) | location |
|---------------------|------------------------------|--|--|-------------------|
| 1922 | Richard Kauffmann | Technicum Garden Neighbourhood | Hadar Hacarmel | Haifa |
| | Richard Kauffmann | Carmel Western Area | Western Carmel | Haifa |
| | Richard Kauffmann | Bat-Galim Garden Suburb | Bat-Galim | Haifa |
| | Richard Kauffmann | Janzirieh. | Rehaviah A Garden Suburb | Jerusalem |
| 1923 | Richard Kauffmann | Ademat Amos Garden Village | Makor-Haim | Jerusalem |
| | Richard Kauffmann | Givat Eliyahu Garden Suburb | | Jerusalem |
| | Erich Mendelsohn | Sommerfeld Gartenstadt ⁶³ | Ahuza | Mt Carmel Haifa |
| 1924 | Richard Kauffmann | Kiryat Moshe Montefiore | Kiryat-Moshe | Jerusalem |
| 1925 | Richard Kauffmann | Bayit Vagan Garden Suburb | Bayit Vagan | Jerusalem |
| 1926 | Richard Kauffmann | Haifa Bay Development Plan | Krayoth | Haifa |
| 1927 | Patrick Geddes | North Tel-Aviv Master Plan | The Old North | Tel-Aviv |
| 1934 | Abercrombie & Holliday | Emek Zebulun Development Scheme | Krayoth | Haifa Bay |
| 1936 | Alexander Klein | Gartenstadt der RASSCO ⁶⁴ | Kiryat-Bialik B | Haifa Bay |
| 1937 | Alexander Klein | Gartenstadt Kirjath Yam | Kiryat-Yam | Haifa Bay |
| 1939 | Anna Klapholtz ⁶⁵ | Pine Square | Central Carmel | Mt Carmel Haifa |
| 1940 | Henry Kendall | Alternative Plan for Pine Square | | |
| 1940 | Alexander Klein | Gartensiedlung Tiv'on | Kiryat- Tiv'on | 10 miles E. Haifa |
| 1949 onwards | Arieh Sharon | 16 new cities planned for new immigrants following the 1951 Israel Master Plan | | |

⁶³ Also named in different plans 'Carmel Bergstadt', or 'Carmel Garden Settlement'.

⁶⁴ RASSCO: Rural and Suburban Settlement Co. Ltd.

⁶⁵ For a long time, this project was mistakenly attributed to Prof. Adolf Rading.

As happened in Palestine, the ideas of Howard and Geddes were eagerly adopted in the United States during the 1920s, and developed further there by Lewis Mumford, Henry Wright, Clarence Stein, and Catherine Bauer.⁶⁶ Forty years later, Jane Jacobs was one of the first and more vocal critics of Utopian thought and practice, expressing in the early 1960s her views against 'American Suburbia' in her well-known book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Jacobs pointed out the connection between striving to achieve simple, harmoniously ordered environments and the tacit compulsion to accept the authority - or tyranny - of the architect's perfect plan. Coming from the Social Sciences, she resented what she regarded as unrestrained power bestowed on the architectural profession, saying that "planners could go about their good and lofty work, unhampered by rude nay-saying from the untrained".⁶⁷

Jacobs' main argument against the Garden City ideas resides in the inherent phobia of metropolitan life that motivates them. After showing how pervasive these ideas are in twentieth-century planning, she assesses the damage done by these Utopian schemes as multifarious and universal. She writes:

Howard set spinning powerful and city-destroying ideas.⁶⁸
Howard's influence [...] converged on the city from two directions: from town and regional planners on the one hand, and from architects on the other.⁶⁹

But she fails to take into account that, at least till the end of the Second World War, both usually were a single person, as architects did the town planning. In Palestine, the Garden City vision certainly agreed with the basic Zionist rejection of the city.

⁶⁶ See Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (London: Penguin Books, 1994, first published 1961), pp. 31-35.

⁶⁷ Jacobs, *Death and Life*, p. 303.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

Howard's motives, however, derived from problems inherent to an industrialised society:

Howard's major concern seems to have been to stem the drift of population from rural to urban areas. [...] [He] intended to free the pressure on existing cities by decanting population to new and smaller towns, built well outside the city in virgin countryside.⁷⁰

If indeed that was Howard's avowed aim, this study needs to answer the following paradoxical question as to why the Garden Cities model was embraced by Zionism in Eretz-Israel, in an absolute absence of the original problems that acted as catalysts for the idea, uncontrolled city growth after the Industrial Age and abandonment of rural villages. It is only due to the secondary characteristics of the garden cities' scheme - such as the idea of jointly purchasing land and the possibility of organizing the building of private dwellings in co-operative form - that one can provide part of the explanation. It seems that the notion of a planned, small - and therefore easily controllable - community appealed strongly to Zionist policy-makers.

In Britain Garden Cities sprung up as a reaction against the urban impact of the Industrial Revolution: urban overcrowding and unhealthy conditions due to uncontrolled growth of cities on the one hand, and rural depopulation due to unemployment on the other. None of these conditions existed in Palestine when the idea was adopted as the standard mode of planning by the PLDC. Industrialization was decades away, and its eventual appearance would be welcomed as a blessing. The rural Arab population was stable, and the Jewish one was increasing steadily as new Zionist agricultural colonies were established. Using Garden City schemes and ideology really meant building solutions for problems that had not emerged yet. Indeed, this could be ironically regarded as the ultimate Utopia: to build the ideal solution to a problem before it had even had a chance to be formed.

⁷⁰ Geoffrey Broadbent, *Emerging Concepts in Urban Space Design* (London: E & FN Spon; Chapman & Hall, 1990, 1996) pp. 123-124.

Furthermore, the 'green' image of a garden City, relatively easy to achieve in locations having the annual rainfall of Britain or Germany, was indeed Utopian in Palestine, where - as in all arid or semi-arid regions - water is scarce and the landscape naturally yellow, seldom green. A green belt, then, as well as lush parks and private gardens, require wasting precious water and demand a huge investment in artificial irrigation. One could therefore paraphrase Blake and say as alternatively, that the real intention of the planners was to persist in using the Garden City pattern,

"Till we have built England's green in Jerusalem's pleasant land".

The dream of the Jewish national home⁷¹

When the Lord brought back those who returned to Zion,
We were like them that dream.⁷²

If you will it, it is no fantasy.⁷³

Let me repeat once more: The Jews who wish for a State will have it. We shall live at last as free men on our own soil, and die peacefully in our own homes. [...] And whatever we attempt here to accomplish for our own welfare, will react powerfully and beneficially for the good of humanity.⁷⁴

Theodor Herzl (1860-1904) was a secular, cosmopolitan intellectual who created modern Zionism as a political movement and as the international organization that would implement his ideas.⁷⁵ Herzl was a Viennese

⁷¹ See illustrations to this section, Plate 3.4.1.

⁷² Psalms, 126:1.

⁷³ Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State: An attempt at a modern solution of the Jewish Question* (first published Leipzig and Vienna, 1896, as *Der Judenstaat* by M. Breitenstein Verlags-Buchhandlung).

⁷⁴ Herzl, *The Jewish State*, last paragraph of the book. I am using here the 1946, 50th anniversary edition (New York: American Zionist Emergency Council). All quotations are from that edition.

⁷⁵ The existing literature on Zionism is vast and for the most part deals with issues rather distant from this study's subject matter. As background reading for this and the next section, the following titles have been consulted:

journalist, a doctor in law and amateur playwright. Born to a prosperous Budapest family, he was fluent in German and French; in 1894-95 he served as correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse* in Paris,⁷⁶ and as such he covered the Dreyfuss affair that split public opinion in France at the time.⁷⁷ The wave of anti-Semitism aroused by the Dreyfuss trial apparently catalysed Herzl's interest in what was then called 'the Jewish Question', by showing him that Jews could probably never hope for fair treatment in European society. In 1896 Herzl wrote *Der Judenstaat*, (*The Jewish State*) which appeared under the subtitle of "An Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Question" and then planned the first Zionist Congress in Basle. Passing from theory to practice, and becoming a young statesman, he recorded in his diary:

Were I to sum up the Basle Congress in a word - which I shall guard against pronouncing publicly - it would be this: "At Basle I founded the Jewish State". If I said this out loud today, I would

Alex Bein, *A History of the Zionist Settlement: From the times of Herzl to our days* (Tel Aviv: Massada, 1945). [H]; Alex Bein, ed., *Arthur Ruppin: Memoirs, Diaries, Letters*; translated by Karen Gershon (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971); Martin Buber, (Shapira, Abraham, ed.), *Paths in Utopia* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, first published 1945, 1983). [H]; Chaim Gvati, *A Century of Settlement: The History of Jewish Agricultural Settlement in Eretz-Israel* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1981). [H]; Getzel, Kressel, "Zionist Utopias", in *Zionism*, compiled from material originally published in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, (Jerusalem: Keter, 1973), pp. 227-230. Mordechai Naor, and Dan Giladi, *Eretz Israel in the 20th century: From Yishuv to Statehood, 1900-1950* (Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defence Publishing House, 1990). [H]; Jehuda Reinhartz and Anita Shapira, *Essential Papers on Zionism* (London: Cassell, 1996); Norman A., Rose, *Chaim Weizmann: A Biography* (Jerusalem: Domino and Keter, 1990). [H]; Norman A., Rose, "Churchill and Zionism", *Zmanim*, vol. 14: 56 (Summer 1996), pp. 3-15. [H]; Arthur Ruppin, *Three Decades of Palestine: Speeches and Papers on the Up-building of the Jewish National Home* (Jerusalem: Schocken, 1936); Howard M., Sachar, *A History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to our Time* (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Steimatzky, 1976); Howard M., Sachar, *The Course of Jewish History* (New York: Dell, 1977); Anita Shapira, *A Century of Zionist Immigration to Eretz Israel*, (Tel Aviv: Beit Hatefutsot Museum, 1982); Gideon Shimoni, *The Zionist Ideology* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2001). [H]; first published in English by Brandeis University Press and University Press of New England, Hanover, NH, 1995; David Vital, "Prince to the Jews: The Legacy of Herzl's *Der Judenstaat* to Modern Israel" *The Times Literary Supplement*, 7 June 1996, pp. 6-7.

⁷⁶ The *Neue Freie Presse* was a prestigious Austrian newspaper based in Vienna, and published from 1864-1938.

⁷⁷ The Dreyfuss Affair was a major political scandal in turn of the century France. Alfred Dreyfus, a high rank French Jewish military officer, was wrongfully convicted of treason and confined to Devil's Island. Following a historic open letter in defence of Dreyfuss published by the writer Emil Zola in *L'Aurore*, under the title "J'Accuse ! (I accuse !)" Dreyfuss was to be publicly exonerated.

be answered by universal laughter. Perhaps in five years, and certainly in fifty, everyone will know it.⁷⁸

Herzl is therefore considered the father of modern Zionism, and “the seer” or visionary who foresaw the creation of the State of Israel.⁷⁹ Then in 1902 he published *Altneuland (Old-New Land)*. While the *Jewish State* is a detailed, rational programme for immigration and settlement, not unlike Howard’s *Garden Cities*,⁸⁰ *Old-New Land* is a novel in which two travellers return to Palestine, twenty years after a very disappointing first visit, to find it completely transformed for the better.⁸¹ Herzl predicted there what he believed might be accomplished by 1923. As these two books are the fundamental texts for the vision of the Jewish National Home, it is pertinent for this study to look into the architectural and planning directives that they expressed.

Herzl set up several institutions that would help to achieve his goals. They constituted the invisible structure that would support his proposal. He advocated the establishment of two agencies: the “Society of Jews”, that would do the preparatory political and scientific work; and “The Jewish Company”, for liquidating the business interests of the departing Jews, organising trade and commerce in the new country and arranging land purchase there. In addition he devised the “Gestor of the Jews,” a group leadership to administrate the national property of which it is joint-owner.⁸² All

⁷⁸ Herzl, *Complete Diaries*, entry of 3 September 1897, quoted in Howard M. Sachar, *A History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to our Time* (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Steimatzky, 1976), p. 46.

⁷⁹ The word used in Hebrew is *hozé*, (visionary), from *hazón*, (vision).

⁸⁰ Indeed both pamphlets were written under the influence of the novels of Edward Bellamy, which were extremely popular at the time: *Looking Backward 2000-1887* (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin and The Riverside Press, 1926, first published 1887), and *Equality* (New York: Greenwood Press, first published 1897, 1969).

⁸¹ This was based on impressions from his only visit to Palestine in 1898, at the time of the Kaiser’s visit. Hence, before presenting the dream, Herzl describes reality as he saw it: a desolated, miserable, filthy, foul smelling and provincial place, its inhabitants plagued by unemployment and despair. Neglect, decadence, desert and swamps greeted the travellers in their first visit.

⁸² Herzl, *Jewish State*, pp. 92-95; 136-140.

these ideas were eventually realised as organizations of the Zionist movement. What is remarkable, however, is that Herzl did not see the Holy Land as the only alternative; he wrote:

Let the sovereignty be granted us over a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the rightful requirements of a nation; the rest we shall manage for ourselves.⁸³

He specified a fair amount of detail the architects' work:

Will the Company do its own building, or employ independent architects? It can, and will do both. It has... an immense reserve of working power, which will not be sweated by the Company, but, transported into brighter and happier conditions of life, will nevertheless not be expensive. Our geologists will have looked to the provision of building materials when they selected the sites of the towns.

The natural conformation of the land will rouse the ingenuity of our young architects, whose ideas have not yet been cramped by routine; and even if the people do not grasp the whole import of the plan, they will at any rate feel at ease in their loose clusters.⁸⁴

Herzl also hinted at the extensive town planning activity required in the future, and of the new cities that would have to be built, confidently saying: "to build a city takes in our time as many years as it formerly required centuries; America offers endless examples of this".⁸⁵ Moreover, in *Old New Land*, he wrote: "Never in history were cities built so quickly or so well, because never before were so many technical facilities available".⁸⁶ Then he refers to the plan of the towns:

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.101.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁸⁶ Theodor Herzl, translated by Lotta Levensohn, *Old New Land* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 1997, first published Leipzig, 1901, as *Altneuland*, by Hermann Seemann Nachfolger), p. 68.

The local groups will delegate their representatives to select sites for towns. [...] The local groups will have plans for the towns, so that our people may know beforehand where they are to go, in which towns and in which houses they are to live. Comprehensive drafts of the building plans previously referred to will be distributed among the local groups.⁸⁷

Herzl was no Socialist, and believed in private enterprise, therefore he recommended:

Seeing that the Company does not wish to earn anything on the building works but only on the land, it will desire as many architects as possible to build by private contract. This system will increase the value of landed property, and will introduce luxury, which serves many purposes. Luxury encourages arts and industries, paving the way to a future subdivision of large properties.⁸⁸

Nevertheless, he was aware of the needs of the 'lower classes' and dedicated several sections to the welfare and dwelling conditions of the workers, advocating mutual help, and stipulating that "the workmen's dwellings [...] will be erected at the Company's own expense."⁸⁹

I said that the Company would build workmen's dwellings cheaply. And cheaply, not only because of the proximity of abundant building materials, not only because of the company's proprietorship of the sites, but also because of the non-payment of workmen. American farmers work on the system of mutual assistance in the construction of houses. This childishly amicable system, which is as clumsy as the block-houses erected, can be developed on much finer lines.⁹⁰

Moreover, he envisioned a system of ready-made plans for the settlers to choose from:

The Company's architects will build for the poorer classes of citizens also, being paid in kind or cash; about a hundred different types of houses will be erected, and, of course,

⁸⁷ Herzl, *Jewish State*, pp. 127-128.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁹⁰ *Idem.*

repeated. These beautiful types will form part of our propaganda. The soundness of their construction will be guaranteed by the Company, which will, indeed, gain nothing by selling them to settlers.

To begin to realise even a small part of all this, the Zionist Organisation had to set the acquisition of land as its first priority. A persistent theme in Jewish literature and liturgy is *kisufei geu'lah*, 'the yearning for redemption'. After Herzl's early death in 1904 at the age of forty four, Modern Zionism used the term and the idea to imply the redemption of either the Land or the people of Israel. Whilst the Land is redeemed through repurchase, the nation will be redeemed through the Return to Zion. In order to accommodate the returnees, again, land is necessary. The almost implausible idea of buying back all the land needed to establish the national home was implemented by means of the Jewish National Fund, which collected donations from Jews all over the world. One of the popular Zionist songs of the times records this:

A dunum here, a dunum there,
Clod after clod of earth,
Thus the Land of the People is redeemed
From the North to the Negev.⁹¹

Like Howard, Herzl intended to offer a real Utopia, that is, one that could be built. In a letter Herzl wrote to Moritz Guedeman before *Der Judenstaadt* was published, he said:

I can now say why it is no Utopia ... There have been plenty of Utopias before and after Thomas More, but no rational person ever thought of putting them into practice. They are entertaining, but not stirring.⁹²

The greatest achievement, shared by both books – Howard's *Garden Cities* and Herzl's *Jewish State* - is the impetus they generated as well as their ability to arouse others into action and form an international movement of supporters and activists: The Garden Cities Association, (1899) then the International Garden Cities Association; the First Zionist Congress (1897), then the World Zionist Organization.

⁹¹ See the extent of Jewish owned land bought in this way by 1942, in map on Plate 3.4.1.

⁹² Letter, Herzl to Guedesman, 22 August 1895, Herzl, *Complete Diaries*, pp. 235-6, quoted by Getzel Kressel, in "Zionist Utopias", published in *Zionism*, (Jerusalem: Keter Books, 1973), p. 227.

In his *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, Howard had presented his programmes, from the beginning as an alternative to Socialist-Marxist political and economic theory, hence his subtitle *A Peaceful Path to Reform*.⁹⁶ In his new Town-Country, the new dwellers needed a certain initial capital to join the cooperative; houses - and gardens - were maintained privately. Herzl, in the *Jewish State*, always stressed the benefits of private initiative in business as a power to motivate personal - and material - progress, and saw communism only as an extreme solution for times of momentary hardship:

Individual enterprise must never be checked. [...] We shall only work collectively when the immense difficulties of the task demand a common action; we shall, whenever possible, scrupulously respect the rights of the individual. Private property, which is the economic basis of independence, shall be developed freely and be respected by us. Our first unskilled labourers will at once have the opportunity to work their way up to private proprietorship. ... The spirit of enterprise must, indeed be encouraged in every possible way.⁹⁷

Nevertheless, Zionism and the tenets of Garden Cities would develop a new offshoot in Mandate Palestine, one that would heartily embrace Socialism and produced, under the umbrella of Zionism, a new vision; one that intended to create a national commune out of the National Home.

When Herzl had imagined the new houses for workers, he already intended them to form groupings of standardised form; these houses, he wrote:

Will resemble neither those melancholy workmen's barracks of European towns, nor those miserable rows of shanties which surround factories; they will certainly present a uniform appearance, because the Company must build cheaply where it provides the building materials to a great extent; but the detached houses in little gardens will be united into attractive groups in each locality.

⁹⁶ Howard dedicated complete sections to the issue of "Individualism and Socialism": see *Garden Cities*, pp. 112, 113-116; 130-137.

⁹⁷ Herzl, *The Jewish State*, pp. 116-117.

Eventually these houses would be transformed into complete workers' estates, erected by the same heroic workers as he was thinking of. In the meantime, while the new ideology of Labour Zionism emerged, a series of workers' parties would be formed. In planning, this would be reflected in the *kibbutz* and the *moshav* developed by Richard Kauffmann, and in the *shikkun* – or urban workers' estate – developed by Arie Sharon from German models, all later adaptations of Howard's, and Unwin's, ideas. Labour Zionism, led by the worker's leader David Ben Gurion, not only would represent the workers' rights; it would also build a new ideal and model for the new society: the builder.

- We are heroes!
The last generation of bondage
and the first of redemption, we are -. ⁹⁸

These ideas were first integrated, in 1920-30, in the Labour Brigade, a now legendary wandering group of several hundreds of young pioneers who saw themselves as the instruments for preparing the National Home as one, single commune. The ethos of service was paramount, and had been stated by the late charismatic leader Joseph Trumpeldor (1880-1920) who had set the model and the example. The Brigade was based on equality, cooperation and fraternal discipline; their official motto was "to rebuild the Land of Israel by means of creating a General Commune of Hebrew workers", and at the same time this reflected the profound influence of the recent Russian Revolution on them. Trumpeldor enunciated the Labour Zionism vision when he wrote:

We need people ready to serve at any cost at whatever task Palestine requires ... The metal, whatever is needed to forge anything, whatever the national machine will require. Is there a wheel lacking? I am that wheel. Nails, screws, a block? Take me. Must the land be dug? I will dig it. Is there shooting to be done, are soldiers needed? I will enlist. Policemen, doctors, lawyers, teachers, water carriers? If you please, I am ready to do it all. I am not a person.

⁹⁸ J.N. Bialik, *Metei Midbar* [The Dead of the Desert] *Kol Shirei Bialik* [All Bialik's Poems], (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 5726), p. 352. [My translation].

I am the pure embodiment of service, prepared for everything.
I have no ties. I know only one command: Build.⁹⁹

Therefore, Labour Zionism preferred to transfer to the builders the crucial role formerly allocated to the architect, that of the agent able to realise and materialise visions. The vision of Labour Zionism was one of heroic masculinity, embodied in the construction builder. It was reflected accurately in the Hebrew Worker, the reinforced concrete sculpture by Arie Elhanani at the entrance of the Levant Fair. Even there, in that triumph of avant-garde architecture, it was the builders rather than the designers who were celebrated.

In parallel, by creating a new cult of the land out of the secular interpretation of Scripture, Labour Zionism fostered the notion among the pioneers that, just as the divine bride of the Book of Psalms is dressed in embroidered garments for her wedding, so the Land is seen as the bride of the workers, who spoil her with their gifts. Once again, this was diffused by means of popular songs:

Whatever else could you ask from us, homeland,
That we have not already given you?

As this vision was Socialist and admired the manual worker, it was to the builders, rather than to the architects, that it usually gave credit for realising visions. Hence through the builders buildings appear, as embodied vision. The flesh, or material, of this embodiment is concrete: both in the general sense, of real, firm and solid, but also in the specific sense of concrete as the 'material of the future Utopia', reinforced concrete. Furthermore, this concrete body is rendered white, as a sacral white linen cloth on which the body of the building is robed. As the Zionist pioneers sang,

We shall don you [motherland]
A garment of concrete and cement.

⁹⁹ Joseph Trumpeldor, 1917. Quoted in Sachar, *A History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to our Time*, pp. 147-148.

After the British Mandate, out of all the former co-existing visions, this last one would prevail and become the single, accepted vision during the first two decades of the State of Israel, as it was the one adopted by the Israeli Labour Party, Mapai.¹⁰⁰

**Conclusion: Restless Pluralism:
Alliance and conflict between simultaneous visions**

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.¹⁰¹

Five principal prefiguring visions that have emerged from research have been presented here. These visions co-existed during a single period in the mindsets of different groups; hence the pluralism discovered in architectural practice - and perceived through the different languages that architects chose to use - can now also be understood as the reflection of tacit bodies of thought that lay behind architects' decisions. These have been called 'visions' due to the clear visual images they evoke, suggesting complete pictures of alternative reality. These visions represent distinct sets of beliefs or ways of thinking that determined these architects' outlook and consequently their acts. While no claim is made here of having completed their study - which was not the intention in the first place - the significance of this part of the thesis resides more in the discovery of their importance, constituting the first attempt at sketching a general map of the principal ideas informing the projects.

¹⁰⁰ Mapai, literally M.P.I., the initial letters and common name of Mifteget Po'alei Eretz Israel, Party of the Workers of the Land of Israel; this is the historic name of the Israeli Labour Party, a Zionist-Socialist workers' political party that for many years held the majority in the Israeli parliament. Founded in 1930 by the union of two workers' parties, Hapo'el HaTzair and Achdut-Ha'Avoda, Mapai held a dominant position in all the Jewish institutions during the British Mandate, a period it called "on the way to statehood". Mapai controlled the Trade Unions, headed the World Zionist Organization and later governed the State of Israel. Mapai governments ruled without a break from independence, in 1948, to 1977.

¹⁰¹ Erich Mendelsohn, *Palestine and the World of Tomorrow* (first published in Jerusalem by Jerusalem Press, 1940) in Herbert and Heinze-Greenberg, eds., *Erich Mendelsohn in Palestine*, (Haifa: Architectural Heritage Research Center, Technion, 1994, 1940), pp. 23-30.

In addition, this first description of these visions has added arguments to the thesis which further validate the hypothesis of forgotten plurality in the architecture of Mandate Palestine. It also has produced a deeper understanding of the mutual conflicts and possible alliances between these same visions. There was certainly conflict between the conservationist vision of the New Crusaders and the radical modernity of Labour Zionism; and Herzl's original vision of the Jewish National Home was bourgeois, liberal and mutualist, while the Labour Brigade converted it in a proletarian and revolutionary one. Even if Utopian views of a new society were widespread and broadly accepted, the paths to their realisation differed greatly. However, where two or more groups seemed to concur on a single vision, and found through it common agreement despite their separate interests, a fertile ground was prepared for the advancement of projects. This was in fact the case with the Garden City vision, which British authorities, British architects, Zionists leaders and German Jewish planners found equally valid; therefore it thrived particularly well.

One last word must be said on the triumph of the Modern Movement avant-garde, the process that would transform the architecture in Mandate Palestine from plural to singular, deleting the other Modernisms and provoking their subsequent disappearance from the canon. By the 1940s the triumph of avant-garde Modernism was already clear, and all the other trends became a rapidly fading minority. Furthermore, since evident convergence of the goals of Modernism and the goals of Zionism existed, Modern architecture was instrumental in the making of the new Israeli national identity from 1948 onwards.

In summary, this study clearly points to the co-existence of at least five different architectural languages, prefigured by multiple visions and showing complex cross-cultural interactions: links with the Arab vernacular tradition, with Islamic architecture, with the Arts and Crafts movement and with the Crusaders' architecture. All these are essentially non-Israeli.

The architecture of the new State of Israel, from independence to the Six-Day War, passed through a 'heroic' Modern phase, with outstanding public buildings built for the needs of public health and public culture. This period looked back at the Mandate era only as the time when this modern language of architecture had been introduced and unfolded. During that time, (1948-1967) British and Arabs were indeed seen as adversaries, the former a past one,¹⁰² the latter a bitter present one. There was no place for acknowledging 'enemy' achievements in architecture. It seems that it was at this stage that the main blind spots in the historiography were first developed.

¹⁰² Public opinion, which had welcomed the Mandate after the Great War, turned bitterly anti-British in the difficult years of the Arab Revolt (1936-1939). With the outbreak of World War II, the Jewish community in Palestine resented deeply new immigration restrictions which impeded the rescue of European Jews from the Holocaust. This anti-British frame of mind would be moderated after the Suez Campaign of 1956, in which British and Israeli forces fought together, but the negative feeling would persist for considerable time.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

(RE)VISION: The need for a new historical representation

Any attempt at an overview of architectural development is inevitably rooted in the assumptions and historical perspectives of the period in which it is compiled. It comes to no surprise, therefore, that in the early 1960s an over-riding concern was to present an extensive panorama of architectural modernism, with the result that concepts and movements [...] were – despite their wide implications – omitted. Similarly, important figures, [...] then not the object of much discussion were not accorded individual entries. In short, [...] the entire work had had to be revised and given a broader historical basis.¹

This closing section of the thesis summarises the findings contained in the thesis and sets these within the context of current historiographic amendments in Europe and the U.S.A. It thus introduces the main conclusion drawn from this study, namely the need for a revision of the current historical representation of the architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate.

The thesis opened with a general introduction to the time, the place and the new architecture that they would generate. It stated that, as a consequence of the First World War, a new era began in the territory vaguely defined as the Holy Land, now to be officially named Palestine-Eretz Israel; that this era would bring considerable changes, due to the implementation of the Balfour Declaration and its ensuing waves of Jewish immigration, as well as due to fundamental measures of modernisation and westernisation that would be fulfilled by the new British administration. It then described the evolutionary process followed by the British Mandate, from the elation imbuing its first years (1917-18), on through the establishment of a significantly creative scene (1919-1936) which would attract experts, mainly architects and planners of British and German Jewish origin, to participate in the project of rebuilding the

¹ Vittorio Magnano Lampugnani, ed., translated from the German by Barry Bergdoll, "General Editor's Preface", *Dictionary of 20th-Century Architecture* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1996, expanded and revised edition, originally published in 1963 as *Encyclopaedia of Modern Architecture*), p. 5.

Holy Land. It also described how the Arab community openly resented and opposed the new immigration process, which they considered to be to the detriment of their interests, rising despite internal divisions in violent civil demonstrations as early as 1922 and 1929; that by 1936 this community had managed to form a united leadership that would draw it into a much more severe protest, the Arab Revolt. The introduction stated that due to this political background and the outbreak of World War Two the last twelve years of British rule in Palestine were a period of ethnic violence and strife, leading to the end of the Mandate. This unstable political situation seriously disrupted the previous 'almost ideal' fabric for architectural practice and as a result the majority of architects and planners left. Therefore, this study focused on the 'creative years' of the Mandate, which ended in the late 1930s.

The first part of the thesis outlined what has been written and published on the architecture of Palestine during the British Mandate. It found that the corpus of available literature is surprisingly small, that no publication exists on the subject at a national level, although academically valid research has been undertaken at the level of the principal cities. It also found that this available literature is recent, dating from just the last two decades, and that a small group of architectural historians have created a fairly unified image which presents several problems for the critical researcher. The thesis then raised these issues by discovering a significant gap between the existing historiography and material evidence. The first part of the thesis therefore concluded that the image of the period presented through the words of the historians is limited, incomplete and partial; most notably this leans strongly towards the celebration of the avant-garde of the Modern Movement, whilst passing over the many parallel trends in silence so as to mislead the reader. This discovery of a significant gap between written history and primary evidence stimulated the research presented in Part Two.

Therefore the second - and principal - part of the thesis set out to broaden the current partial and narrow image by assembling a new account including projects and architects which had been excluded from the canon. This was done after extensive fieldwork, and extended archival research from sources

of information not available in Israel and thus not exploited by the previous histories.

This second part began with an introduction to the ideal background for architectural practice that was established in Mandate Palestine by bringing in the planners, and with that acknowledged the fact that town planning, rather than architecture, was the leading professional activity during this period (a fact which, significantly, passes unrecognised in most of the standard literature). A selected series of some of the most significant projects and professionals was presented. The introduction also showed the duality typical of the time and place: at one level it presented the hypothesis that Palestine was used as an experimental testing ground by the planners, trying out their many new planning ideas which had proved harder to advance in other places. At another level, it pointed to the exceptional approach of these planners while working in the Holy Land and how this derived from strong emotional and cultural undercurrents marking their works here, unlike work in any other place.

Part Two then proceeded to examine a group of case studies that were chosen as to begin to weave the warp and woof of a new narrative. These case studies, although separate research units by themselves, were connected and overlapped with each other; they constituted a new image informed by fieldwork and archival research. These cases formed together a corpus of evidence that challenges the current historiography. The alternative sources of information have been informants and witnesses who were interviewed; contemporaneous publications which have become rare books; official documents available only in the UK and archival evidence coming from archives in the public domain and also from private archives.

Following the case studies, Part Two ended with the conclusion of plurality, maintaining that a much more complex picture existed in the architecture of Palestine than that currently presented in the available literature. This was explained by the issue of language in architecture, finding instead of one, or two, five different architectural languages were identified which co-existed and

were used in parallel in Palestine during the British Mandate. Due to its precedence and encompassing influence, the language of the inland vernacular architecture of Palestine was singled out for attention there.

The third part of the thesis set out to explain the reasons behind the significant gap between written history and primary evidence that became the motivator of the research presented in Part Two. In order to understand the discrepancy that exists between them, Part Three presented a compilation – never previously assembled - of the leading ideas lying behind the projects and the mindsets of architects, political leaders and the general public. It maintained that the interwar period in western culture was especially disposed towards the creation of visions and that the inherently visionary spirit of places such as Jerusalem and the Holy Land only served to strengthen the visionary character generally prevailing at this time. Moreover, the crucial role of the architect and the builder as the agents who were able to realise and materialise these visions was recognized. Five principal prefiguring visions were subsequently presented and their tenets analysed. In addition this section presented the process that led to their substitution, during the first years of the State of Israel, by one single accepted vision, that of the Modern Movement. Part three concluded the dissertation by exploring the conflicts intrinsic to these visions coexisting in a single time and place and therefore interacting there, thus embodying the idea conveyed by the title chosen for the dissertation, “conflicting visions”.

Three main historical changes of ruler occurred in the Holy Land during the twentieth century. The Ottoman Empire, which had been sovereign for four centuries, ended its rule by the end of the Great War; then the League of Nations allocated Britain the Mandate for Palestine; finally, the State of Israel was established in 1948. Hence, of the two defining moments of Modernism - the interwar and the post-war periods - the first took place during the early years of the British Mandate in Palestine, and the second, during those of the new state. Modern architecture was instrumental in the making of the new national identity. Thus, while post-war architecture in Israel was monolithic and entirely Modern, the previous architecture of the British Mandate during

the interwar period showed a distinct pluralism. Mainstream historians have not admitted the earlier pluralism.

Issues of modern architectural historiography, however, are not restricted to the architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate; on the contrary, they have emerged simultaneously in several other places during the last decades. The whole writing of history has been questioned by Post-Modern ideas and linguistic theory and as an offshoot of that, the entire history of the Modern Movement is being questioned and, in consequence, progressively re-written. Thus, one should recall the main stages of this development in order to put this study into its proper context.

In recent years it has been considered necessary to rewrite the history of planning and design for Europe and the U.S.A. during the interwar period. Titles such as Kenneth Frampton's "critical history" of Modern architecture² and William J. R. Curtis' "*Modern Architecture since 1900*"³ represent this development. On the one hand, Frampton preferred to leave historiographic issues silent, although in the second edition of his *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (1985) he added a final chapter on modern architecture and cultural identity,⁴ which in fact recognised the modifications that the International Style underwent while appearing in different contexts; in other words, this pointed towards breaking the assumption of one single monolithic 'school'. On the other hand, William Curtis opted to engage with historiographic issues quite explicitly, exploiting the opportunity to address his reader through a preface, and again in his "Introduction". Thus, in the preface to the first edition of his book, published in 1982, Curtis wrote:

² Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, first published 1980, revised and enlarged edition 1985).

³ William J.R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900* (London: Phaidon, first published 1982, revised, expanded third edition 1996).

⁴ Frampton, "Critical Regionalism: modern architecture and cultural identity", *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, pp. 313-327.

It seems a good moment [1981] to pause and to reflect on the shape of this new tradition. That is what this book sets out to do by examining the architecture of the past eighty years in detail.⁵

Fourteen years later, in the new preface for the third expanded edition which included an additional seven new chapters and many revisions, he explained:

The time has come now for some major additions and revisions. [...] In the period since this book was first written there have been several studies and monographs which have underlined the internal complexity of modern architecture and the richness and range of its theoretical intentions and formal sources. [...] The polemical oversimplifications of the earlier histories have become less and less tenable.⁶

Yet this elegant and general critique to former architectural historians is diplomatically left vague in the preface, and the 'earlier histories', unidentified.

By contrast, the historian Wolfgang Pehnt had dared to be much more specific setting out a frontal attack against the 'oversimplifications' of the first generation of modern architecture historians, and had done so a decade earlier, but a more specialised, and therefore less widely read study.⁷ In the foreword to his seminal publication on Expressionist architecture, he asked:

What kind of objectivity was that, I wondered, when historians disregarded everything that did not agree with their premises?⁸

Pehnt's question reflects closely the approach of this study here, namely the conviction that an entire invisible story has been written off and not told. Pehnt also accused the architects, saying there that "the protagonists of the "New Architecture" themselves took a highly selective view of history in order to preserve the polemical force of their arguments".⁹ However, he warned:

⁵ Curtis, "Preface to the first edition", *Modern Architecture*, p. 7.

⁶ Curtis, "Preface to the third edition", *Modern Architecture*, p. 9.

⁷ Wolfgang Pehnt, *Expressionist Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973).

⁸ Pehnt, "Foreword", p.7

⁹ *Ibid.*

The historians can invoke no such excuse. [...]

Until the late 1950s the history of modern architecture was an attempt to trace the line of descent of what was regarded from the outset as an inviolable ideal.¹⁰

Pehnt was tackling one of the most serious historiographic challenges to mainstream history of Modernism, by trying to incorporate the Expressionist movement into the modern canon. He then cleverly used the authority of one of the foremost amongst these former historians to defend his case; using a virtually self-accusing quote of Pevsner's, he explained that:

Sir Nikolaus Pevsner - himself not entirely innocent of this kind of historical simplification-by-violence - suggests in one of his later works,¹¹ with a touch of self-mockery, how *a new history of the origins of modern architecture might be written using only those works and personalities that had once been ignored.*¹²

Another writer who had tackled, and written about historiographic complications in the architecture in the interwar period is Peter Blundell Jones, who, in the preface to his study of Hans Scharoun, has eloquently used similar arguments to those employed by Pehnt.¹³ As Scharoun was one more of the professionals whose work suffered from deliberate omission, Blundell Jones maintained there that:

I persist in my view that what we should have rejected twenty years ago [by the mid-1970s] was not the [Modern] Movement itself, but rather the inadequate representation of it created by its first historians, Nikolaus Pevsner and Siegfried Gideon. Gradually a revision *is* taking place, but an enormous amount of documentation remains to be done before the new –and necessarily much more complex – picture can be confidently assembled. [...]

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ The 'work' in question is no other than an introduction Pevsner wrote to Beyer's *Letters of an Architect*, a book which has been frequently quoted in this dissertation. See Nikolaus Pevsner, in Oskar Beyer, ed., *Eric Mendelsohn: Letters of an architect*. (London New York and Toronto: Abelard-Schuman, 1967), p.14.

¹² Pehnt, "Foreword", *Expressionist Architecture*, p. 7. [My Italics].

¹³ Peter Blundell Jones, *Hans Scharoun* (London: Phaidon, 1995, 1997)

Hopefully, a reconstructed history of the Modern Movement will emerge as the jigsaw puzzle of case studies is assembled.¹⁴

Finally, as guidance to the 'required amendment' in historiography that is demanded here, one should note what happened to a seminal reference source on the history of architecture, namely the *Encyclopaedia of Modern Architecture*, and how this impinges upon this study. Coedited by Gerd Hatje, not only publisher but also a close friend of Le Corbusier, and Wolfgang Pehnt, it was first published in 1963 as the *Knaurs Lexicon der Modernen Architektur*, was translated into English that same year¹⁵ and during the 1960s and 1970s it served as a standard reference lexicon. The *Encyclopaedia* was reprinted in 1971 and 1975, with some updating, by the then sole editor, Wolfgang Pehnt. In the early 1980s, however, the book underwent a major revision under the editorship of Vittorio Magnano Lampugnani; a new "expanded and completely revised" edition was published in German in 1983 and three years later an English translation became available.¹⁶ The title of the new edition is noteworthy, as it was now published as *The 20th Century Dictionary of Architecture*. The change of name alone is profoundly significant, as it implied that the book would give the reader a picture of all the important events of the century, and not of just one movement of the same century, even if this was a major one in it.

The earlier version - *Encyclopaedia of Modern Architecture* - reflects the mainstream Modern Movement historiography that was unchallenged by 1963. The latter - *The 20th Century Dictionary of Architecture* - offers a more pluralist approach due to post-modern discourse and critique. It is enlightening to check and compare the two versions. Such a comparison

¹⁴ Jones, Hans Scharoun, pp. 6-7.

¹⁵ Gerd Hatje, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Modern Architecture*, translated from the German by Irene and Harold Meek (London: Thames and Hudson, first published 1963, reprinted 1971, 1975).

¹⁶ Vittorio Magnano Lampugnani, ed., translated from the German by Barry Bergdoll, *Dictionary of 20th-Century Architecture* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1996, expanded and revised edition, originally published in 1963 as *Encyclopaedia of Modern Architecture*).

shows that a considerable proportion of the entries remained the same; the passing of time did not affect them. Of the entirely new entries, we may leave out those additions due to recent developments.¹⁷ Yet if one checks further entries that are new in the dictionary, those not due to recent historical updating, the question arises as to the reason for the delay in their inclusion, and the answer to this points clearly towards a new historiographic approach. This is of particular interest for this study. We find, for instance, that the entry for the Ecole de Beaux-Arts is now eight times longer, and that for Ebenezer Howard, five times longer, while the entry on Neo-classicism has grown to twice its former length and has in fact been completely rewritten. Moreover, there are new entries for subjects that previously were not covered at all, notably eclecticism, historicism, Art Deco and Heinrich Tessenow.

Furthermore - and most germane for this thesis - the first publication, edited by Hatje, did not include any entry for Israel. Fitting with the broader geographic scope of the new version of this book, the new editor (Lampugnani), invited Professor Gilbert Herbert to write one.¹⁸ The first part of this entry roughly corresponds with the period under study here. Herbert opens by saying that:

After World War I, in what was now the British-mandated territory of Palestine, the foundation were laid for orderly urban planning and a civic architecture of considerable quality, by visiting consultants such as Patrick Geddes and, later, Patrick Abercrombie, and resident British architects and planners of the professional calibre of Charles Robert Ashbee, Austen St Barbe Harrison and Clifford Holliday. By the 1920s Erich Mendelsohn had paid his first visit to Palestine, and left, in his unrealized but influential projects, an important legacy. His vision of a regional mutation of the International Style, responsive to the climate and culture of the Middle East, was realized, not only in his later work in the country, but by other European architects, most notably by Richard Kauffmann, who was also to make his mark as a planner of Israel's pioneer communal settlements, the 'kibbutz' and the 'moshav'.¹⁹

¹⁷ Obviously, one could not expect an entry for 'Deconstruction' or 'Mario Botta' in the early 1960s' version.

¹⁸ Lampugnani, ed., *Dictionary of 20th-Century Architecture*, q.v. "Israel", pp. 165-168.

With the exodus of progressive architects from Nazi Germany in the 1930s, the group of architects in Palestine imbued with the spirit of the Modern Movement were strongly reinforced. Of this group, some, such as Arie Sharon and Munio Weinraub were direct products of the Bauhaus.²⁰

Herbert then mentions by name a score of Modern architects, (including Leopold Krakauer), refers to Mendelsohn's work in the 1930s, and points out that "these and many others transformed entire areas of Tel Aviv and Haifa into unique homogeneous zones of 'Bauhaus vernacular'", a term he has coined to denote the corpus of anonymous or lesser-known Modernist buildings. These areas, he argues are "unrivalled except by the *Siedlungen* of Berlin or Frankfurt".²¹ He proceeds to explain the reasons for the end of this thriving period, saying that "the outbreak of war brought a halt to construction, which was not significantly to recommence until the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948".²²

Herbert draws an accurate picture of the architecture of the period; he succeeds in setting out the principal pieces of information using less than 300 words to describe thirty years. Nevertheless, the real problem resides in the fact that the reader, supposedly having his interest awakened by such an introduction, lacks any published source from which to learn more about the topic as presented here by Herbert.²³ Moreover, the literature available would present him with a different image. Crucial as the period of the British Mandate was for the profession and for Palestine/Eretz Israel, a significant part of its architecture has remained, to paraphrase Eric Wolf, *without*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ The one exception to this would be, for obvious reasons, Herbert's own book *Bauhaus on the Carmel*, but, as its name indicates, it deals only with projects and events occurring in Haifa, and its compass - and consequently, also its audience - is much more restricted.

history,²⁴ as so much of what was planned and built then has been omitted, forgotten and excluded from memory.

“This unsatisfactory situation has now been put right”, states Wolfgang Pehnt in his prologue.²⁵ He had decided to reassess Modern Movement historiography, and by incorporating within its range the Expressionist architecture, formerly dismissed and ignored by the historians, he announces that the required amendment has been accomplished. While not presuming to having attained as much for architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate, this thesis opens a new course of thought, not least by revealing some long-kept silences. This has been achieved, firstly by drawing attention to a series of distortions in the current account of the period. Secondly, a number of projects and buildings have been indicated that so far have been omitted from architectural histories; thirdly, several architects have been revealed whose contribution has hitherto been underrated or overlooked, despite their evident merits. Then, following further research, a fascinating new story has begun to appear, forming a different picture than the one that exists in the architectural histories published so far.

At this moment in time, historiographic issues have attained a foremost place in the architectural historians’ discourse. The matter of a biased modern architecture historiography is by now almost consensual amongst researchers. The centrality of the problem has been confirmed once more by the choice of subject matter for the next biennial international conference of DoCoMoMo, to be held in Ankara on September 2006. This conference has been named “Other Modernisms”; its call for papers explains that the theme of the 9th International DOCOMOMO Conference:

Proceeds from the consensus that the mainstream historiographic construction of twentieth-century modernism through its canonic texts and buildings has marginalized or suppressed some modern trajectories, which are now gaining an

²⁴ Eric Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley, 1982).

²⁵ Pehnt, “Foreword”, *Expressionist Architecture*, p. 7.

unprecedented legitimacy as the subject matter of revisionist histories.

Instead of a modernist mainstream, we now talk about a plurality of modernisms both within the global context and within individual societies comprising it.

[Offering] An opportunity for a timely, critical and rigorous discussion of these revisionist trends, [...] to highlight the actual plurality, complexity and heterogeneity of modernisms across the globe.²⁶

The main conclusion of this thesis, therefore, is that it is now time to extend such historiographic revision to Palestine/Israel. The case studies presented here prove that the British Mandate was an exceptional period for architectural practice, one which is worthy of scholarly study. By broadening the canon of Modernism as represented in the existing literature and by reassessing the previous, narrow approach, a long overdue recognition of the complete achievements of this period will be possible. As has already happened with Mendelsohn, and is beginning to happen with Geddes and Harrison, the work of Holliday, Mears, Chaikin, Abercrombie and especially Ashbee and the Pro-Jerusalem Society must be incorporated and acknowledged. In addition, the informing influence of the visions that inspired them should be analysed and understood; all the various architectural languages that co-existed – rather than a single one of them – need to be examined and learned; and the fundamental role of pioneering town and country planning should be recognised. Hence it is necessary to create a more accurate image, a new historical representation that will reflect the pluralistic nature of the architectural practice at that time. Such a broadening of the modern canon will enable us to reconstruct in a better way a defining moment in the history of modern architecture, one that was much more heterogeneous and pluralistic than has been formerly thought. This study attempts to contribute a step forward in that direction.

²⁶ DoCoMoMo Turkey, Conference theme: “Other” Modernisms”, opening paragraph, published on-line (www.docomomo.org.tr; infoconference@docomomo.org.tr.) [last accessed November 2005].

CONFLICTING VISIONS

Architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate

ILLUSTRATIONS

Twenty one sections of the dissertation are accompanied by the illustrations here: the General Introduction, the fourteen case studies as well as the conclusion of Part Two, and the five visions examined in Part Three. Each illustrated section received a two-digit classification that reflected its location within the thesis (for instance, 2.10), bar the General Introduction which was identified simply as G.I.

The illustrations are arranged into one-page plates. Every plate is identified by a code number formed by its section's classification followed by a serial number which reflects the plate's place within the section (for instance: 2.10.5). This compound code number also serves as 'page number' for the plates. See upper right corner on the illustrations' pages.

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c. The Rosenblum Building, presented as "Proposed Central Hall of University, from Prof. Geddes' design, By Permission of the Zionist Organization" (W.B. Worsfold, *Palestine of the Mandate*, 1925, p. 267).

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b. Hebrew University, aerial view showing terracing, botanic garden and buildings, mid-1940s (photograph published in Henry Kendall, *Jerusalem: The City Plan: Preservation and Development during the British Mandate 1918-1948*).

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2.5.3 "Main-ways": Geddes' orthogonal grid: three north-south thoroughfares and six east-west arteries two of which are wide, tree-planted boulevards (historic photos, top Lusin, Yigal, *The Pillar of Fire: Chapters on the History of Zionism* , p. 150); bottom, (Ilan Shehory, "The Story of Building of Tel Aviv", in *I Will Build Thee, and Thou Shalt Be Built: The story of building Tel Aviv and a memorial to its builders*, pp. 11-45 (p. 16)).

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Unless otherwise stated, the source for these illustrations is the compilation of documents published by the Tel Aviv: Council for the Conservation of Buildings and Sites, in O. Regev and Y. Raz, *Yarid Hahalomot*.

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- c. “Bird’s Eye Perspective of Proposed Exploitation of the Haifa Bay”, Kurt Reinsch’s drawing for Richard Kauffmann’s proposal (published in Gilbert Herbert and Silvina Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel and the Crossroads of Empire*, p. 169).

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- b. The Abercrombie-Holliday Emek Zebulun Development Scheme, January 1934 (published in Gilbert Herbert and Silvina Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel and the Crossroads of Empire*, p. 197).

2.8.5 Third proposal for Haifa Bay: Patrick Abercrombie, Town Planning Scheme, Emek Zebulun, 1936 (published in Gilbert Herbert and Silvina Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Camel and the Crossroads of Empire*, p. 201).

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The source for all plans is the Nahalal Village Archive, unless stated otherwise.

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2.10.1 Richard Kauffmann: Afula Master Plan, drawn to a scale of 1:2000. The drawing is labelled in Hebrew (upper right) and English (upper left corner) "Urban? Settlement in the Centre of the Valley of Esdraelon Near Afula. Under The Administration American Zion Commonwealth and Meshek Co. Ltd." A further legend in Hebrew on the lower right corner gives the date: "Jerusalem March 1925", and part of R. Kauffmann's signature. The rest is illegible. (Afula City Archives).

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2.10.3 a. Afula, aerial view showing the present day town, 1989 (Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Looking Twice at the Land of Israel*, p. 199).
b. Afula, aerial view, 1937 (Kedar, Benjamin Z., *The Changing Land between the Jordan and the Sea: Aerial Photographs from 1917 to the Present*, p. 177)

2.10.4 Afula town map, showing the persistence of Kauffmann's scheme (2005).

2.11 Beit Alpha Phalanstery

2.11.1 Leopold Krakauer's phalanstery proposal for Beit Alpha, elevations, 1925 (Central Zionist Archives, WVZ 003; published in Abraam Erlik, *Leopold Krakauer*, pp. 60-61).

2.11.2 Leopold Krakauer's phalanstery proposal for Beit Alpha, [partial] plan, 1925. (Central Zionist Archives, WVZ 003; published in Abraam Erlik, *Leopold Krakauer*, p. 62).

2.11.3 The precedent: Charles Fourier Phalanstère, c. 1834, anonymous engravings.

2.12 House of the People, Nahalal

Source for all drawings and historic photographs of the building: Nahalal Village Archive.

