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AN URBAN MIRACLE
GEDDES @ TEL AVIV

THE SINGLE SUCCESS OF MODERN PLANNING

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In loving memory of my parents, Louisa and Nissim Cohen

Designed by the Author
Printed in Israel

INTRODUCTION & FOREWORD

Foreword

The purpose of this book is twofold. First, it aims to make known to the general public the fact that Tel Aviv, a modern town one hundred years of age, is in its core one of the few successes of modern planning. Tel Aviv enjoys real urban activity, almost around the clock, and this activity contains all the range of human achievement: social, cultural, financial, etc. This intensity is promoted and enlivened by a relatively minor part of the city, the part planned by Sir Patrick Geddes, a Scotsman, anthropologist and man of vision. This urban core is the subject of the book, and it will be explored and presented here using aerial photos, maps, panoramic views, and what we hope will be layman-accessible explanations.

Let it be said outright that as a planner, the author of this book is concerned with the achievements of the plan itself, and not with questioning whether Geddes was or was not its actual source - a point on which doubt has sometimes been cast. Whatever name is assigned to the plan (and we find Geddes' name to be as good as any) its physical qualities are the heart of our interest, and not any written documents, reports and the like, which are better left to historians.

The second aim of the book is to offer up this rare and thriving instance of modern 20th century planning, in all its success and endurance, to the Urban Planning profession as a learning opportunity. The “Geddes Plan,” as this portion of Tel Aviv came to be called, can serve as a model to a presently dwindling and disappearing profession. In a world that has lost the ability to plan Urbanity, the principle that has led humanity to its crowning cultural ability for 3000 years is declining into various forms of urban sprawl. The study of the planning model presented here could be of some help. The Geddes portion is less than 5% in area of Tel Aviv, but it constitutes the only real major planning achievement in Israel. This is presented in a somewhat condensed professional form, with the help of maps and diagrams.

The book is not an historic research venture, and was conceived and developed by the author and co-producer, both architects and planners. It covers some hundred years of development, and looks at the area's successes, but also at mistakes that have been made throughout the process of its development, with a glance into the plan’s future potential. We hope it will contribute towards a plan for the preservation and conservation of this part of Tel Aviv.

I am indebted to my colleague, Prof. Hillel Schocken, architect and town planner, His amiable contributions, have given some form to my efforts.

Prof. Harry Brand, as always, encouraged and advised valuably.

Thanks to Thom Rofe, the editor of the book, who has lent my English style a more 'user-friendly' form. My close friend Shai Shwartz, and my wife Yael, helped and endured the various critical stages of the effort.

The help forwarded by the Honourable Ron Huldai, Mayor of Tel Aviv, and the city's chief Engineer, Architect Hezi Berkovitz, with the present city administration, adds to 100 years of optimism, and leads us all to believe in a positive outcome of future prospects.

Scope

Tel Aviv is Israel's sole cosmopolitan city. It houses around 400 thousand residents, with a potential increase of 50% at least, by normal standards. In area it is 50 sq. km., a centre of the country's cultural, social, and financial life, an intense and diverse city worthy of comparison to its sisters in Europe. Israel does not posses another city even remotely similar. It is also a modern city, barely a century of age. We shall look into its central part, the "core", a significant contribution to the meaning of Tel Aviv. It is also known by the name of its planner, "the Geddes plan". This part is roughly 3 square kms. in size, and has circa 45,000 inhabitants, roughly ten percent of the city. The plan was initiated as a "garden city", a theory rampant by the beginning of the 20th century, a reaction to the industrial revolution in European cities. The inception of this theory eventually led to the disembowelling of town planning, and its replacement by the constant sprawl still present all over the globe. At present the "New Urbanism" approach is taking its place, without eliminating the suburban sprawl.

The Geddes Plan is worth examining in a broader world context, since it is the only modern town to avoid the pitfalls caused by the above modernistic trends. Instead, thanks to the infallible instincts of Patrick Geddes, it has continued to use the historical tradition of urbanity, namely the "urban fabric" method. We shall not shun looking into the pitfalls of this method in the last part of the book, and, while we advocate Unesco's notion of (partially) conserving and preserving this plan as an historic, and at the same time, an admirable model of planning, we will argue for the importance of preserving it as a whole.