2.12.1 Perspective drawing, labelled in German and Hebrew, "Plan of Theatre and House of the People for Nahalal District, July 1929, Jerusalem; [signed] Architect Richard Kauffmann".

2.12.2 Color perspective, unlabelled, showing the windows as built.

2.12.3 Measured drawings, labelled in German and Hebrew, "Plan of Theatre and House of the People for Nahalal District, 1:200. July 1929, Jerusalem; [signed] Architect Richard Kauffmann."

a. Longitudinal section showing gallery, projection room, ribbon windows and stage space.

b. Front elevation and transversal section.

2.12.4 a. Side elevation, labelled in German and Hebrew: "Plan of Theatre and House of the People for Nahalal District, 1:200. July 1929, Jerusalem; [signed] Architect Richard Kauffmann."

b. Interior under construction, already in use, showing original light metallic roof, benches and stage.

2.12.5 The House of the People finishing construction, 1930.

a. View from the west

b. View from the east showing roof.

2.12.6 Interior after the alteration of the roof, showing the wooden benches, late 1930s.

a. Interior looking towards the stage.

b. Interior looking towards the gallery.

2.12.7 Willem Marinus Dudok, Hilversum Town Hall, 1924, built 1928-31. (Great Buildings.com)

- a. Exterior view showing massing.
- b. Interior showing simplicity of design similar to Nahalal's.

2.13 The Schocken Library

Source for all drawings: the Schocken Library Archives, unless specifically stated otherwise. Source for all contemporary photographs of the library: the author's own collection.

2.13.1 a. Original plan of Rehavia (then Zanziriah) by R. Kauffmann, 1921.

b. Aerial photograph of Rehavia, Balfour St., showing the grounds of Terra Sancta College to the north, Villa Schocken with Jellicoe's garden, the Schocken Library showing its T-shaped scheme and southern oriel window, and Kauffmann's Agion House in between with circular volume at the corner (photograph published in Regina Stephan, ed., *Erich Mendelsohn: Dynamics and Function*, p. 219).

2.13.2 a. Aerial photograph of Florence, showing the Palazzo Medici and the San Lorenzo church complex comprising the Medici Library.

b. Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564), Biblioteca Laurentiana (the Medici Library), 1524-1534. Section and plan, showing intended location of the rare books room (this was not executed; plan kept at the Casa Buonarroti, Florence).

2.13.3 a. Drawing of first floor; label.

b. Ground floor plan showing front garden, entrance porch, offices, staircase space and secondary reading and study rooms.

2.13.4 First floor plan showing Salman Schocken's study, offices, staircase space and main reading room with protruding oriel window, modules on the floor, wall cupboards and rare books repository.

2.13.5 The oriel or Rembrandt window today, and as designed in the original elevation drawings.

2.13.6 The staircase space: plan, transversal section, west elevation (back) and photograph.

2.13.7 The staircase space of the Schocken Library compared to the staircase space of the Medici Library at San Lorenzo

2.13.8 The design of the stainless steel handrail.

2.13.9 Salman Schocken's study at the Schocken Library, perspective, extant furniture and his portrait.

2.13.10 Main reading room interior design: perspective showing books' cupboards; chairs' design drawings; extant furniture.

2.13.11 Interior of main reading room compared to main reading room of the Laurentine Library, Florence (William E. Wallace, William E., *Michelangelo: The Complete Sculpture, Painting, Architecture*, p. 229).

2.13.12 The oriel or Rembrandt window from the interior of the first floor main reading room: light and shadow.

2.13.13 Stainless steel elements designed by Mendelsohn: door handles, climate control instruments.

2.14 The Rockefeller Museum

Source for all drawings and historic photographs: the Israel Antiquities Authority, unless stated otherwise.

2.14.1 Austen St Barbe Harrison, Rockefeller Museum of Antiquities, Jerusalem. Plaster model prepared by A. Melnikoff.

2.14.2 Drawings.

a. Partial schematic plan of the museum showing the different display spaces and the 'educational route' set up by curator Illife.

b. Longitudinal section through central court.

c. Longitudinal section through main gallery

2.14.3 The Central Court.

a. The precedent of the courtyards of Granada.

b. Sketch looking north.

c. historic photograph looking south.

d. Present day image looking north.

2.14.4 Traditional and modern construction in the museum.

a. Small dome under construction using vernacular methods.

b. Medieval cross vaulting in the library.

c. Reinforced concrete roof in the main gallery.

2.14.5 Eric Gill at the Rockefeller Museum

a. *Self Portrait* 1927 wood engraving.

b. Eric Gill at work in the central court of the museum.

c. Reliefs representing the cultures of Canaan, Israel, Byzantium and Islam.

d. Relief representing the Holy Land as a palm tree.

2.14.6 Austen St Barbe Harrison and Robert Pearce Steel Hubbard: Nuffield College, Oxford. Designed 1939, built 1949-60. (courtesy Nuffield College).

a. aerial view.

b., c. The central court.

2.15 The presence of the vernacular

2.15.1 The two traditions of vernacular building in Palestine (photographs by David Benvenisti, published in *The Magic Lantern: Travels in once-upon-a-time Eretz Israel*, pp. 95, 53).

a. The coastal tradition (earth): The village Yavne, 1930s.

b. The inland hills tradition (stone): The village of Yallo, near Jerusalem, 1930s.

2.15.2 The inland hills vernacular tradition (stone):

a. Tomb of Rabbi Oshea ben Beer, built on the sixteenth century (Izhak Ben-Zvi, *Eretz Israel under Ottoman Rule: Four Centuries of History*, ill. 24).

b. Nebi Jandes on the Palestinian plain, 1930s (detail of a photograph by David Benvenisti, published in *The Magic Lantern: Travels in once-upon-a-time Eretz Israel*, p. 98).

2.15.3 The inland hills vernacular tradition (stone):

a. The village of Jenin, the ancient En Gannim, (wood engraving published by L. Valentine, ed., in *Palestine, Past and Present: Pictorial and Descriptive*, 1893, p. 125).

b. Section through a typical dwelling at the village of El G'aba'a (measured drawing published by Yizhar Hirshfeld, in *Dwelling Houses in Roman and Byzantine Palestine*, 1987, p. 91).

2.15.4 The allure of the vernacular:

a. Erich Mendelsohn pen sketch of 'the approach to the Wailing Wall', postcard sent to Oskar Beyer from Jerusalem, dated 9 March 1923 (published in Regina Stephan, ed., *Erich Mendelsohn: Dynamics and Function*, p. 62).

b. The Tomb of David, Mount Sion, Jerusalem, anonymous engraving (published in Ely Schiler, ed., *Jerusalem in old Engravings and Illustrations*, p. 129, reproduced from Charles W. Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine*).

2.15.5 The allure of the vernacular: Krakauer (drawings published in Meira Perry-Lehmann and Michael Levin, eds., *Leopold Krakauer: Painter and Architect 1890-1954*, pp. 75, 153).

a. Leopold Krakauer, Landscape with Arab Structure, 1936, showing a typical vaulted dwelling and its integration to the topography.

b. Leopold Krakauer, Houses on a Hill, 1939, black chalk on greenish wove paper, 45 x 53 cm., signed and dated, lower right: LK 39.

2.15.6 The influence of the vernacular on the architects: Krakauer.

a. Leopold Krakauer, Convalescents' Home, Rosh Pina, 1927, showing the influence of vernacular massing and its integration to the topography.

b. Birket Israel, Old City, Jerusalem, anonymous engraving showing integration to the topography (published in Ely Schiler, ed., *Jerusalem in old Engravings and Illustrations*, p. 154, reproduced from Charles W. Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine*).

2.15.7 The influence of the vernacular on the architects: Mendelsohn.

a. Sketches by Erich Mendelsohn of his work in Palestine, showing the influence of the inland hills vernacular.

b. The village of Anata, the biblical Anatot, near Jerusalem, 1930s (detail of a photograph by David Benvenisti, published in *The Magic Lantern: Travels in once-upon-a-time Eretz Israel*, p. 57).

2.15.8 The influence of the vernacular on the architects: Harrison.

a. Workers building a vault at the Rockefeller Museum using traditional rural methods, 1934.

b. Landscape in the Old City [of Jerusalem], anonymous engraving, showing the widespread use of vernacular vaulting (published in Ely Schiler, ed., *Jerusalem in old Engravings and Illustrations*, p. 136, reproduced from Charles W. Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine*).

3. PART THREE:

Architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate:
A Reflection on the Conflicting Visions of the Period

3.1 The new crusaders

3.1.1 The Jerusalem Cross

a. Variations of the Jerusalem cross.

b. The Jerusalem Cross in the Crusaders' period relief by Eric Gill for the central court of the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem.

c. The "Pavillion de Jerusalem", Jerusalem Civil Ensign 1333-1921.

3.1.2 Caricature by Donahey in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 1917.

The caption reads: "Again at the Gates of Palestine".

(King's College Archive Centre, Cambridge, The Papers of Charles Robert Ashbee, CRA).

3.1.3 The allure of the Holy Places.

a. Benton Fletcher, *Entrance to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, pencil drawing, 1922 (published in Lionel Cust, *Jerusalem: A Historical Sketch*, ill. XVI).

b. "British soldiers look at the Crusader portals of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre"(official photograph, Imperial War Museum).

3.1.4 Biblical and Crusaders' imagery intermingled: Dante Gabriel Rosetti (1828-1882) *David as King* c. 1860; ink, wash and pencil on paper, 48.1 x 25.1 cm. (National Museum of Wales NMW A 5636)

3.1.5 Caricature by Cesare in the *New York Evening Post*, 1917.

The caption reads: "At Jerusalem. Richard Coeur de Lion: "My Dream come true"". (King's College Archive Centre, Cambridge, The Papers of Charles Robert Ashbee, CRA).

3.2 Utopian vision of society

3.2.1 Sir Thomas More, *Utopia*.

- a. An early English edition, 1685
- b. Frontispiece.

3.2.2 A Utopian language for a Utopian land

- a. Sir Thomas More is credited with the invention in *Utopia* of the first imaginary language. This example (by More) has a Latin translation.
- b. The Hebrew Alphabet.

3.2.3 Vision and Fulfillment: Nicolas Ledoux: Ville de Chaux

- a. model as planned.
- b. bird's eye perspective.
- c. aerial view showing the project as built.

3.3 Garden City as practical utopia

3.3.1 Garden Cities of Tomorrow: Ebenezer Howard's diagrams.

- a." Group of Slumless Smokeless Cities
- b. Diagrams No.1, "The Three Magnets".
- c. Diagram No. 2, "Garden City and Green Belt".
- d. Diagram No. 3, "Ward and Centre of Garden City".
- e. Diagram No. 5, "Correct Principle of a City's Growth".

(Published in Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1974, first published 1902), pp. 46, 52, 53, 143.

3.4 The dream of the National Home

3.4.1 The dream of a Jewish National home.

- a. Jewish owned land in Palestine by 1942 (published in Martin Gilbert, *Jewish History Atlas*, p. 94.)
- b. Theodor Herzl's first edition of *Der Judenstaat*, Leipzig and Vienna, 1896.

3.5 Labour Zionism

3.5.1 The vision of Labour Zionism: the Hebrew worker 1

- a. The Hebrew Worker, sculpture by Arie Elhanani in reinforced concrete at the entrance of the Levant Fair exhibition grounds, Tel Aviv, 1930s (O. Regev and Y. Raz, *Yarid Hahalomot* [The Fair of Dreams], unpaginated).
- b. "Let Him Work: Buy Local Products. Poster, 1930s. (Central Zionist Archives poster collection).
- c. Organised workers. The HaMalchim group, photographed at the building site of Beit Hadar, the first steel structure building erected in Tel Aviv. (Ilan Shehory, "The Story of Building of Tel Aviv", in *I Will Build Thee, and Thou Shalt Be Built: The story of building Tel Aviv and a memorial to its builders*, p. 41).

3.5.2 The vision of Labour Zionism: Heroic reinforced concrete builders: The Iron Benders workers' group, photographed on the roof under construction of the King David Hotel, Jerusalem, 1930s. (Yael Zeidman, "In Memoriam of the Builders", in *I Will Build Thee, and Thou Shalt Be Built: The story of building Tel Aviv and a memorial to its builders*, p. 270).

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Table 4. The prevalence of the Garden City vision:
A chronological index of thirty town planning projects in Eretz Israel inspired by the ideas of the Garden Cities movement. 262



E. W. Maud in *The Tatler*, London
THE FUTURE

18

Fed-Up Trooper: "Say, Nobby, if this is Holy Land, wot must 'ell be like?"

Plate GI.1 :

"The Future". Caricature by E.W. Maud in the *Tatler*, London, 1918. Caption: Fed-Up Trooper: "Say, Nobby, if this is Holy Land, wot must 'ell be like?"



Foreign Office,

November 2nd, 1917.

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

'His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country'.

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Y. in
Arthur J. Balfour

Plate GI.2 :

The Balfour Declaration, a letter from the British Foreign Secretary, Arthur J. Balfour to Lord Rothschild, 2 November 1917, now kept in the British Museum.

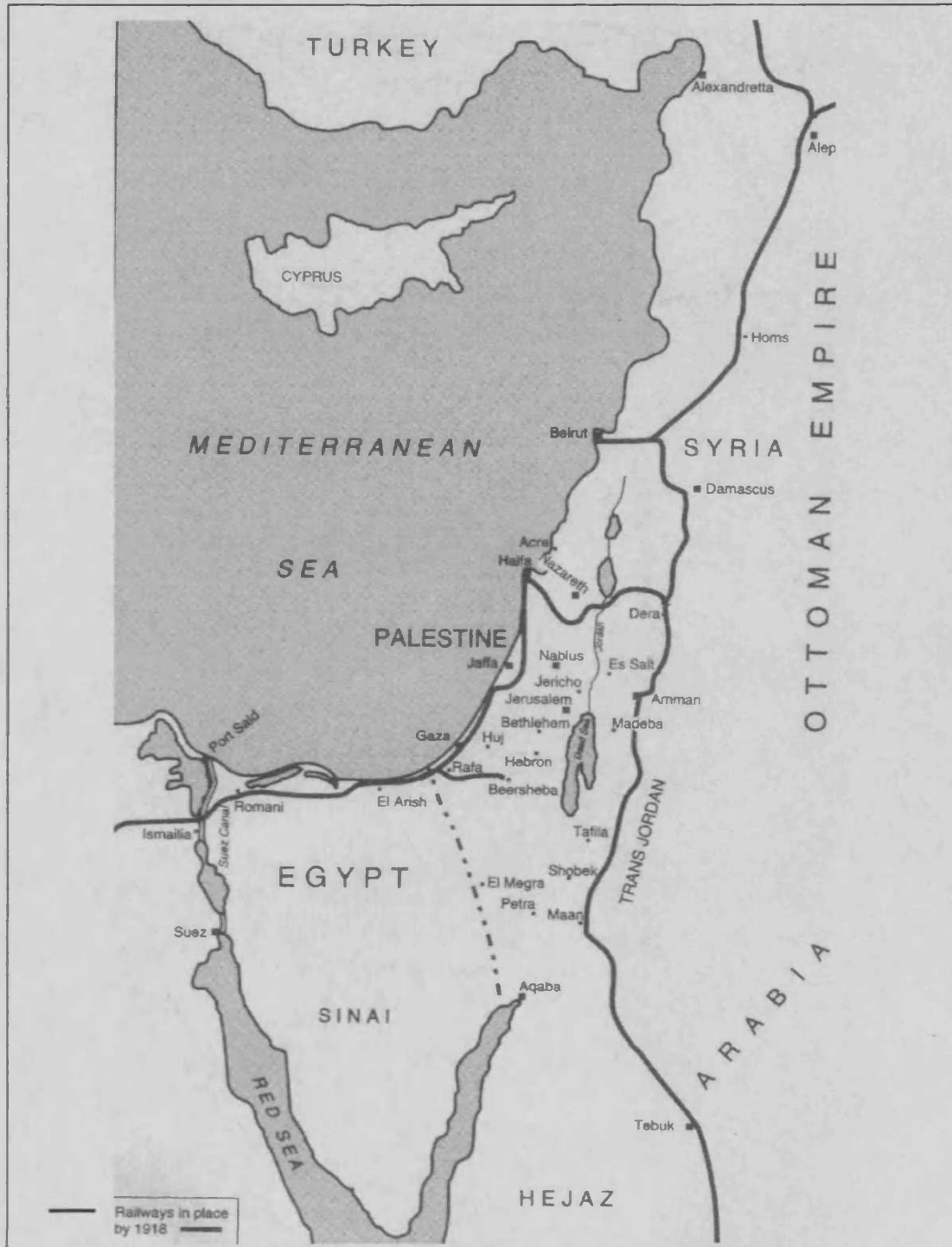


Plate GI.3 :

Map of the Palestine Front in the First World War.
Note railways in place by 1918 .



Plate GI.4 :

"-We're back, Salahuddin."

a. General Sir Edmund Allenby (1861-1936), on the front cover of *War Illustrated*, 11 December 1917.

b. General Allenby with his troops outside the Old City of Jerusalem, 10 December 1917, after ceremonial victory march.



Plate GI.5 :

General Allenby entering Jerusalem on foot, as a mark of respect to the City, 10 December 1917. Note the then recently erected Turkish clock tower, which was considered by Ashbee to distort the line of the wall and was consequently taken down.



Plate GI.6 :

a. Reading Sir Edmond Allenby's proclamation at the entrance to the citadel of Jerusalem, 1917.

b. David Roberts, R.A. **Entrance to the Citadel of Jerusalem**, 1839. colour lithography on paper: 17" x 24 1/8".

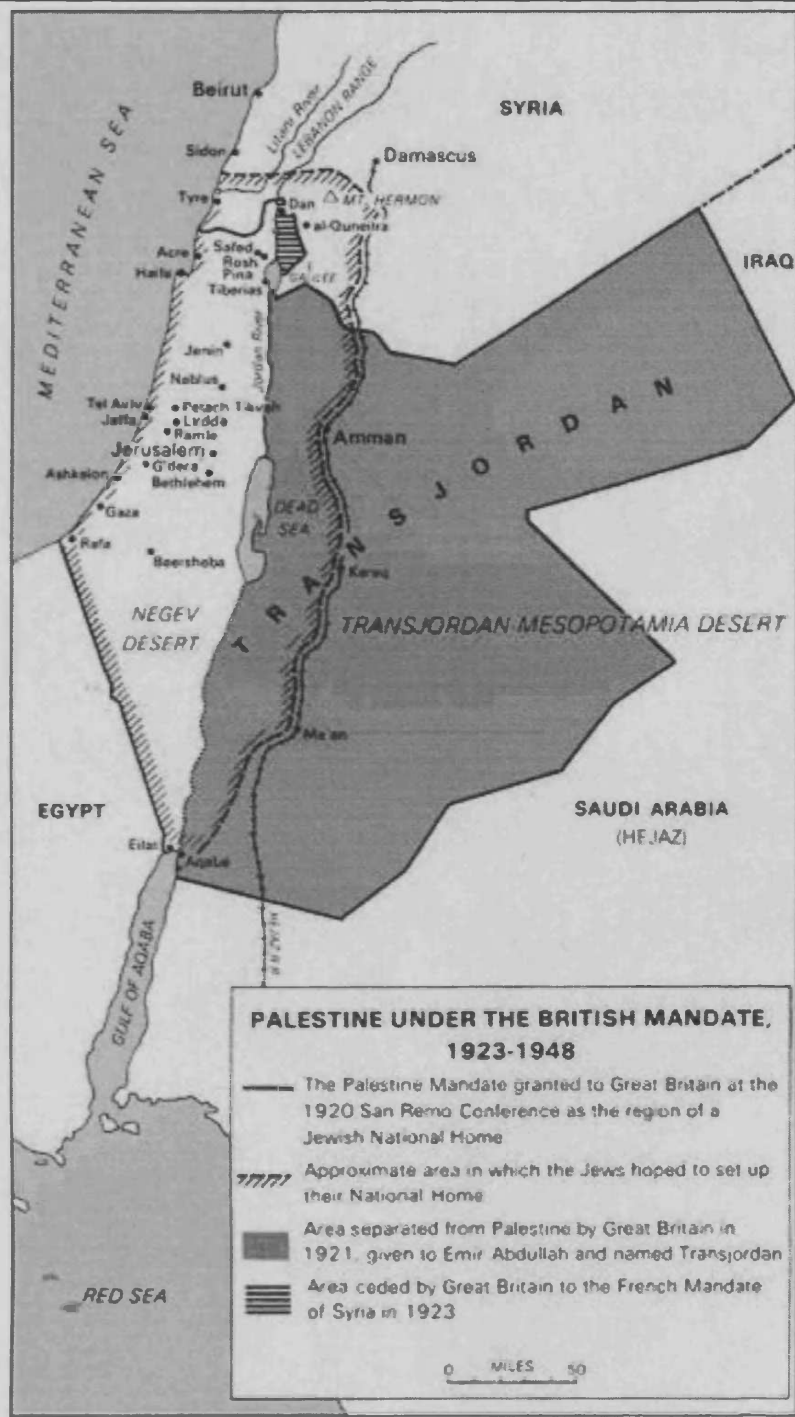


Plate GI.7 :

Map of Palestine under the British Mandate.

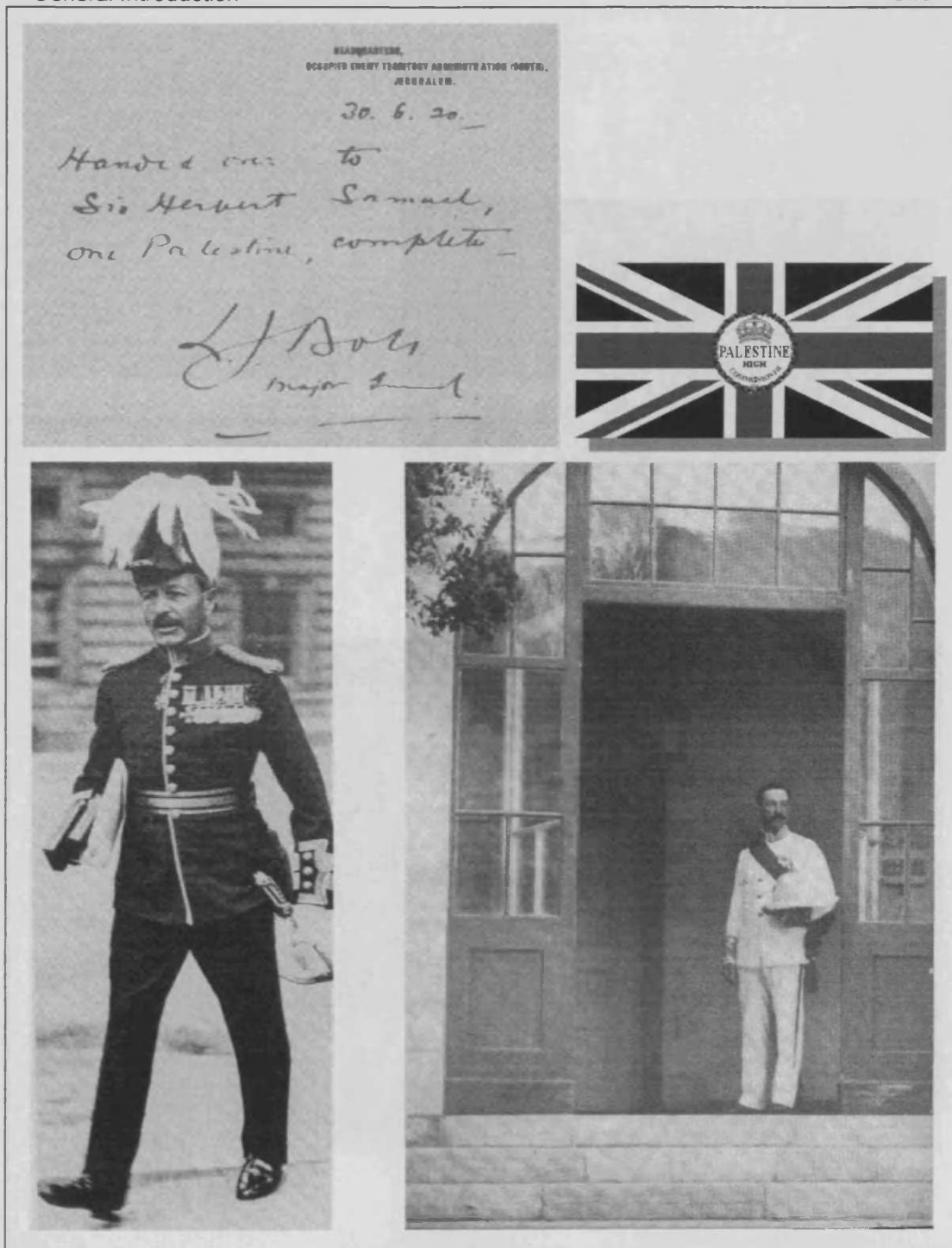


Plate GI.8 :

Civil Administration: The High Commissioners for Palestine.

a. "One Palestine, complete". Famous 'delivery note' written by Major-General L. J. Bols on passing his command to the first High Commissioner, 1920.

b. The High Commissioner's flag.

c. Sir Herbert Samuel, first High Commissioner (1920-25).

d. Major-General Arthur Wauchop, High Commissioner 1931-1938.

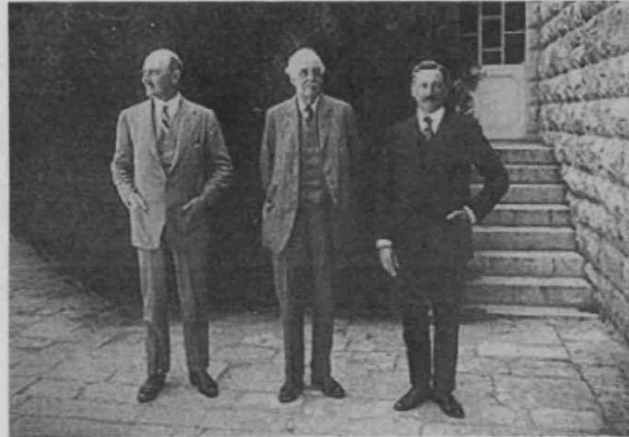


Plate GI.9 :

Dignitaries meet again in Jerusalem, 1 April 1925:

a. Lord Balfour, with Field-Marshal Lord Allenby and Sir Herbert Samuel, during his visit for the opening of the Hebrew University.

b. House party at Government House, for the opening of the Hebrew University. Standing, from right: third, Lord Allenby; fourth, Sir Herbert Samuel; fifth, Lord Balfour; seated, fourth from right, Lady Samuel.



Plate GI.10 :

Symbols of government during the British Mandate in Palestine: flag, [Civil Ensign 1927-1948 (Red Ensign)], official seal, stamps and bank notes. Note in the three last the trilingual text (English, Arabic and Hebrew) and the use of local iconic imagery: the Old City of Jerusalem and its walls, the Tomb of Rachel by Bethlehem, the Dome of the Rock.

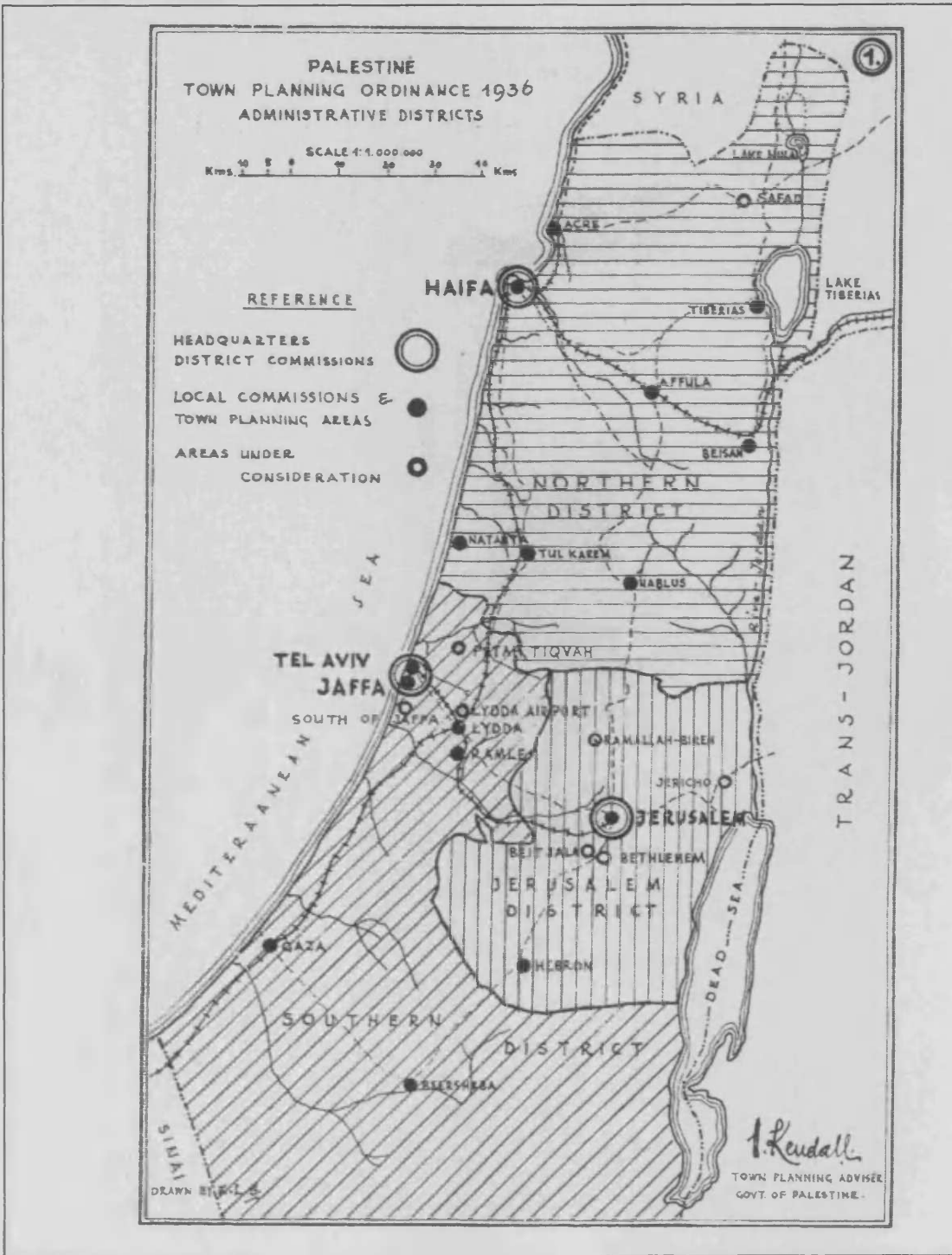


Plate GI.11 :

Order has been achieved. Palestine Town Planning Ordinance of 1936, division into three administrative districts: Northern, Jerusalem and Southern; prepared and signed by Henry Kendall, Town Planning Adviser to the Government of Palestine.

TABLE 6.

CENTRAL TOWN PLANNING COMMISSION 1921-1936.

| PARTICULARS | 1921 | 1922 | 1923 | 1924 | 1925 | 1926 | 1927 | 1928 | 1929 | 1930 | 1931 | 1932 | 1933 | 1934 | 1935 | 1936 | TOTAL |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| 1. Number of meetings held by the Central Town Planning Commission | 9 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 8 | 11 | 13 | 12 | 10 | 11 | 13 | 6 | 131 |
| 2. Number of items discussed | 46 | 55 | 43 | 46 | 88 | 25 | 30 | 53 | 57 | 143 | 131 | 130 | 78 | 345 | 295 | 191 | 1,705 |
| 3. Town Planning Schemes discussed and areas declared (Jerusalem, Haifa, Jaffa, Tel-Aviv, and other towns) | 4 | 4 | 2 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 8 | 23 | 16 | 30 | 48 | 47 | 161 | 224 | 168 | 758 |
| 4. General matters including By-laws etc. | 42 | 51 | 40 | 39 | 33 | 21 | 23 | 45 | 34 | 123 | 101 | 82 | 31 | 184 | 71 | 22 | 948 |

Plate GI.12 :

"An almost ideal sphere of action": Table summing up the Central Town Planning Commission activities, 1921-1936.



Plate GI.13 :

Epilogue: 14 May 1948. After a vicious guerilla war, the British turn over their mandate to the United Nations.

- a. Last British troops leaving Palestine.
- b. Sir Alan Gordon Cunningham, last High Commissioner for Palestine, sailing out of the new Haifa Harbour.
- c. 14 May 1948. Ben Gurion proclaims the establishment of the State of Israel.



Plate GI.14 :

The story as told so far: the books. Covers of the principal existing publications, showing the nucleus of titles determining the interpretation that is dominant today. From top:

Amiram Harlap, *New Israeli Architecture*; Michael Levin, *White City*; David Kroyanker, *Jerusalem Architecture: The Period of the British Mandate*; Gilbert Herbert and Silvina Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel*; Nitza Metzger-Szmuk, *Batim min HaChol*; Aba Elhanani, *The Struggle for Independence: Israeli Architecture in the Twentieth Century*.



WALK ABOUT SION · AND · GO ·
ROVND · ABOUT THE
TOWERS · THEREOF ·



MARK · WELL · HER · BUIWARKS ·
· SET · VP · HER · HOVSSES
· THAT · YE · MAY · TELL
THEM · THAT · COME
· AFTER ·

Plate 2.1.1 :

- a. Portrait of C.R. Ashbee by William Strang RA (1859-1921), 1903 (Art Workers Guild Collection).
- b. Emblem of the Pro-Jerusalem Society as designed by Ashbee, with verses from Psalms 48: 13-14.



My Hebrew and Arabic seals as Military Governor.

Plate 2.1.2 :

a. Sir Ronald Henry Amherst Storrs, portrait by Bassano dated 6 August 1924.

b. Ronald Storrs' "My Hebrew and Arabic seals as Military Governor".

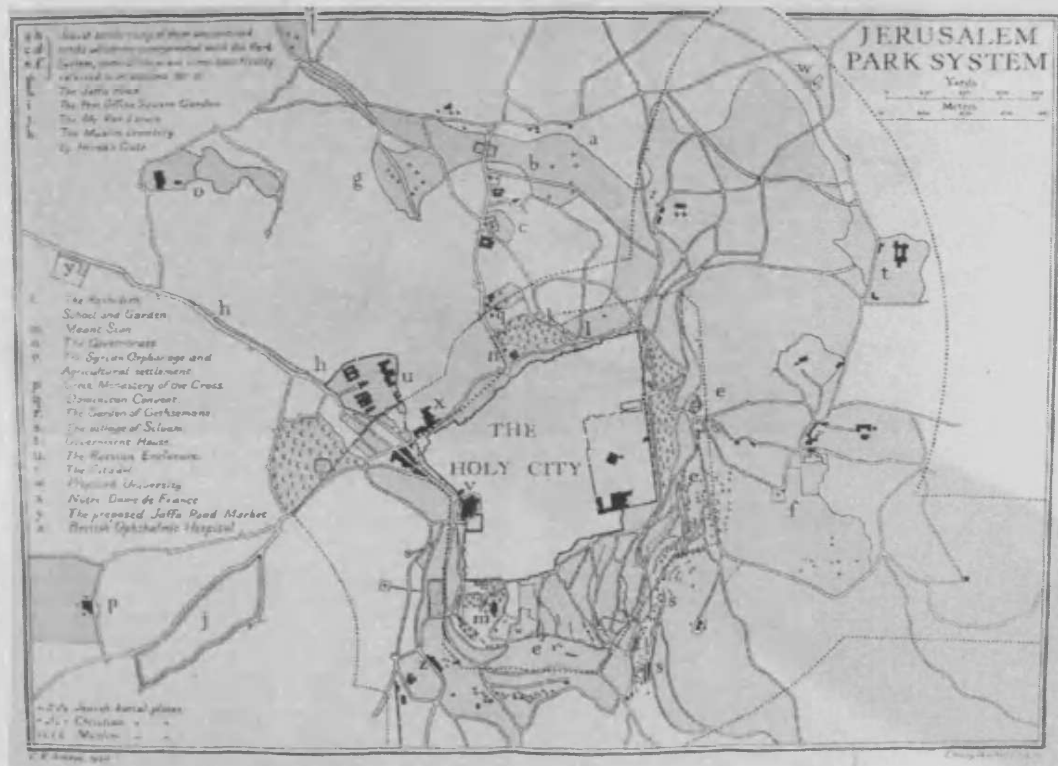
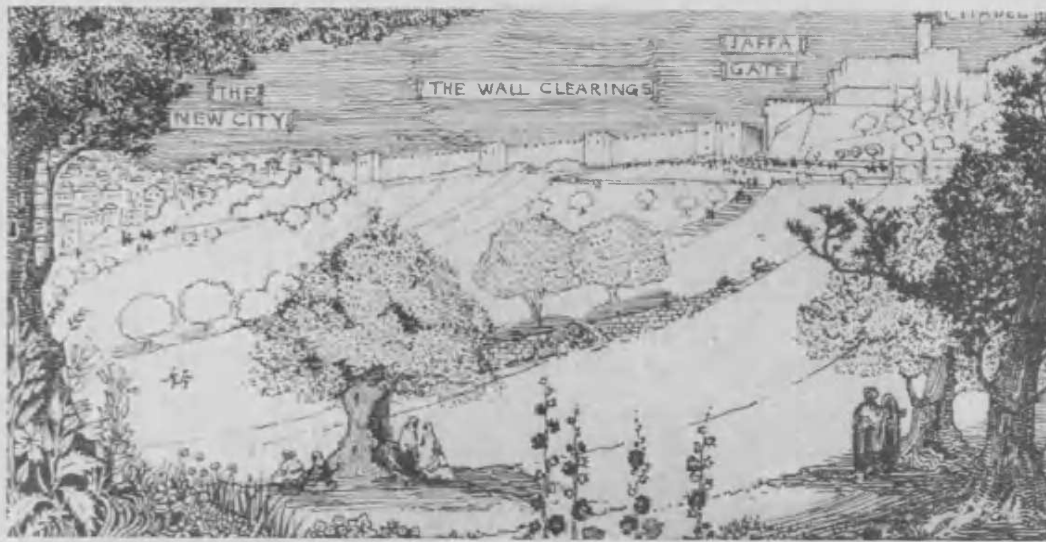


Plate 2.1.3 :

Jerusalem Park System, part of the Ashbee Master Plan for Jerusalem, 1919 (Jerusalem Collection, Portfolio 3 (I): Jerusalem Park System.

a. Ink drawing by Ashbee, showing park planned outside Jaffa Gate.

b. Map labelled "Jerusalem Park System", signed C.R. Ashbee, 1920. Note o: [Schneller's] Syrian Orphanage; t: Government House; w: Proposed University.



Plate 2.1.4 :

Jerusalem craftsmen photographed by Ashbee.
(Jerusalem Collection, Portfolio 1 (I): Reports).

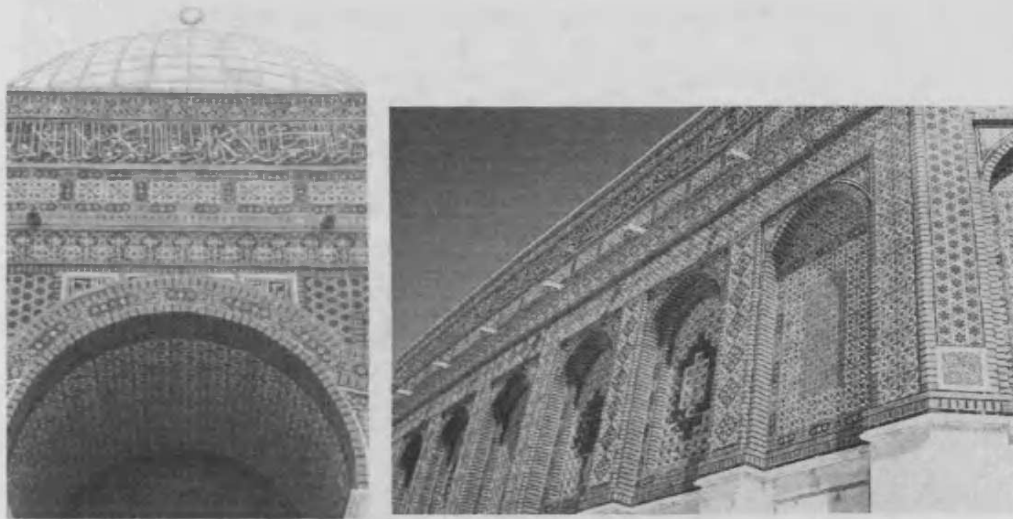


Plate 2.1.5 :

The Dome of the Rock today showing ceramic tiling.



Plate 2.1.6 :

Rejected tile kept by Ashbee as keepsake from those prepared for the restoration of the Dome of the Rock.



Plate 2.1.7 :

Benton Fletcher, **David Street, with Houses of the Saracenic Period**, 1922, pencil drawing.



Plate 2.2.1 :

The Harâm ash-Sherif – the Temple esplanade.

a. above, aerial view in 1918.

b. below, aerial view today.



Plate 2.2.2 :

Jerusalem, aerial view of the Old City from the east, 1918, showing the Temple esplanade, the Dome of the Rock, and the location of Bab el Kattanin and the Old Cotton Market



Plate 2.2.3 :

Detail of the former. Aerial view of the Temple esplanade, the Dome of the Rock, showing the location of Bab el Kattanin and the Old Cotton Market, 1918.

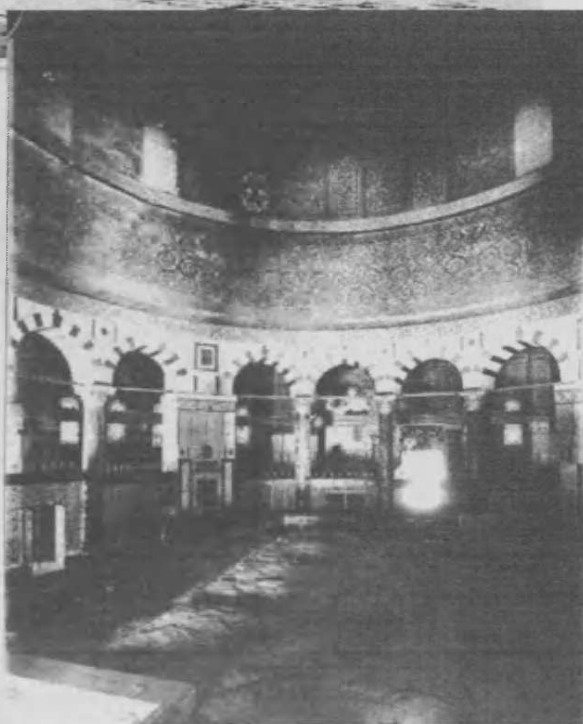
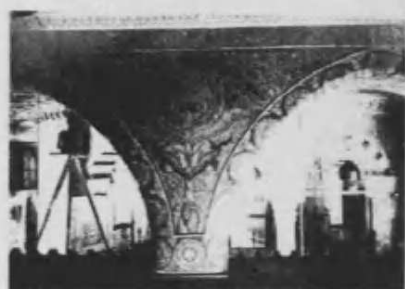


Plate 2.2.4 :

The Dome of the Rock, photographs by KAC Creswell.
Note photographic equipment second photo to the left.
(The Creswell Archive, Department of Eastern Art, Ashmolean
Museum, Oxford)

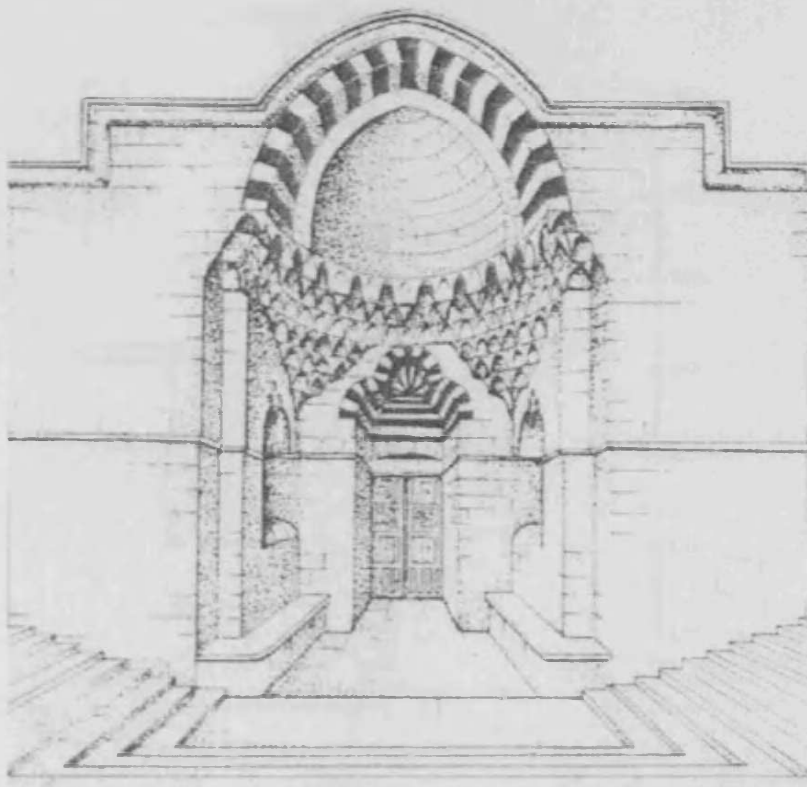


Plate 2.2.5 :

Bab al Kattanin, The Cotton Merchant's Gate, view from the Temple's area towards the Old Cotton Market (beyond the double doors). Note *ablaq* and *muqarnas*.

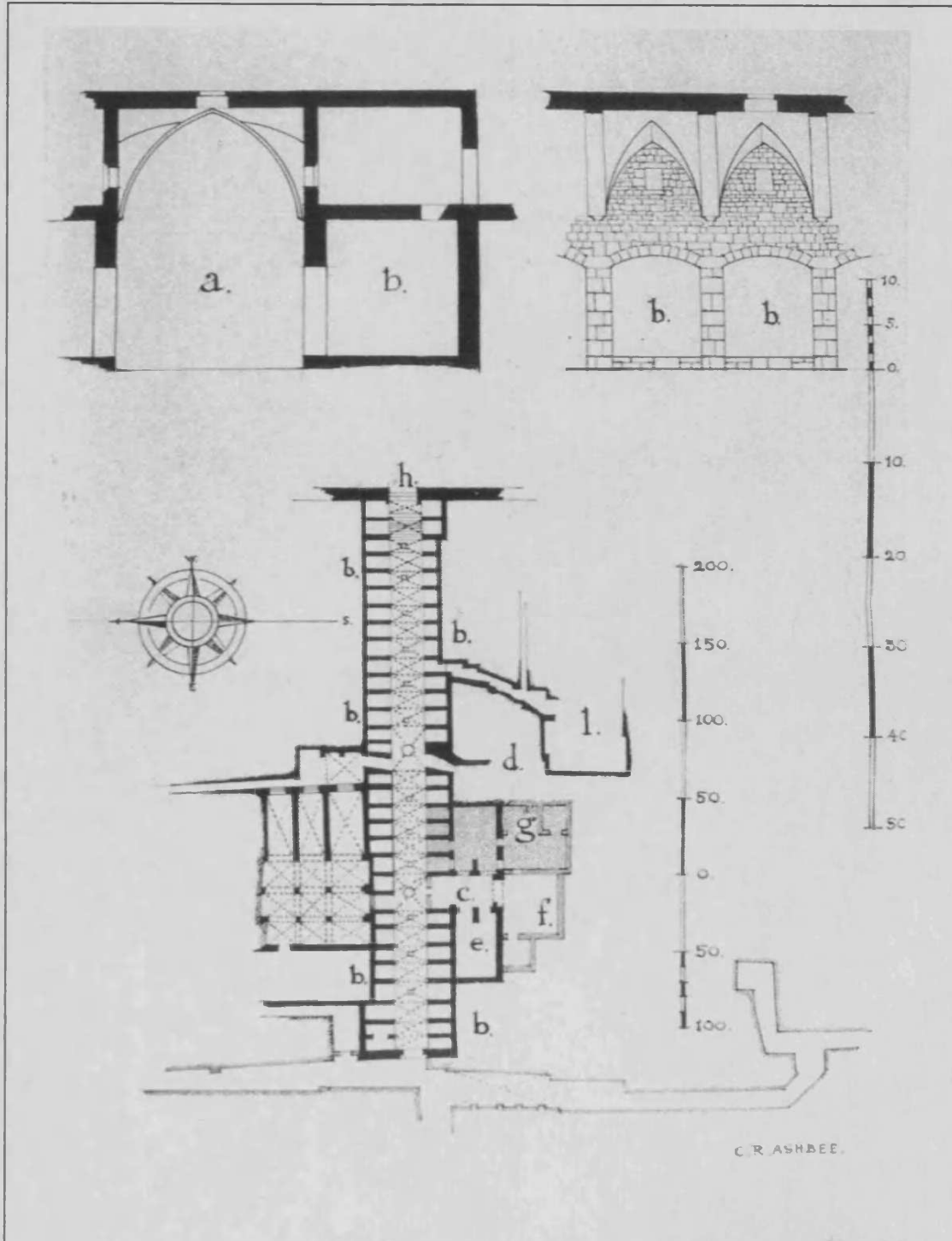


Plate 2.2.6 :

The Cotton Merchants' Market, drawing by Ashbee. The legend reflects its rehabilitation programme as the "Jerusalem Looms": a. The Central Arcade; b. Booths which have rooms over; c. Central Hall; d. Hammâm-es-Shaffei; e. Classrooms; f. Dyeing and spinning; g. Reserved for class work; h. Harâm-es-Sherif.



Plate 2.2.7 : Suk Katannin, photograph of the interior. Note shafts of light.

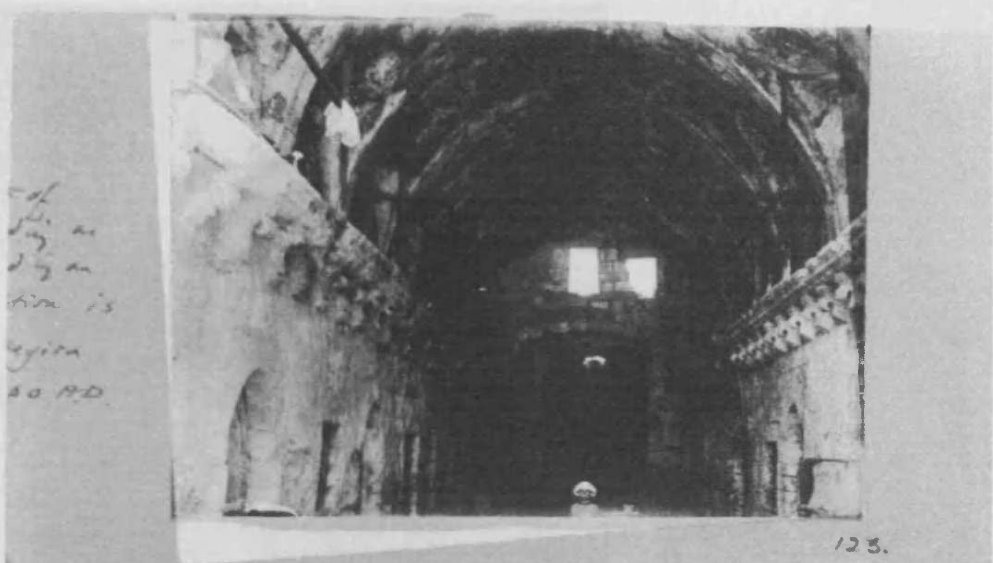


*fallen house outside the
Suk Kattanin.*



Plate 2.2.8 :

- a. Old Cotton Market, entrance portal from the street, 1920. Ashbee's inscription on the margins: "fallen house outside the Suk Kattanin"
- b. Old Cotton Market, entrance portal, 1920



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123.

There is a good deal of room at the back and the build-
could certainly be used for public possibly educational purpose
it might be one of the school centres. See illustration 124.



Plate 2.2.9 :

Suk el Attarin near the Old Cotton Market. Ashbee's sketch and annotations: "there is a good deal of room at the back and the building could certainly be used for public possibly educational purposes".



Plate 2.2.10 :

- a. Jerusalem weavers photographed by Ashbee.
- b. the Cotton Market's booths and central street.



Plate 2.2.11 :

The weaving apprentices' ceremony of indenture in the Old Cotton Market. Note Storrs (centre) and Ashbee (far left).



Plate 2.2.12 :

The Pro-Jerusalem's Society Weaving Apprentices in their uniforms. Col. Storrs appears in the foreground, Ashbee - in civil clothes - in the rear at right; weavers' master Mr. Shukri Batato, second from left.

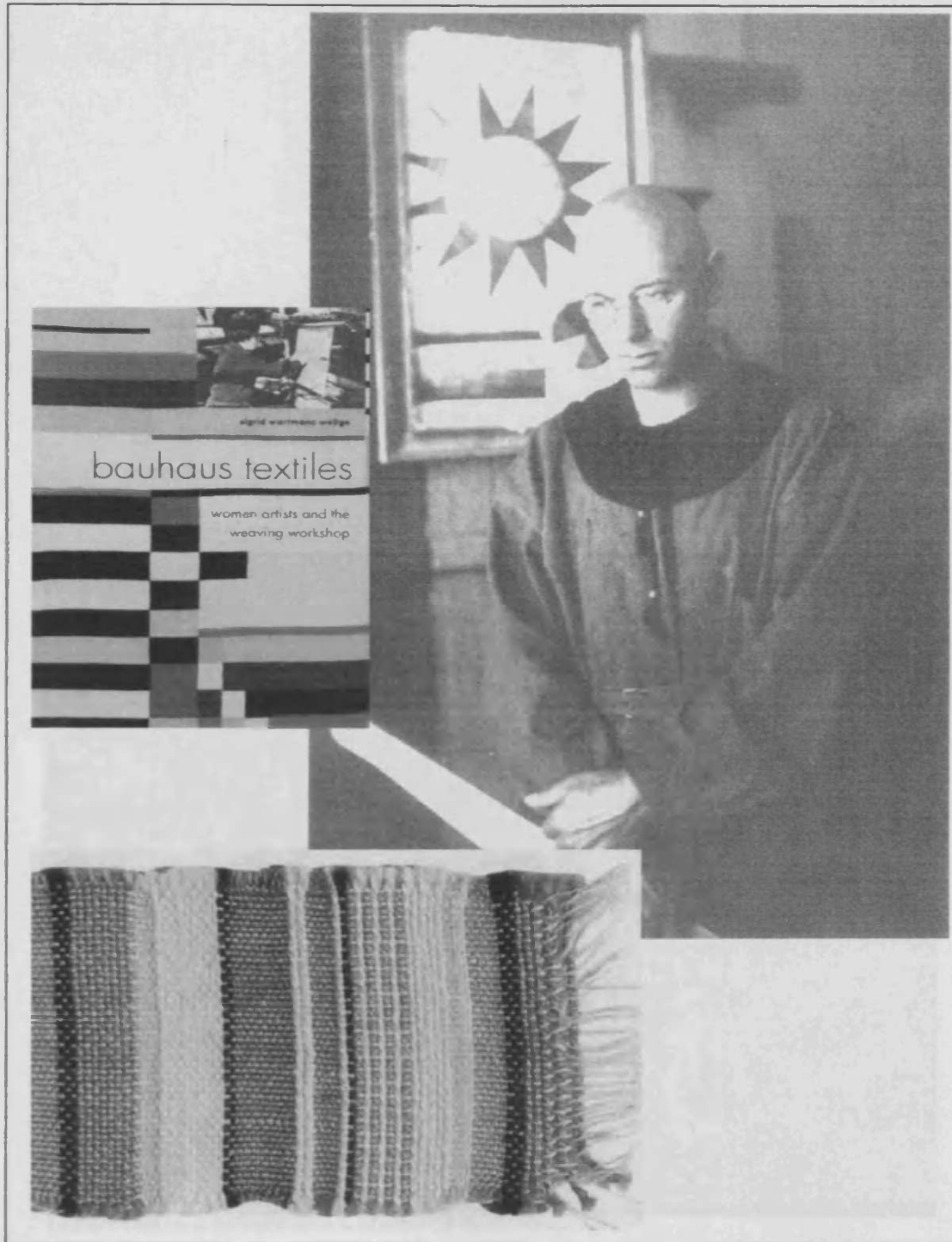


Plate 2.2.13 :

The Bauhaus weaving workshop.

a. **Portrait of Itten**, photograph by Paula Stockmar, 1921, using the workshop uniform.

b. Gertrud Arndt, **Textile sample**, Bauhaus weaving workshop, 1925.



Plate 2.2.14 :

Map of Jerusalem drawn by Ashbee, showing the Jerusalem Looms as one of the City's icons. Note also the Government House and Nebi Samuel, two of his other projects.



Plate 2.3.1 :

Augusta Victoria Hospice on Mount of Olives, Jerusalem.

- a. The Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany and the Kaiserin Augusta Victoria at the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem, 1898.
- b. Drawing of the complex at eye level.
- c. Present-day aerial view, with Desert of Judea and Dead Sea in the background.

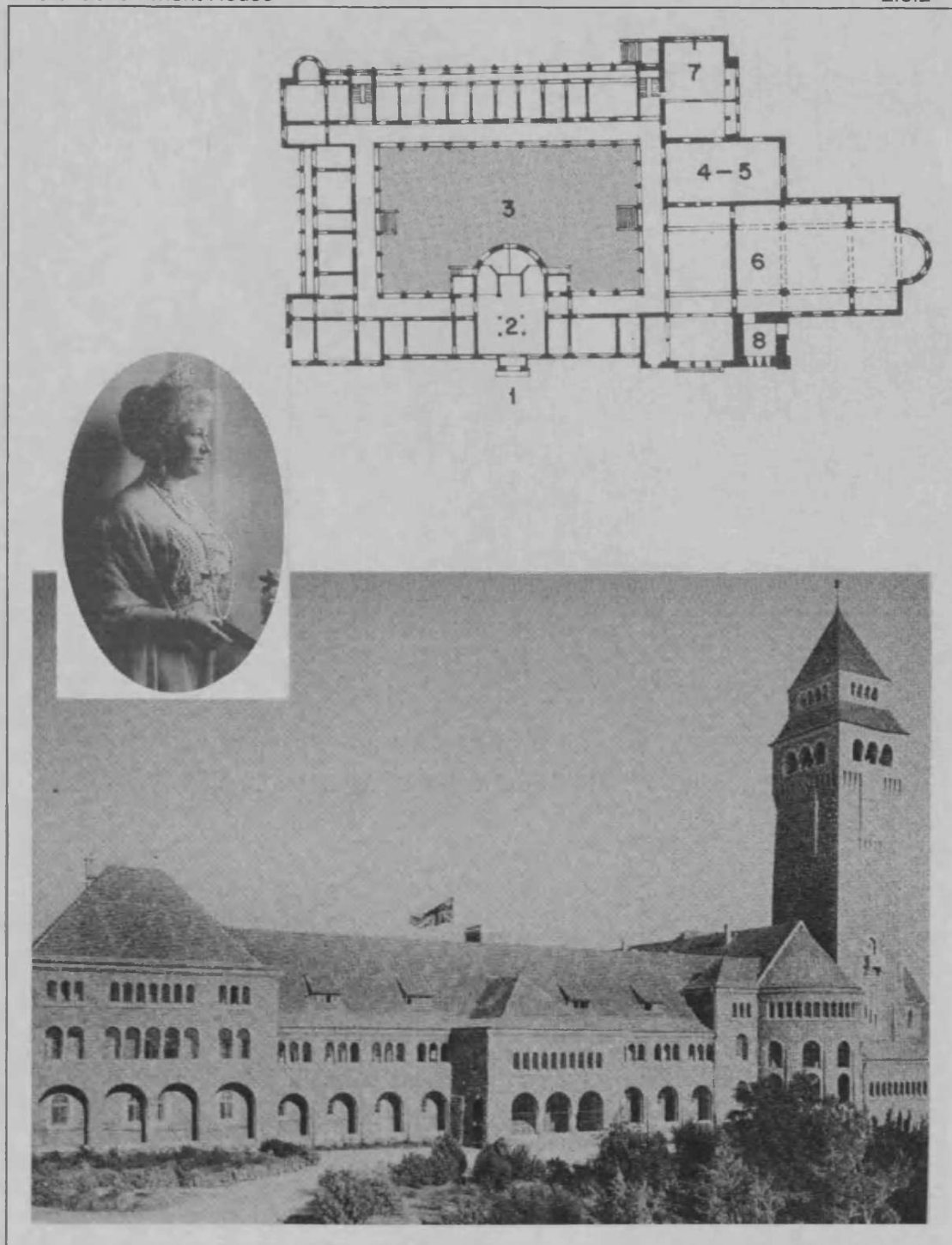


Plate 2.3.2 :

- a. The German Empress Augusta Victoria (1860-1919).
- b. Plan of the Augusta Victoria complex: 1. Main entrance; 2. Entrance Hall; 3. Courtyard; 4. Reception and Assembly Hall; 5. Dining Hall; 6. Church; 7. Kitchen; 8. Outlook Tower.
- c. The Augusta Victoria Hospice converted into the British Army Headquarters and High Commissioner's Residence, 1924.

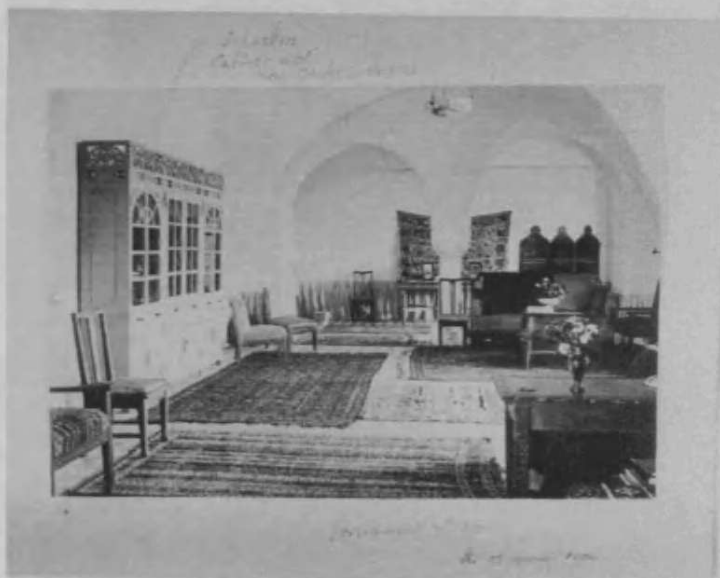
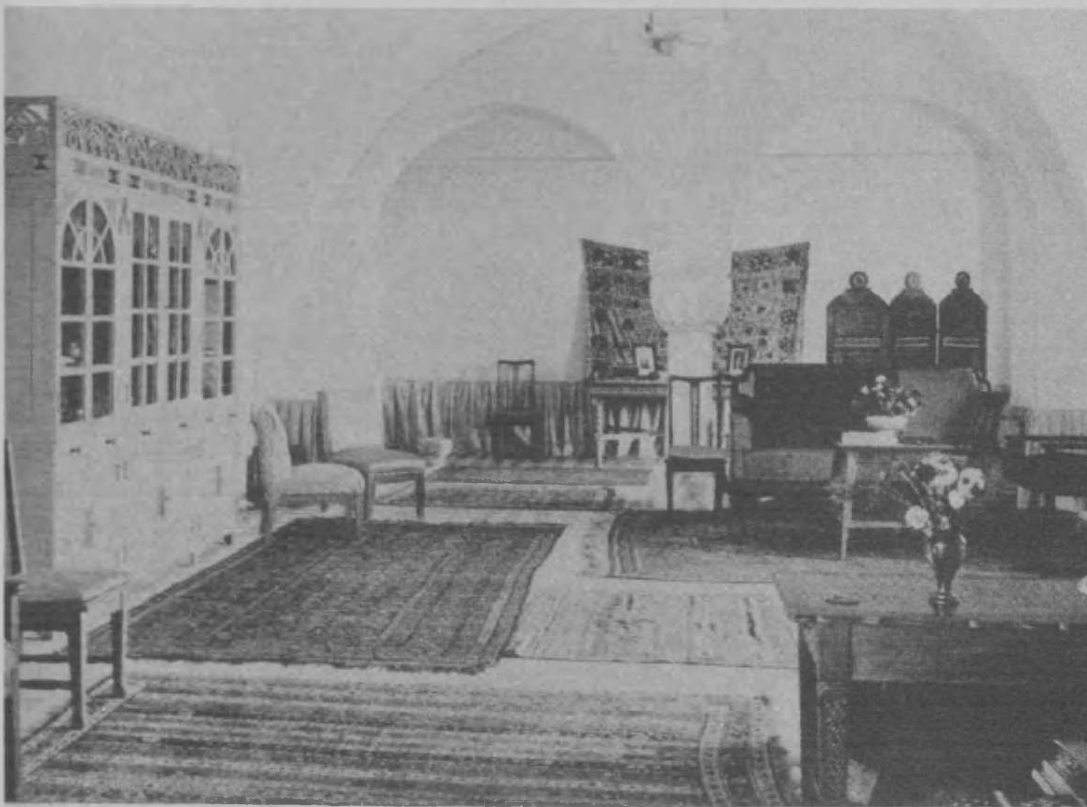


Plate 2.3.3 :

Old Government House, Jerusalem.
The drawing-room as designed by Ashbee.

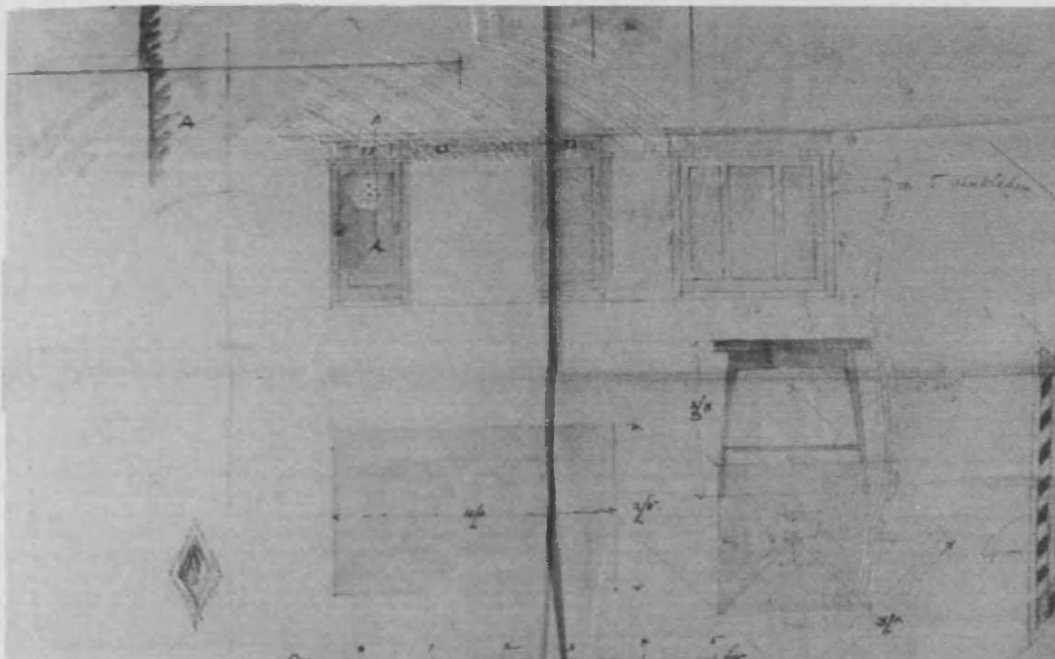
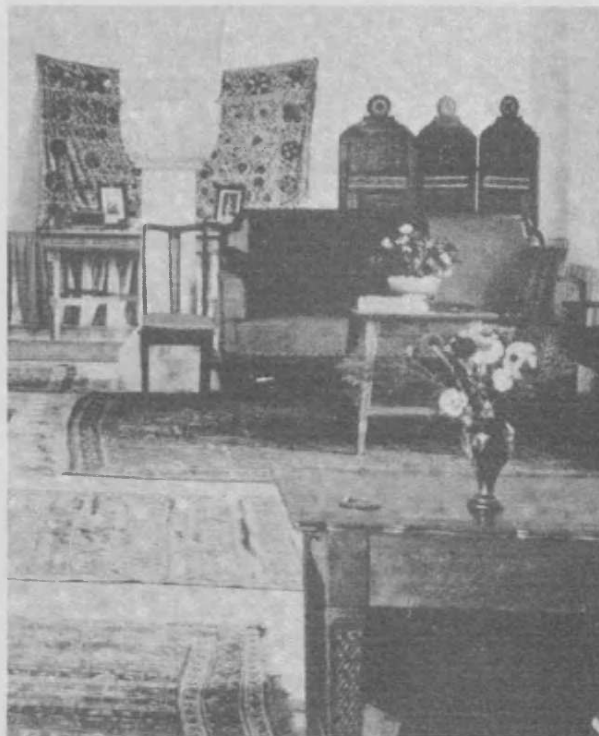


Plate 2.3.4 :

a. Detail of the former photograph showing writing desk in the foreground and folding coffee table in the background, both by Ashbee.

b. Part of the drawing labelled "2 Tables [signed] C.R. Ashbee Government House January 1921", pencil, ink and wash on tracing paper. (Jerusalem Collection, Box IV Portfolio 4: Mount Scopus, Old Government House and Zionist University).

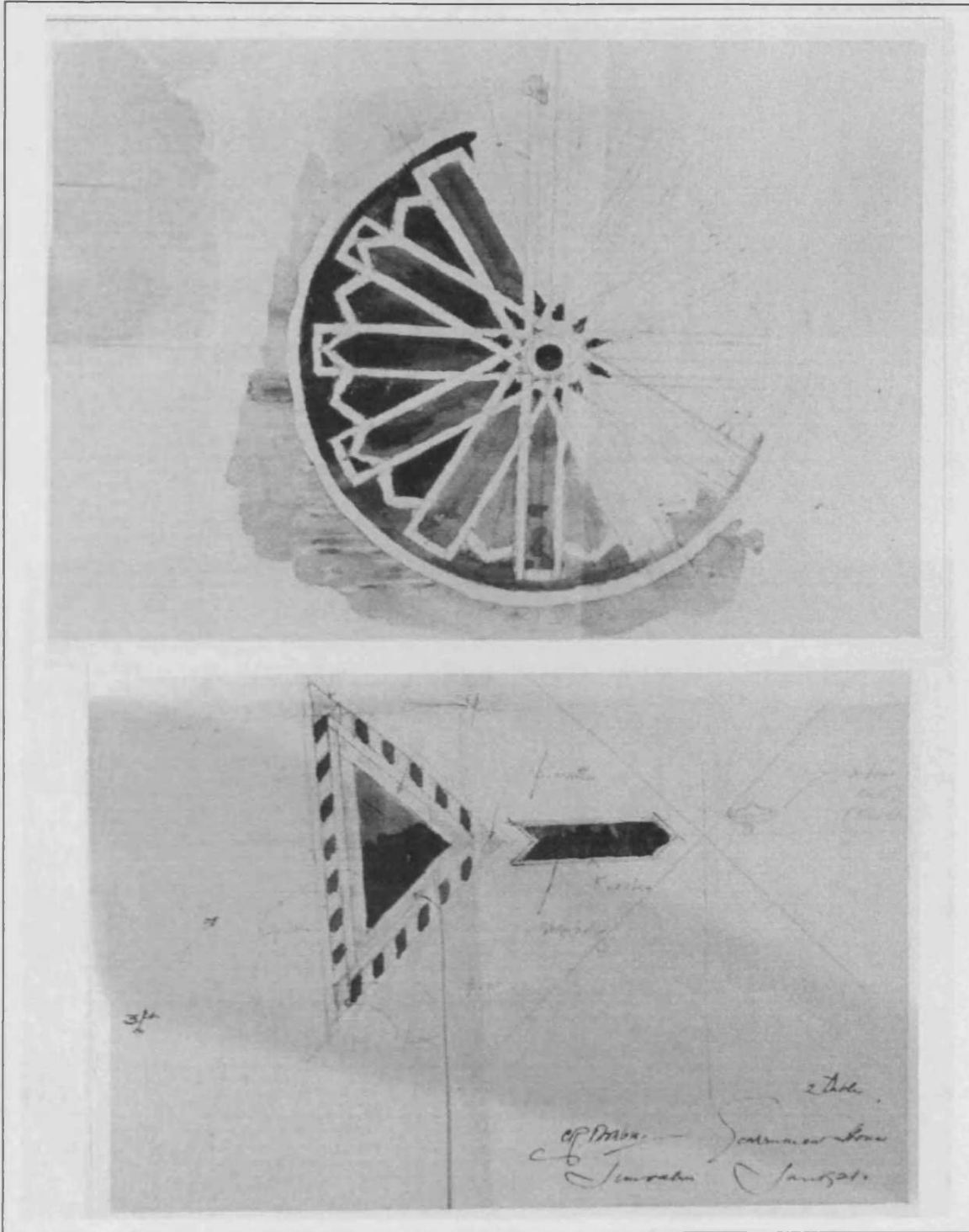


Plate 2.3.5 :

Parts of drawing labelled "2 Tables [signed] C.R. Ashbee Government House January 1921", pencil, ink and wash on tracing paper, showing inlaid ornaments' details.

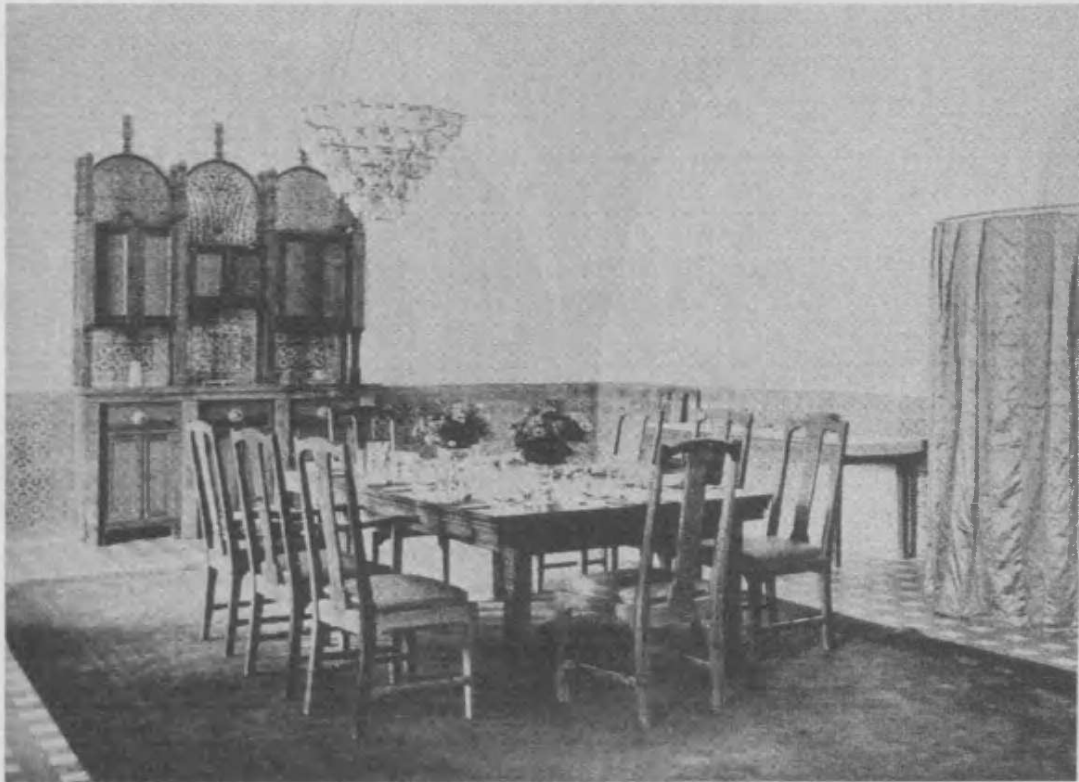
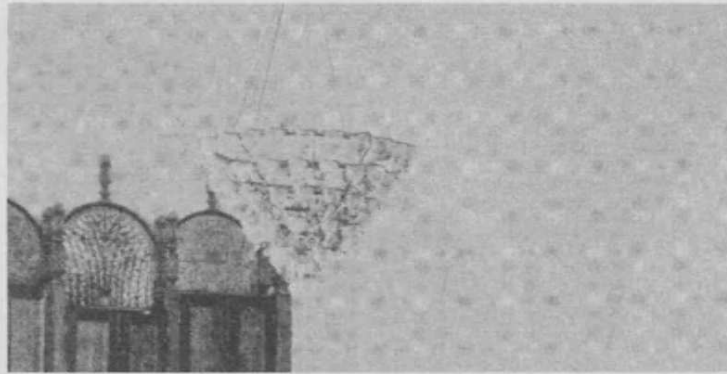


Plate 2.3.6 :

The dining-room as designed by Ashbee, showing detail of Ashbee's 'electrolier' hanging from the cross vault of the dining room.

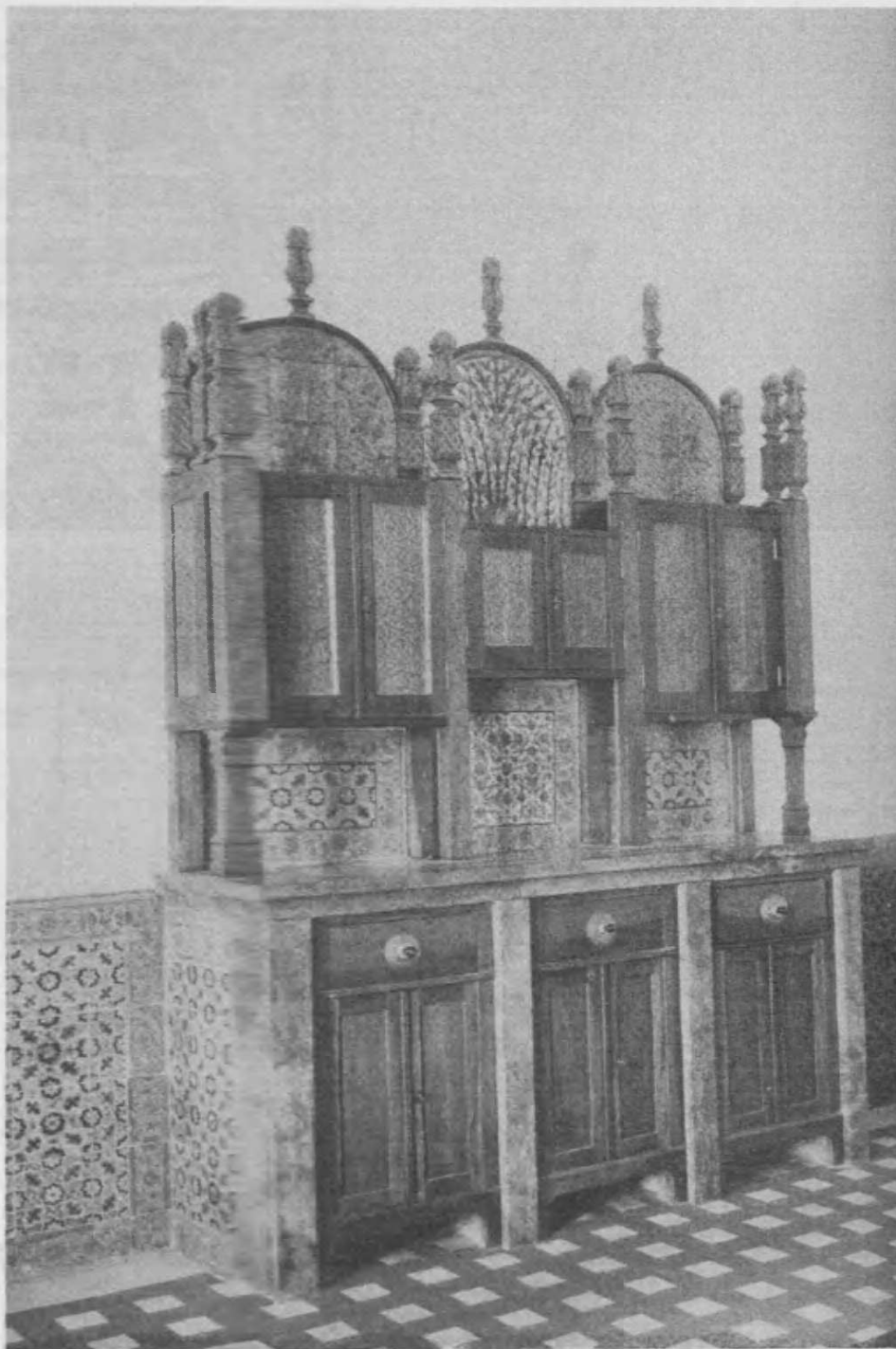


Plate 2.3.7 :

The dining-room's built-in sideboard by Ashbee: wood, Armenian ceramics and local Hebron marble.

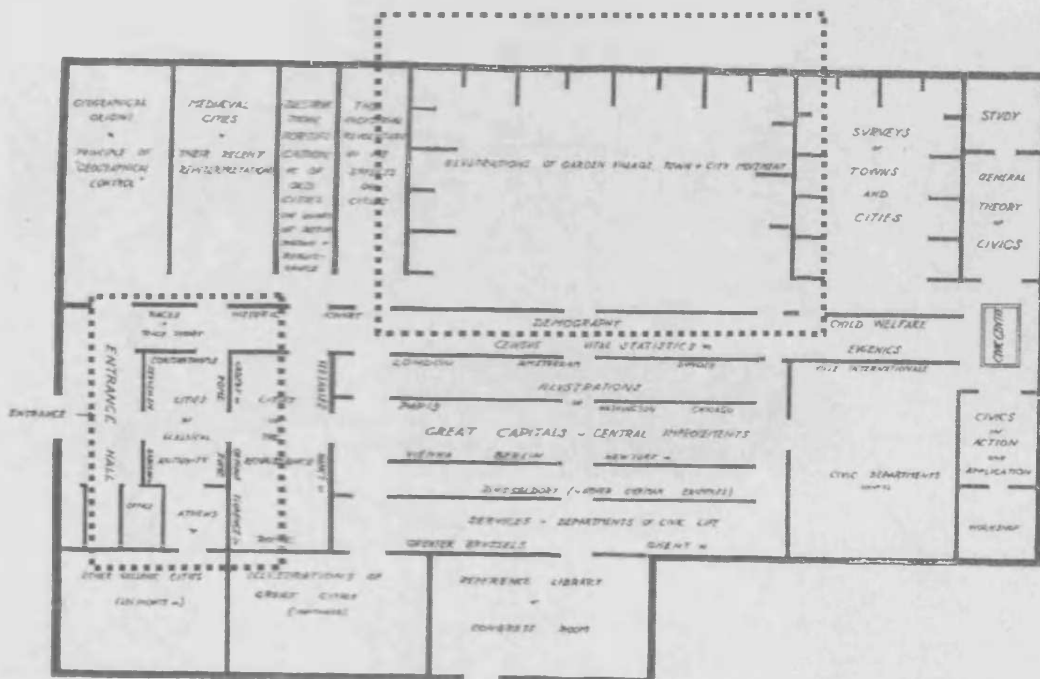


Plate 2.4.1 :

- a. Geddes surveying the Holy Land (with unidentified guide).
- b. The Arbor Saeculorum, Geddes' Tree of Centuries, showing human history beginning with Judaism at the bottom of both scrolls, and the Bible evoking Reformation in the Renaissance.
- c. Patrick Geddes' Cities and Town Planning Exhibition, showing the layout as planned for the Ghent International Exhibition in 1913. Note the spaces allocated for Jerusalem and the Garden Cities.

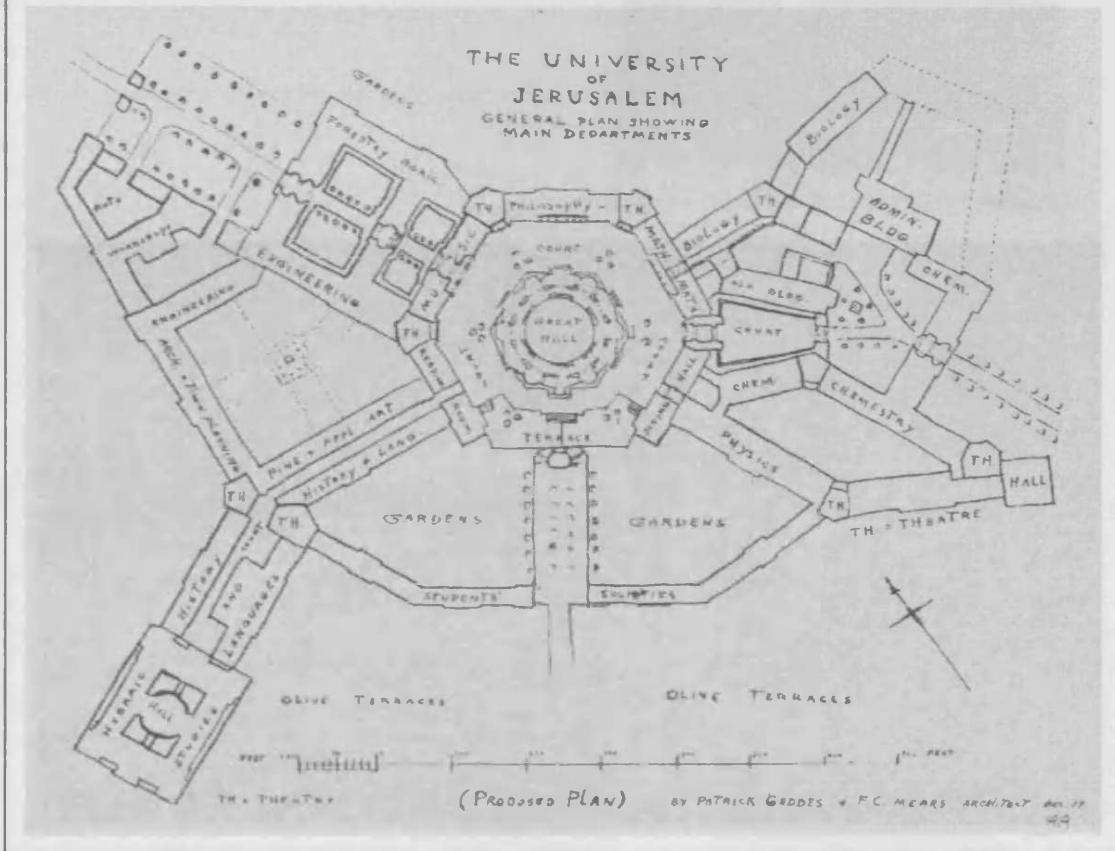
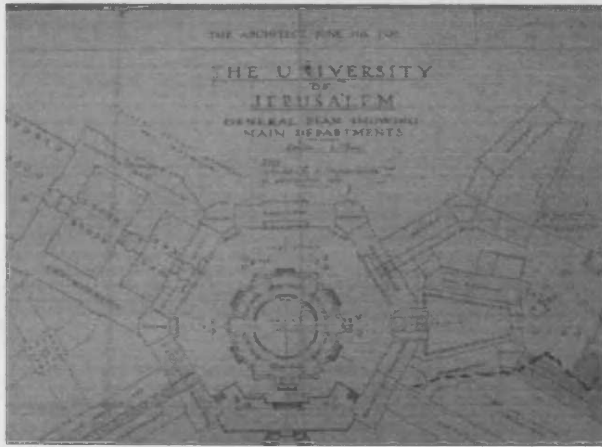


Plate 2.4.2 :

Patrick Geddes and F.C. Mears, proposed plan for the Hebrew University, labelled "The University of Jerusalem General Plan Showing Main Departments", dated December 1919.

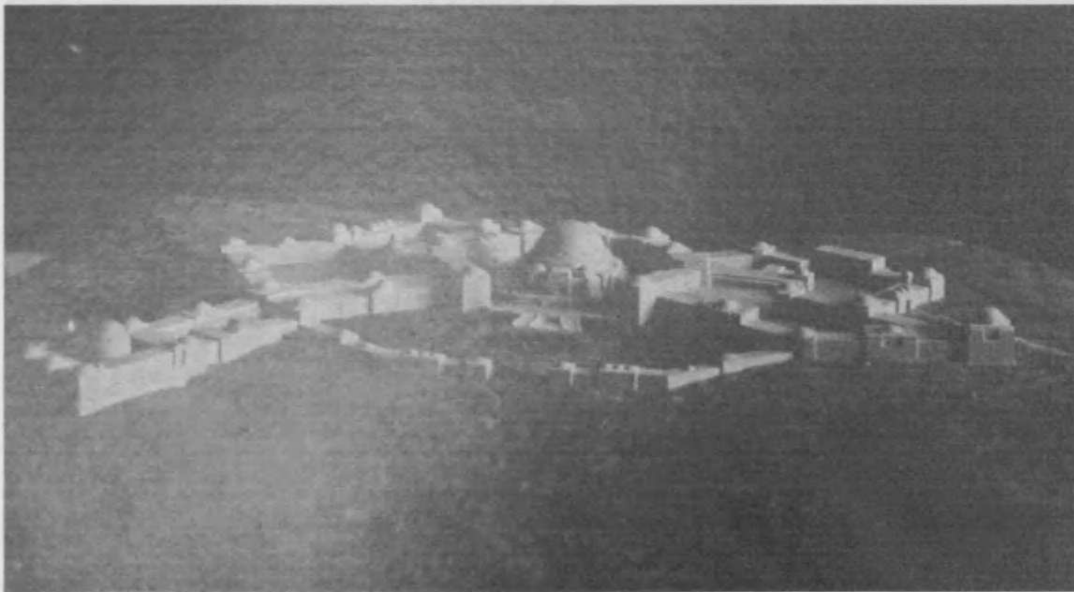
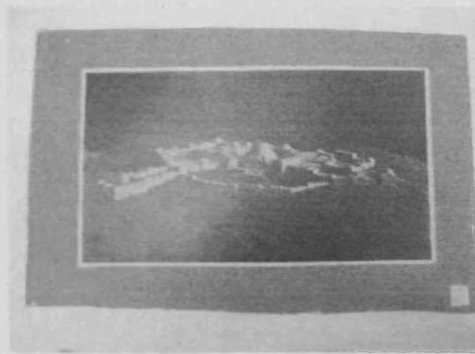
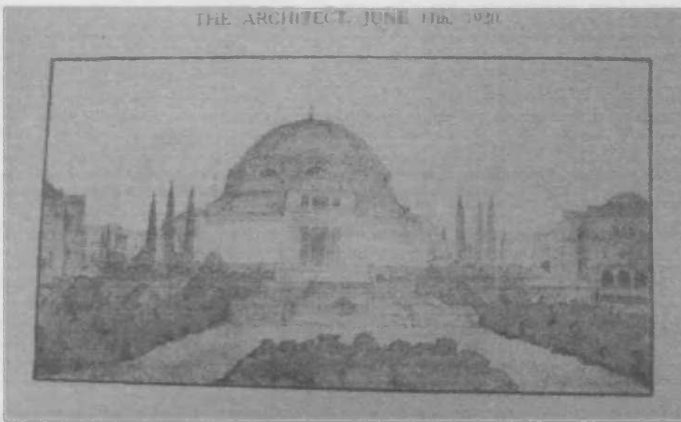


Plate 2.4.3 :

Model of the proposed plan for the Hebrew University, built by the sculptor A. Melnikoff, 1920.

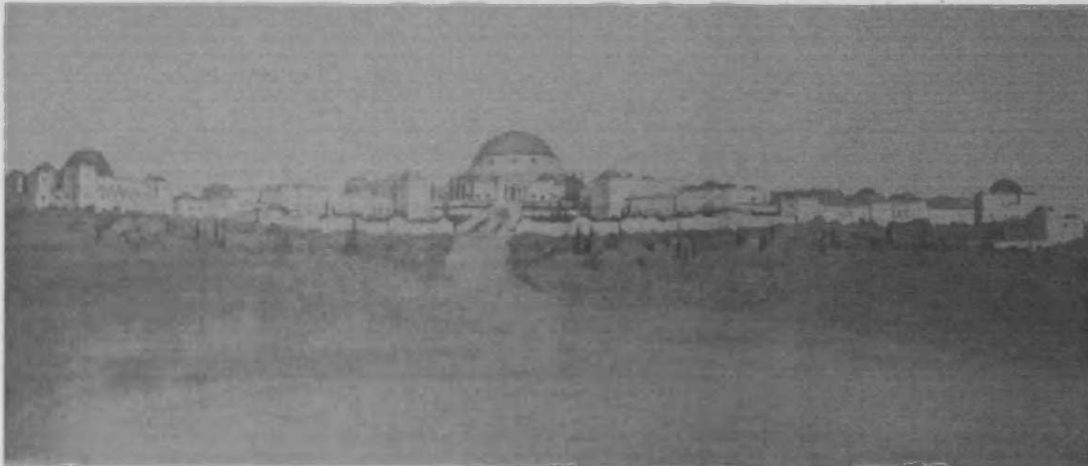


Plate 2.4.4 :

- a. Hebrew University project, general view from South.
- b. Hebrew University project, general view from South. Submitted to the Zionist Organisation by Professor Patrick Geddes and Mr. F. C. Mears, Architect, sepia print.
- c. The Rosenbloom Building, presented as "Proposed Central Hall of University, from Prof. Geddes' design, By Permission of the Zionist Organization".

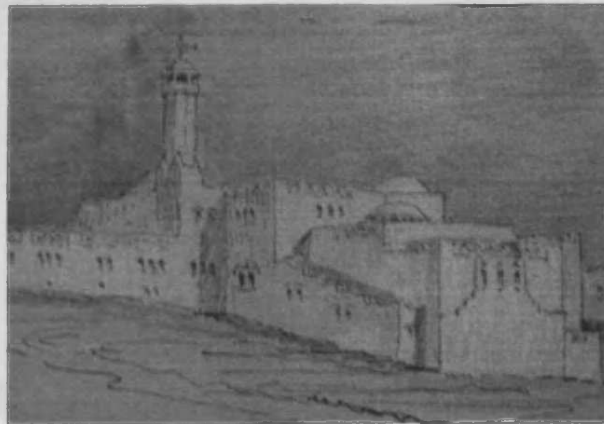
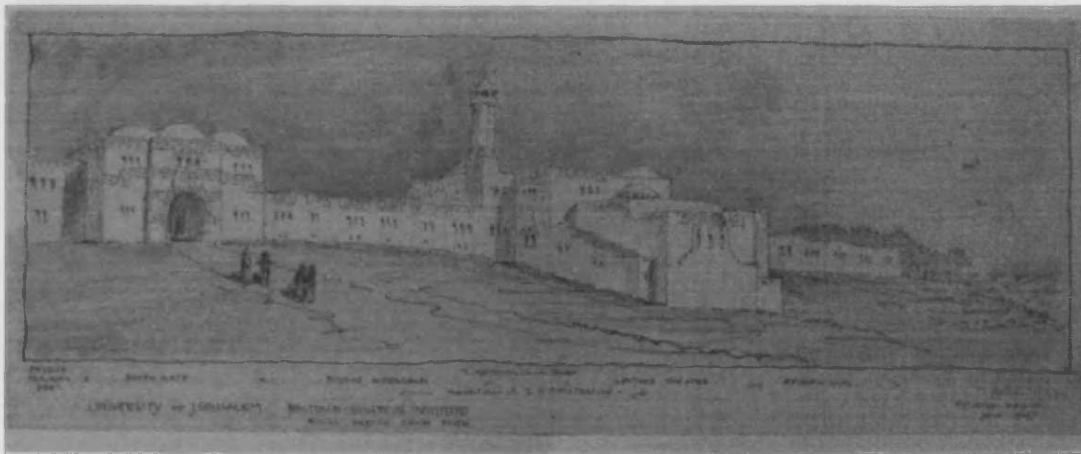
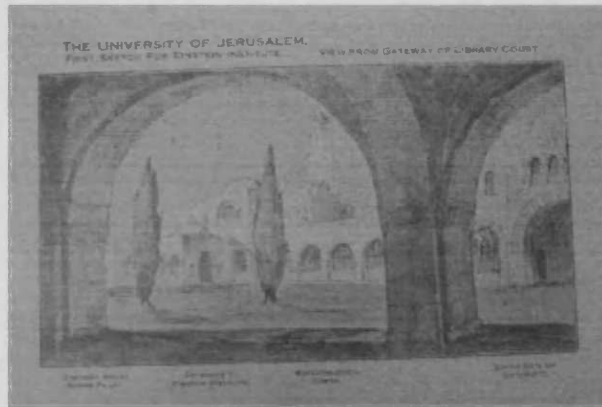


Plate 2.4.5 :

Perspective drawing labelled: "University of Jerusalem. Balfour-Einstein Institute. Rough sketch from South. FC Mears Architect. June 1925". Colour wash, colour pencil and ink on tracing paper 40.1 x 13 cm / 41.7 x 16.5 cm (sheet). Further inscribed: Library Court • Gray Hill House behind pillar • Entrance to Einstein Institute • Meteorological Tower. Note the influence of the Palestinian vernacular building tradition.



PROF. P. GEDDES AND
F. C. MEARS, ARCHITECT.
OUTLOOK TOWER, EDINBURGH.
OCTOBER 1925.

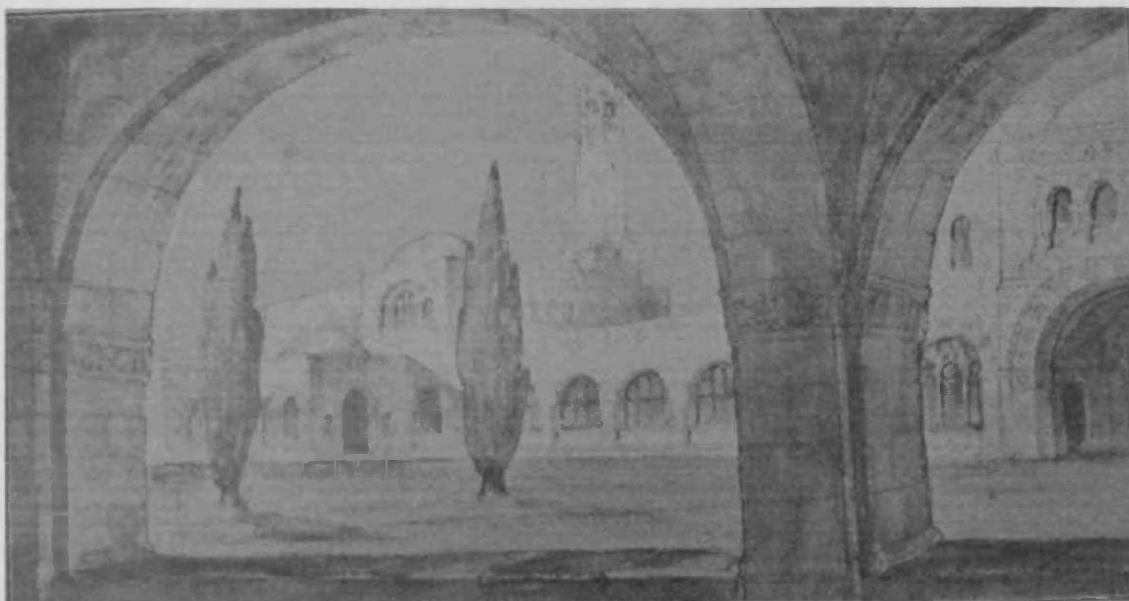


Plate 2.4.6 :

Perspective drawing labelled: "The University of Jerusalem. First Sketch for Einstein Institute. Further inscribed: View from Gateway of Library Court. Gray Hill House behind Pillar. Entrance to Einstein Institute. Meteorological Tower. South Gate of University.