We wish to stress that the present volume is written from a planning point of view, as befits the subject. The author has tried to analyse the content of the plan, without going into the design of buildings.

The same volume is translated into Hebrew, as its twin, in which more local interests in the plan are addressed.

Introduction

Patrick Geddes was drawn to Palestine by a combination of chance and ability. He had already been commissioned to apply his theories in India, where some villages and small townships were undertaking works of renewal and modernization. He had also written several town planning reports for townships in India, which he regarded as providing a new understanding of human needs in urban conglomerations, as well as a design for a new addition to the town of Bal Rampur.

Known and admired by Israel Zangwill, a writer and a Zionist, he was introduced to Jewish leaders, like Haim Weizmann, who were attached to British officials in England. Word of his new ideas was known by the British rulers in Palestine, a factor that leant its weight to his approval by local leaders.

The first attempts of this man of vision, like the plans for a new University campus in Jerusalem, were aborted. Some minor plans on the lake of Galilee, in the new part of Upper Tiberias, were tested, and implemented after a fashion. These first planning efforts were not happy ones, and it is probable that Geddes was disenchanted with the local administration and with its divided political factions.

In the meantime, in the early twenties, Tel Aviv was growing fast, and its planning department was trying out new ideas for its expansion in a general northerly direction. Land was being bought and developed after a fashion; plans were finalized on the border of Arab land north of Jaffa. The best way to think about this new Jewish city was not clear, as the existing plans were in some cases imported European concepts, and others were for mere neighborhoods adjacent to the town of Jaffa, which was prospering and also expanding at the time.

The progressive Mayor of Tel Aviv, Meir Dizengoff, knowing Geddes by reputation and being sure of his approval by the British rule and his acceptance by many Zionist friends, approached Geddes and invited him to outline an idea for the plan the city needed. Geddes did not stay long, apparently for only a few months, and we have just one model sketch of his plan, from the northern edge of Jaffa to the Yarkon river, stretching some 3-4 km. northwards and about 1.5 km. eastwards from the sea shore. Added to the sketch is a written report, of a general nature, expounding the ideas and intentions of the plan.

This is the whole extent of the venue, an approximate 3 sq. km., roughly the size of London's Hyde Park.

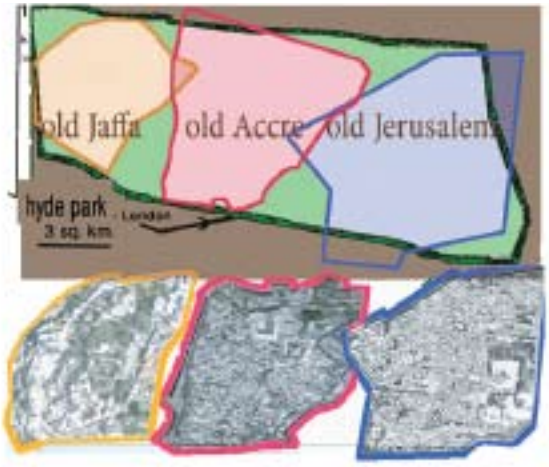
It is also known that Geddes wanted his endeavour to include a possible connection to Jaffa, as he was well aware of the enmity between the two people, and it was a challenge he wished take on. It seems, however, that he was not encouraged to do so, at least at that stage, reality demanding a more urgent approach to deal with the needed expansion to the north. Tel Aviv, bordered to the east by the Aylon river, is 2.5 km. wide at the point addressed in the Geddes plan, and the possible course of action based on land available for purchase was not even as wide as that, reaching, at Ibn Gabirol street, a width of 1,5 km. at most as a future north-south avenue.