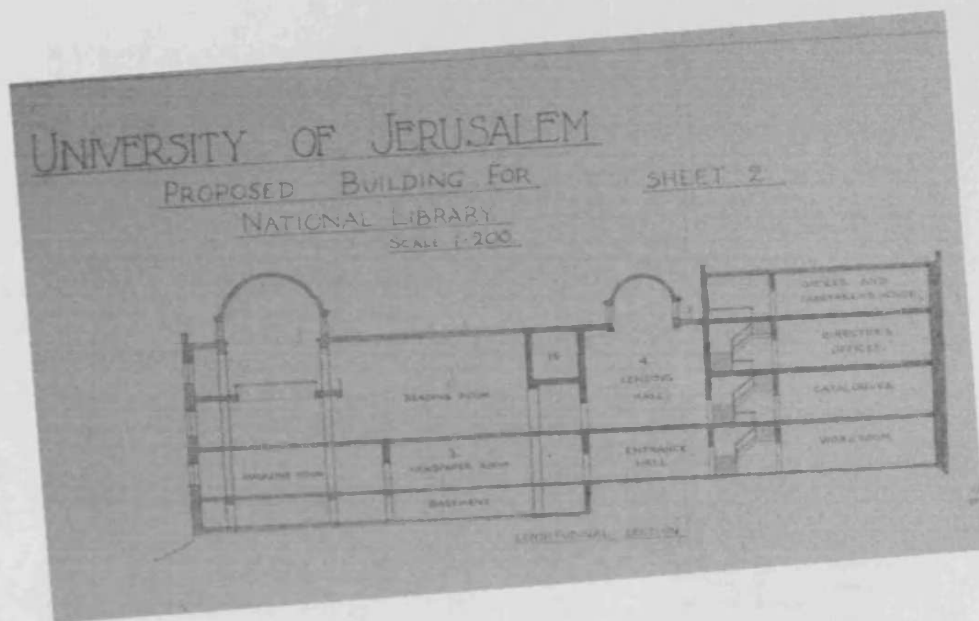
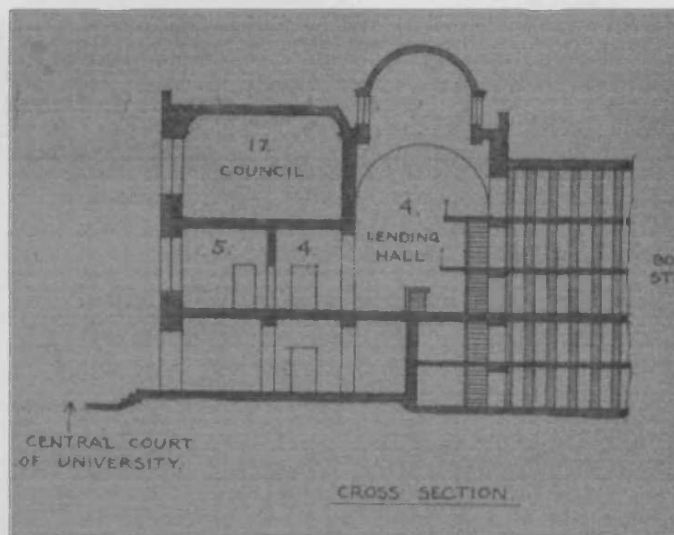


Plate 2.4.7 :

The National Library, sections. Parts of drawing, labelled "University of Jerusalem, Proposed Building for National Library, scale 1:200, Sheet 2, showing sections through domes.

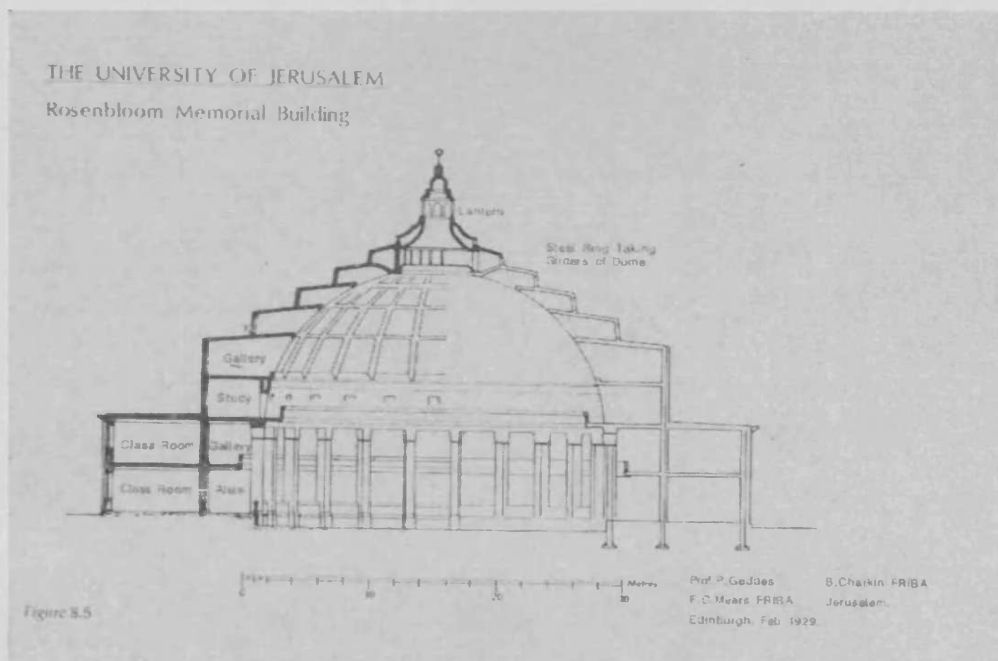
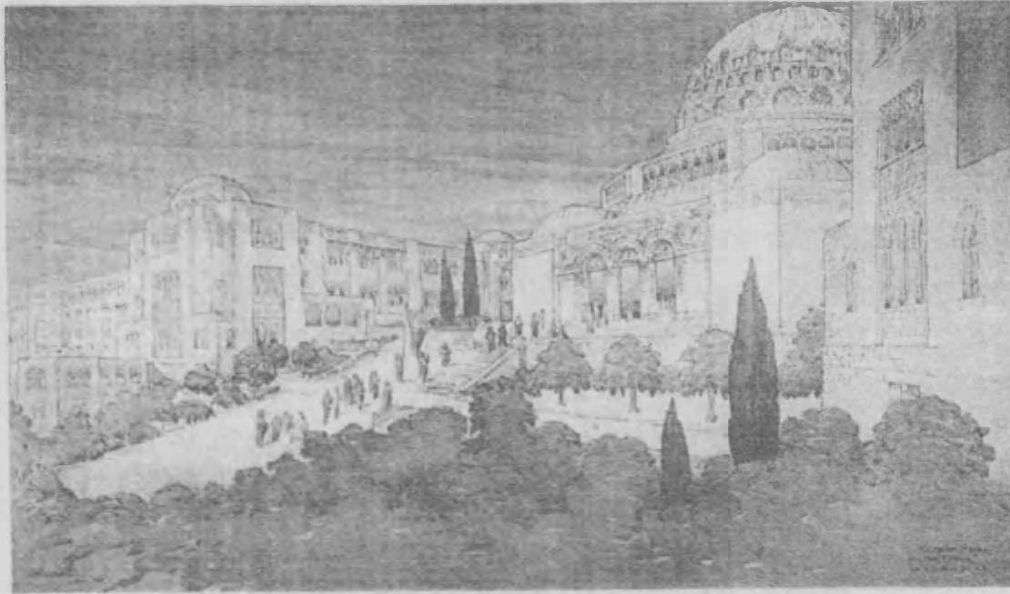


Plate 2.4.8 :

a. Hebrew University project, perspective showing the Great Hall, approach staircase and terrace. The Department of Hebrew Studies is on the foreground to the right.

b. The Rosenbloom Memorial Building, section through dome showing class rooms, galleries, lantern and "steel ring taking girders of dome". Drawing signed "Prof P. Geddes, F.C. Mears FRIBA, Edinburgh, Feb. 1929, B. Chaikin FRIBA, Jerusalem"

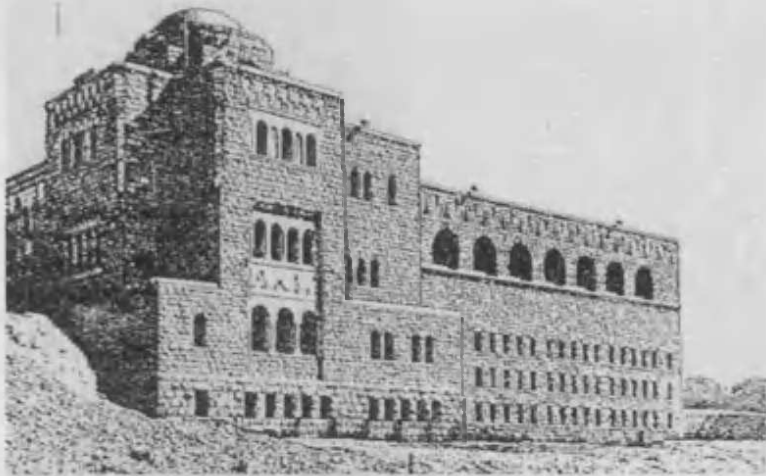


Plate 2.4.9 :

The National Library (Wolffsohn Building), 1930, now the Faculty of Law, the most important building built from the original Geddes plan.

a. Photograph, 1940s.

b. Photographs, 2000s.

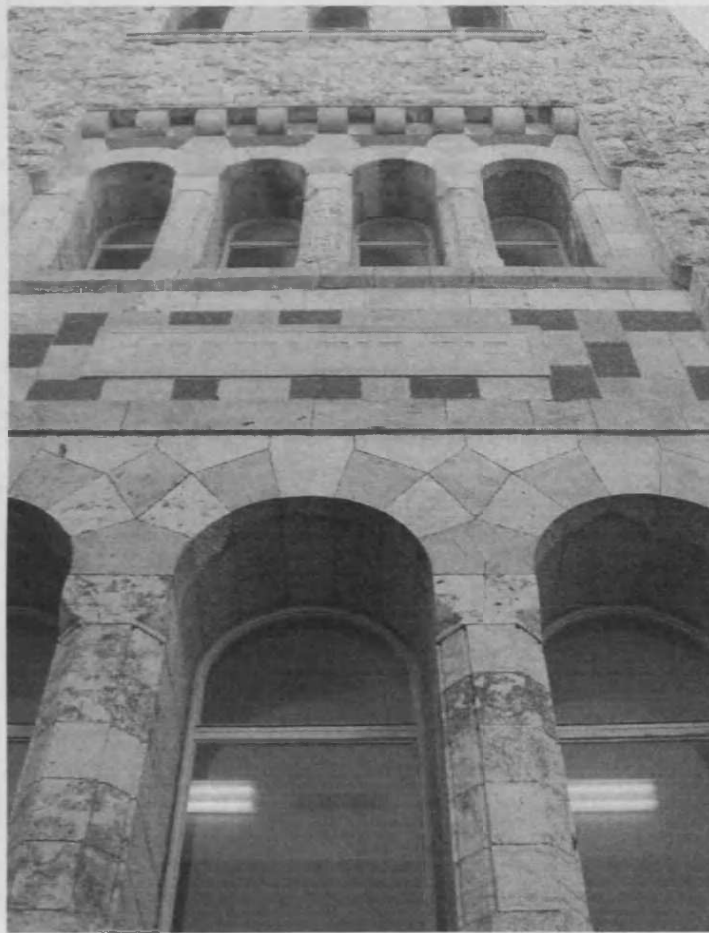


Plate 2.4.10 :

The National Library building, showing masterful use of stone.

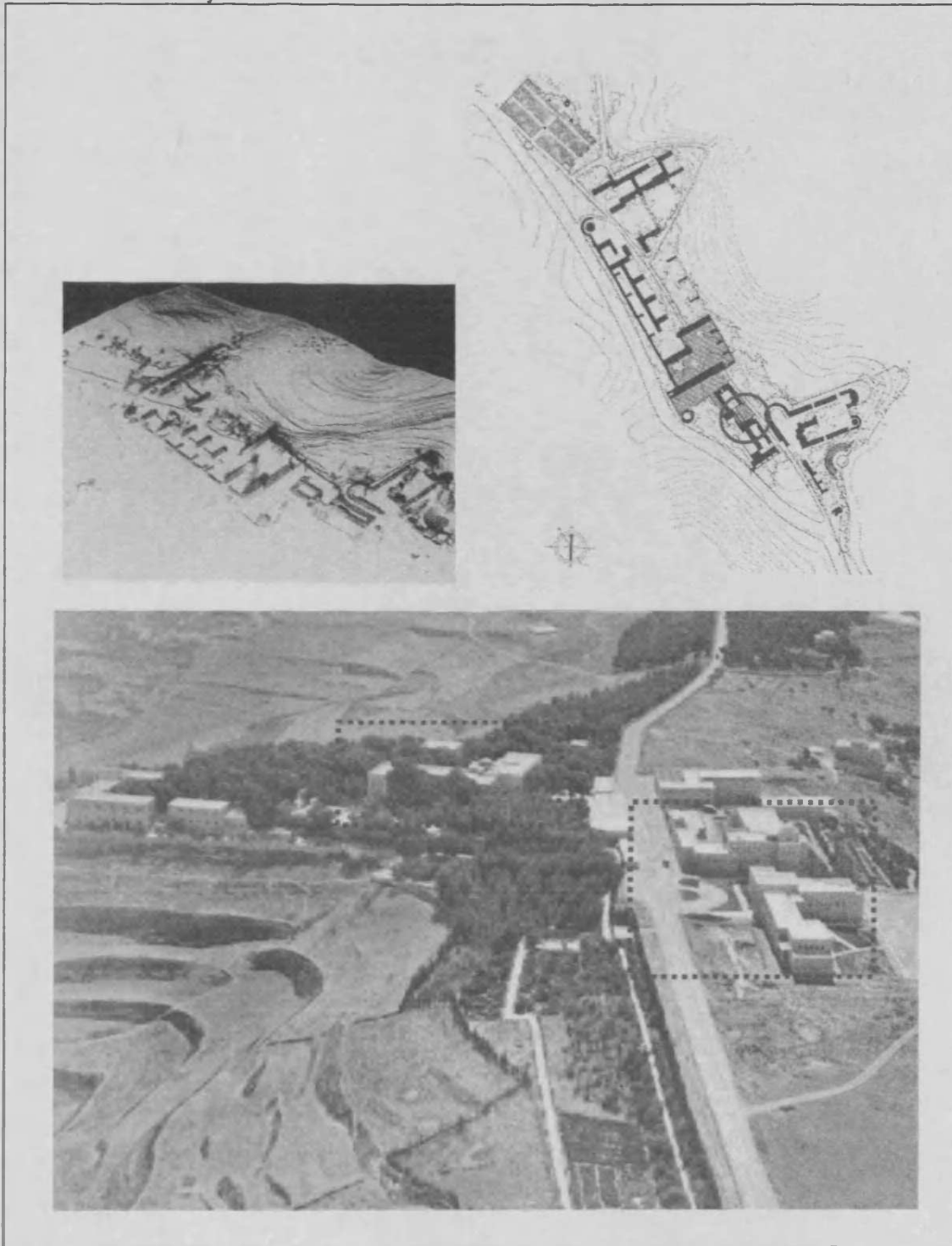


Plate 2.4.11 :

a. Erich Mendelsohn's design for the Hebrew University, model and plan, 1936-38, showing Geddes' National Library building.

b. Hebrew University, aerial view showing terracing, botanic garden and buildings, mid-1940s. Note the former Gray-Hill villa to the left, and to the right the National Library, with small dome and Kauffmann's Rosenbloom Building as finally built in 1940, without the central hall.

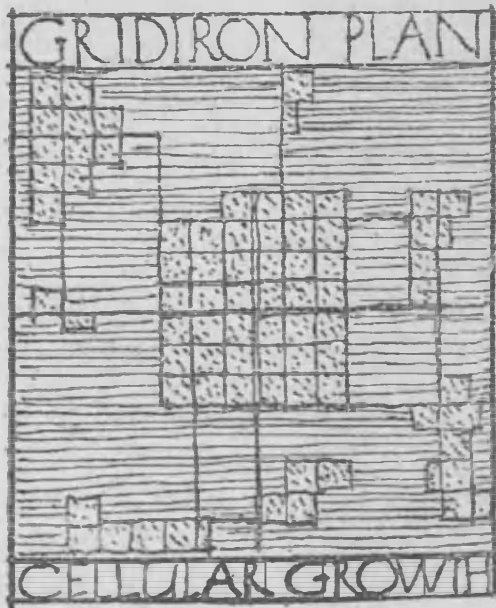
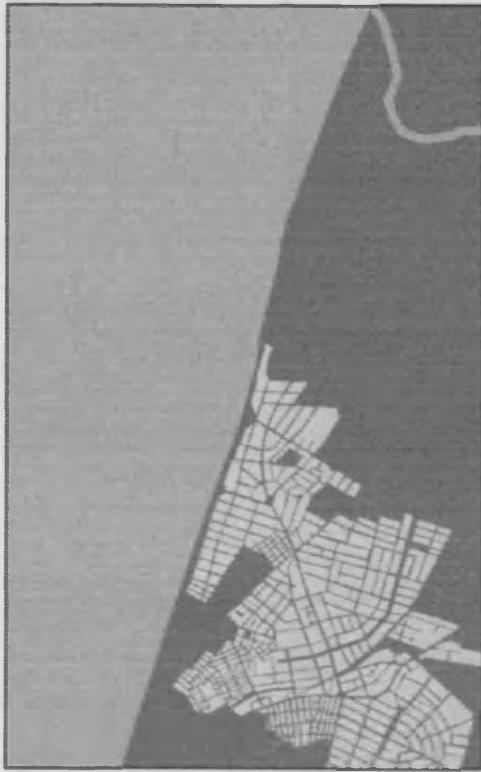


Plate 2.5.1 :

Urban development as cellular growth; urban block as a living cell.

a. Tel Aviv before Geddes.

b. By leaves we live, one of Geddes mottos.

c. Abercrombie presents the orthogonal grid as an organic rather than geometric scheme, symbolising the (urban) tissue's cellular growth

d. The Geddes Tel Aviv plan, showing the 60 home blocks planned.

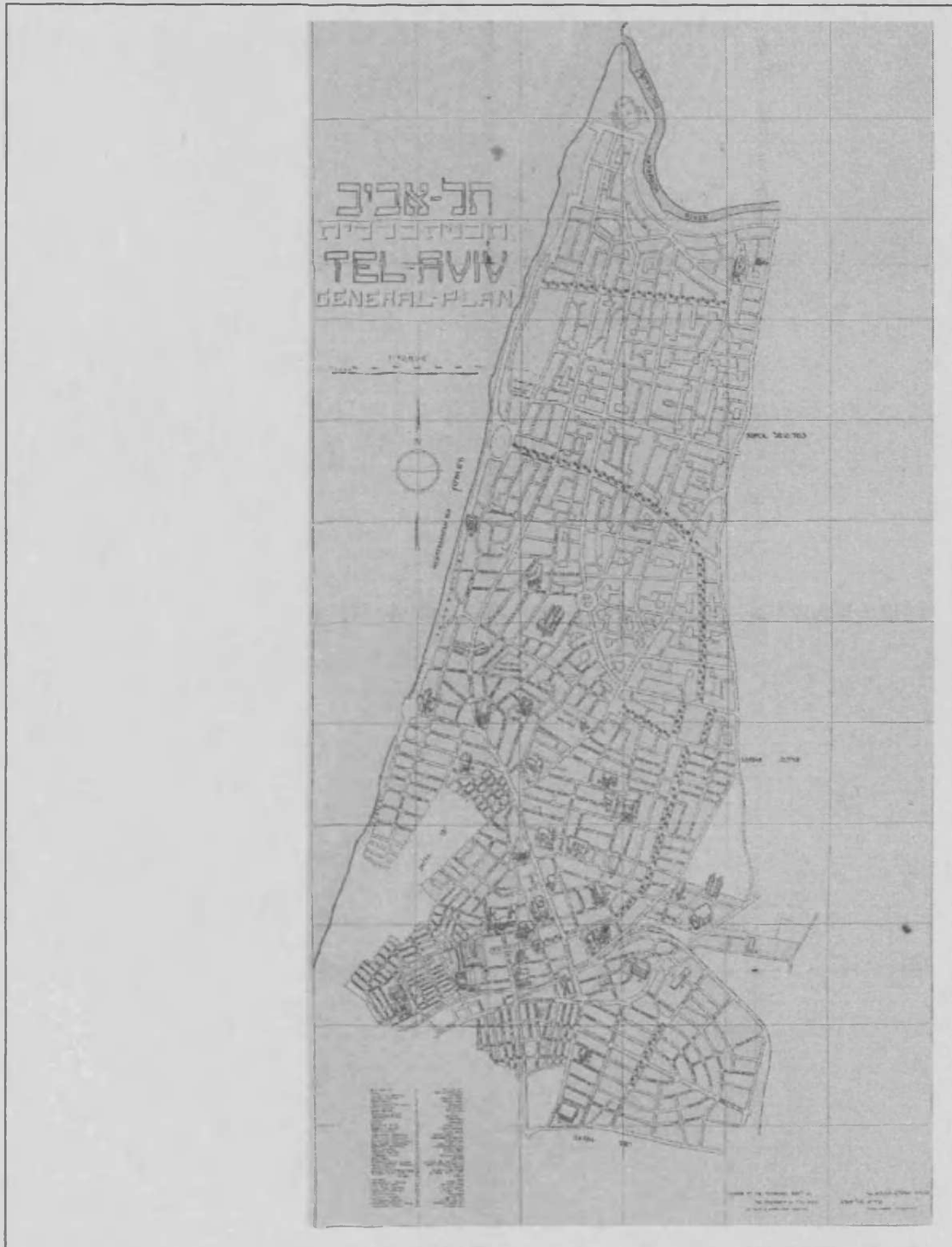


Plate 2.5.2 :

The Tel Aviv General Plan of 1931, drawn by the Municipal Technical Department, showing the Geddes Plan already incorporated to the city fabric.

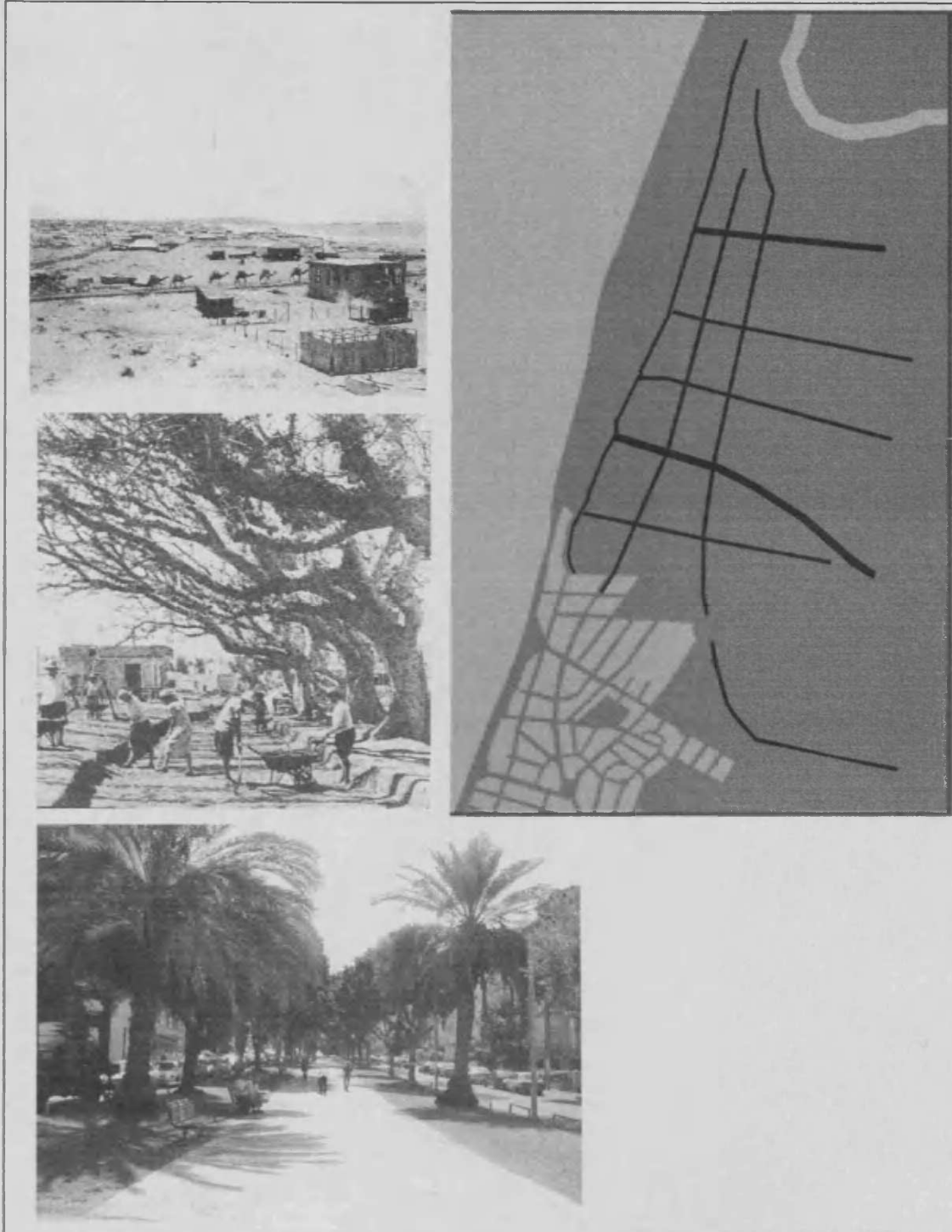


Plate 2.5.3 :

"Main-ways": Geddes' orthogonal grid: three north-south thoroughfares and six east-west arteries two of which are wide, tree-planted boulevards.

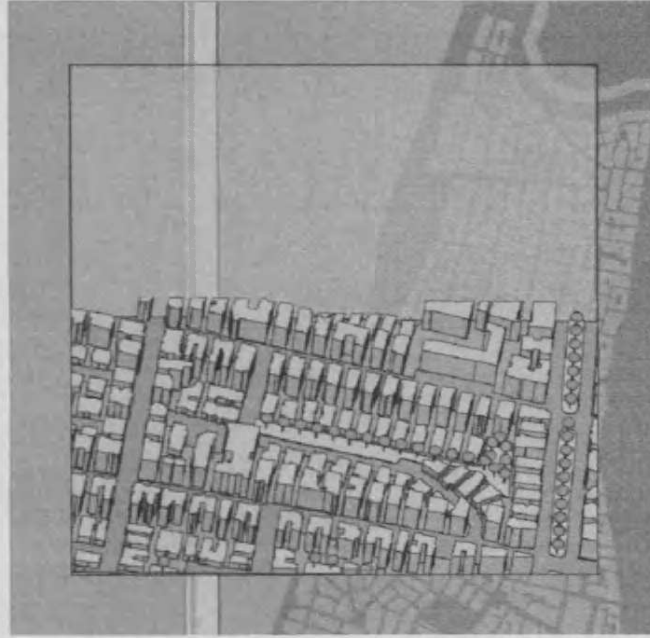


Plate 2.5.4 :

Present-day Tel Aviv: *Vita Contemplativa*.
The world within: The inner core of the Home-block

The Home-block is a residential block of 1000 units, designed by Geddes and his team in 1925. It is a prime example of the 'Geddes Plan' for Tel Aviv, which was a response to the need for a modern residential area in the city. The Home-block is a self-contained community with its own schools, shops, and recreational facilities. It is a testament to the Geddes Plan's vision of a planned residential area that would provide a high quality of life for its inhabitants.

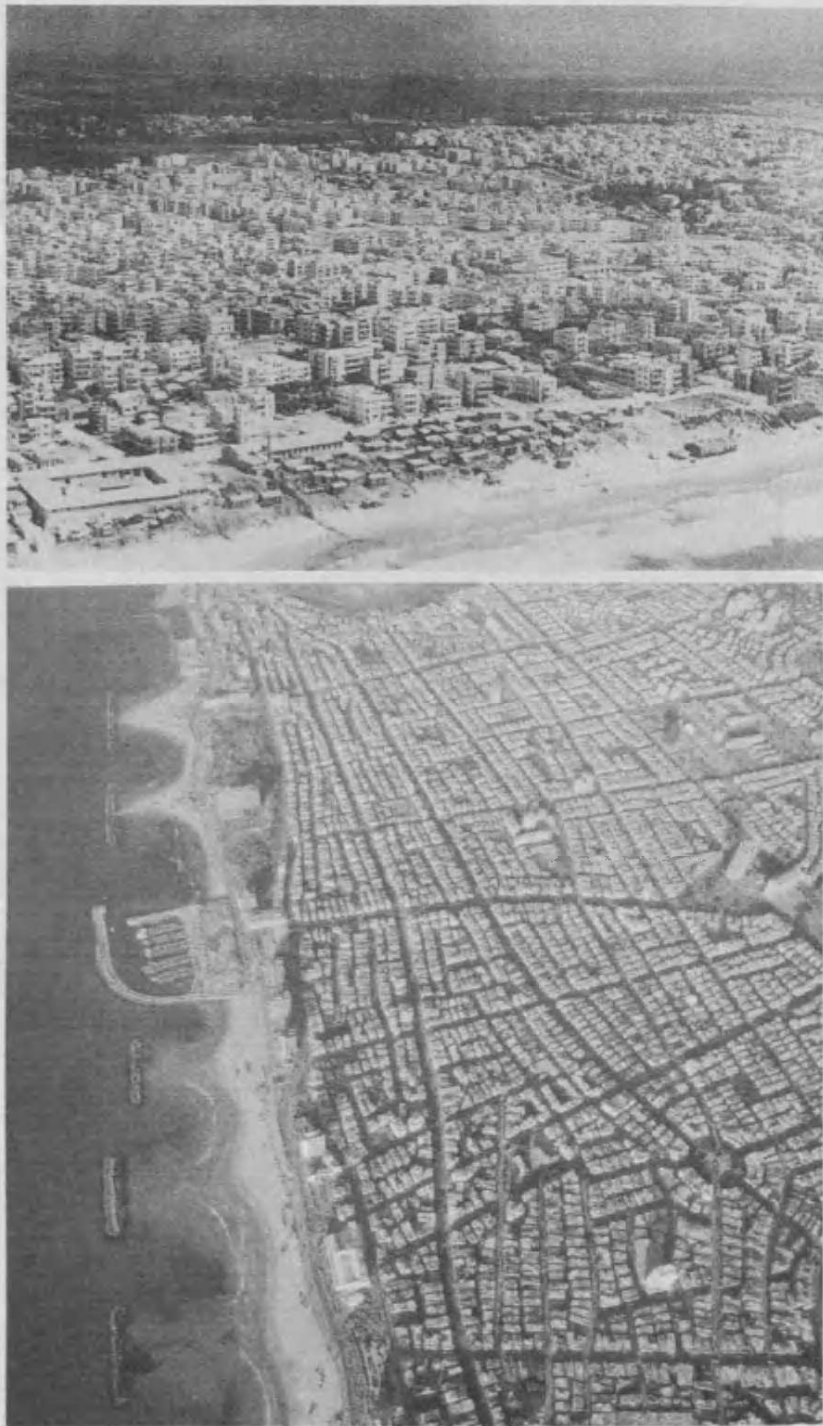


Plate 2.5.5 :

North Tel Aviv, aerial views.

a. Tel Aviv, aerial view from the sea, 1930s, showing the corpus of Modern Movement architecture buildings (Amiram Gonen, *Israel Then and Now and in Between: Past and Present Photographs*, p. 97).

.b. North Tel Aviv, aerial view from the south showing area of the Geddes Plan, 1990. (Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Looking Twice at the Land of Israel*, p. 101).

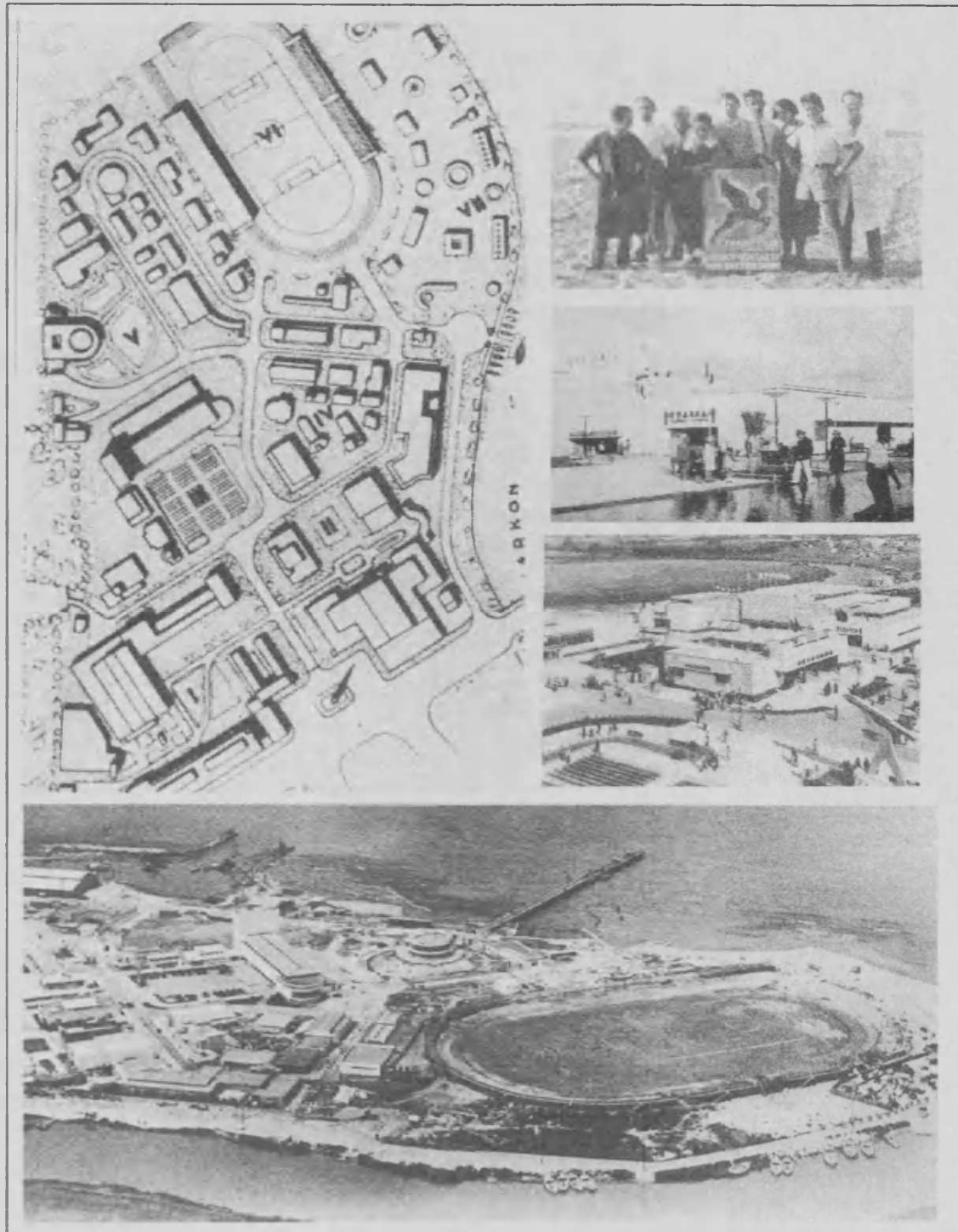


Plate 2.6.1 :

The Levant Fair, 1934

a. The master plan by Richard Kauffmann

b. The architects of the different pavilions photographed at the site

c., d. the entrance area

d. aerial view showing the Maccabiah Stadium and pavilions

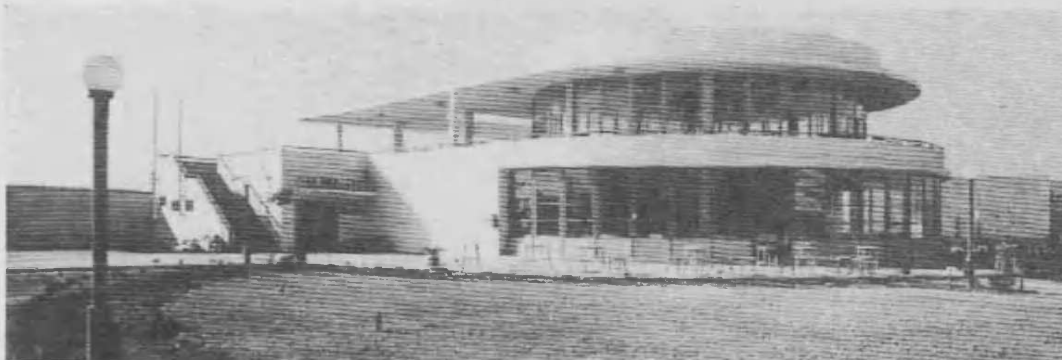
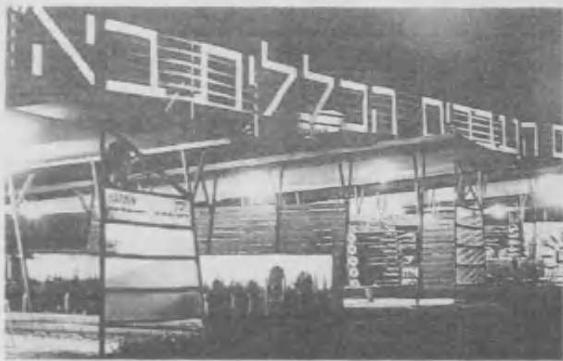


Plate 2.6.2 :

Modern Movement *avant-garde* in Tel Aviv:

- a. Histadrut pavilions (Levant Fair 1932) designed by Arieh Sharon.
- b. Map of the Levant Fair showing location of Café Galina.
- c., d. Café Galina (Levant Fair 1934) designed by Genia Averbuch and associates.

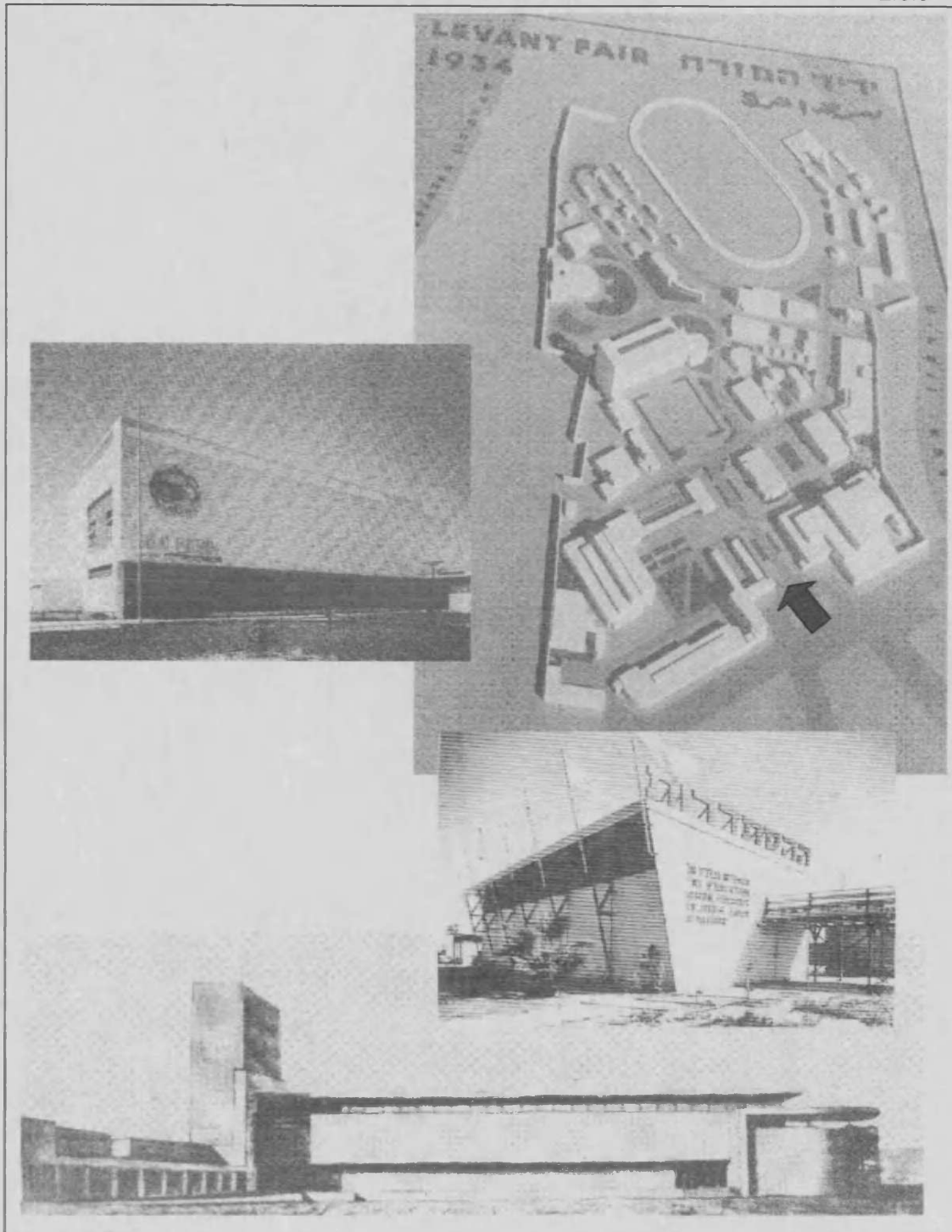


Plate 2.6.3 :

The Levant Fair, 1934:

- a. The original model.
- b. The Great Britain Pavilion by Joseph Neufeld.
- c. The Histadrut Pavilion by Arie Sharon.
- d. The Local Products Pavilion by Richard Kauffmann.

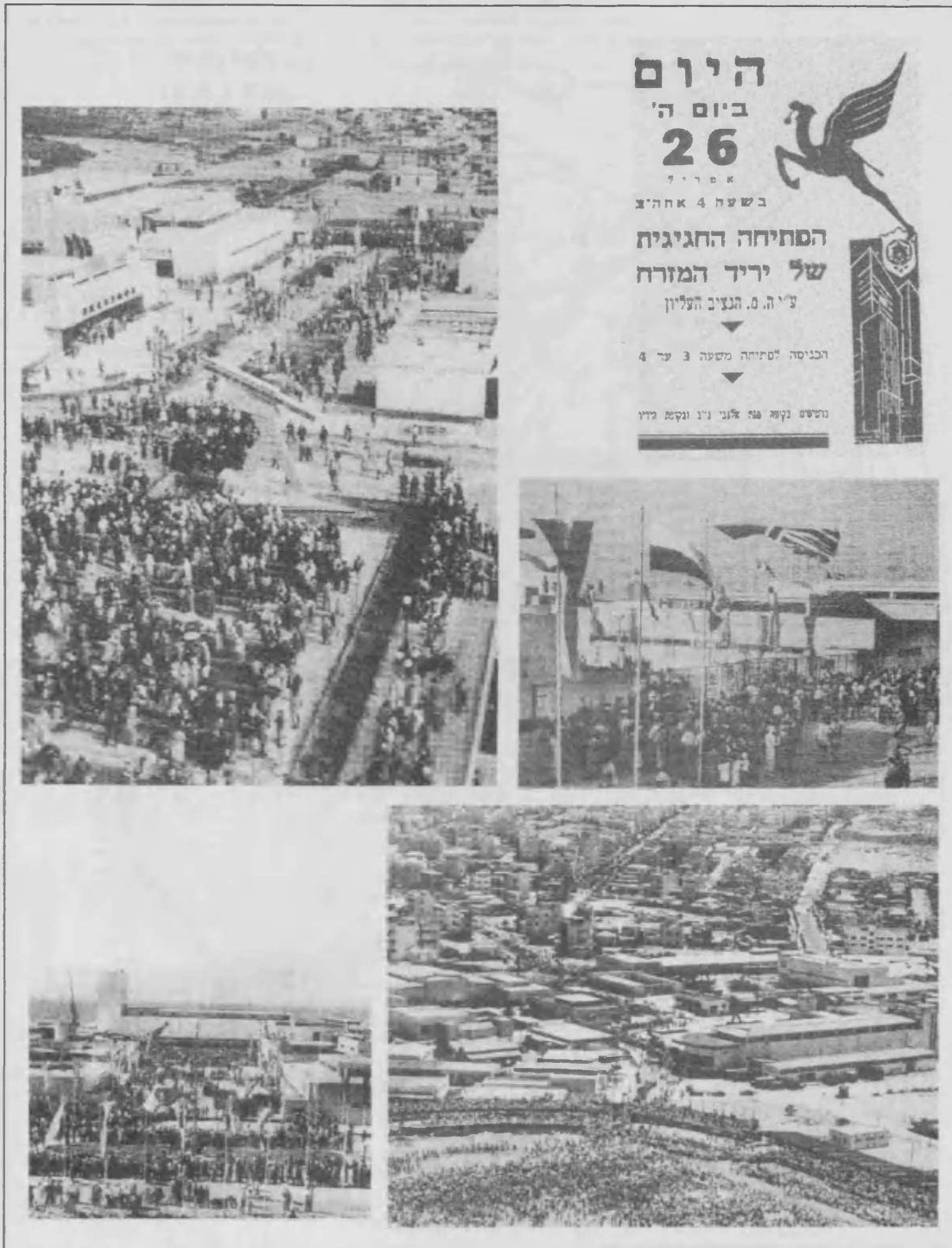


Plate 2.6.4 :

The impact of the Levant Fair on the reception of modern architecture. (600,000 persons visited the fair, at a time when the population of Palestine was just over one million)
 a.,c.,d.,e. photographs published in the local press showing the crowds.
 b. Invitation to the opening of the Levant Fair published in the press. Note the flying camel and the modern architecture illustrated.

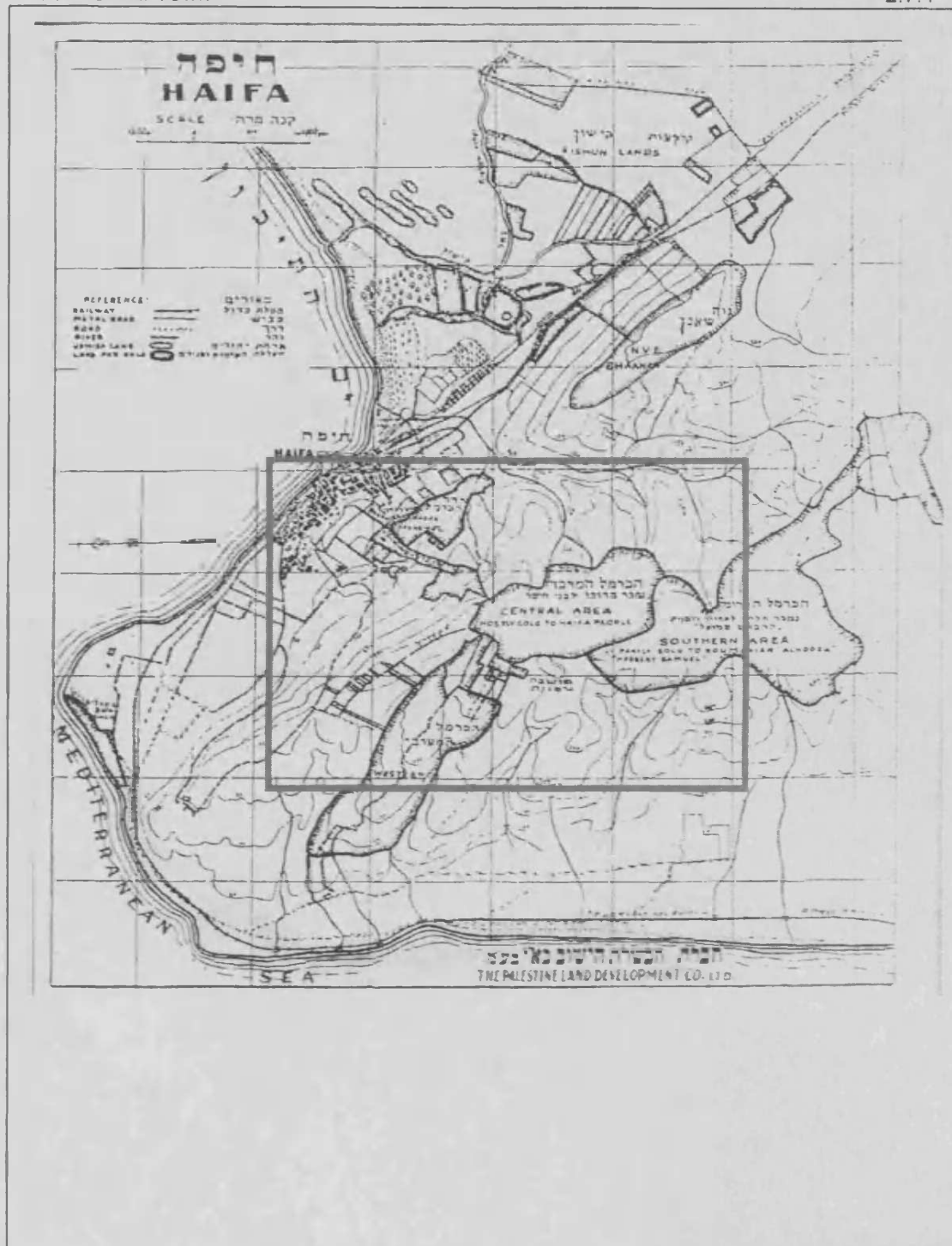


Plate 2.7.1 :

Richard Kauffmann after Patrick Geddes in Haifa:
The Carmel Top Settlements. 1923, PLDC (Palestine Land
Development Co.)

Note the area of Sommerfeld and Mendelsohn's Carmel Hill
Town is inscribed: "Southern [Carmel] Area Partly sold to
Rumanian "Achousa" "Herbert Samuel"". The grid marks are
1000 m. apart.