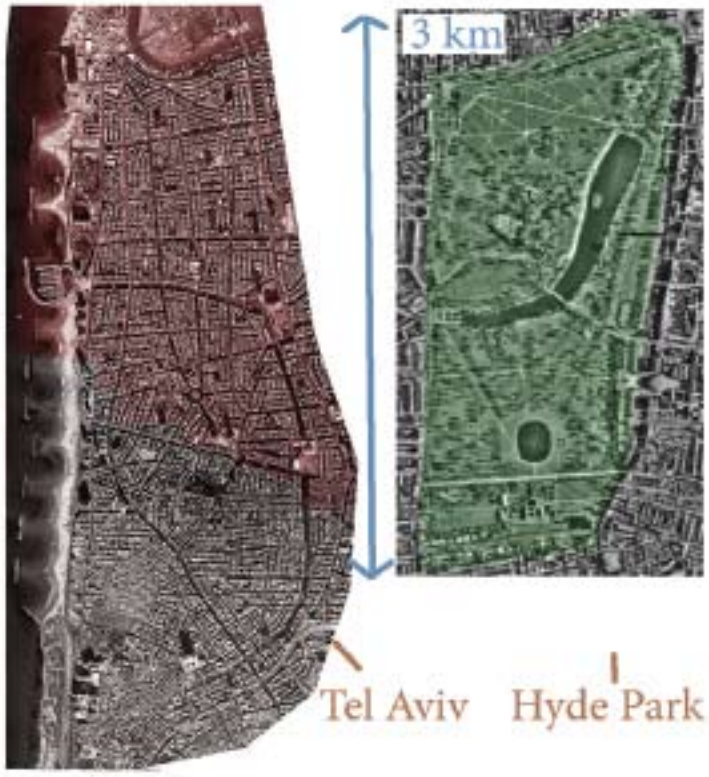
A plan (a compilation, in fact) for the southern edge of Tel Aviv had already been approved, constituting a legal barrier toward Jaffa (for a more detailed discussion of this plan see Part 2). Roughly speaking, the solution to the north, according to the Geddes plan, was to be a rather orthodox grid division of normal city blocks, sized 150 by100 meters. Geddes at that time had ideas for a low-medium density prospect, 3 storey buildings, commercial streets to the north, a break every 100 meters or less to allow cooling breezes, and some public gardens to be provided for each neighborhood. A boulevard (the present day Rothschild Boulevard) was already in existence, but was as yet unresolved in that it did not lead to anything; a special cultural center or focal point, with some public squares had to be proposed. A better connection to Jaffa was abandoned, maybe with a proviso and hope of the shore line serving as a possible promenade in the future to help in that respect.

This, then, was the outline of the planning task Geddes faced and its resolution. We shall not dwell on the philosophy guiding Geddes' approach to planning, as this can be found in other books. Suffice it to say that Geddes left a sole sketch of his plan, to a very limited scale, and the town planning force, along with some able architects, had to make do with that. In the transition from sketch to reality a great many changes were necessarily made, but in the main Geddes plan was, fortunately enough, adhered to. The local planners seem to have understood and respected its inherent quality. The authorship of the sketch plan, which is in some doubt, will not be dealt with here, since we think that to be a side issue.

Some of the changes made in adopting Geddes plan in the decade following its conception were due to local pressures and demands. The public need for new parcels and building was great, and the plan's proposed density soon needed to be augmented. At the same time, the whole country was growing, and Tel Aviv soon became the focal point of this growth, as it remains to this day. The plan fitted well, as its simple, almost orthogonal division easily adapted to the challenge of connecting adjacent neighbourhoods to one another, which would become necessary mainly to the north and to the

Three existing historical cities, to scale, superimposed upon Hyde Park for comparison. Below, in red, is the contour of the Geddes plan, Tel Aviv, and close areas, next to Hyde Park to scale.





east. Internally, the plan was easy to apply and operate. More development meant more demand for services, commerce and administration, with the plan responding well to all these tasks. Nothing is known of Geddes' hopes and later reactions to the implementation of his plan. It does not seem likely that he came back to inspect the results of his efforts. This book will be a token of our respect to his legacy.

The remainder of this section is devoted to a brief overview of the "Garden City", an approach to city planning said to be an influential factor on Geddes' planning style. This is followed by a short survey of Tel Aviv's development in the years between its inception in 1909 and the end of the British mandate in 1948. Part two of the book examines some planning records that may have influenced Geddes, and describes in more detail the local physical and planning situation in Tel Aviv at the beginning of the twentieth century, in the years after the neighbouring city of Jaffa gave birth to the first Jewish urban settlement, Ahuzat Bait. The third chapter looks into the initiation and development of the Geddes plan. It is both a descriptive and a graphic chapter designed to be understood by the unprofessional reader. Parts of it deal in greater depth with area's the planning qualities in urban terms. It analyses the actual “model town” theoretically, and goes on to formulate and recommend some ways of using the essentials of this approach to influence master plans of the future. The fourth chapter analyses the current and present form that the plan has taken. This is clarified by looking at the plan's extremities and borderlines, where the plan is supposed to merge and influence the fabric of its closest vicinity, a notion that has not been fully realized. The chapter will conclude by looking into innovation in this context, and connecting to various elements that came to be in proximity. In this it addresses the contemporary situations of cities that are losing the battle to perform an urban, and not a sprawling function, and the question of how the city is to grow and prosper whilst maintaining its important historical traits.