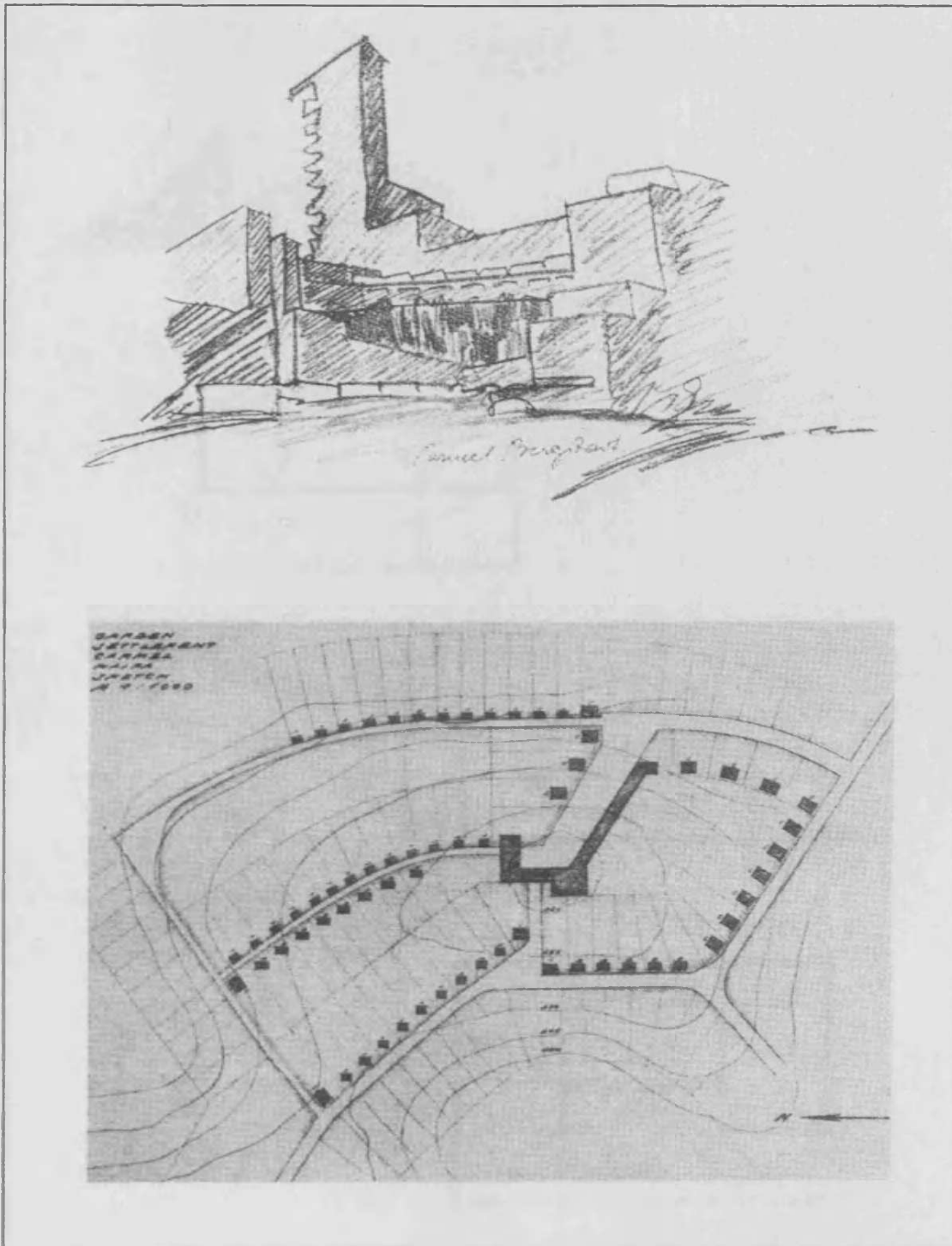


Plate 2.7.2 :

Erich Mendelsohn, Sommerfeld Carmel Garden Settlement.

a. Sketch of the urban centre, 1923. *Die Siedlungskrone* (The Crown of the Settlement)

b. Site plan, 1923

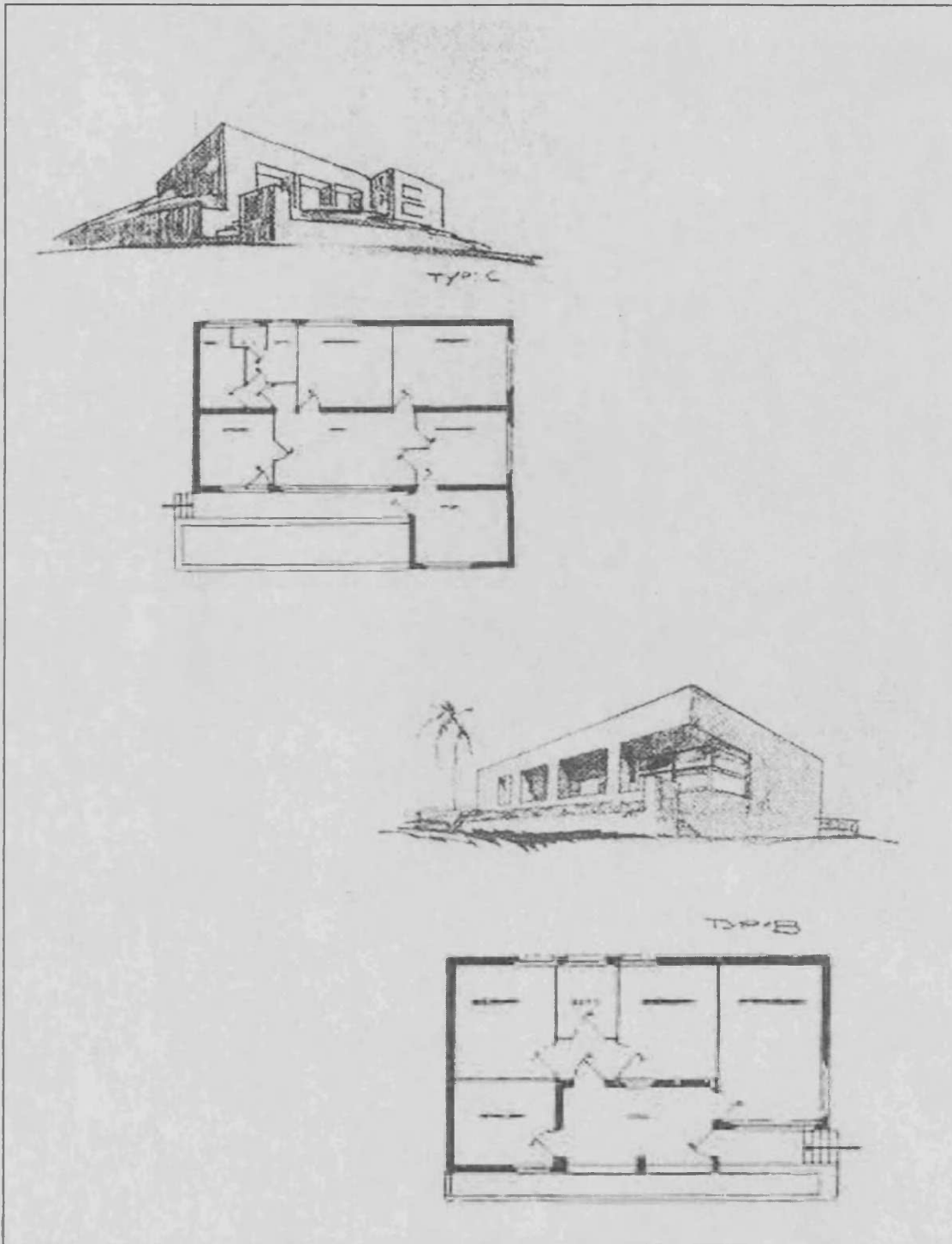


Plate 2.7.3 :

Erich Mendelsohn, Sommerfeld Carmel Garden Settlement, houses design. Note the verandahs.

- a. House type C
- b. House type B

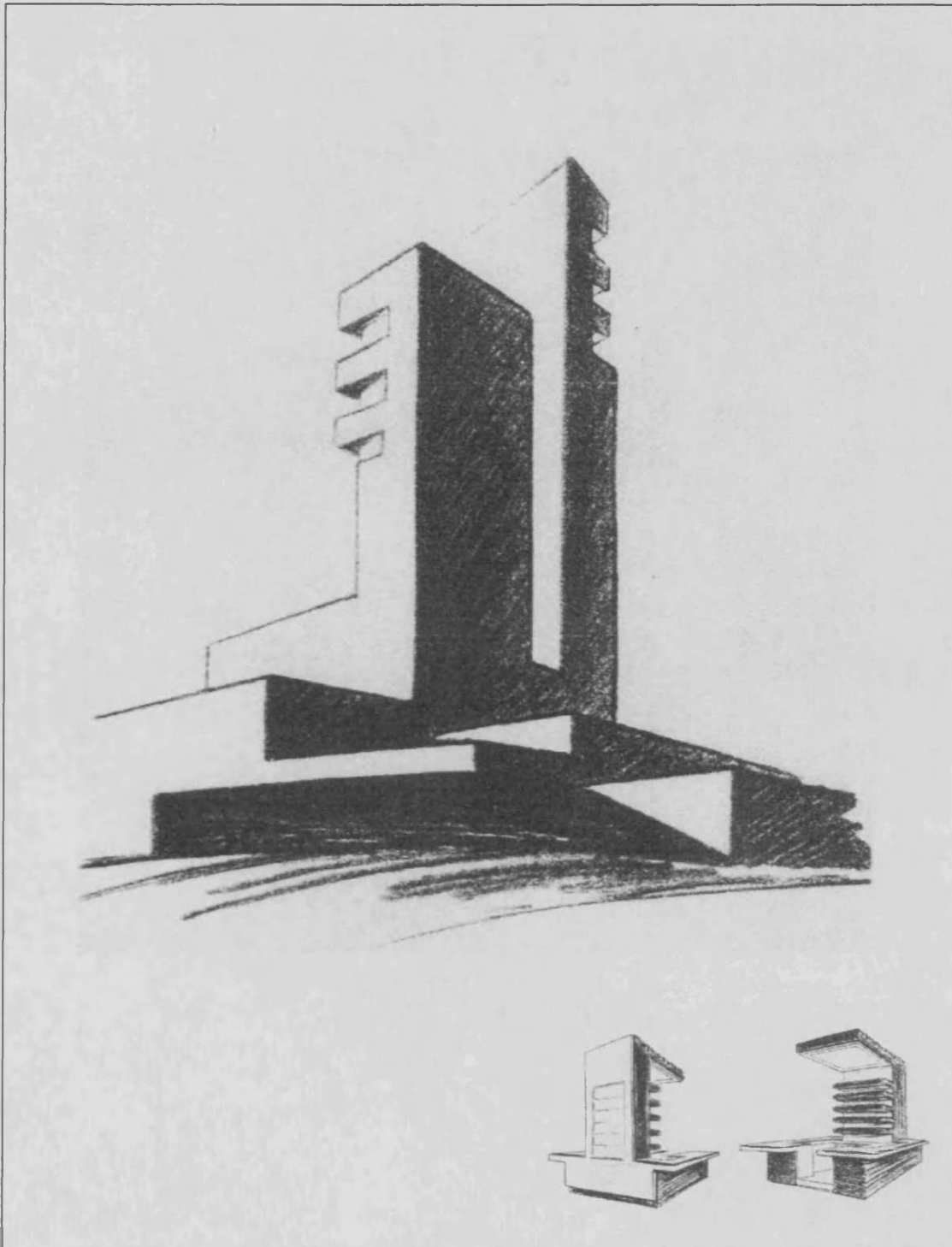


Plate 2.7.4 :

a. Erich Mendelsohn, The Crown of the Carmel, Sommerfeld Carmel Garden Settlement, Sketch, 1923.

b. Eric Mendelsohn, Rudolf Mosse Exhibition Stand. Note the similarity in design.

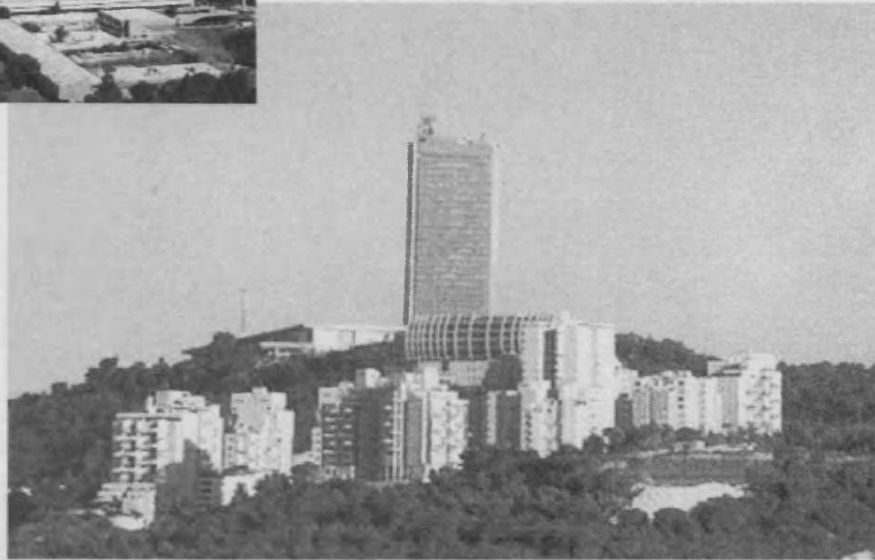


Plate 2.7.5 :

Oscar Niemeyer: Haifa University, designed late 1960s

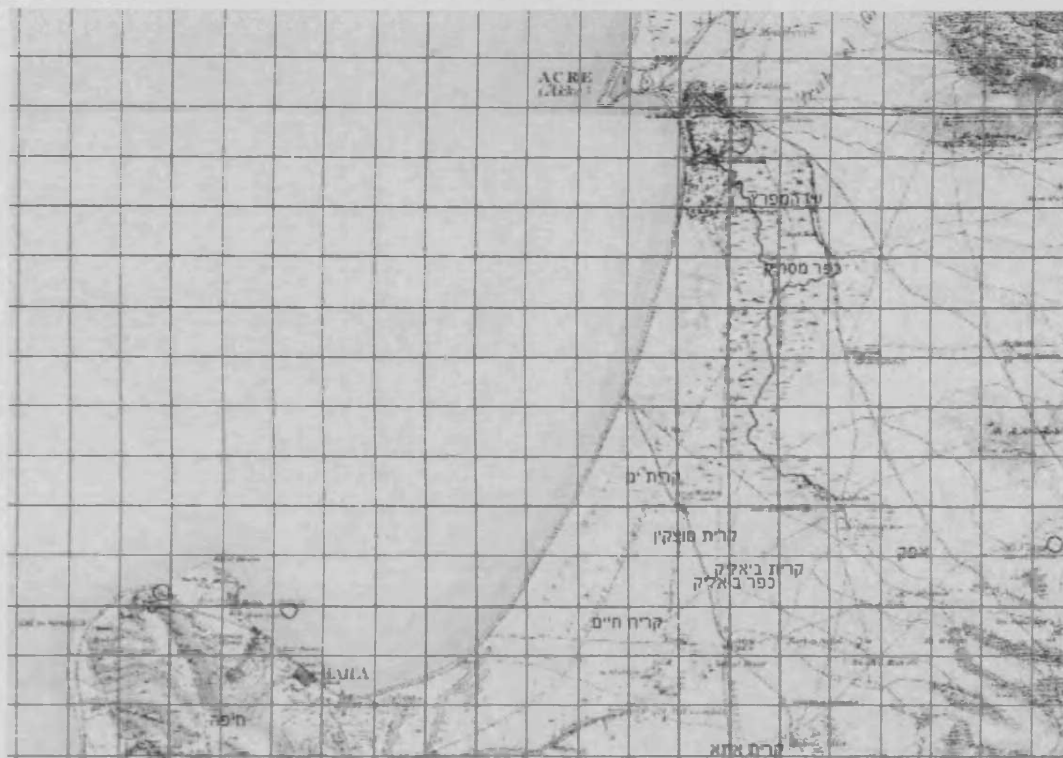


Plate 2.8.1 :

The "almost perfect tabula rasa": the baylands between Acre and Haifa. (modern drawing based on the PEF Survey of Palestine map of 1886)



Plate 2.8.2 :

First proposal for Haifa Bay:

- a. Richard Kauffmann, Haifa Bay Development Plan, Haifa Bay Development Co., 1926.
- b. The precedent: Berlage's Amsterdam South master plan, Plan Zuid, 1902-15. Note the port to the left.
- c. "Bird's Eye Perspective of Proposed Exploitation of the Haifa Bay", Kurt Reinsch's drawing for Richard Kauffmann's proposal.

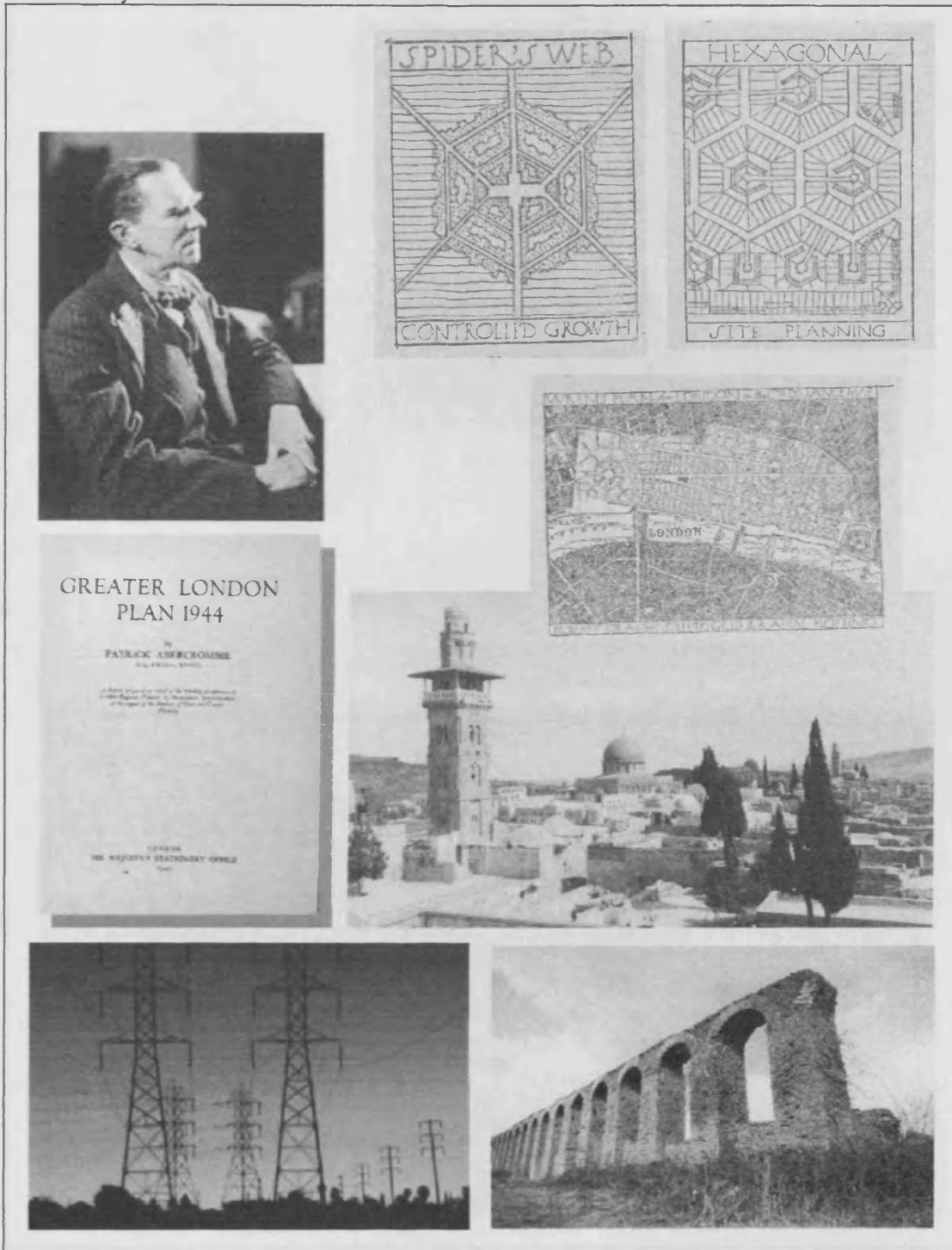


Plate 2.8.3 :

- Sir Patrick Abercrombie and the Holy Land
- Portrait, 1940s, and cover of the Greater London Plan.
 - Diagrams by Abercrombie: "Spiders' Web Controlled Growth"; "Hexagonal Site Planning".
 - Wren's London: The New Jerusalem
 - Jerusalem in the 1930s, a "palimpsest of planning"
 - Pylons and aqueducts.

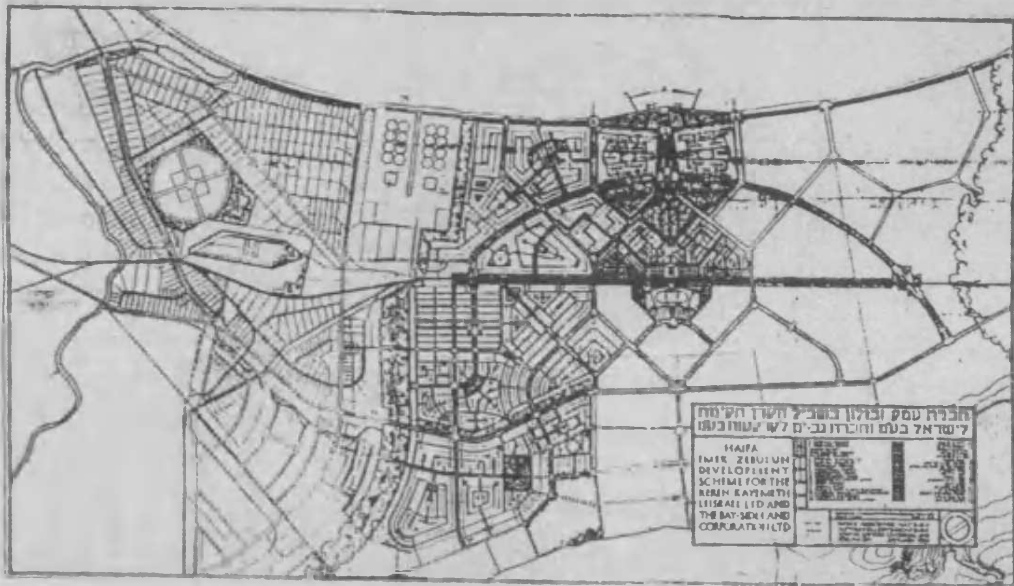


Plate 2.8.4 :

Second proposal for Haifa Bay: the Abercrombie-Holliday Emek Zebulun Development Scheme, January 1934.

Note the roads' web resemblance with Wren's Plan for London, 1666 shown above (here represented in a drawing by Abercrombie), especially if seen upside down, so that the shore line of Haifa Bay coincides with the Thames' south bank.

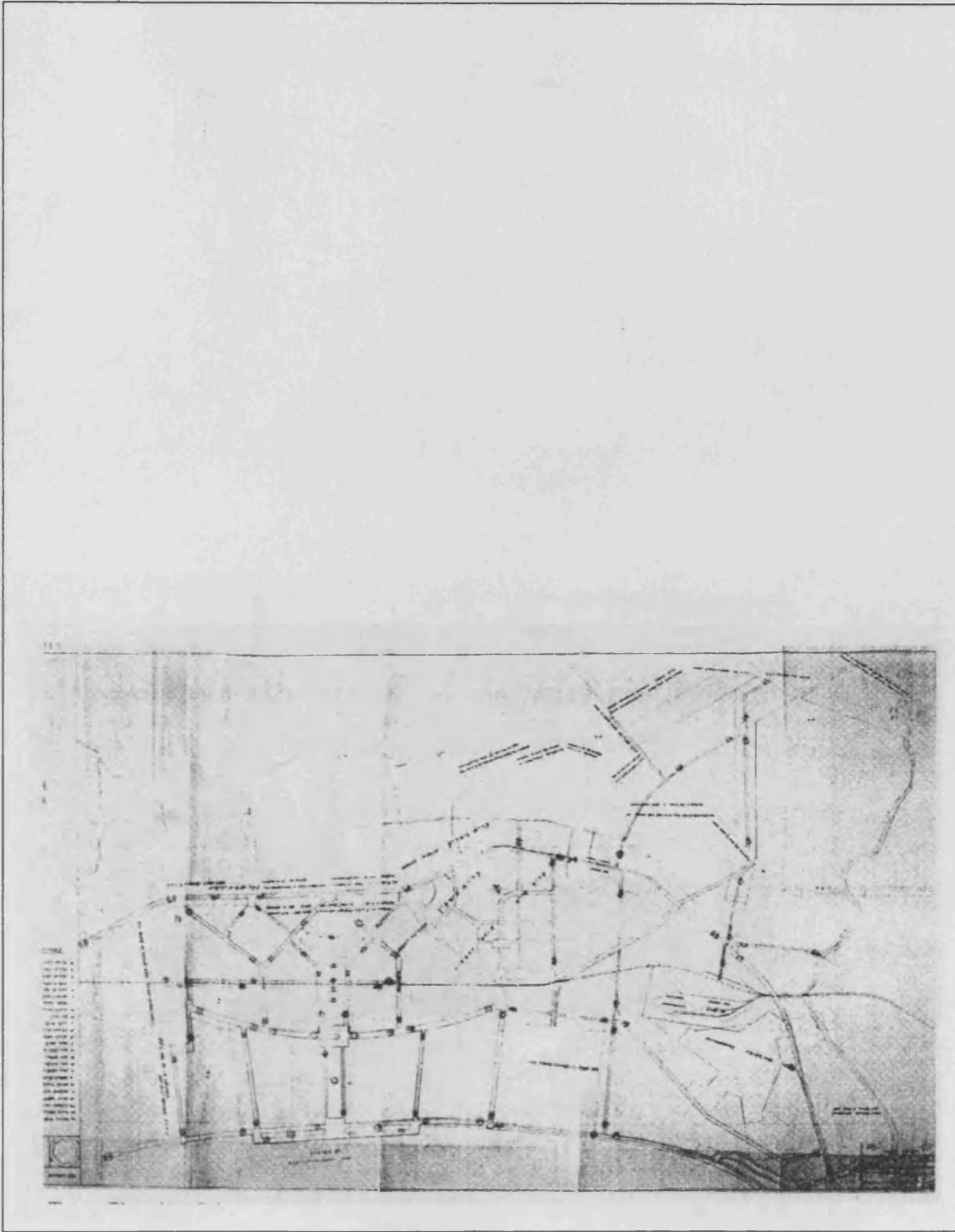


Plate 2.8.6 :

Third proposal for Haifa Bay: Patrick Abercrombie, Town Planning Scheme, Emek Zebulun, 1936.

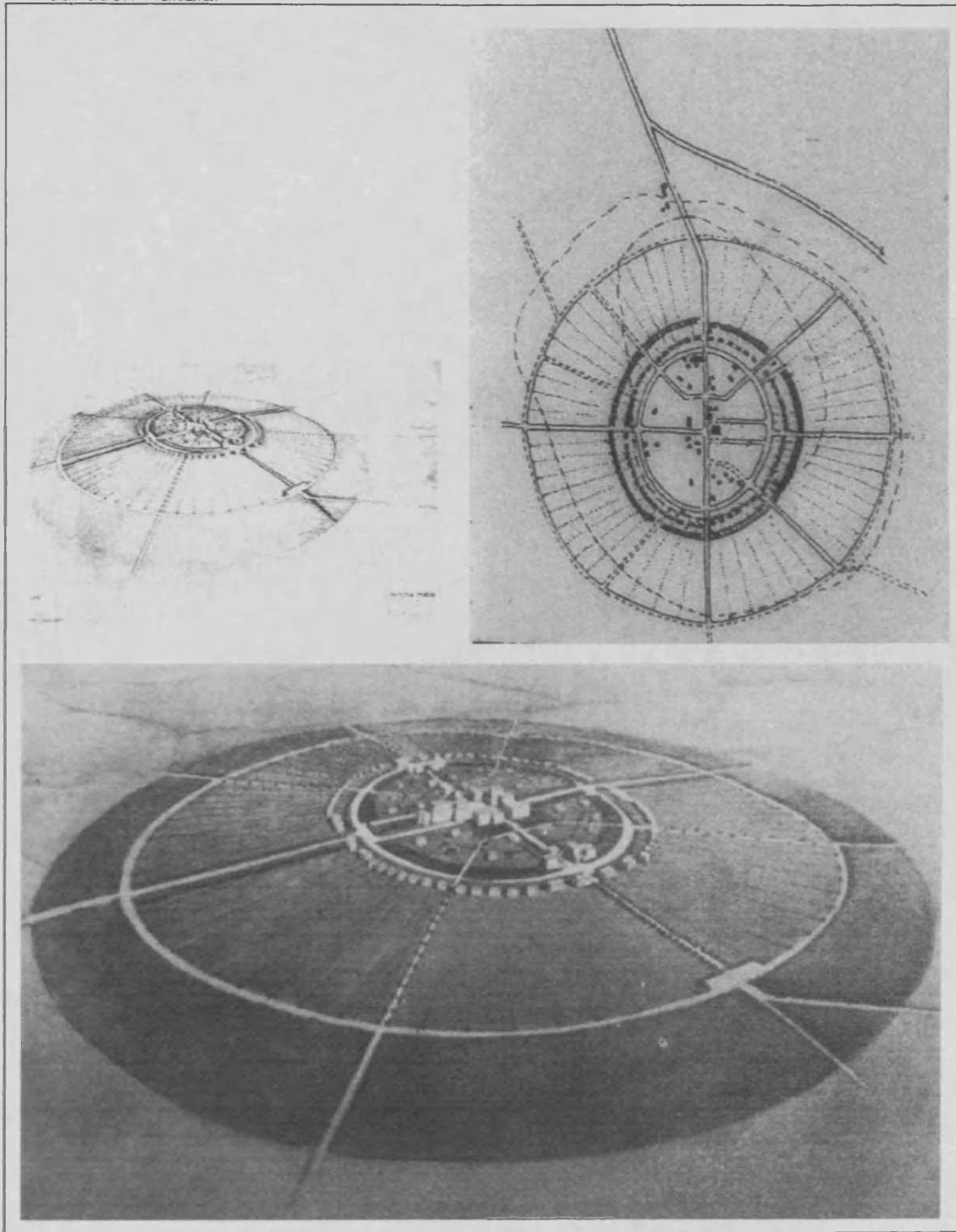


Plate 2.9.2 : Nahalal, different drawings by Kauffman, undated.

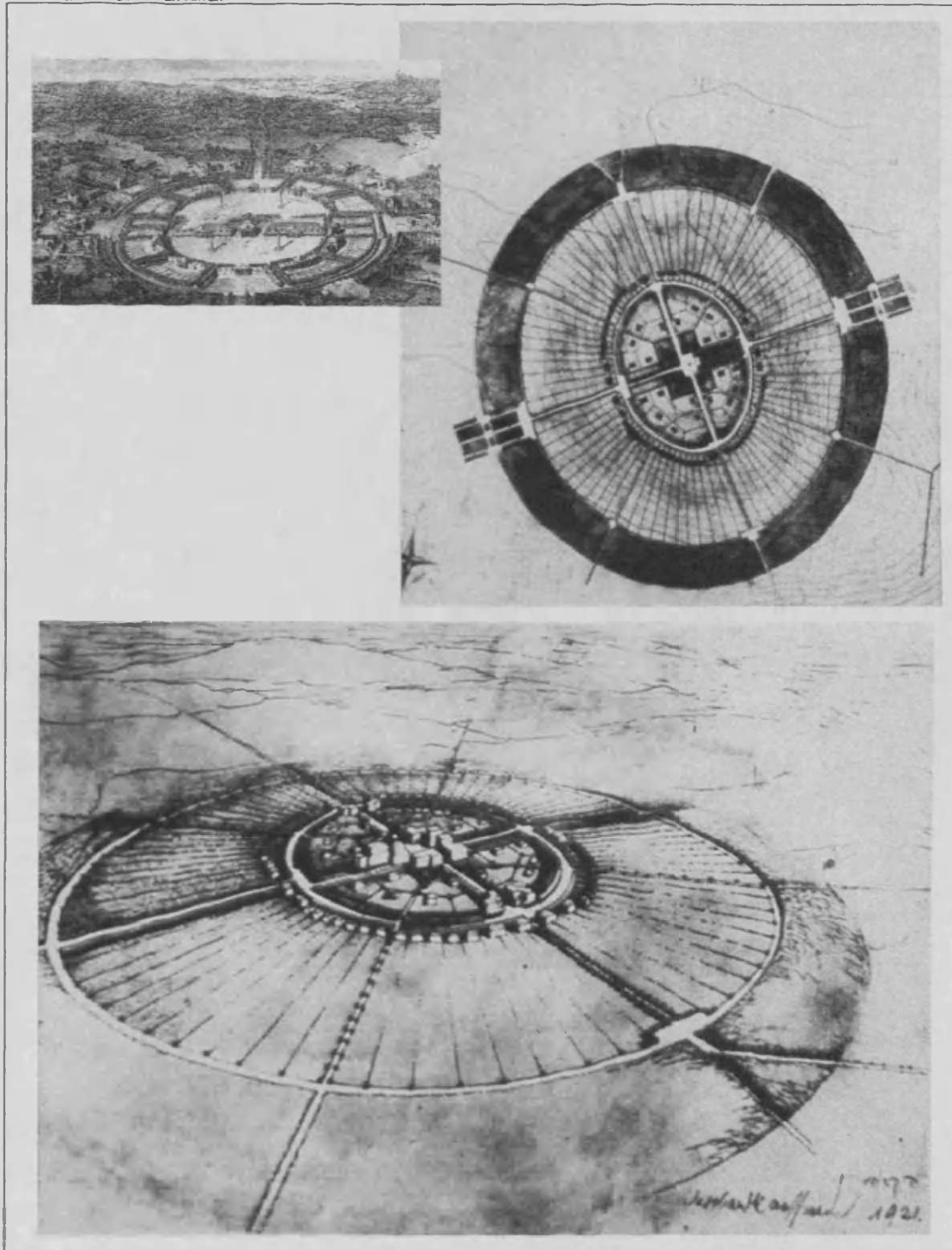


Plate 2.9.3 :

- a. The clear precedent for Nahalal: Nicolas Ledoux's Saline de Chaux.
- b. General Scheme for Nahalal, unlabelled
- c. Perspective drawing, signed Richard Kauffman, dated 1921.

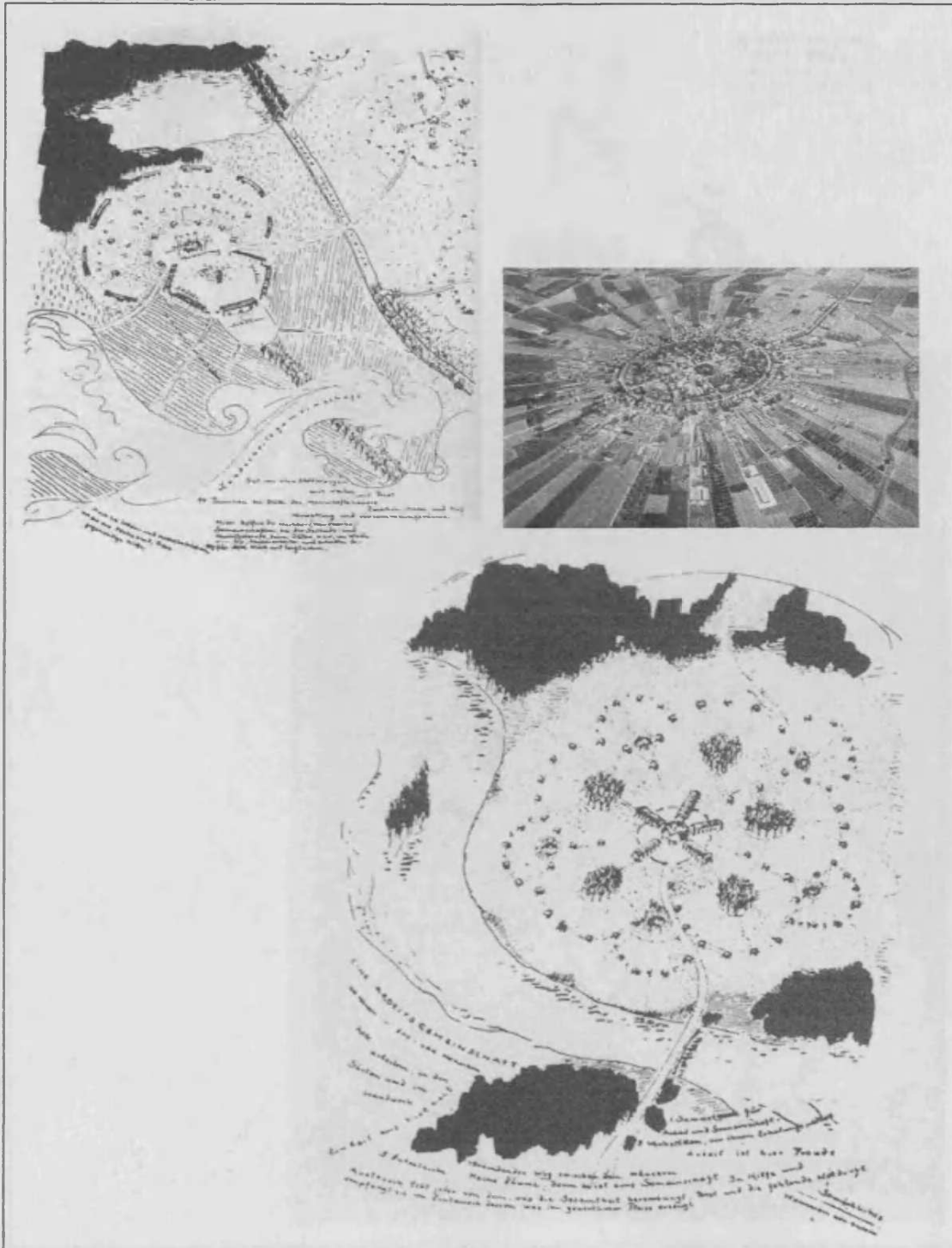


Plate 2.9.4 :

The hitherto unnoticed precedent: Bruno Taut, *Dissolution of the Cities*.

- a. Present day aerial view of Nahalal.
- b. Illustration number 3: "Agricultural Co-operative".
- c. Illustration number 2: "A Work Co-operative".

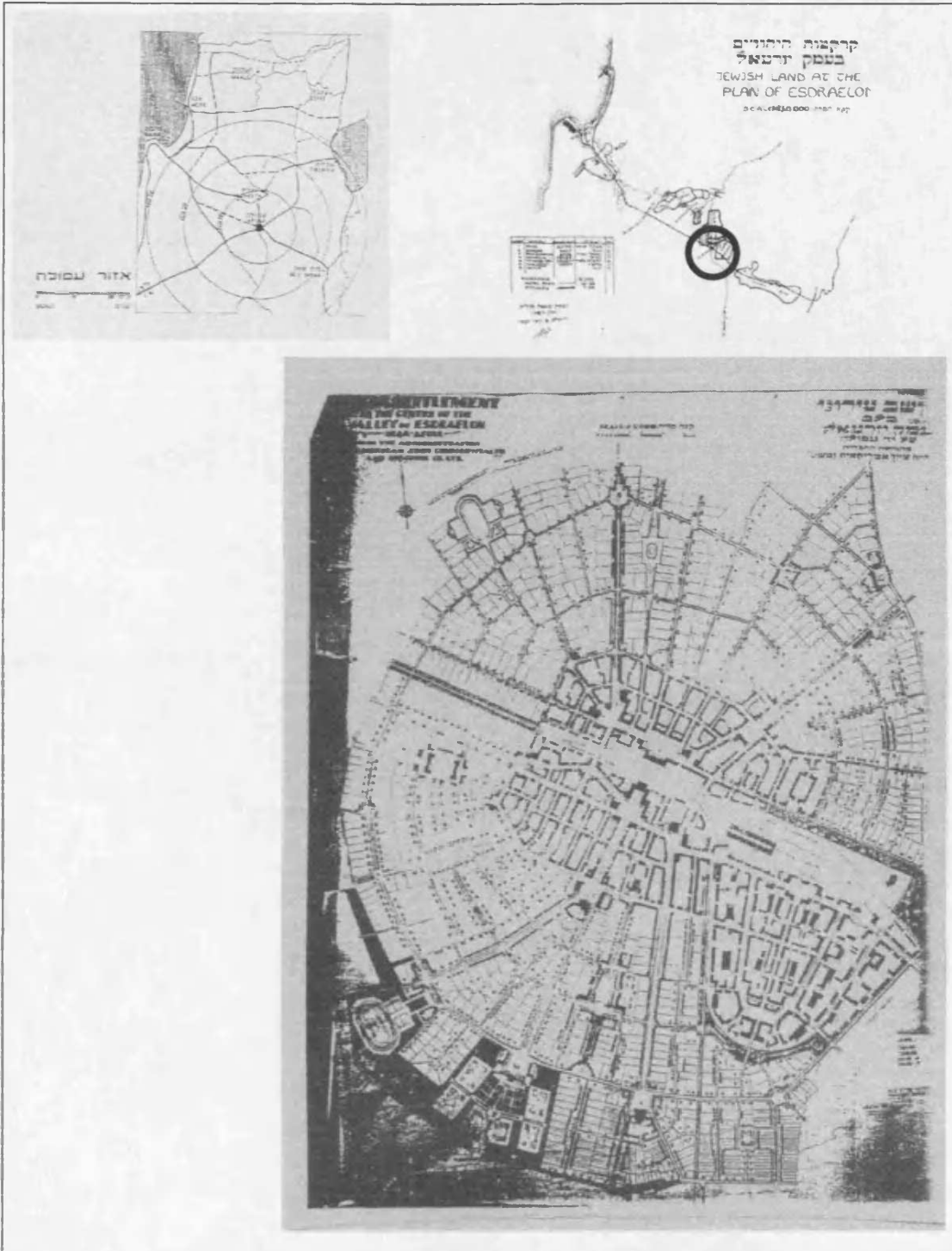


Plate 2.10.1 : a. Original plan of the Esdraelon region, showing the location of Afula
 b. The location of Afula as centre of the valley.
 c. Richard Kauffmann: Afula Master Plan, drawn at 1:2000 Labeled in Hebrew and English "Urban? Settlement in the Centre of the Valley of Esdraelon Near Afule. Under The Administration American Zion Commonwealth and Meshek Co. Ltd." A further legend on the lower right corner gives the date: "Jerusalem March 1925", and part of R. Kauffmann's signature. The rest is illegible.



Plate 2.10.2 :

The original drawings:

a. Afula Perspective 1926 (Bezalel Slide Archive Library)

b. "Bird's eye view of the projected town in the Valley of Esdraelon". The hill is biblical Giv'at Hamoreh; Nazareth remains hidden near the horizon, to the left (north-west). Note sport stadium in the foreground.



Plate 2.10.3 :

- a. Afula, aerial view showing the present day town, 1989
- b. Afula, aerial view, 1937. The railway station and the road to Nazareth are the only features that have not changed. Note the central Boulevard, the Synagogue in the foreground, and the water tower. North of Afula are discernible other rural settlements of the valley of Esdraelon planned by Richard Kauffmann in the 1920s.



Plate 2.10.4 :

Afula map, 2005, showing the persistence of Kauffmann's scheme

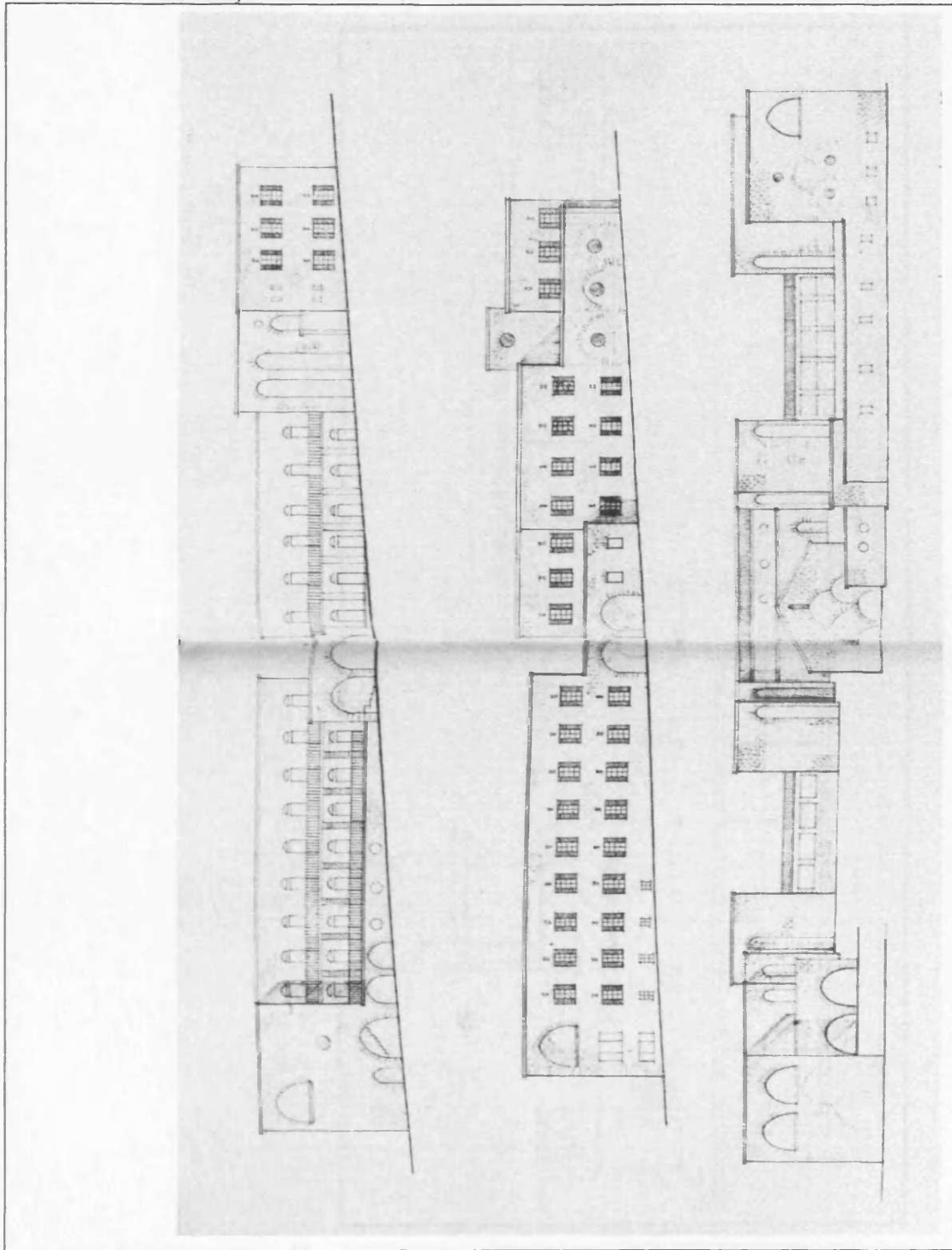


Plate 2.11.1 :

Leopold Krakauer's phalanstery proposal for "main buiding, community structure" Beit Alpha, elevations, 1926. Note the *rue gallerie* and small upper windows

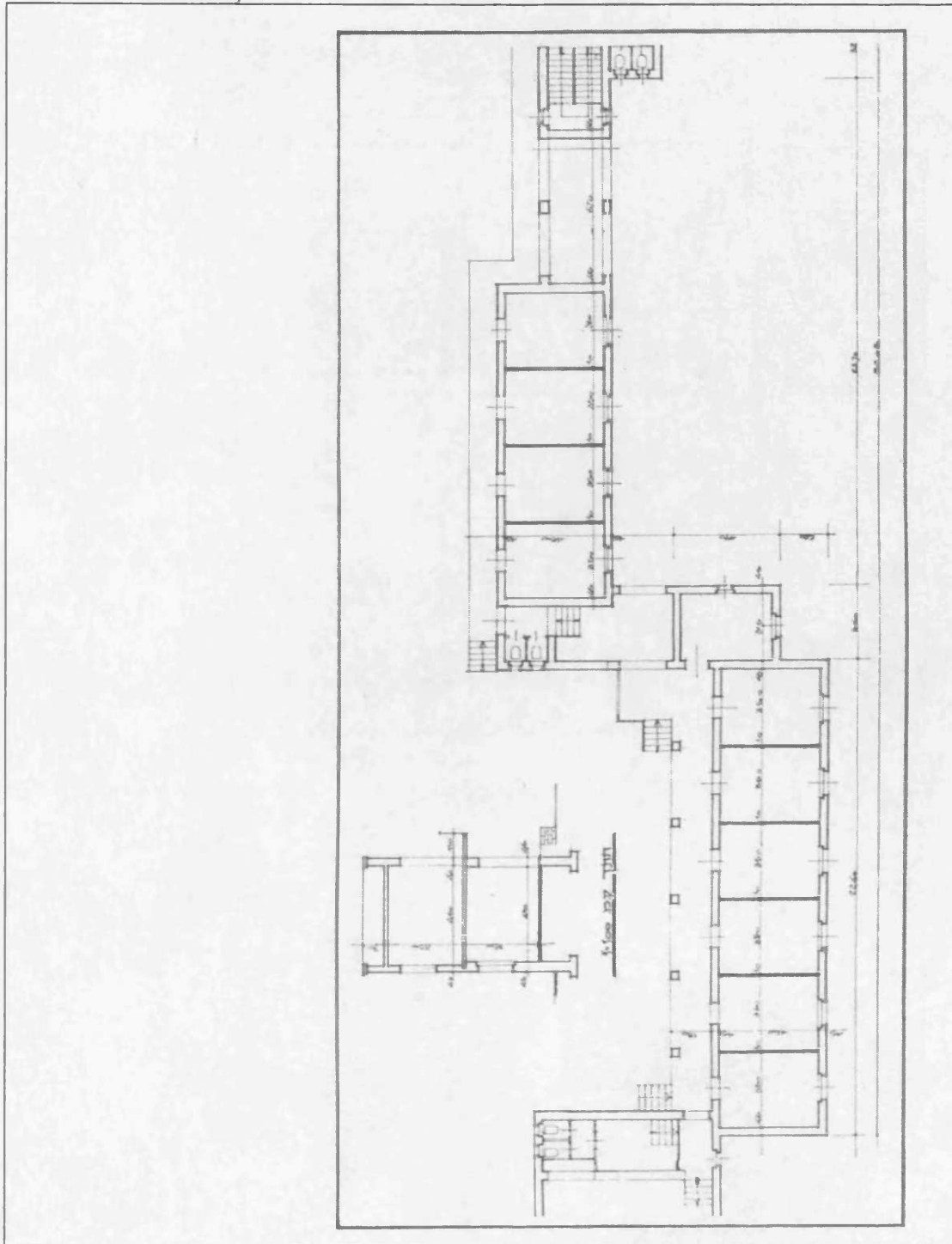


Plate 2.11.2 :

Leopold Krakauer's phalanstery proposal for Beit Alpha, [partial] plan and section, 1926. Note the modular rooms and the *cruce gallerie*.

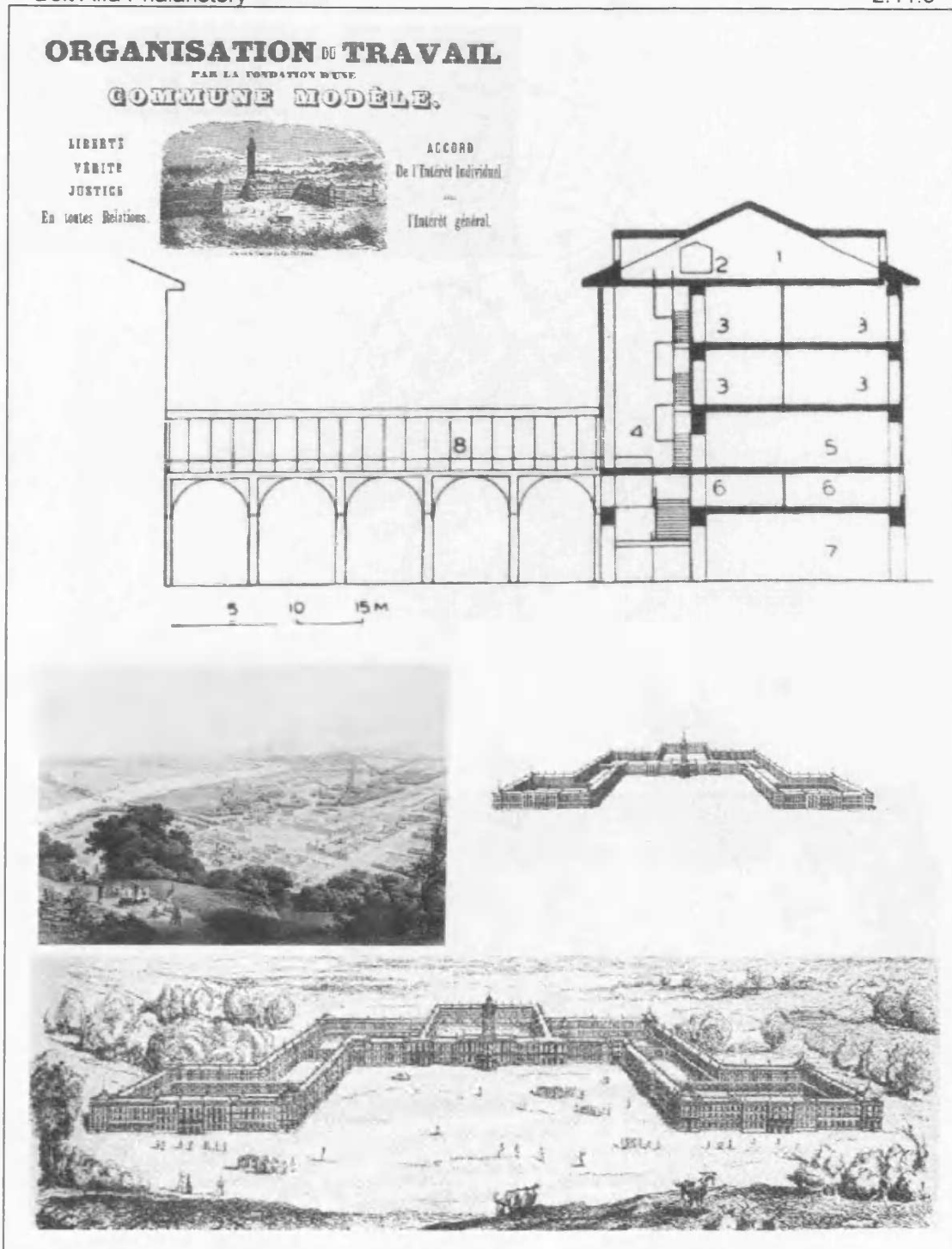


Plate 2.11.3 :

The precedent: Charles Fourier's Phalanstère, c. 1834, "the model commune" in anonymous engravings. Note the countryside setting and the section showing the *rue gallerie*.

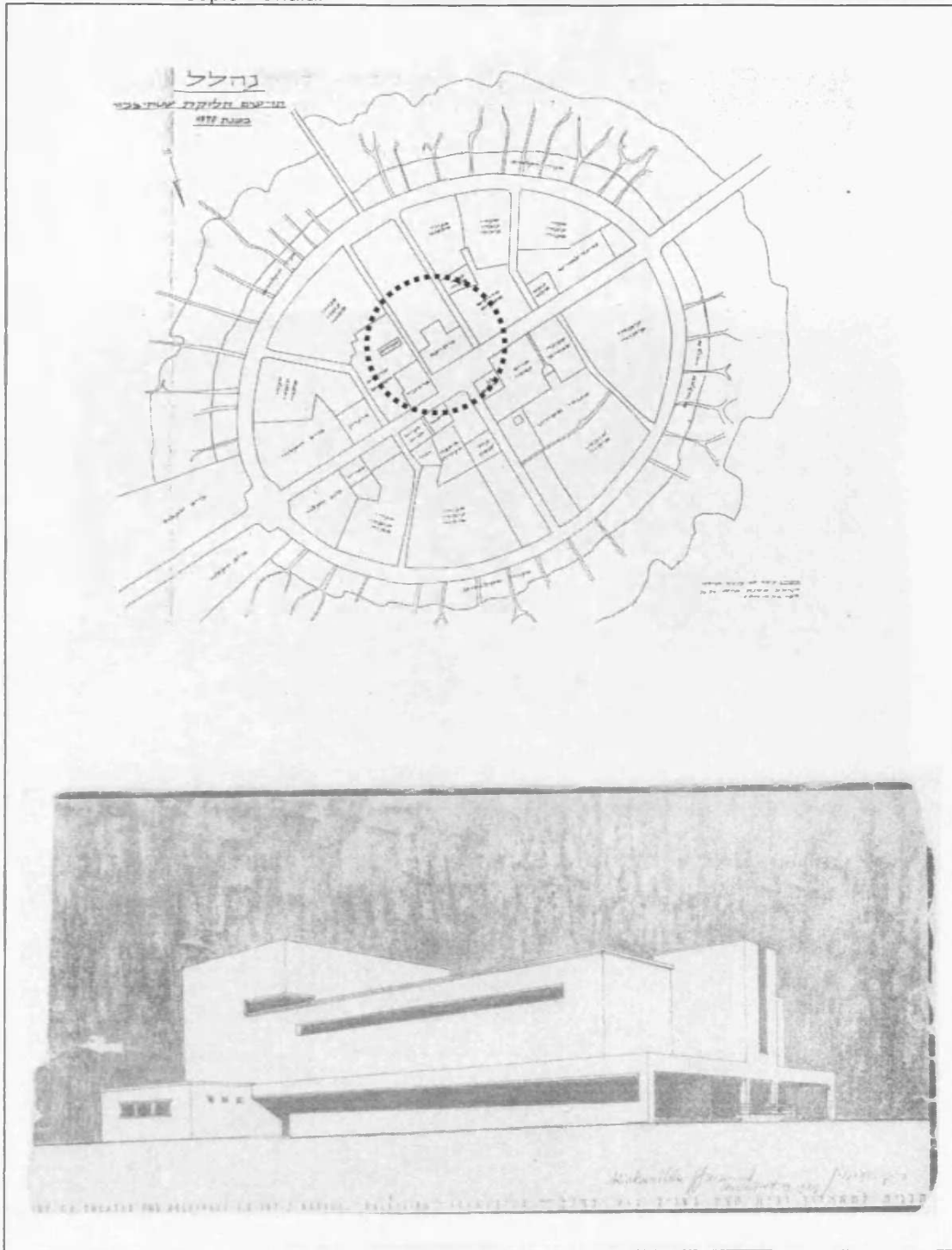


Plate 2.12.1 :

Perspective drawing labelled in German and Hebrew, "Plan of Theatre and House of the People for Nahalal District, July 1929, Jerusalem; [signed] Architect Richard Kauffmann". Note the original ribbon windows and the location of House of the People, here shown in a map of the centre of Nahalal drawn in 1970.

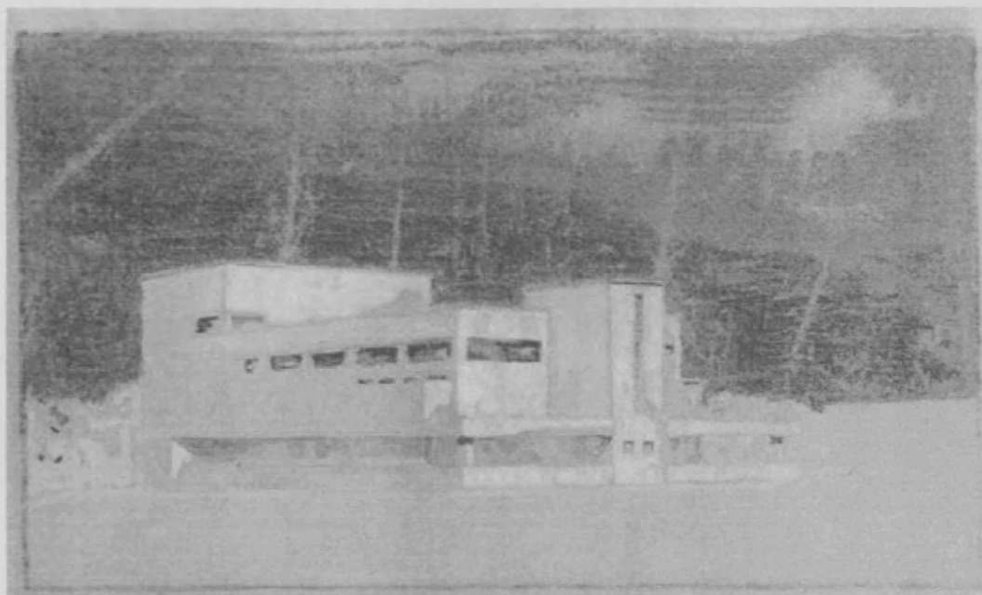


Plate 2.12.2 :

Color perspective, unlabelled, showing the windows as built. Note the emphasis on the Mediterranean blue sky and strong, blinding sunlight.

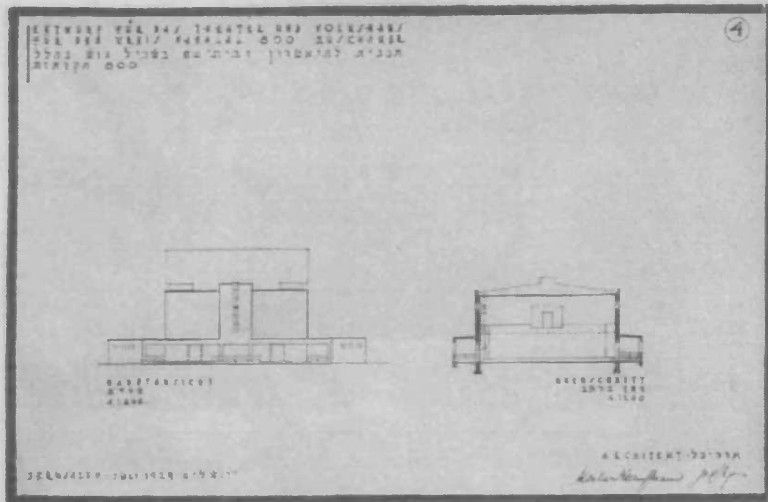
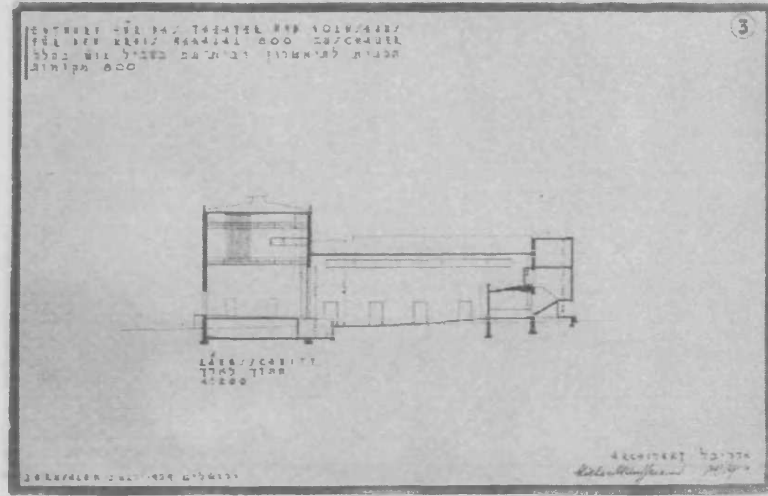


Plate 2.12.3 :

Measured drawings, labelled in German and Hebrew, "Plan of Theatre and House of the People for Nahalal District, 1:200. July 1929, Jerusalem; [signed] Architect Richard Kauffmann".

a. Longitudinal section showing gallery, projection room, ribbon windows and stage space.

b. Front elevation and transversal section.

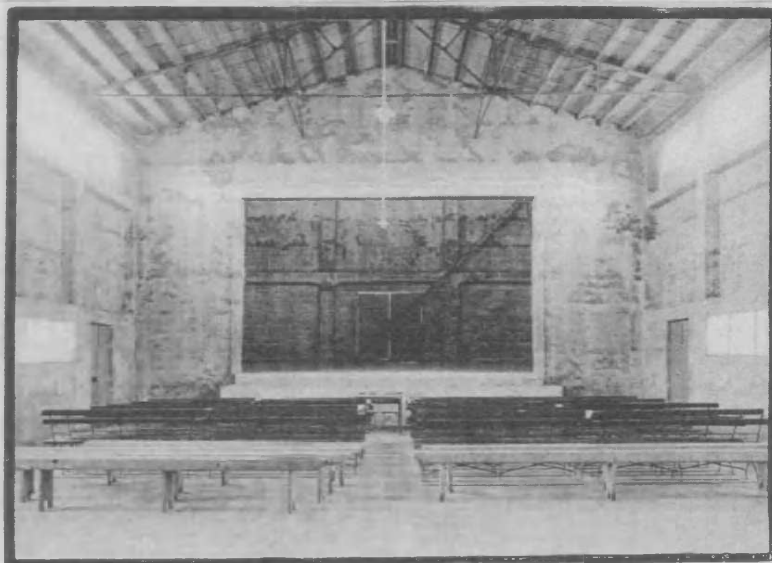
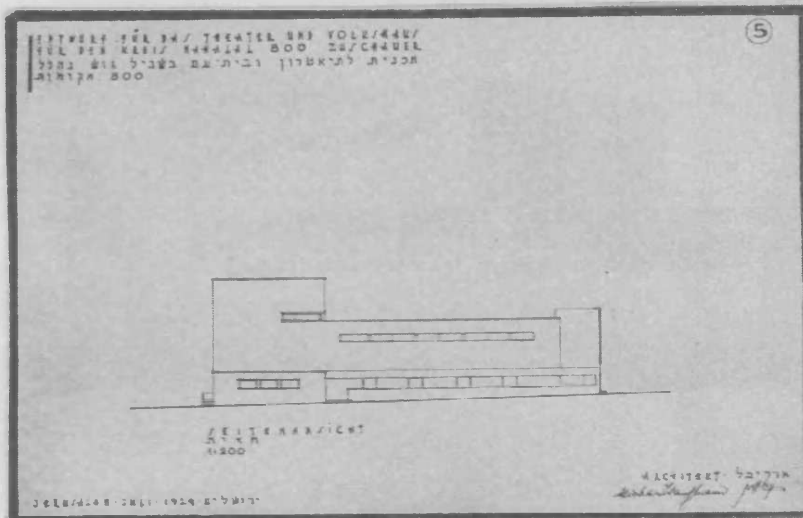


Plate 2.12.4 :

a. Side elevation, labelled in German and Hebrew: "Plan of Theatre and House of the People for Nahalal District, 1:200. July 1929, Jerusalem; [signed] Architect Richard Kauffmann."

b. Interior under construction, already in use, showing original light metallic roof, benches and stage.



Plate 2.12.5 :

The House of the People finishing construction, 1930.

a. View from the west

b. View from the east showing roof.

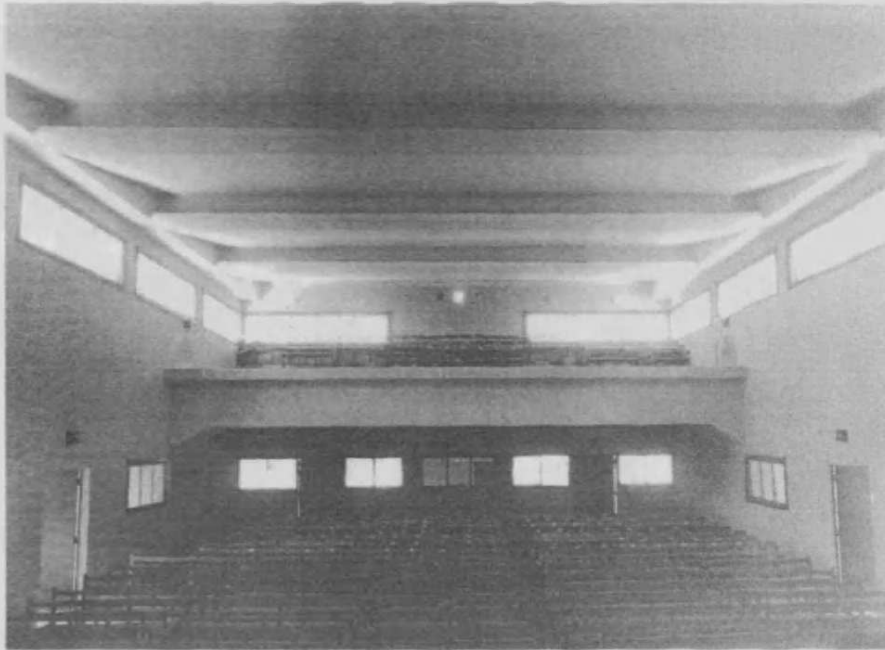
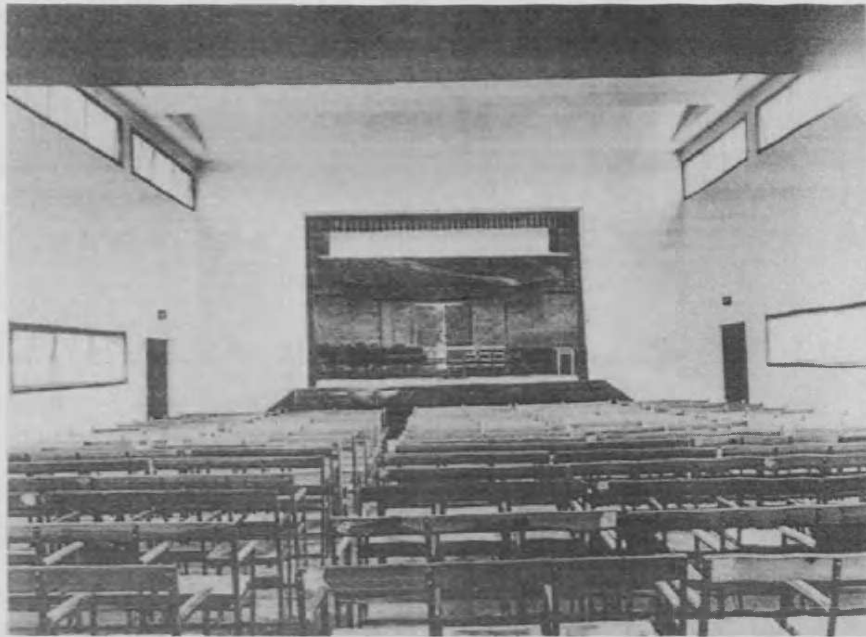


Plate 2.12.6 :

Interior after the alteration of the roof, showing the wooden benches, late 1930s.

a. Interior looking towards the stage.

b. Interior looking towards the gallery.

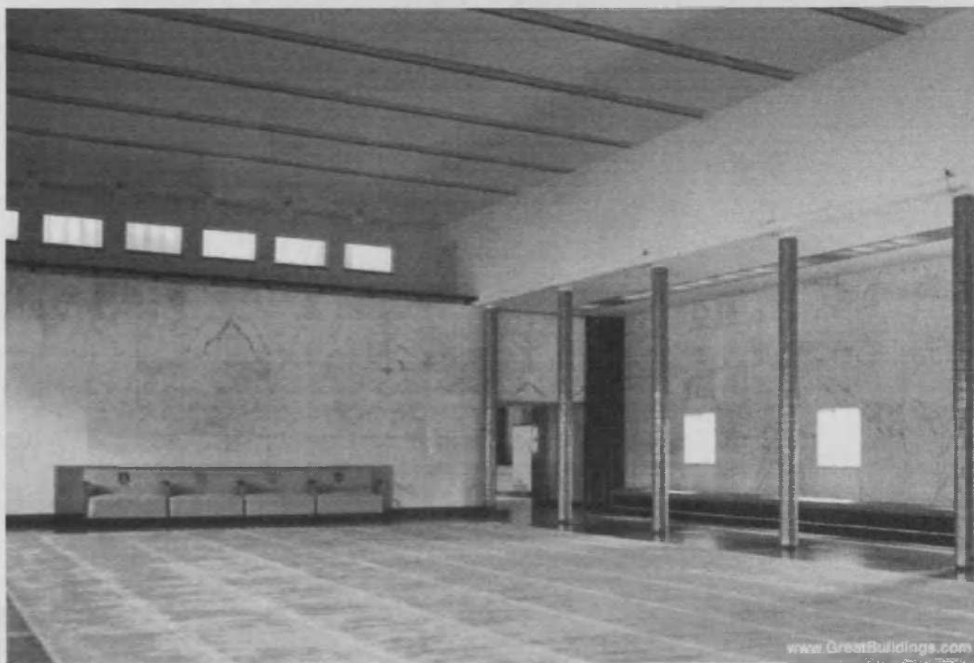
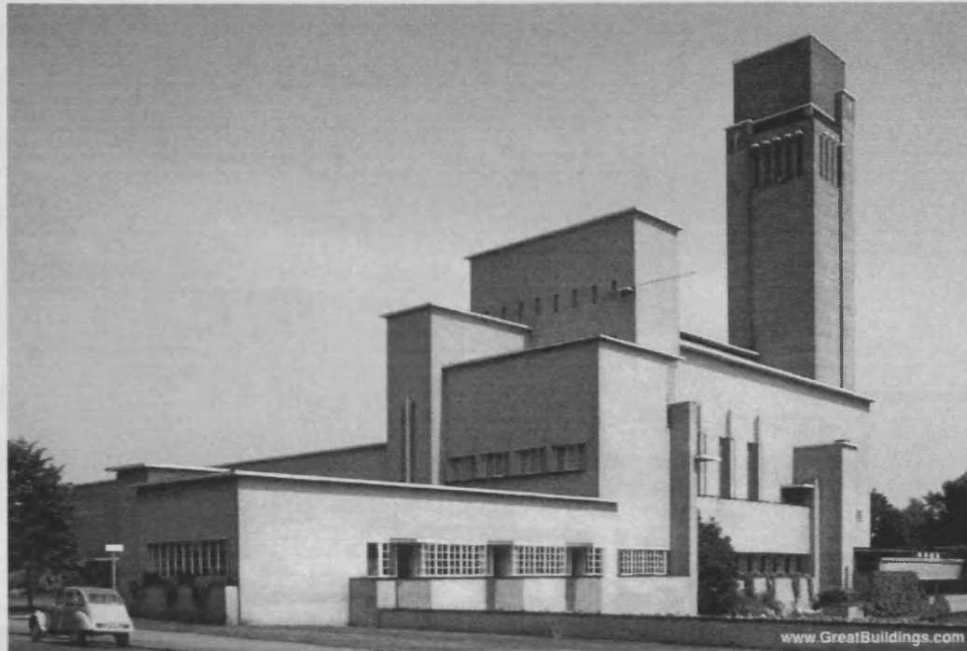


Plate 2.12.7 :

Willem Marinus Dudok, Hilversum Town Hall 1924, built 1928-31.

a. Exterior view showing massing.

b. Interior showing simplicity of design similar to Nahalal's.

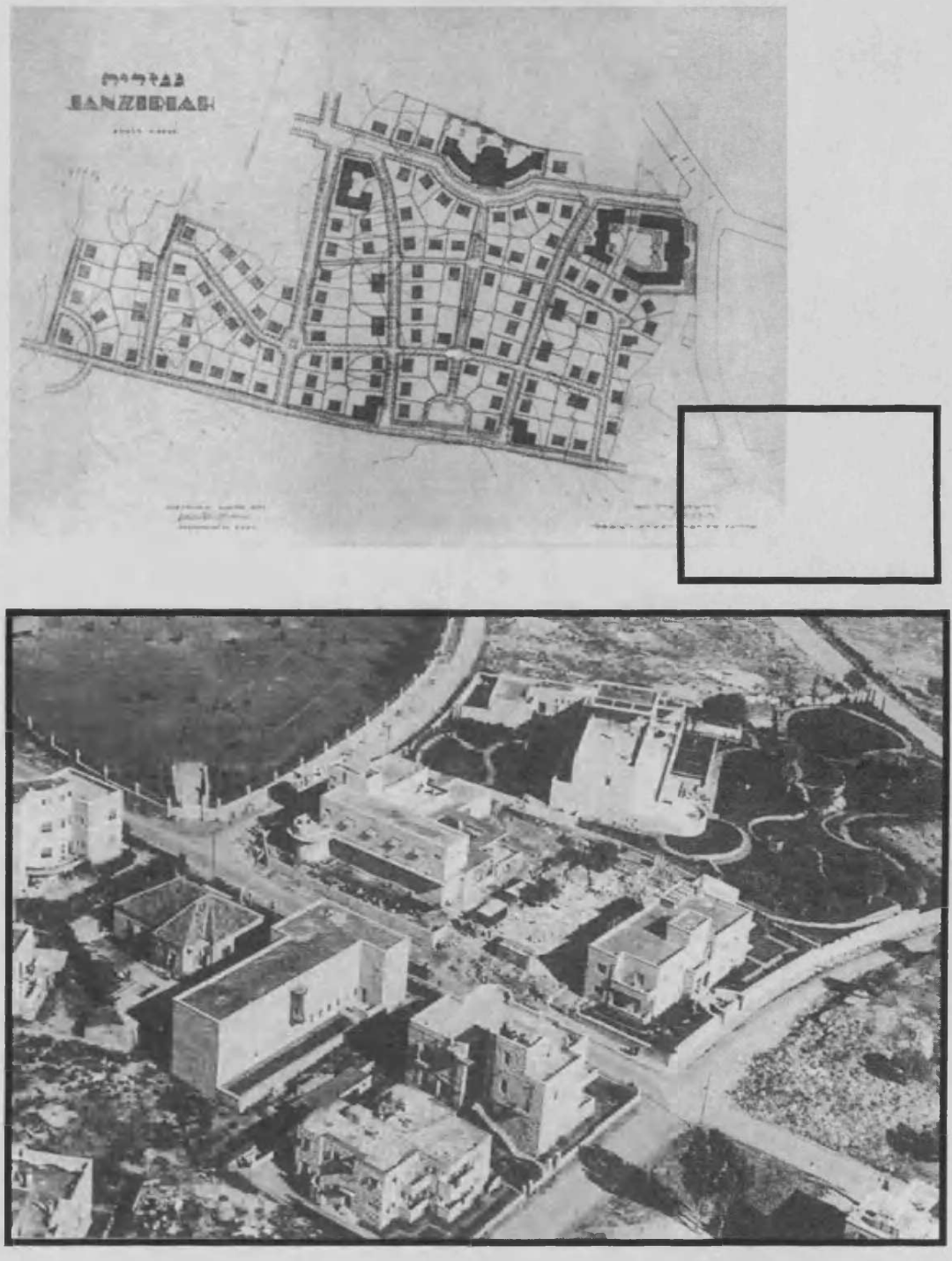
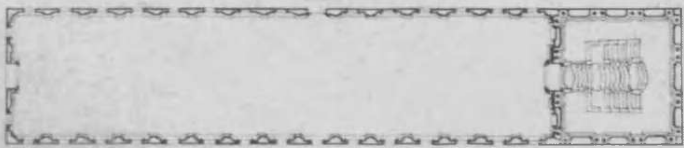
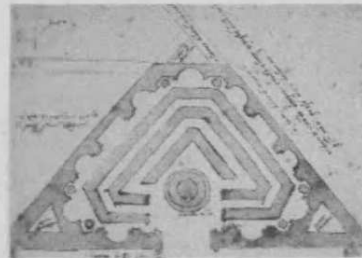
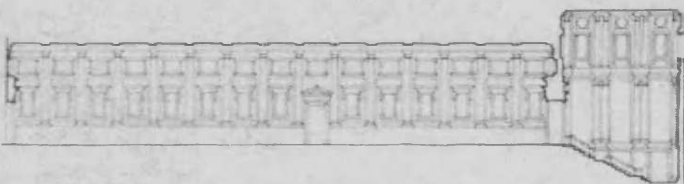


Plate 2.13.1 :

a. Original plan of Rehavia (then Zanziriah) by R. Kauffmann, 1921. Schocken's plots are outside the plan to the southeast.

b. Aerial photograph of Rehavia, Balfour St., showing the grounds of Terra Sancta College to the north, Villa Schocken with Jellicoe's garden, the Schocken Library showing its T-shaped scheme and southern oriel window, and Kauffmann's Agion House in between with circular volume at the corner. (Published in Regina Stephan, ed., *Erich Mendelsohn: Dynamics and Function*, p. 219).



0 5 m

Plate 2.13.2 :

a. Aerial photograph of Florence, showing the Palazzo Medici and the San Lorenzo church complex comprising the Medici Library.

b. Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564), Biblioteca Laurentiana (the Medici Library), 1524-1534. Section and plan, showing location of rare book room (this not executed, plan kept at the Casa Buonarroti, Florence).

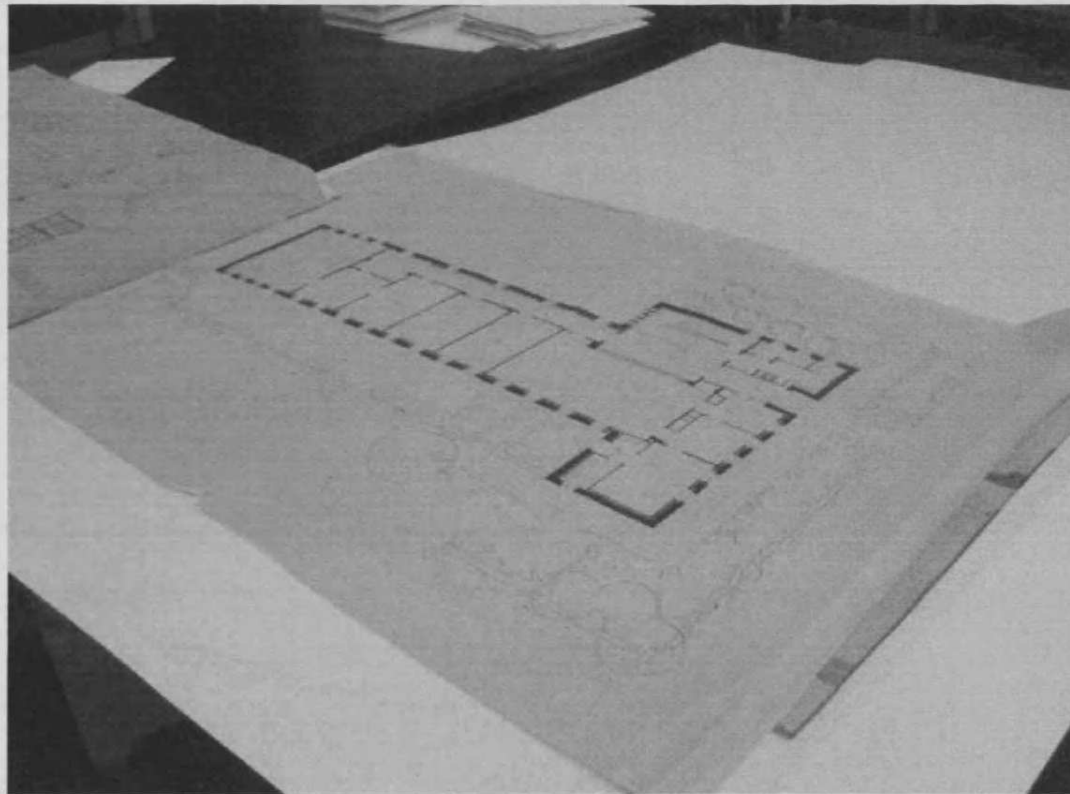
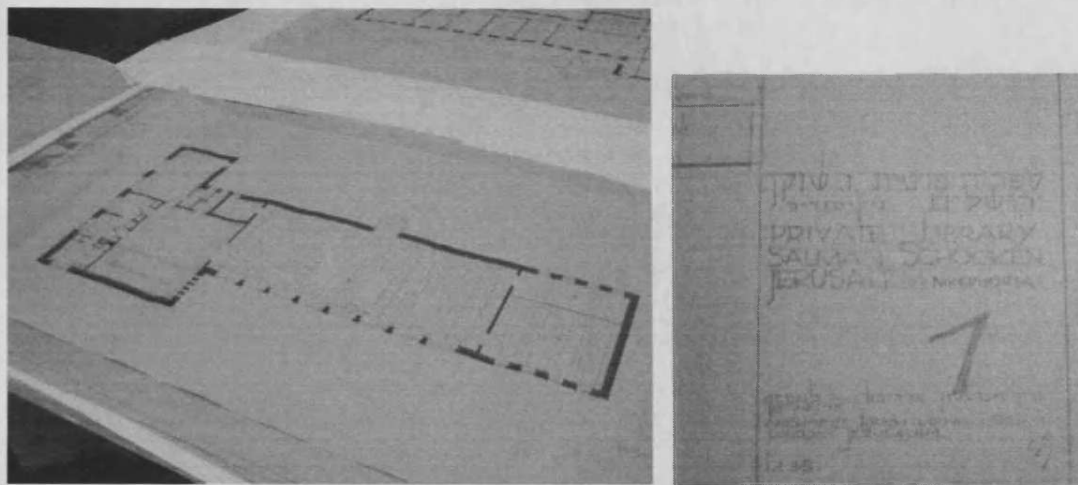


Plate 2.13.3 :

a. Drawing of first floor; label.

b. Ground floor plan showing front garden, entrance porch, offices, staircase space and secondary reading and study rooms.

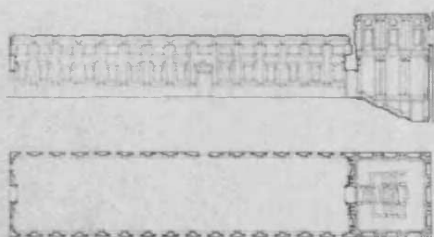
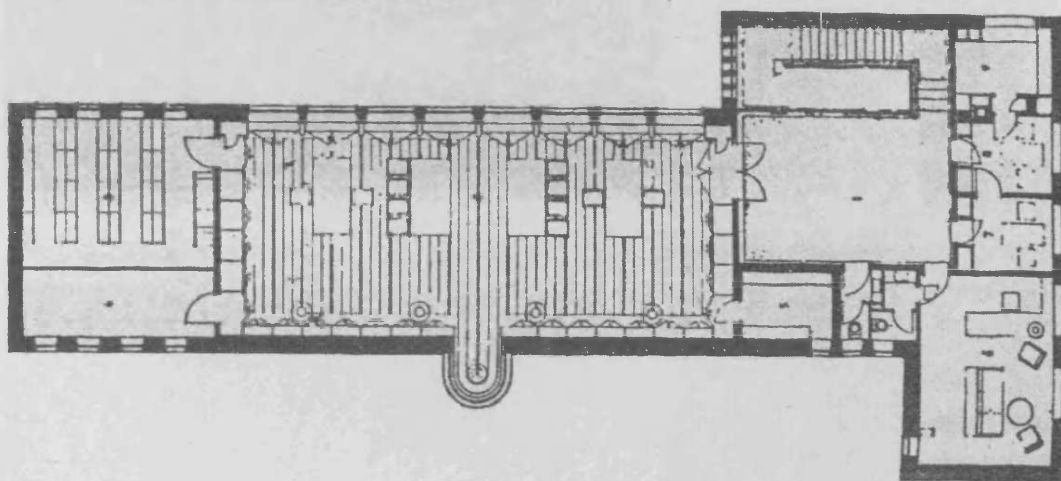


Plate 2.13.4 :

First floor plan showing Salman Schocken's study, offices, staircase space and main reading room with protruding oriel window, modules on the floor, wall cupboards and rare books repository.

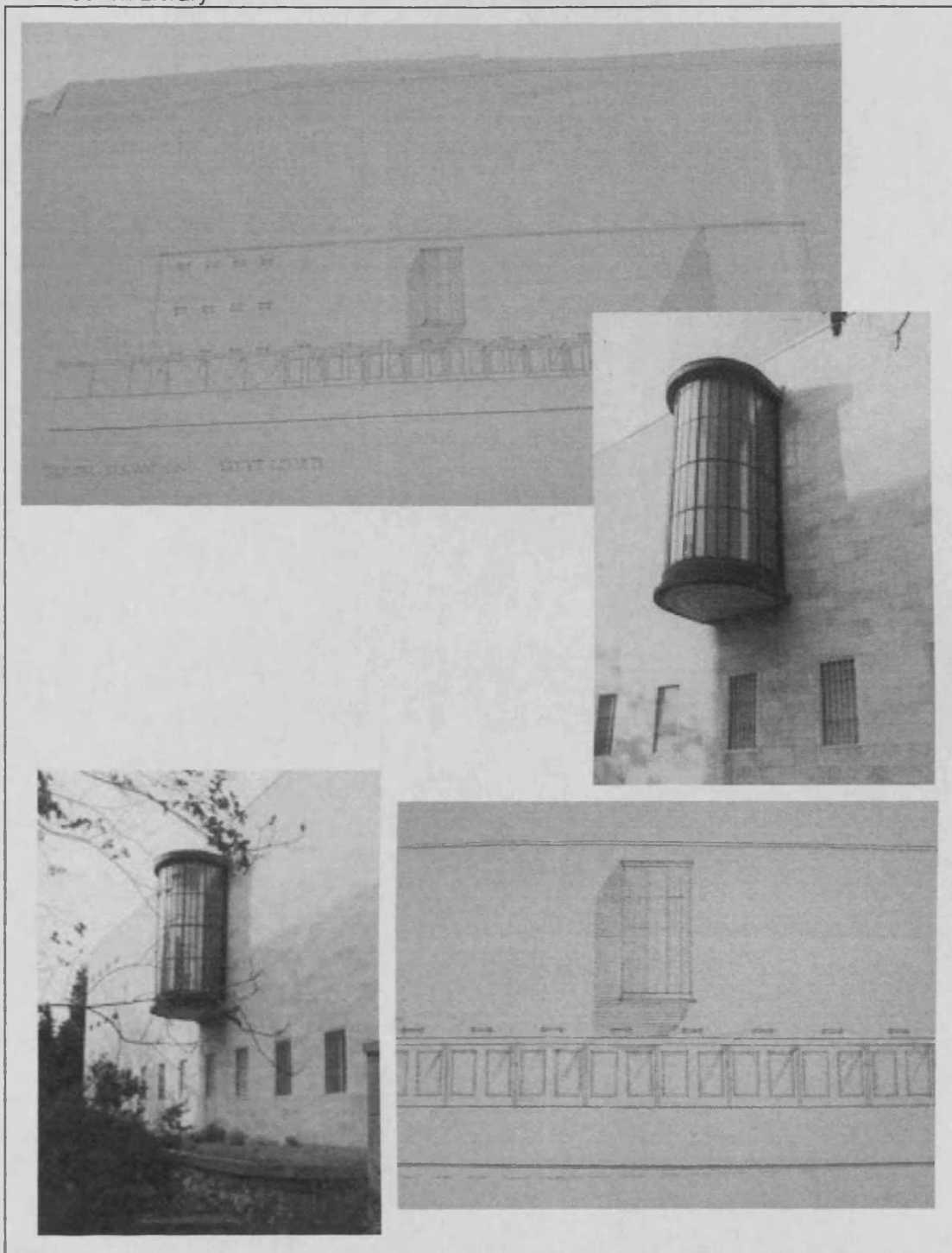


Plate 2.13.5 :

a. The oriel or Rembrandt window today and as designed in the original elevation drawings.

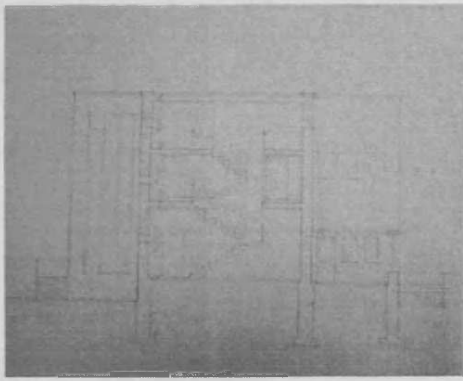
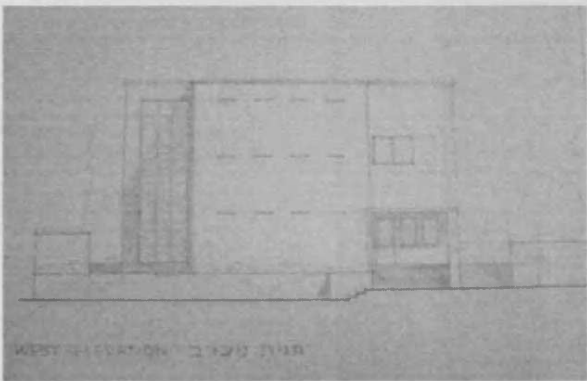
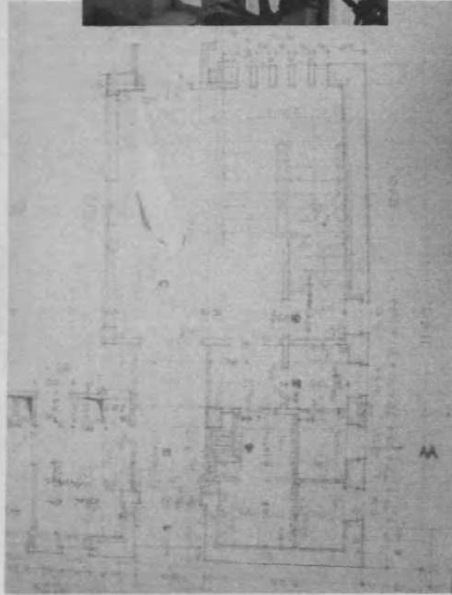
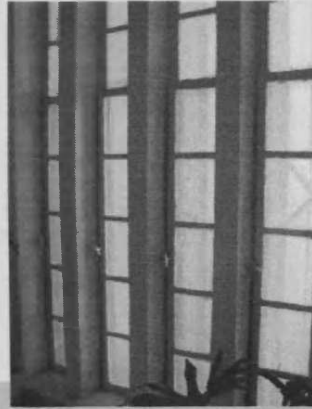


Plate 2.13.6 : The staircase space: plan, transversal section, west elevation (back) and photograph.

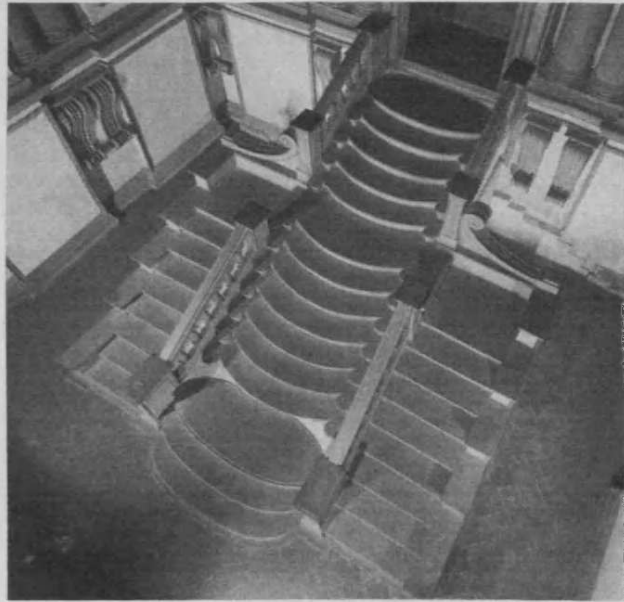


Plate 2.13.7 :

The staircase space of the Schocken Library compared to the staircase space of the Medici Library at San Lorenzo.

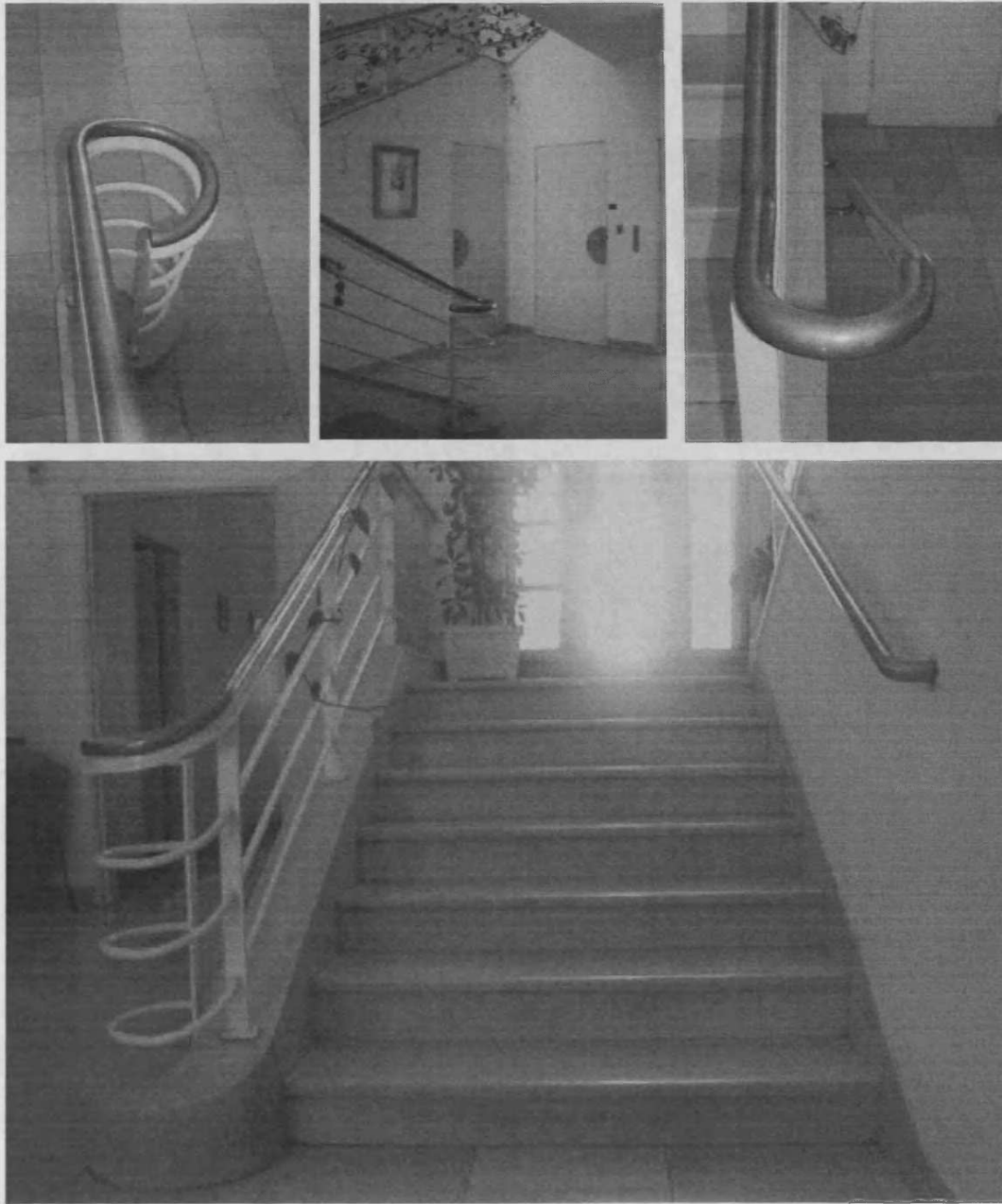


Plate 2.13.8 : The design of the stainless steel handrail.

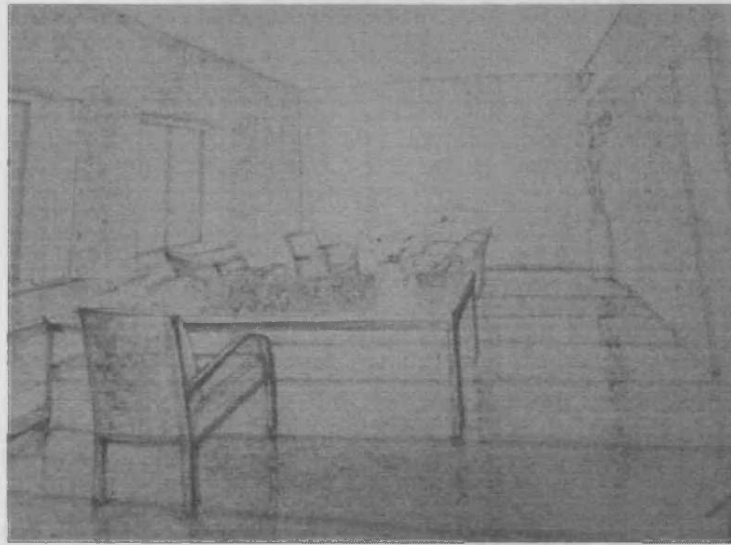


Plate 2.13.9 : Salman Schocken's study at the Schocken Library, perspective, extant furniture and his portrait.

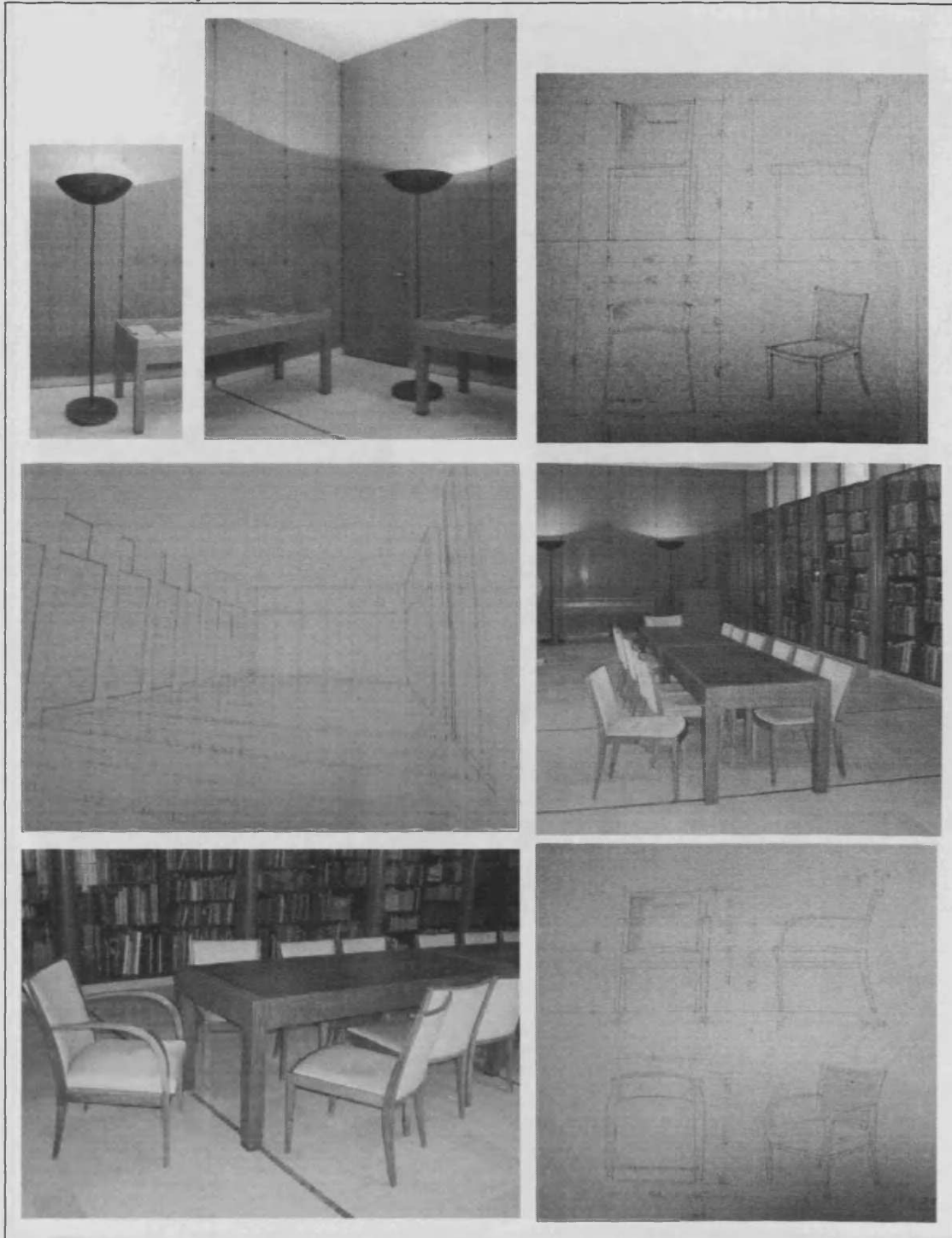


Plate 2.13.10 :

Main reading room interior design: perspective showing books' cupboards; chairs' design drawings; extant furniture.



Plate 2.13.11 : a. Interior of main reading room compared to main reading room of the Medici Library, Florence.

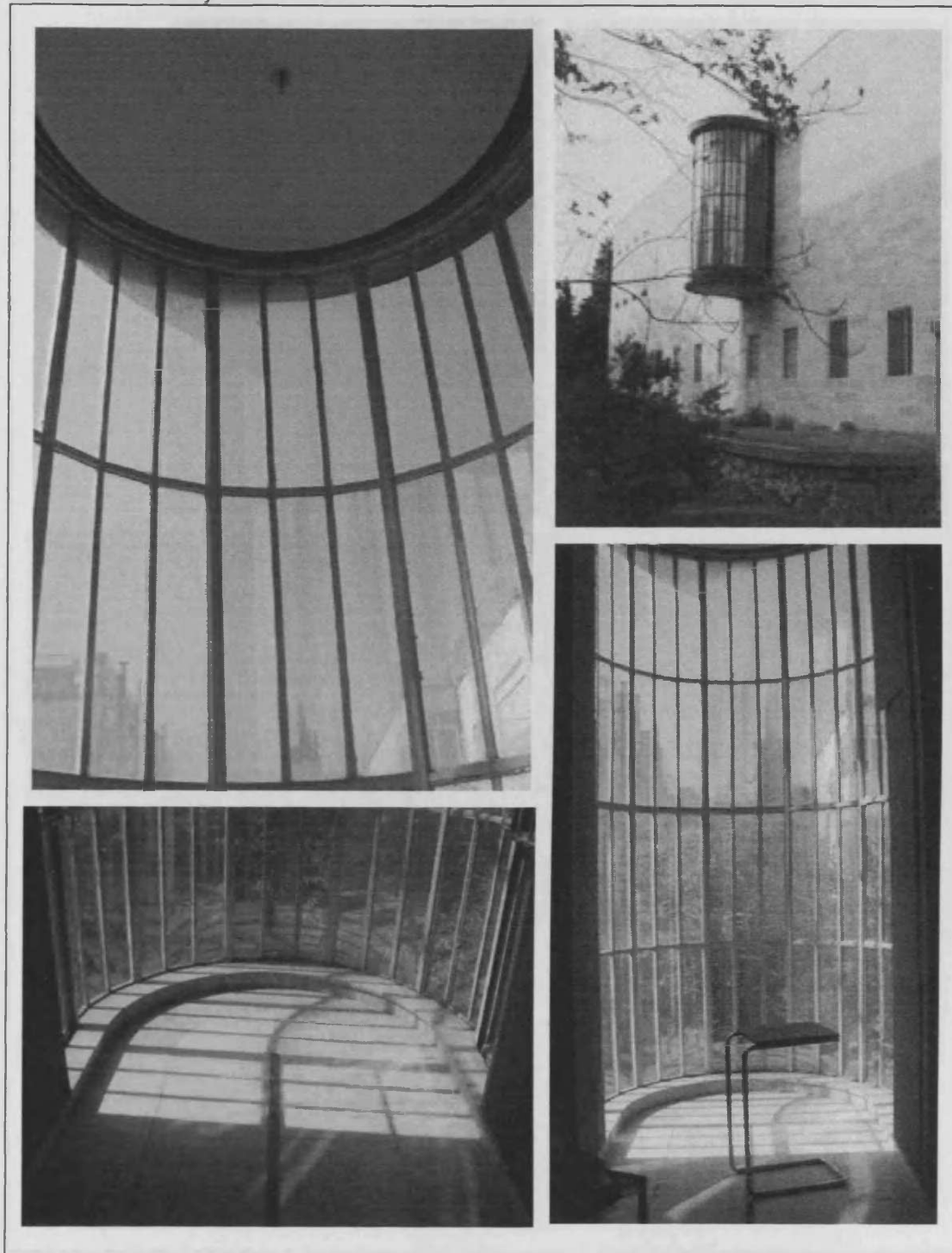


Plate 2.13.12 :

The oriel or Rembrandt window from the interior of the first floor main reading room: light and shadow.

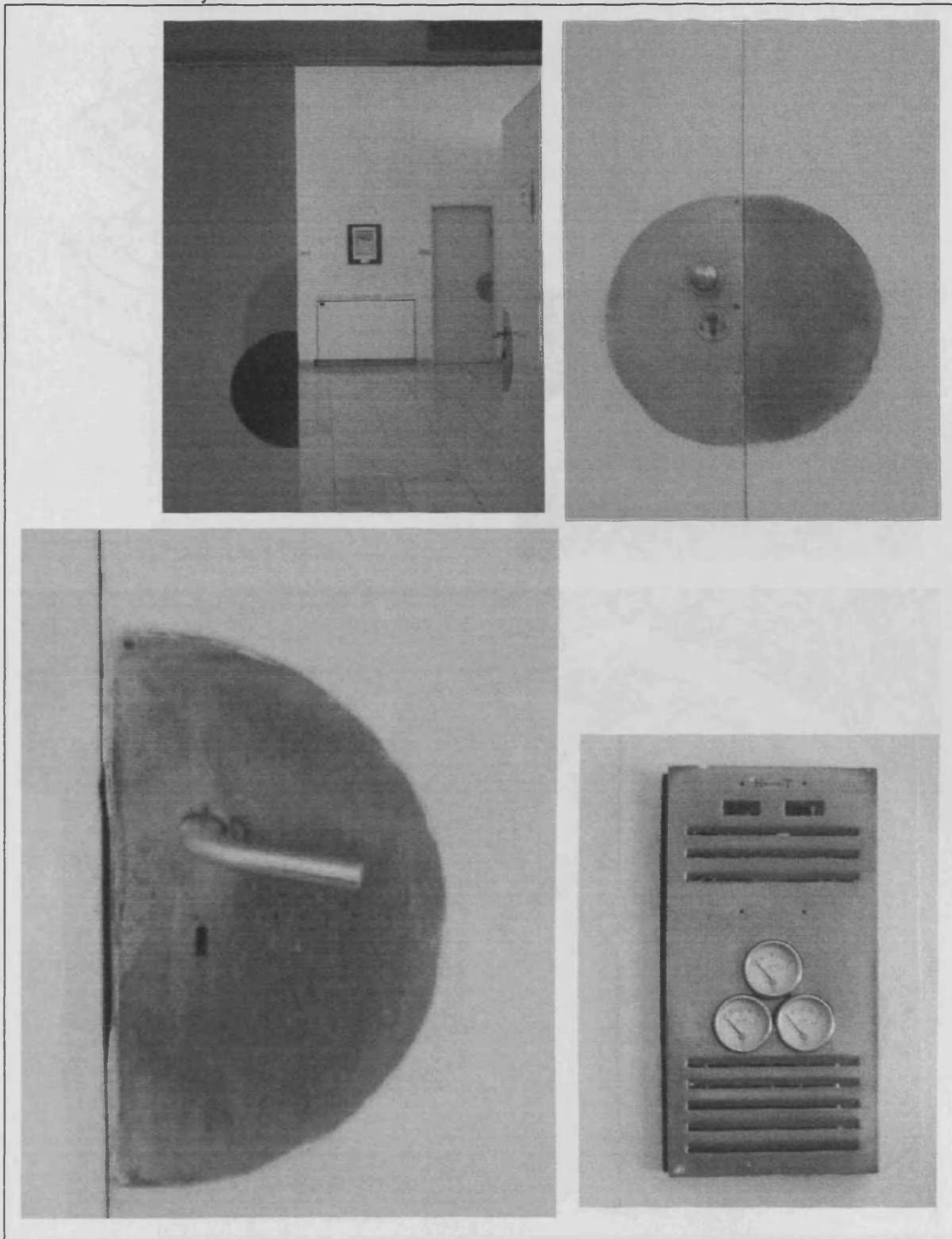


Plate 2.13.13 :

Stainless steel elements designed by Mendelsohn: door handles, climate control instruments.

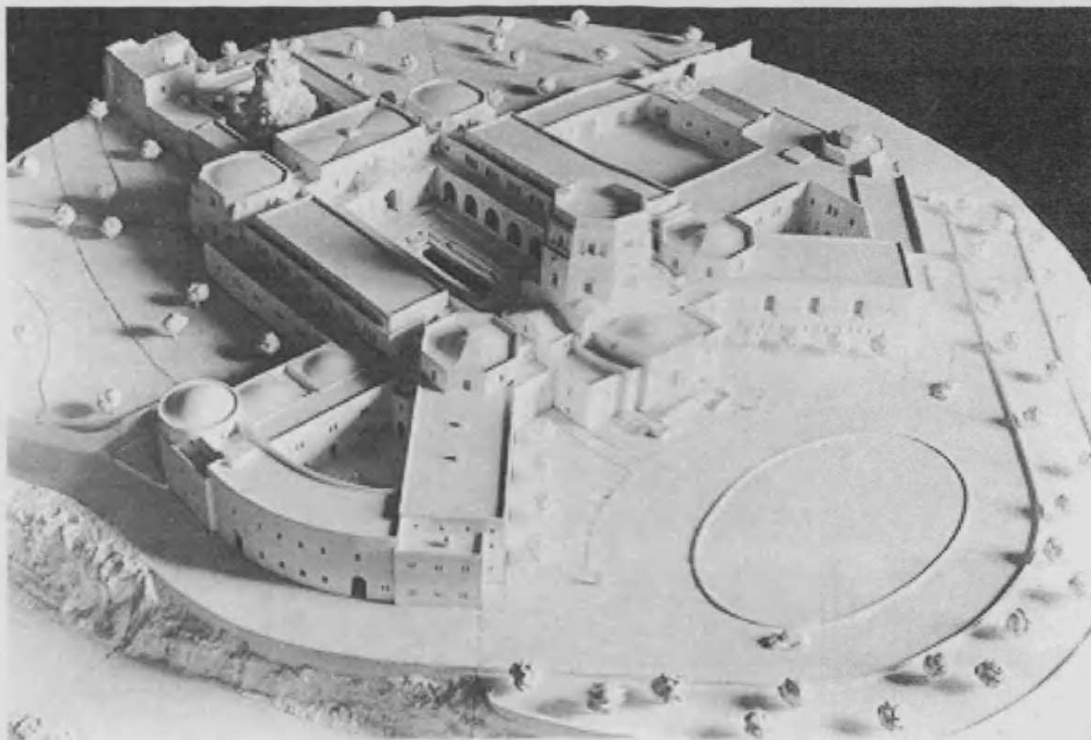
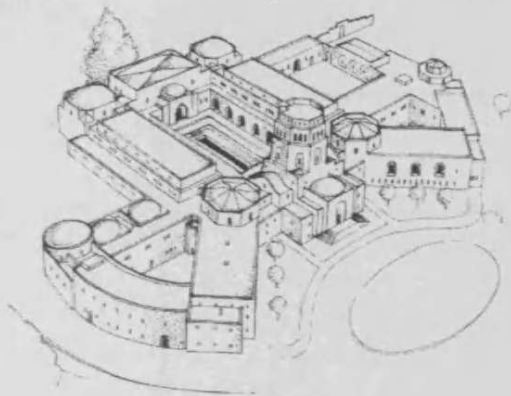


Plate 2.14.1 :

Austen St Barbe Harrison, Rockefeller Museum of Antiquities, Jerusalem. Plaster model prepared by A. Melnikoff.

Made in 1929, this model represents the final plan for the building. It was shown to John D. Rockefeller, Jr. during his visit to Palestine that year. Note the ancient pine tree and summer house at the back.

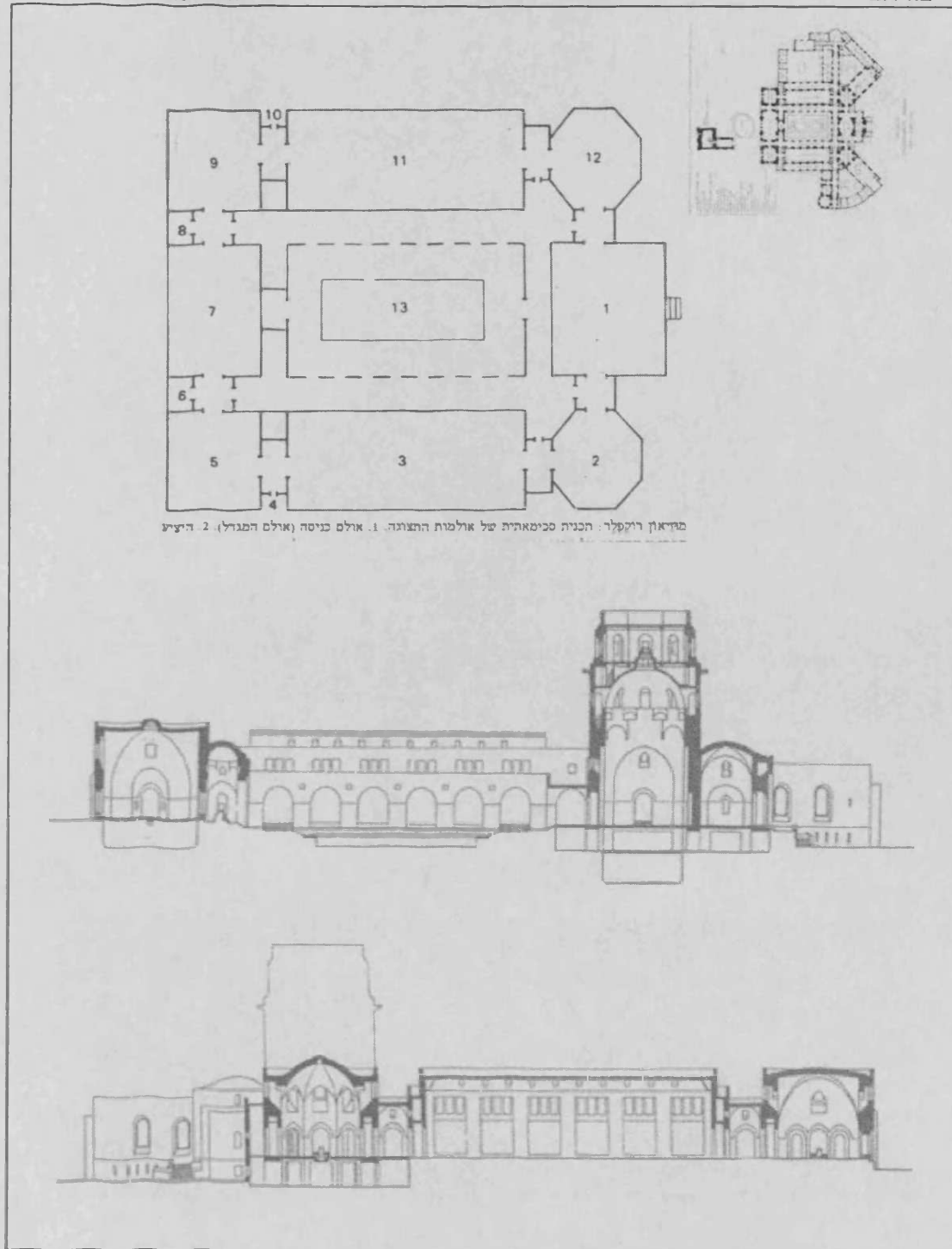


Plate 2.14.2 :

Drawings.

- a. Partial schematic plan of the museum showing the different display spaces and the 'educational route' set up by curator Illife.
- b. Longitudinal section through central court.
- c. Longitudinal section through main gallery.

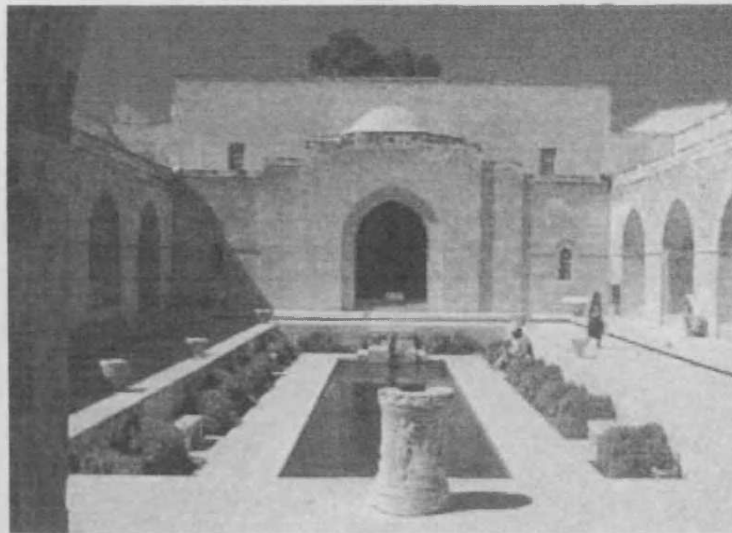
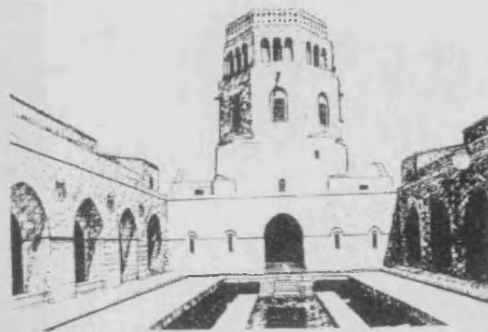


Plate 2.14.3 :

The Central Court.

- a. The precedent of the courtyards of Granada.
- b. Sketch looking north.
- c. historic photograph looking south.
- d. Present day image looking north.



Plate 2.14.4 :

Traditional and modern construction in the museum.

a. Small dome under construction using vernacular methods.

b. Medieval cross vaulting in the library.

c. Reinforced concrete roof in the main gallery. Note the display boxes.

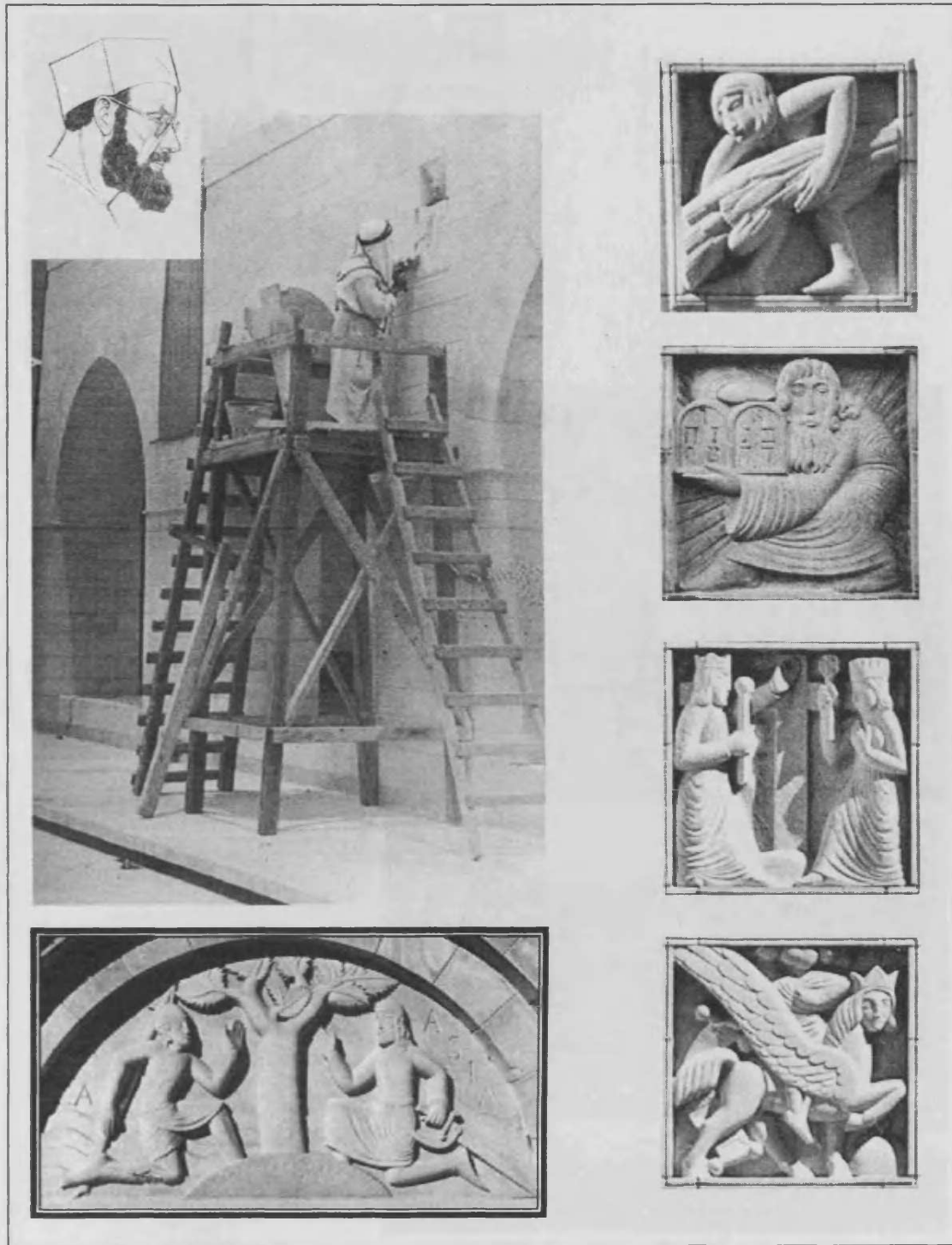


Plate 2.14.5 :

Eric Gill at the Rockefeller Museum

- a. **Self Portrait** 1927 wood engraving.
- b. Eric Gill at work in the central court of the museum.
- c. Reliefs representing the cultures of Canaan, Israel, Byzantium, Islam.
- d. Relief representing the Holy Land as a palm tree.



Plate 2.14.6 :

Austen St Barbe Harrison and Robert Pearce Steel Hubbard:
Nuffield College, Oxford. Designed 1939, built 1949-60.
Central Court.

a. aerial view.

b., c. The central court.



Plate 2.15.1 :

The two traditions of vernacular building in Palestine:

a. The coastal tradition (earth): The village Yavne, 1930s. Note the clay houses and wooden roof in construction on the foreground.

b. The inland hills tradition (stone): The village of Yallo, near Jerusalem, 1930s



Plate 2.15.2 :

The inland hills vernacular tradition (stone):

a. Tomb of Rabbi Oshea ben Beer, built on the sixteenth century.

b. Nebi Jandes on the Palestinian plain, 1930s.

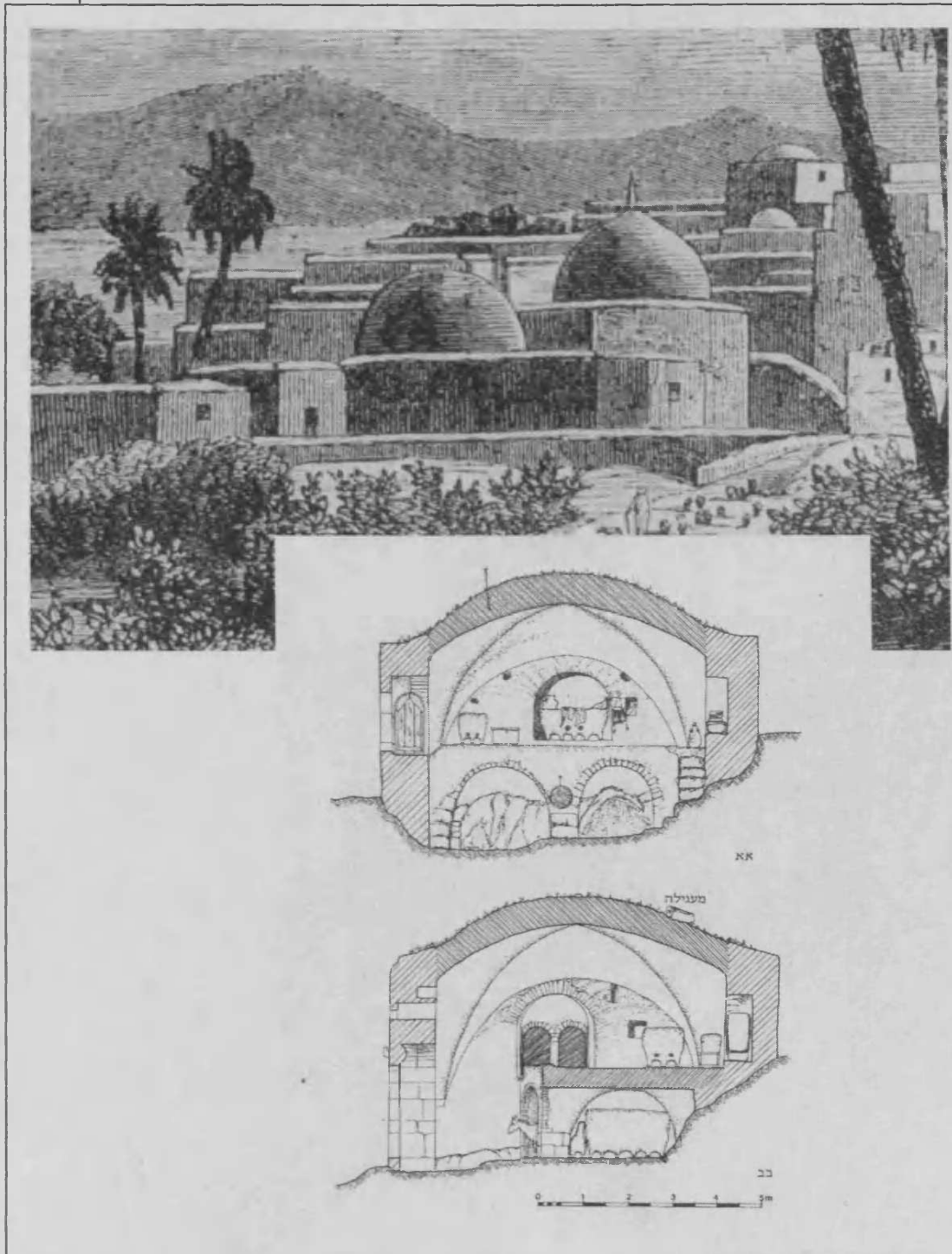


Plate 2.15.3 :

The inland hills vernacular tradition (stone):

a. The village of Jenin, the ancient En Gannim.

b. Section through a typical dwelling at the village of El G'aba'a.

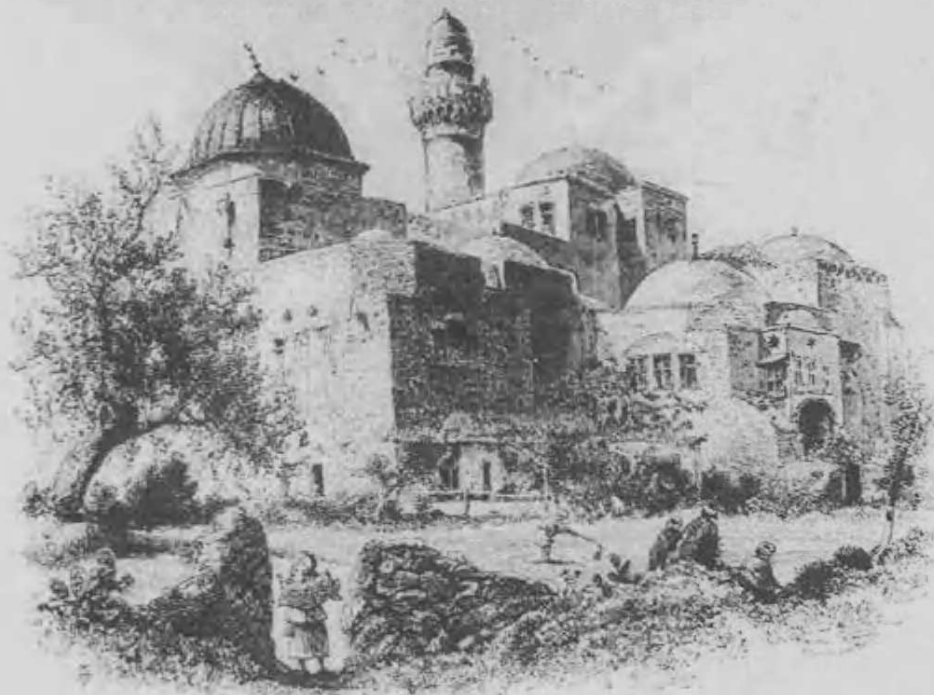


Plate 2.15.4 :

The allure of the vernacular:

a. Erich Mendelsohn pen sketch of 'the approach to the Wailing Wall', postcard sent to Oskar Beyer from Jerusalem, dated 9 March 1923.

b. David's Tomb, Mount Sion, Jerusalem, anonymous engraving.

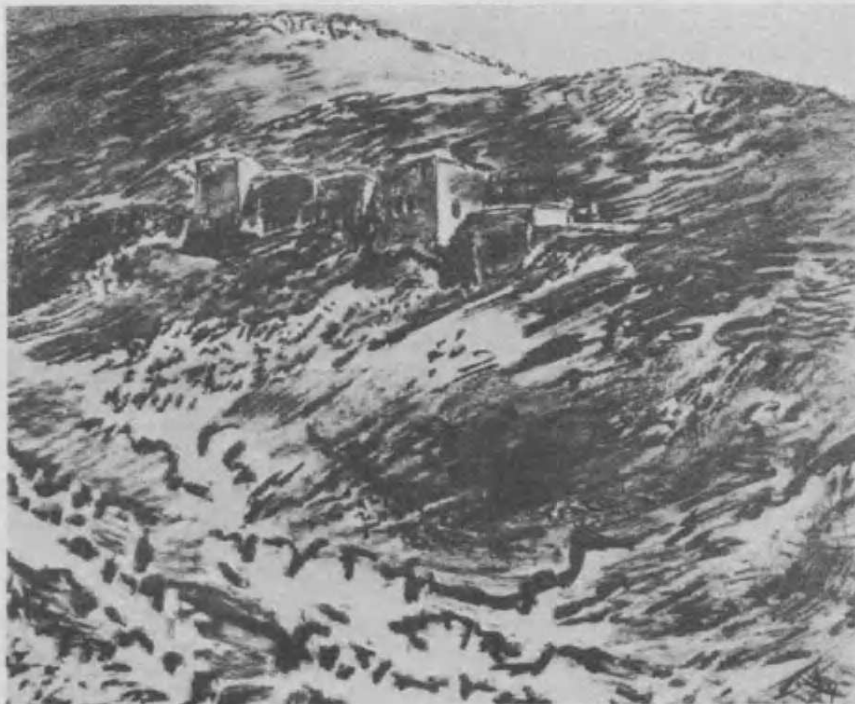
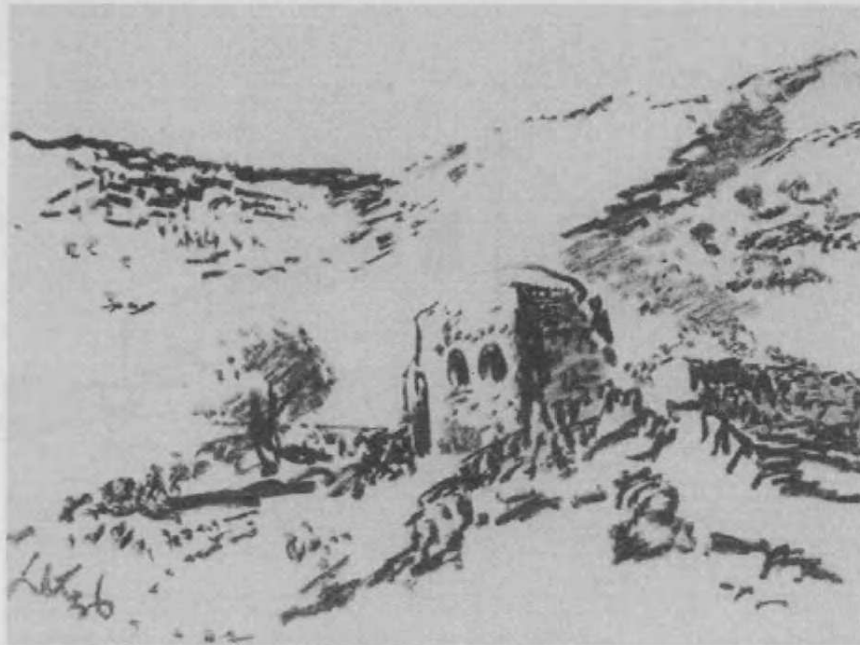


Plate 2.15.5 :

The allure of the vernacular: Krakauer.

a. Leopold Krakauer, Landscape with Arab Structure, 1936, showing a typical vaulted dwelling and its integration to the topography.

b. Leopold Krakauer, Houses on a Hill, 1939, black chalk on greenish wove paper, 45 x 53 cm., signed and dated, lower right: LK 39.

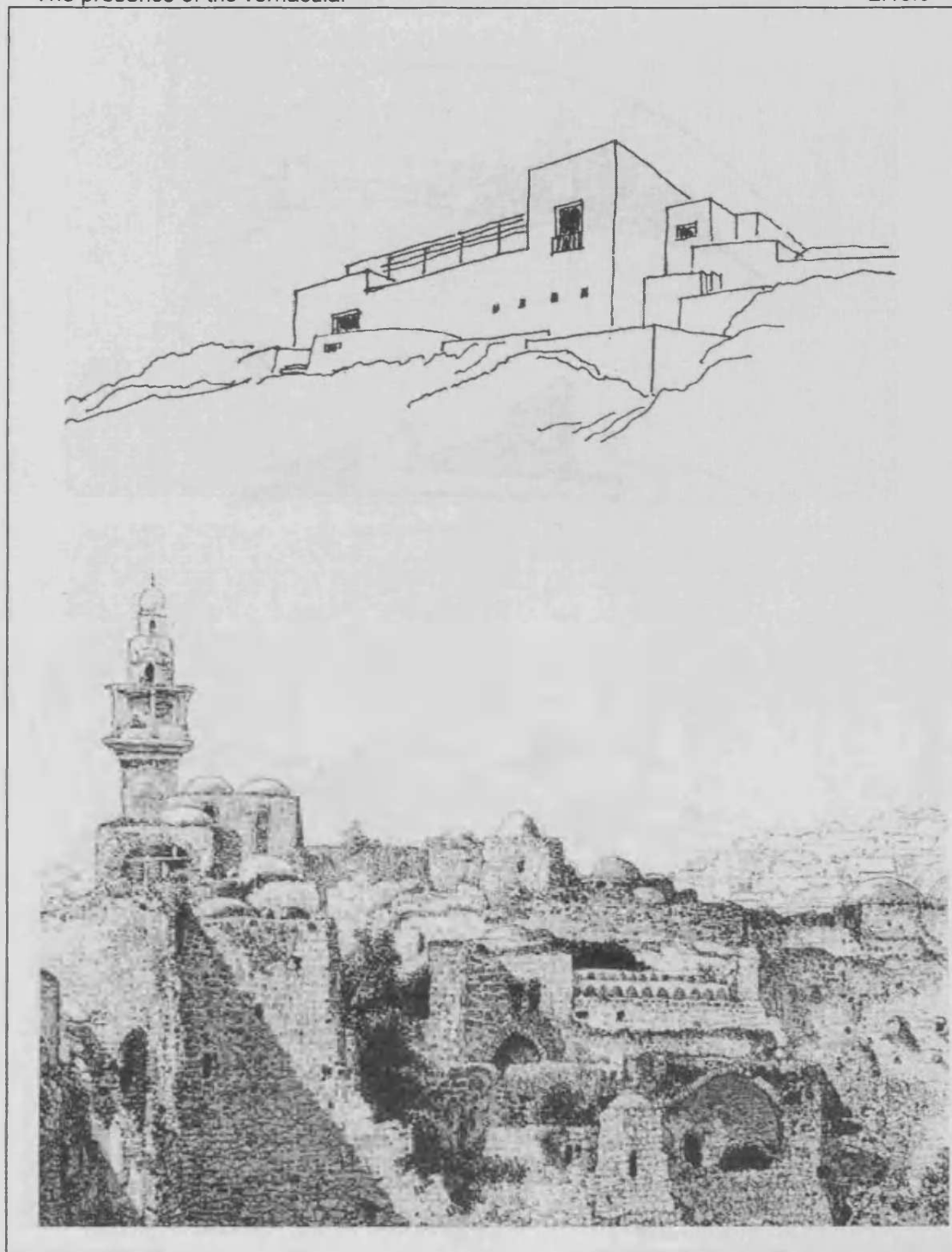


Plate 2.15.6 :

The influence of the vernacular on the architects: Krakauer.

a. Leopold Krakauer, Convalescents' Home, Rosh Pina, 1927, showing the influence of vernacular massing and its integration to the topography.

b. Birket Israel, Old City, Jerusalem (one of the water reservoirs that CR Ashbee wished to convert into public spaces), showing integration to the topography.

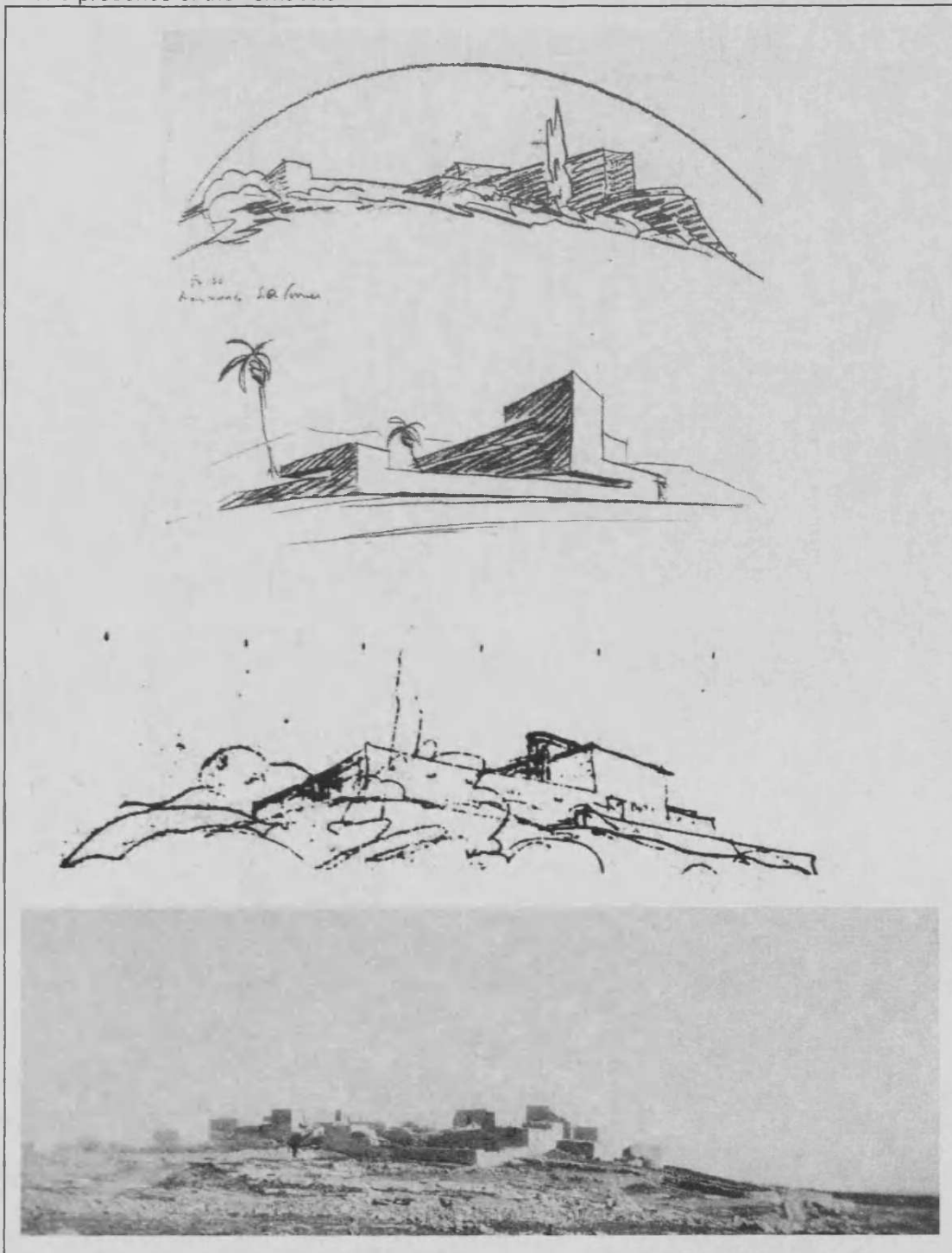


Plate 2.15.7 :

The influence of the vernacular on the architects: Mendelsohn.

- a. Sketches by Erich Mendelsohn of his work in Palestine, showing the influence of the inland hills vernacular.
- b. The village of Anata, the biblical Anatot, near Jerusalem, 1930s (detail of a photograph by David Benvenisti, published in *The Magic Lantern: Travels in once-upon-a-time Eretz Israel*, p. 57).

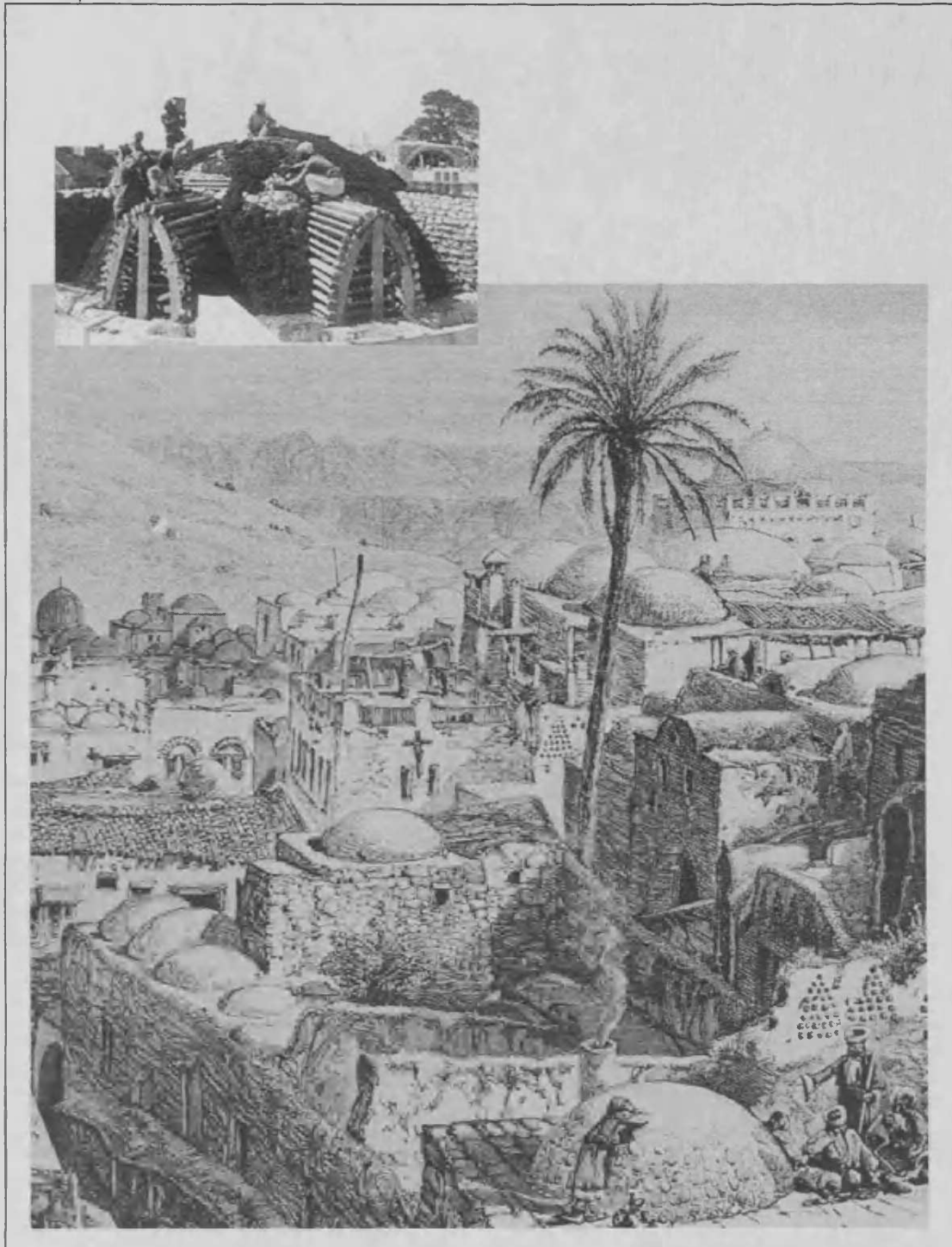


Plate 2.15.8 :

The influence of the vernacular on the architects: Harrison.

- a. Workers building a vault at the Rockefeller Museum using traditional rural methods, 1934.
- b. The Old City of Jerusalem, anonymous engraving, showing the widespread use of vernacular vaulting.

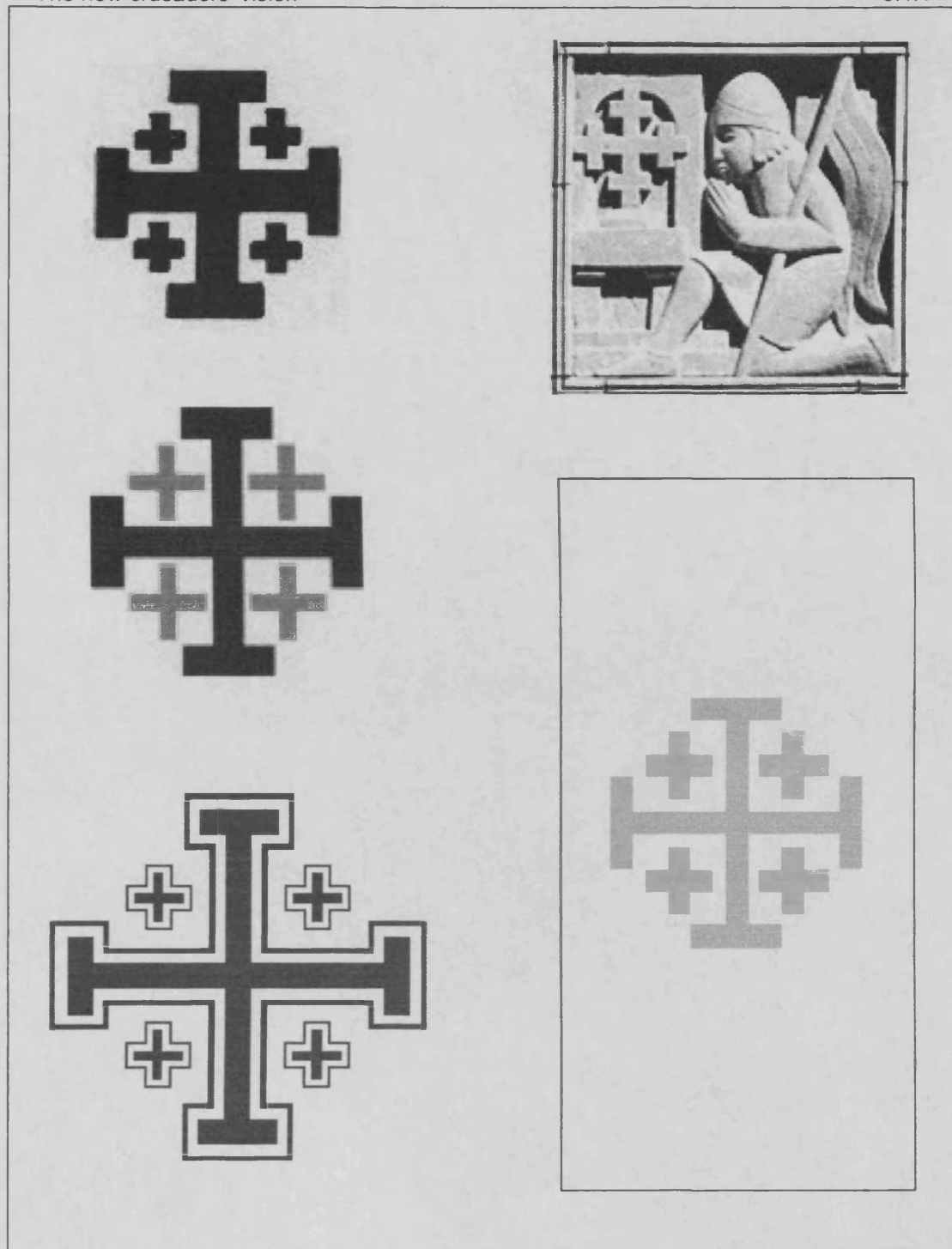


Plate 3.1.1 :

The Jerusalem Cross

a. Variations of the Jerusalem cross.

b. The Jerusalem Cross in the Crusaders' period relief by Eric Gill for the central court of the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem.

c. The "Pavillion de Jerusalem", Jerusalem Civil Ensign 1333-1921.



Donahay in Cleveland Plain Dealer

Again at the Gates of Palestine

Plate 3.1.2 :

Caricature by Donahay in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 1917.
The caption reads: "Again at the Gates of Palestine".

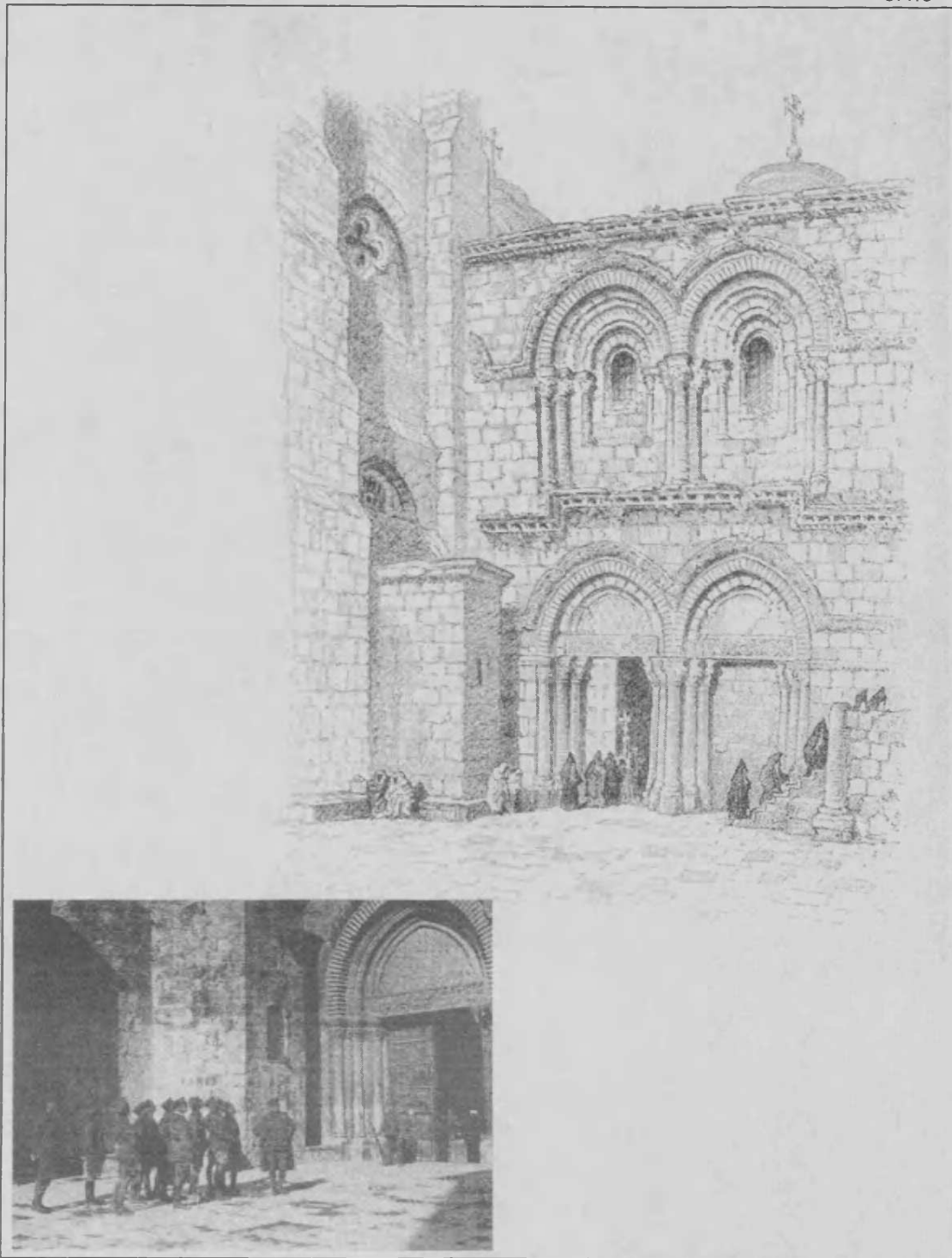


Plate 3.1.3 :

The allure of the Holy Places.

a. Benton Fletcher, **Entrance to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre**, pencil drawing, 1922.

b. "British soldiers look at the Crusader portals of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre" (official photograph, Imperial War Museum)



Plate 3.1.4 :

Biblical and Crusaders' imagery intermingled:
Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882) **David as King** c. 1860;
ink, wash and pencil on paper, 48.1 x 25.1 cm.
Note that King David is depicted wearing a crusaders' coat of mail.



Cesare
Cesare in New York Evening Post

AT JERUSALEM

Richard Coeur de Lion: "My dream come true!"

Plate 3.1.5 :

Caricature by Cesare in the *New York Evening Post*, 1917.
The caption reads: "At Jerusalem. Richard Coeur de Lion: "My Dream come true"".



Plate 3.2.1 :

Sir Thomas More, *Utopia*.
a. An early English edition, 1685
b. Frontispice.

Quatrain in Utopian Vernacular

VTOPIENSIVM ALPHABETVM.
a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t v x y.
o e f o c e o r c o u c a j l r n f i m e e e e

Tetraſtichon vernacula Vtopicalium linguæ.

Vtopos ha Boreas pro Ia
e e l l e e c o e l f o f o b e r e u s o
chama polca charaan
f o d o . r l s m o f o d o o . i
Bergol he maglomi barcan
e o e e l e c e a o u e l a n e o f o e a
foma gymoo fophaon
e l a d o a e a j l e l r c o l j
Agrana gymoofophon labarembachia
o x o a d o . a e a j l e l r l j . c o d o e a d e o f c c
bedamalamin
e l e o d a n e l a n j
Voluala barchia herman Ia
e l e e e o e o . e c e e e c o j . c e a d o j . e o
lamduola dramora paglomi.
e o e l e e l e e o . e e o d a d e . r o o e l j n o
Horum verſum ad verbum hæc eſt ſententia.
Vtopos me duæ ea non inſula hæc inſulam
Vna ego terrarum omnium abſqꝛ philoſophia
Quaſcum philoſophiam capereſſi mortalibus
Libere uopario mea, nõ grauiam accipio meliora.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|--------|-------|--------|--------|----------|-------|------|-----|-----|
| א | ב | ג | ד | ה | ו | ז | ח | ט | י |
| Alef | Bet | Gimel | Daleth | He | Vav | Zayin | Chet | Tet | Yod |
| (silent) | (B/V) | (G) | (D) | (H) | (V) | (Z) | (Ch) | (T) | (Y) |
| כ | ל | מ | נ | ס | ע | | | | |
| Kaf | Lamed | Mem | Nun | Samech | Ayin | | | | |
| (K/Kh) | (L) | (M) | (N) | (S) | (silent) | | | | |
| פ | צ | ק | ר | ש | ת | | | | |
| Peh | Tsadeh | Qof | Resh | Shin | Tav | | | | |
| (P/F) | (Ts) | (Q) | (R) | (Sh/S) | (T) | | | | |

Plate 3.2.2 : An Utopian language for an Utopian land
 a. Sir Thomas More is credited with the invention in *Utopia* of the first imaginary language. This example (by More) has a Latin translation.
 2 The Hebrew Alphabet.

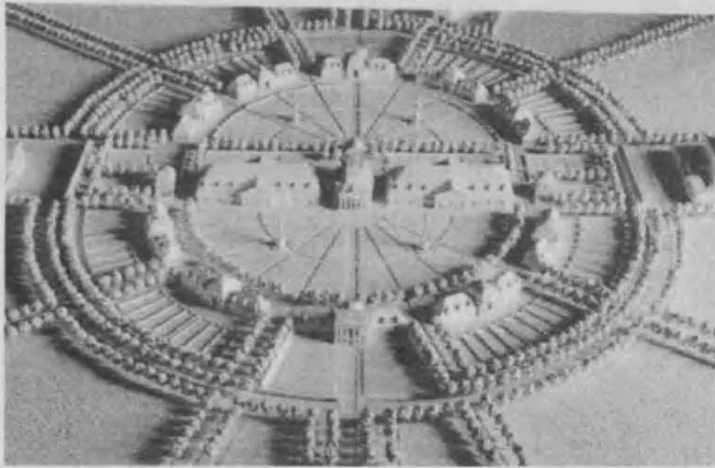


Plate 3.2.3 :

Vision and Fulfillment a. Nicolas Ledoux: Ville de Chaux Utopian City
a. model as planned.
b. aerial view showing the project as built.
c. bird's eye perspective.

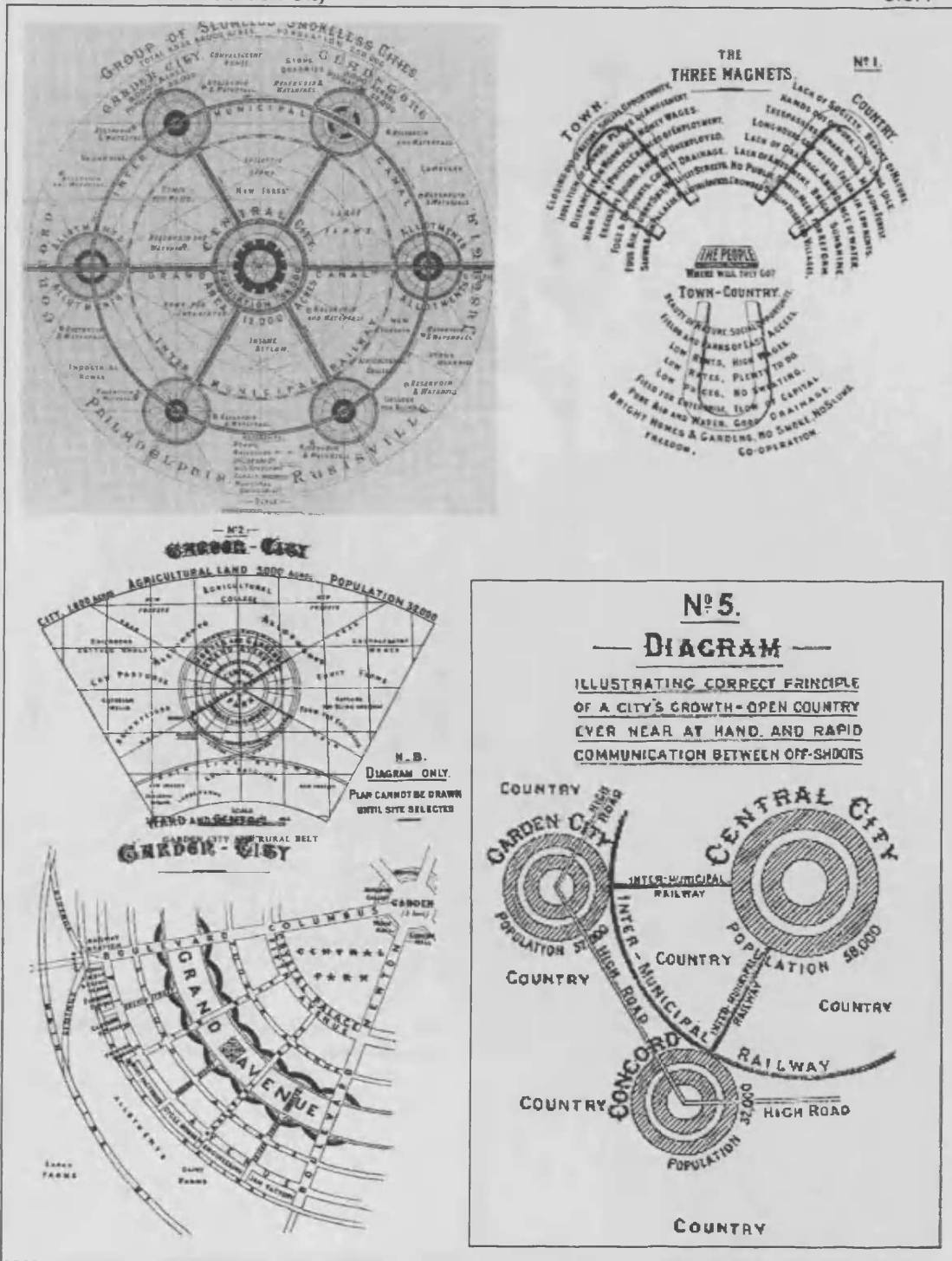


Plate 3.3.1 :

- Garden Cities of Tomorrow: Ebenezer Howard's diagrams.
- a." Group of Slumless Smokeless Cities
- b. Diagrams No.1, "The Three Magnets".
- c. Diagram No. 2, "Garden City and Green Belt".
- d. Diagram No. 3, "Ward and Centre of Garden City".
- e. Diagram No. 5, "Correct Principle of a City's Growth".

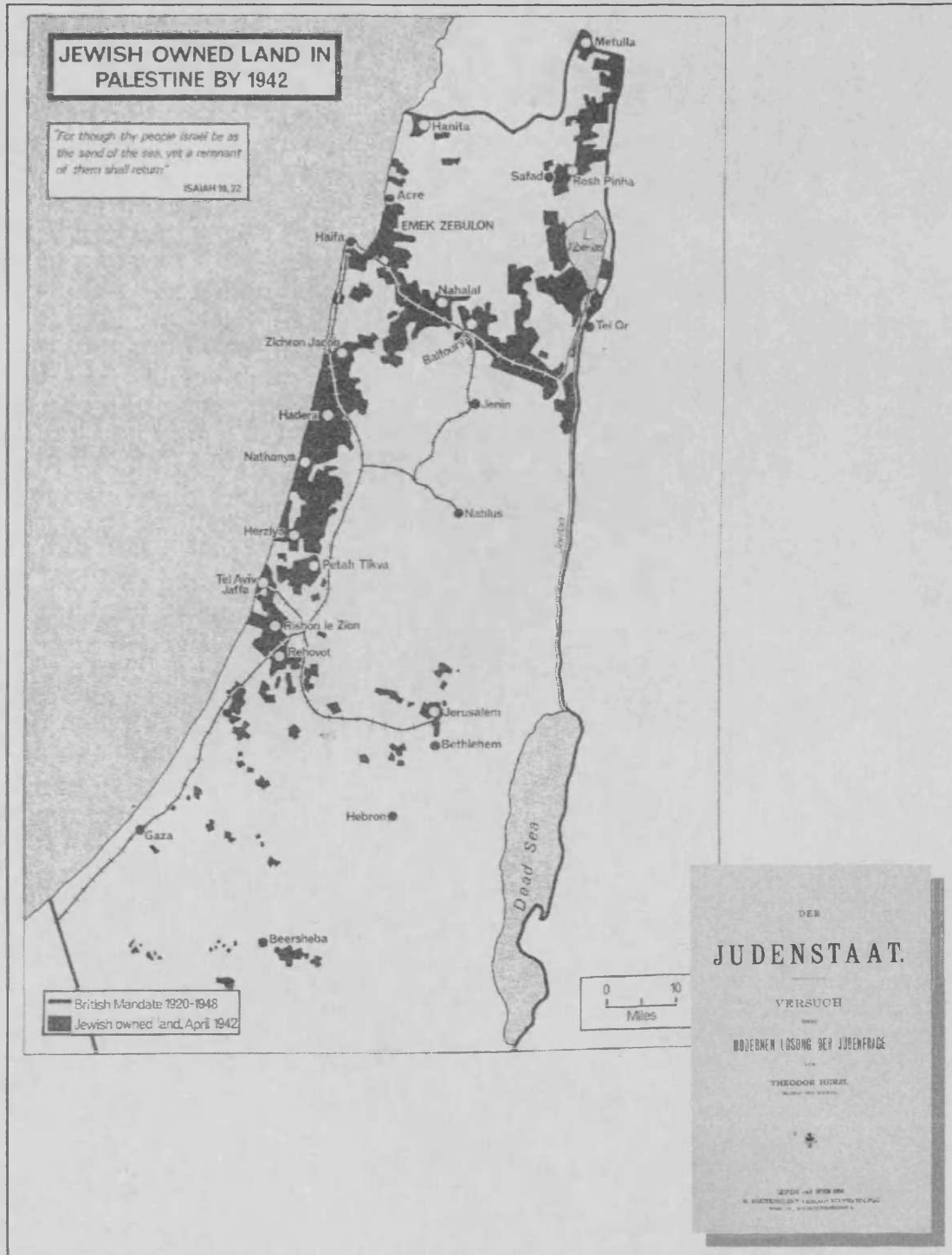


Plate 3.4.1 :

The dream of a Jewish National home.

a. Jewish owned land in Palestine by 1942.

b. Theodor Herzl's first edition of *Der Judenstaat*, 1896.



Plate 3.5.1 :

The vision of Labour Zionism: the Hebrew worker.

a. The Hebrew Worker, sculpture by Arie Elhanani in reinforced concrete at the entrance of the Levant Fair exhibition grounds, Tel Aviv, 1930s

b. "Let Me Work: Buy Local Products!". Poster, 1930s.

c. Organised workers. The HaMalchim group, photographed at the building site of Beit Hadar, the first steel structure building erected in Tel Aviv.



Plate 3.5.2 :

The vision of Labour Zionism: Heroic reinforced concrete builders. The Iron Benders workers' group, photographed on the roof under construction of the King David Hotel, Jerusalem, 1930s.

CONFLICTING VISIONS

Architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The letter H in brackets at the end of an entry indicates a Hebrew edition. Hebrew editions usually present an (additional) English title, which is the one recorded here. For entries where no translation of the title is given in the original the title is presented in Hebrew transliterated in Latin letters, followed by my translation of the title in brackets.

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CONFLICTING VISIONS

Architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate:

A chronological chart of principal historical events

Appendix 2: Architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate:

A chronological list of projects mentioned in the dissertation

Appendix 3: Architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate:

Lists of local works of the leading architects of the period

A chronological chart of main historical events

(occurring during the period of British rule in Palestine and in the immediately previous and following years).

| date | Palestine | Europe |
|------|--|--|
| 1882 | Beginnings of the first wave of Zionist immigration, to Palestine the First Aliyah. | |
| 1887 | | Edward Bellamy publishes <i>Looking Backward 2000-1887</i> . |
| 1896 | | Theodor Herzl, the father of modern Zionism publishes <i>A Jewish State</i> . |
| 1892 | Inauguration of the Jerusalem-Jaffa railway. | |
| 1897 | The English Mission Hospital opens in Jerusalem, designed by Arthur Beresford Pite. | August 29: 1 st Zionist Congress, in Basel: Zionist Organization is founded; Herzl named president. |
| 1898 | Visit of Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany and Kaiserin Augusta Victoria. Theodor Herzl, who is also on a visit, meets him to discuss the Jewish national home. | Ebenezer Howard publishes <i>To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform</i> . 2 nd Zionist Congress; creation of the Jewish Colonial Trust. |
| 1899 | | Foundation of the Garden Cities Association. |
| 1902 | | Herzl publishes <i>Old New Land</i> . Howard reissues his book as <i>Garden Cities of To-morrow</i> . |
| 1903 | The Jewish Colonial Trust Finds the Anglo-Palestine Bank. | Letchworth Garden City is developed, 30 miles N of London |
| 1904 | First Aliyah ends. 2 nd Aliyah begins. | Death of Theodor Herzl. |
| 1906 | Foundation of the Bezalel Academy of Arts and Crafts by Boris Schatz. | |
| 1907 | A. Ruppin opens in Jaffa the first 'Palestine Office' of the Zionist Organization, setting up the PLDC, Palestine Land Development Co. | Foundation of the <i>Deutschen Gartenstadt Gessellschaft</i> [German Garden Cities Association]. |

| | | |
|-------------|---|---|
| 1909 | Foundation of Tel Aviv. Foundation of Degania Aleph, the first cooperative settlement. | Foundation of Hampstead Garden Suburb, designed by Unwin, Parker and Lutyens. |
| 1908 | Completion of the Haifa–Dera line, linking up with the <i>Hejaz</i> Railway (Constantinople-Damascus-Medina). | |
| 1912 | Foundation of the Technion, Hebrew Technical Institute, Haifa. | Mendelsohn and Kauffmann graduate in Munich. |
| 1914 | End of Second Aliyah. | Cologne Werkbund Exhibition. Beginning of World War I. |
| 1917 | December 9-11: British troops take control of Jerusalem. Allenby enters the Old City on foot. End of 400-year Ottoman rule; O.E.T.A., (Occupied Enemy Territories Administration), establishes British military rule on the Holy Land. | November: an official British “declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations”, called henceforth the Balfour Declaration is made public in London. |
| 1918 | First meeting between Chaim Weizmann, head of the Zionist Commission, and Emir Feisal, leader of the Arab Nationalistic Movement. C.R. Ashbee is invited by Storrs to Jerusalem, becomes Civic Adviser. | End of World War I. |
| 1919 | Beginning of Third Aliyah. Weizmann and King Feisal sign agreement for close cooperation. | Foundation of the Bauhaus. Hannes Meyer designs Freidorf, a cooperative garden city near Basel. |
| 1920 | League of Nations allocates Britain the mandate of Palestine. Sir Herbert Samuel appointed first High Commissioner. Hebrew declared the official language of Palestine, with English and Arabic. Ben Gurion founds the Histadrut, General Organization of Workers in Eretz Israel. | Chaim Weizmann elected president of the World Zionist Organization in London. Except for a short break, he will hold the post until 1946. Welwyn Garden City is established, planned by Louis de Soissons. |

| | | |
|-------------|--|--|
| 1921 | Lands east of the Jordan given to Emir Abdullah, henceforth Transjordania First large settlement area acquired in the Plain of Esdraelon by PLDC; Nahalal, first <i>moshav</i> , is founded. | |
| 1922 | First outbreak of Arab riots. Ashbee leaves Palestine. Palestine Electric Company founded by Pinhas Ruthenberg. A. St. B. Harrison appointed Chief Architect of Public Works. | Gropius and the Bauhaus team complete building patron's Adolf Sommerfeld residence in Berlin. |
| 1923 | End of Third Aliyah. 1 st visit of Erich Mendelsohn to Palestine. | |
| 1924 | Beginning of the Fourth Aliyah. Governor Storrs organises the first 'Tower of David' Art Exhibition in Jerusalem. Completion of the Technion buildings in Haifa, designed by Alexander Baerwald. | Rietveld's Schroeder House, Utrecht. |
| 1925 | Lord Plumer becomes High Commissioner. Official opening of the Hebrew University, Mt. Scopus, Jerusalem, designed by Patrick Geddes. Classes begin at the Technion, in the Hebrew language. Alexander Baerwald, first head of the school of architecture. | The Bauhaus moves to its new Dessau campus. Le Corbusier builds <i>L'Esprit Nouveau</i> Pavilion. |
| 1927 | | Inauguration of the Werkbund Exhibition <i>Weissenhof Siedlung</i> , Stuttgart. |
| 1928 | Sir John Chancellor appointed High Commissioner. End of the Fourth Aliyah. | Town Hall Hilversum by Dudok. Hannes Meyer becomes director of the Bauhaus. |
| 1929 | Outbreak of Arab riots, called "the 1929 Disturbances". | Great Depression. Barcelona Pavilion by Mies. |
| 1930 | Beginning of the Fifth Aliyah. | Stockholm Exhibition. |
| 1931 | Arthur Wauchop, (later Sir) appointed High Commissioner. | |

| | | |
|-------------|--|---|
| 1932 | Arieh Sharon returns to Palestine after studies in the Bauhaus and work with H. Meyer in Germany and Russia 1 st Levant Fair opens in Tel Aviv October 31: Opening of Haifa Harbour. | Bauhaus moves to Berlin. |
| 1933 | Inauguration of New Government House, the High Commissioner's Residence, designed by Austen St. Barbe Harrison. | Adolf Hitler becomes chancellor of Germany. Berlin Bauhaus closes. Erich Mendelsohn leaves Germany and settles in London. |
| 1934 | 2 nd Levant Fair opens in new exhibition gardens in Tel Aviv. C.R. Ashbee returns to visit, as a guest of H.C. Wauchope. E. Mendelsohn opens local practice. <i>Chug</i> , the architects' circle, founded in Tel Aviv; first issue of <i>Building in the Near East</i> , the <i>Chug's</i> journal. | E. Mendelsohn and Serge Chermayeff design the De La Warr Pavilion, Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex. |
| 1935 | Sharon's Workers' Estates, Tel Aviv awarded 1 st prize in public competition. | White City project, London, by Mendelsohn and Chermayeff. |
| 1936 | April 19: outbreak of the Great Arab Revolt, called the "1936 Disturbances". April 30: 3 rd Levant Fair opens. 'Stockade and Watchtower' pre-fab settlements begin to be built. | |
| 1937 | The architects Harrison, Hubbard and Holliday leave Palestine for posts elsewhere in the British Empire. | |
| 1938 | Sir Harold MacMichael appointed High Commissioner. Inauguration of the Rockefeller Museum of Antiquities, Jerusalem <i>Aliyah Beth</i> , illegal immigration, begins. | |
| 1939 | White Paper restricts Jewish immigration and sale of land to Jews. End of the Fourth Aliyah. | Beginning of World War II. |

| | | |
|-------------|--|---|
| 1941 | The architects E. Mendelsohn and J. Neufeld emigrate to the U.S.A. | |
| 1944 | Viscount Gort appointed High Commissioner. | |
| 1945 | Sir Alan Cunningham appointed High Commissioner | Holocaust revealed. End of World War II. |
| 1946 | Protest in the Yishuv to Mandate's immigration restrictions to war refugees; emergence of Jewish Resistance Movement. Irgun group blows up South wing of King David Hotel causing 80 deaths. | |
| 1947 | International outcry develops as the <i>Exodus</i> ' refugees' ship is sent back to Europe. | May: Britain submits the 'Palestine problem' to the UN. November 29: UN approves the plan for the partition of Palestine into two states: Arab and Jewish. |
| 1948 | Termination of the Mandate. May 14: The High Commissioner and last British troops leave from Haifa Harbour; Proclamation of the State of Israel. | |
| 1949 | End of Independence War. Ben Gurion elected Prime Minister; Chaim Weizmann, president. Arie Sharon named Chief Architect of the National Planning Bureau. | |
| 1951 | Publication of <i>Israel Master Plan</i> by Arie Sharon. | Festival of Britain. |
| 1952 | Chaim Weizmann dies in Rehovot and is buried on the grounds of his Residence. | |
| 1953 | | Eric Mendelsohn dies in the U.S. |
| 1956 | October-November: Suez War. Britain, France and Israel fight Sinai Campaign against Egypt. | |

Architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate:

A chronological list of projects mentioned in the dissertation.

| date | architect | project | place |
|-------------|---|---|-------------------------------|
| 1918 | Ronald Storrs, C.R. Ashbee | Foundation of the Pro- Jerusalem Society | Jerusalem |
| | W. H. McLean | Jerusalem Master Plan | Jerusalem |
| 1919 | C.R. Ashbee | Jerusalem Master Plan | Jerusalem |
| | C.R. Ashbee | Old Cotton Market Restoration & Rehabilitation | Old City, Jerusalem |
| | Patrick Geddes with Frank C Mears and Benjamin Chaikin | Hebrew University Master Plan (town planning and architectural design) | Mount Scopus, Jerusalem |
| 1921 | C.R. Ashbee | Old Government House Interior Design | Jerusalem |
| | Richard Kauffmann | Nahalal Master Plan | |
| 1922 | C.R. Ashbee & Patrick Geddes | Geddes-Ashbee Jerusalem Plan | Jerusalem |
| 1922 | Richard Kauffmann | Rehavia A Garden Suburb | Jerusalem |
| 1923 | Eric Mendelsohn | New Business Centre (architectural design) | Downtown, Haifa |
| | Eric Mendelsohn | Haifa Power Station(Architectural Design) | Haifa |
| | Eric Mendelsohn | Sommerfeld Garden Suburb (town planning and architectural design) | Mount Carmel, Haifa |
| 1925 | Richard Kauffmann | Afula Master Plan | Plain of Esdraelon |
| | Patrick Geddes | North Tel Aviv Master Plan | Tel Aviv |

| | | | |
|------------------|--|---|---------------------------|
| 1926 | Richard Kauffmann | Haifa Bay Development Plan | Haifa |
| | Leopold Krakauer | Beit Alpha Phalanstery | Plain of Esdraelon |
| 1927 | John James Burnet, with A. Bell & G. Bayes | Jerusalem War Cemetery | Mount Scopus, Jerusalem |
| | Zeev Rechter | Esther Raav House | Tel Binyamin, Ramat Gan |
| | A. St B. Harrison & F.W. Foster Turner | Government Printing Works | Jerusalem |
| 1927-1938 | Austin St Barbe Harrison | Rockefeller Archeological Museum | Jerusalem |
| 1928 | Patrick Geddes, Frank C. Mears, Benjamin Chaikin | Einstein Institute for Mathematics | Mount Scopus, Jerusalem |
| 1929-1932 | Austin St Barbe Harrison | New Government House | Jerusalem |
| 1929-1931 | Austin St Barbe Harrison | Post Office Building | Jaffa |
| 1931-1932 | Austin St Barbe Harrison | District and Magistrate's Court | Hadar, Haifa |
| 1932 | Arieh Sharon | The Histadrut Pavilion | Tel Aviv |
| 1933-1936 | Leopold Krakauer | Dining Hall, Kibbutz Tel-Yosef | Plain of Esdraelon |
| 1934 | A. C. Holliday & Patrick Abercrombie | Haifa Bay Development Plan | Haifa Bay, Zebulun Valley |
| | Richard Kauffmann | Levant Fair Master Plan | Tel Aviv |
| | Richard Kauffmann | Pavilion of Local Products | Levant Fair, Tel Aviv |
| | Genia Averbuch <i>et. al.</i> | Café Galina | Levant Fair, Tel Aviv |
| | Joseph Neufeld | Great Britain Pavilion | Levant Fair, Tel Aviv |
| | Arieh Sharon | Histadrut Pavilion | Levant Fair, Tel Aviv |
| | Eric Mendelsohn | Chaim Weizmann House | Rehovot |
| 1934-1939 | Austin St Barbe Harrison | General Post Office | Jerusalem |
| 1935 | Arieh Sharon | Workers' Estates D (co-operative housing) | Tel Aviv |

| | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| 1936 | Patrick Abercrombie | Haifa Bay Plan | Haifa Bay, Zebulun Valley |
| | Eric Mendelsohn | Schocken Villa and Library | Rehavia, Jerusalem |
| | Alexander Klein | Kiryat-Bialik B | Haifa Bay |
| 1936-1938 | Eric Mendelsohn | Hadassah Medical Center | Mt. Scopus, Jerusalem |
| 1937 | A. C. Holliday & R.P.S Hubbard | Kingsway Scheme (urban and architectural design) | Downtown, Haifa |
| | Alexander Klein | Kiryat-Yam plan | Haifa Bay |
| 1939 | Arieh Sharon | Workers' Estates 5,6,7,8 (cooperative housing) | Tel Aviv |
| 1940¹ | Benjamin Chaikin | Haifa Town Hall | Hadar, Haifa |
| 1948 | Shmuel Bikeles | Kibbutz Tel Harod Tabernacle of the Arts (art gallery) | Tel Harod Plain of Esdraelon |

¹ It is important to note that there are very few historically significant projects from the 1940s. This fact agrees with one's observation that while the 1920s represent a 'Golden Age' of planning, the 1930s were the 'Golden Age' of architectural design. However, all this impetus came to an abrupt halt by the last decade of the British Mandate in Palestine.

Architecture in Palestine during the British Mandate:
Lists of local works of the leading architects of the period

Appendix 3.1:
Sir PATRICK ABERCROMBIE (1879-1957)

| date | project / event |
|-------------|--|
| 1897-1901 | Articled to Charles Henry Heathcote, a Manchester architect. |
| c. 1903 | Accepts a lectureship in the Liverpool School of Architecture. |
| 1913 | Won international competition, proposal for Dublin future. (CR Ashbee won the second place). |
| 1915-35 | Second Lever Professor of Civic Design, Liverpool. |
| 1920-22 | Doncaster Regional Planning Scheme. |
| 1926 | Founder of C.P.R.E. (Council for the Protection of Rural England). (in which also CRA was involved). Published <i>The Preservation of Rural England</i> |
| 1930 | First visit to Palestine. |
| before 1933 | East Kent coalfield towns. |
| 1933 | Published <i>Town and Country Planning</i> |
| 1934 | Zebulun Valley Development Scheme I, with C.A. Holliday (known as Abercrombie-Holliday Haifa Bay Plan) |
| 1935 | Chair of Town Planning, University College London. |
| 1936 | Zebulun Valley Town Planning Scheme II (known as Abercrombie Haifa Bay Plan) |
| 1936-46 | Director of the Department of Town Planning, University College, London. |
| 1938 | Fourth, private visit to Palestine. |
| 1940 | University of Ceylon project, Peradinya, with AC Holliday. |
| 1943 | Second revised edition of <i>Town and Country Planning</i> . |
| 1944 | Greater London Plan, with J.H. Forshaw. |
| 1946 | New Towns Act: 33 New Towns are planned in Great Britain, Winner of the RIBA Royal Gold Medal for Architecture. |
| 1951 | Invited by David Ben-Gurion to assess the Israel National Plan by Arie Sharon, ratifies plans of 16 New Towns. |
| 1953 | Awarded the Town Planning Institute Gold Medal. |
| 1957 | Chairman of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, C.P.R.E. Dies at the age of 77. |

| date | project / event |
|---------|---|
| 1918 | Ashbee moved to Palestine, invited by Ronald Storrs, Military Governor of Jerusalem, to become the City Adviser. Co-founder and Hon. Secretary of the Pro-Jerusalem Society. |
| 1919 | Jerusalem Master Plan. |
| | Old Cotton Market restoration. ² |
| | Nebi Samwil reconstruction. |
| 1919? | Participated in the Dome of the Rock restoration , in collaboration with Ernest Richmond. |
| 1919-22 | Rampart Walk, Old City walls. |
| | Citadel Tower restoration. |
| | Citadel Gardens. |
| 1920 | Jaffa Road (Valero's) New Market. |
| c.1920 | Y.M.C.A. Building (project). |
| | Bible House (project). |
| | Post Office Building addition (project). |
| | Post Office Square (project). |
| | Abu Lihia Children Playground. (Probably the first planned playground in Palestine. The project was partially implemented and subsequently lost) |
| 1921 | Old Government House chambers. |
| | Montefiore Mill Garden. |
| 1922 | Geddes-Ashbee Jerusalem Master Plan. |
| | Hotel for Thomas Cook & Son (project). |
| 1934 | Visit to Palestine, following an invitation from his friend Arthur Wauchope, then High Commissioner for Palestine. |
| 1938 | Assembling of the <i>Jerusalem Collection</i> . |
| 1942 | Died in Stevenoaks, England, at the age of 79. |
| | |

Appendix 3.3:
BENJAMIN CHAIKIN (1885-1950)

App. 3.3

| date | project / event |
|---------|--|
| 1885 | Born in England. |
| 1920 | Immigrated to Palestine. Employed by the Board of Deputies, Jerusalem, apparently as Head of the Architecture Department. Assisted by Zeev Rechter, also in his first job in the country, who was employed as a draftsman. |
| 1920s | Collaborated with Geddes and Mears on the Hebrew University project. [Probably] Held a position at the Office of the Palestine Building - a Loan and Saving Association. |
| 1928 | Einstein Institute for Mathematics (Wattenberg Building), Hebrew University, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem, in association with P. Geddes and F.C. Mears. |
| 1929 | Strauss Health Centre, Jerusalem. |
| 1929-34 | King David Hotel, Jerusalem, in association with Emil Focht. |
| 1930 | National Library, Wolffsohn Building, Hebrew University, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem, in association with P. Geddes and F.C. Mears. |
| 1933 | Hebrew University Open Theatre, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem, in association with Fritz Kornberg. Julius Jacobs House, Rehavia Garden Suburb, Jerusalem. |
| 1930s | Tel Aviv Post Office. Nathan & Lina Strauss Health Centre, Tel Aviv. Dov Yosef House, Rehavia Garden Suburb, Jerusalem Sieff Building, Sieff Institute (now Weizmann Institute of Science), Rehovot. |
| 1940 | Haifa Town Hall. |
| 1950 | Died in Jerusalem at 65 years of age. |

| date | project / event |
|----------------|--|
| 1919 | Hebrew University Preliminary Master Plan, Mt. Scopus, Jerusalem. |
| | Jerusalem Master Plan, known as the Geddes' Jerusalem Plan. |
| | Talpioth Garden Suburb, Jerusalem. |
| | Proposal for Workers' Houses at Herod's Gate, Jerusalem. |
| | Museum & Archeological College, Jerusalem. |
| c. 1919 | Dome of Knowledge (Rosenbloom Building), Hebrew University, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem. |
| 1919-20 | Neve Shaanan Garden Suburb, Carmel Top Estates, Haifa. |
| | Ahuzat Herbert Samuel Garden Suburb, Carmel Top Estates, Haifa. |
| | Hadar Hacarmel Garden Suburb Plan, Haifa. |
| 1920 | Kiriath Anavim, Judean Hills. |
| | Ahuzat Baith (Kiriath Shmuel) Garden Suburb, Tiberias, Sea of Galilee. |
| 1922 | Jerusalem Master Plan, known as the Ashbee-Geddes Jerusalem Plan. |
| 1925-26 | North Tel Aviv Master Plan, known as the Tel Aviv Geddes Plan. |
| 1925-30 | National Library (Wolffsohn Building), Hebrew University, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem. |
| 1927-28 | Einstein Institute for Mathematics, Hebrew University, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem. |
| | Microbiology Institute, Hebrew University, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem (conversion of the pre-existent Grey-Hill villa). |
| 1932 | Died in Montpellier, France, at the age of 78. |

| date | event / project |
|---|---|
| 1921? | Further studies at the British School in Athens, especially Byzantine and Early Muslim architecture. |
| 1921- 22 | Worked in the Department of Construction, Eastern Macedonia, planning villages and houses for war refugees from Asia Minor. Worked as assistant to Edwin Lutyens in New Delhi. |
| 1922 | Came to Palestine, to occupy a post at the Mandate Administration. |
| 1922-37 | Works for the Public Works Department (P.W.D.), becoming Chief Architect. |
| 1925-38 | Palestine Archeological Museum, Jerusalem (known nowadays as the Rockefeller Museum). |
| 1927 | Government Printing Works, Jerusalem, with Frederick Wentworth Foster Turner. |
| 1929-31 | Central Post Office, Jaffa. |
| 1929-32 | New Government House, Jerusalem (known nowadays as the High Commissioner's Residence, the building serves as U.N. Headquarters). |
| 1931-32 | District and Magistrate's Court, Haifa (known nowadays as the Haifa Old Law Courts). |
| 1934-39 | Central Post Office, Jerusalem. |
| 1937 | Left Palestine following retirement from P.W.D. Established partnership with Robert Pearce Steel Hubbard, who had just disassociated himself from A. C. Holliday's office. This partnership will carry on up to 1955. |
| 1938 | Government Hospital, Amman, Transjordan (Jordan). |
| 1939 | Nuffield College, Oxford (built 1949-60), designed in association with Barnes and Robert Pearce Steel Hubbard. British Council Building, Jerusalem, designed in association with Barnes and Hubbard (project). |
| Subsequently Harrison worked in Ghana, Aden and Malta. He then retired, first to Cyprus and afterwards to mainland Greece, where he died at 85. | |

| date | event / project |
|----------|---|
| 1915- | Studied at the Liverpool School of Architecture, training under Sir Charles Herbert Reilly and Sir Patrick Abercrombie. |
| 1919 (?) | Holt Travelling Scholar. |
| 1920 | Dip. Civic Design, Liverpool University. |
| 1921-23 | Research Fellow, Department of Civic Design, Liverpool. Joint editor of <i>The Town Planning Review</i> . |
| 1922 | B. Arch., Liverpool University. |
| 1922-26 | Succeeded C.R. Ashbee as City Adviser to the City of Jerusalem. |
| 1923-27 | Hon. Secretary and Adviser to Pro-Jerusalem Society. |
| 1925-30 | St Andrews Church (The Scottish Memorial Church), Jerusalem. |
| 1926-27 | Kahn (Hospice) of the Order of St John, Jerusalem. |
| 1926-28 | British and Foreign Bible Society Building, Jerusalem. |
| 1927 | Beginning of private practice in Palestine as architect and town-planner. |
| 1927-29 | Lydda Town Planning Scheme (conservation and enlargement of an existing old city). Ramleh Town Planning Scheme (conservation and enlargement of an existing old city). |
| 1927-34 | Adviser to the Palestine Government, Central Town Planning Commission; as such, author of first Town Planning Regulations. |
| 1928 | Appointed architectural adviser to the Technical Subcommittee, created to cooperate with the Harbour Board in planning the area surrounding Haifa Harbour. |
| 1928-31 | Collaboration with Richard Kauffmann in the Haifa Harbour Reclamation Area Development Plan (for the new urban area reclaimed from the sea behind the harbour), Downtown Haifa. Haifa New Railway Station (known today as Haifa Mercas Station). |
| 1928-32 | Jaffa Town Planning Scheme (conservation and enlargement of an existing old city). Tiberias Town Planning Scheme (conservation and enlargement of an existing old city). |
| 1930 | Jerusalem Master Plan. Barclays Bank, Jerusalem. |

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| 1930-32 | Jerusalem Municipality Building and Gardens (today Daniel Auster Park). |
| 1932-36 | Netanya New Town Planning Scheme. |
| 1933 | Fellow of the R.I.B.A. |
| 1933-36 | Collaborated with Patrick Abercrombie planning the Valley of Zebulun Development Scheme (Abercrombie-Holliday Plan for Haifa Bay). |
| 1934-35 | Haifa Aleph Power Station, administrative building, designed in association with Ed Rosenhek. |
| 1934-37 | Established partnership with the architect Robert Pearce Steel Hubbard. |
| 1935 | Barclays Bank, Haifa, with R. P. S. Hubbard. |
| 1937 | Shops and apartments, Kingsway, Haifa, with R.P.S. Hubbard. Left Palestine; closure of the Jerusalem office. |
| 1938 October | The Architectural Branch of the Public Works Department takes over Holliday's former duties for the Haifa Harbour Estate. |

| date | event / project |
|---------|---|
| 1912 | Graduated from the Technische Hochschule, Munich. |
| 1920s | Immigration to Palestine. |
| | Housing at Kibbutz Degania, Sea of Galilee. |
| 1921 | Plan for Tel Aviv (Allenby St. to Mapu St.) |
| | Plan for Nahalal ,first <i>moshav</i> , Plain of Esdraelon. |
| | Talpioth Garden Suburb, Jerusalem. |
| | Beith Hakerem Garden Suburb, Jerusalem. |
| 1922 | Housing for workers, Potash Factory, Dead Sea. |
| | Rehavia A Garden Suburb, Jerusalem. |
| | Central Synagogue for Rehavia (project). |
| | Bat Galim, seaside neighbourhood, Haifa. |
| 1921-22 | Kibbutz Geva. |
| | Makor Haim Garden Suburb, Jerusalem. |
| 1922 | Antiochus Business Quarter Scheme, Jerusalem. |
| 1922-24 | Moshav Kfar Yejezkel, Plain of Esdraelon. |
| | Electric Power Station, Haifa (project). |
| | Kiriath Moshe Montefiore Garden Suburb, Jerusalem. |
| 1925 | Baith Vagan Garden Suburb, Jerusalem. |
| | Town Plan for Herzliah. |
| | Town Plan for Afula. |
| | Rehavia B, C, D, Garden Suburb enlargement plan. |
| 1926 | Haifa Bay Master Plan. |
| | Kibbutz Tel Yosef, Plain of Esdraelon. |
| | Kevutzat Kinneret. |
| | Kevutzat Yazur. |
| 1928 | House in Kibbutz Degania. |
| | School in Kibbutz Degania. |
| | 35, Hamelech George, Tel Aviv. |
| 1928-31 | Collaboration with Albert Clifford Holliday, in the development plan for the new reclaimed area in Haifa Harbour. |
| 1929 | House of the People, Nahalal, Plain of Esdraelon. |
| | Housing for Potash Factory workers, Dead Sea. |
| | Villa Novomiesky, Dead Sea. |

| | |
|----------------|---|
| 1929-30 | Palestine Mining Syndicate Potash Factory, Dead Sea. Haifa Power Station, designed for Pinhas Ruthenberg. |
| 1930 | Dr. V. Kruksal House, 21, Hess St., Tel Aviv; Kibbutz Negba. |
| 1930-1 | Goitin House, 10, Ussishkin St., Rehavia, Jerusalem. |
| 1931 | Mahanaim House, 7, Ussishkin St., Rehavia, Jerusalem. |
| 1931-2 | Hashimshoni House, 16, Ibn Gvirol St., Rehavia, Jerusalem. |
| 1930s | Ambash House, 33, Keren Kayemeth St., Rehavia, Jerusalem. |
| 1932-6 | Pomerantz House, 11, Ussishkin St., Rehavia, Jerusalem. |
| 1933 | 119, Rotschild Boulevard, Tel Aviv. Moshav Kfar Vitkin. |
| 1934 | Levant Fair Master Plan, Tel Aviv. Home Produce Pavilion. Levant Fair, Tel Aviv. Agion House, 9, Smolenskin St., Rehavia, Jerusalem (now the Israel Prime Minister's official residence). Apartment House, 92, Rotschild Boulevard, Tel Aviv. Apartment House, 23, Idelson St., Tel Aviv. |
| 1937 | Reading Power Station, Tel Aviv. |
| 1938 | Kibbutz Maoz-Chaim. |
| 1945 | Hebrew University New Master Plan, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem (in association with Rau and Klarwein). |
| 1946 | Workers' Estate, Dead Sea. |
| 1947 | "From Planning to Reality", retrospective exhibition of his work, prepared on occasion of his sixtieth birthday at the Bezalel Academy of Arts, Jerusalem. |
| 1950s | Katamon and Kiriath Hayovel neighbourhoods, Jerusalem, both in collaboration with Leopold Krakauer. |
| 1958 | Died at 68 years of age. |

Appendix 3.8:
LEOPOLD KRAKAUER (1890-1954)³

App. 3.8

| date | event / project |
|---------|--|
| 1890 | Born in Vienna. |
| 1901-12 | Studies at the Vienna Technische Hoch Schule, Hochbauschule and at the School of Architecture of the Vienna Academy, the last years of . |
| 1912-14 | Begins practice at the office of Prof. Ohmann, Vienna. |
| 1914-18 | Serves in the Austrian Army, in a technical unit on the Italian front. |
| 1919 | Participated in the Expressionists' Exhibition at the Künstlerhaus, Vienna. |
| 1922-23 | Works in Belgrade, planning and completing the local Houses of Parliament. |
| 1925 | Immigrated to Palestine. Begins to work at Alexander Baerwald's office in Haifa. |
| 1926 | Planning of Kibbutz Beth Alfa Main building (project) Settled in Jerusalem and opened his own private practice |
| 1928 | Participates in the "Tower of David" Exhibition. |
| 1930 | Dining Hall, Children's Home, Kibbutz Beth Alfa |
| 1935 | Dr. Bonem House, Rehavia, Jerusalem (nowadays a branch of the Leumi Bank) |
| 1935 | Teltch Sanatorium, (nowadays Mount Carmel Hotel) |
| 1936 | Dining Hall, Kibbutz Tel Yosef. |
| 1937 | Sonnenberg House, Mount Carmel, Haifa. |
| 1940 | Boasson House, Jerusalem. |
| 1954 | Selected to represent the State of Israel at the Venezia Biennale. Died on December 19 at the age of 64. |

³ Unlike the other architects, whose work has not been systematically researched or their portfolio register has been put together from many different and partial sources, for Krakauer there is a complete list of works assembled by Krista Illera, as well as two books on his work. The list here has been assembled from these sources.

| date | event / project |
|--|---|
| 1923 | Project for an Electrical Power Station, Haifa. |
| | Project for a Garden City on Mt. Carmel, Haifa, (Sommerfeld Gartenstadt) |
| | Project for a Commercial Center, Haifa (designed together with Richard Neutra). |
| These first three schemes were followed eight years later by twelve works of which nine projects were built and are still extant. | |
| 1935-36 | Weizmann House, Rehovot. ⁴ |
| | Schocken House, Jerusalem. |
| | Schocken Library, Jerusalem. |
| 1936-38 | Project for Hebrew University, Mt. Scopus. Jerusalem. |
| | Hadassah Medical Center, Mt. Scopus. Jerusalem. |
| | Government Hospital, Haifa. |
| 1937-39 | Anglo-Palestine Bank, Jerusalem. |
| | Ludwig Teitz Vocational School, Kibbutz Yagour. |
| 1937 | Project for a Business Center, Haifa (only verbal documentation). |
| | Project for a Hotel, Haifa (only verbal documentation). |
| 1939-41 | Agriculture Faculty, Weizmann Institute, Rehovot. |
| | Daniel Wolf Research Laboratories, Rehovot. |
| Finally, Mendelsohn projected from New York two new schemes for Rehovot - then hometown to his friend Chaim Weizmann- of which only verbal documentation has been found at the present time. | |
| 1944 | Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot. |
| | Congress Hall and Music Conservatory, Rehovot. |

⁴ Bold type identifies the projects that were actually completed.

| date | event / project |
|-------------|---|
| 1900 | Born in Galicia, Poland. |
| 1920 | Immigrates to Palestine 'with a group of young pioneers'. |
| 1921 | Joins Kibbutz Gan Shmuel; works with beehives. |
| 1926-9 | Architectural studies at the Bauhaus, Dessau. |
| 1928 | Vocational School and Kindergarten in Louny, with Antonin Urban. |
| 1928-30 | Campus for the German General Trade Union A.D.G.B. (Bundeschule des Allgemeinen Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes). |
| 1930-31 | Assistant architect at Hannes Meyer and Hans Wittwer office. |
| early 1930s | Travels to work in Russia as part of a group of Bauhaus people lead by Hannes Meyer. |
| 1931-32 | Returns to Palestine and opens private practice in Tel Aviv. Histadrut Pavilions, 1 st Levant Fair (competition, first prize). |
| 1934 | Histadrut Pavilion, 2 nd Levant Fair. Founds the Tel Aviv circle of architects, the <i>Chug</i> . [Old] Brenner House, incl. a cooperative restaurant. |
| 1935 | Cooperative Housing, Tel Aviv (Mishkenot Ovdim 4), (architectural competition, first prize). [Old] Beilinson Hospital, Tel Aviv. |
| 1939 | Cooperative Housing, Tel Aviv (Workers' Estates 5,6,7,8) (architectural competition, first prize). |
| 1939- 1945 | During the war years Sharon works planning kibbutzim. (Ein Hashofet, Geva, Gan Shmuel, and others). |
| 1948 | Appointed Director and Chief Architect, National Planning Office at the Prime Minister Office. Private practice: forms partnership with former employee, architect Benjamin Idelson. |
| 1950-4 | Appointed Director, Planning Department, Home Ministry. |
| 1951 | Prepares and publishes the first <i>Israel Master Plan</i> . Publishes <i>Physical Planning in Israel</i> . |
| 1949-1964 | Designs 20 new development towns. |
| 1964-1984 | Sharon continued to pursue a busy practice in Tel Aviv until his death at the age of 84. Sharon office continued to exist through his architect son and grandson. |