The last chapter tries to follow the logic of the plan and point out where it has failed to generate an influence, with the view that future attempts may rectify some of these mistakes, both in local cases and on a larger scope. Regarding its main subject, which is the Geddes plan, the book will maintain the view that this rare success of twentieth century urban planning, with its unique fabric, deserves not only emulation, but conservation as well. The role that this plan has had is unique in Israel, serving as a lone unifying force of cultural cohesiveness. This role can be maintained only if the plan is considered an historical and aesthetic base, an organised effort of a new growing community, and a success in planning terms.

To familiarise the reader with the content of the book, top right shows the urban fabric of Tel Aviv in the section covered by the Geddes plan. To its right is the locally famous ***Dizengoff Circus*** *in the sixties, at which time it was becoming the town symbol, and its focal point. It was rebuilt and raised above street level in the seventies.*
The newer parts of Tel Aviv look different. Built around the start of the millennium, they do not connect to the historical parts of the city, and could be anywhere. Modern planning abhors mixed use, so commercial fronts and normal streets are ***out****. The aerial photo on the right hints at the free arrangement of blocks, popular now in the country and in the world. It is compared on the left with one of many modern failures to plan urban intensive situations, once again using residential blocks, not streets. The use of blocks of flats to create undefined empty space, rather than urban entities like streets, squares and the like, will be seen here as a stark contrast to the Geddes plan.*

Note: The quantity and variety of visual material deemed necessary for the present volume is substantial. Most of the maps were provided by Municipal Archives and services, and by Governmental Archives, as were some black and white photos. Additional maps and studies are by the author. Color photographs are by author and his staff.

halle newstadt

PART ONE
INTRODUCTORY

WORLD SITUATION

LOCAL BEGINNINGS

State of cities by turn of the century

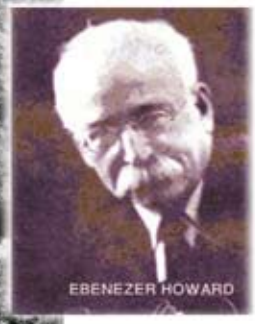
Garden Cities

The state of cities by the time of the Industrial Revolution and the turn of the century.

The negative aspects that became associated with city life by the end of the 19th century are well known and have been well described everywhere. From the planner's point of view, the quick influx of large populations into cities and jobs was not well met, a shortcoming for which the poor working classes suffered most acutely. Close proximity to industrial estates made the already poor conditions in densely packed residential quarters even worse. Centers of cities were no better, being overrun by commerce, traffic and inadequate sanitary conditions. New and quickly built neighborhoods quickly turned into slums.

These were the circumstances in industrialized countries in both Europe and North America. Poor precincts multiplied as production rose, and energy consumption rose with it. Dire as the situation was, it was not, however, widely acknowledged. Few people wrote of it or made the facts widely known, few protested, and in fact society was not yet conditioned to acknowledge that the acquisition of new riches by the few and the taking of new steps towards comfort for the human race demanded a high price in human misery. The planning profession faced a new challenge, not in public monuments, nor in public discourse or even buildings. The whole fabric of society was changing, and with it the concept of the city had to be rediscovered. England was the first precursor of the industrial revolution, and thus was also the first to give birth to the new attitudes toward the urban problem.

It was to be a big task, for the need for change was not only physical, but had also become socially entwined with the problem of health care. Nonetheless, the solution had to be based in the realm of residential planning for the masses. The needs were generally met by zoning regulations (these had to be reinvented), sanitation solutions (on a new and unknown scale), some decisions as to human living density, the integration of aspects from nature (missed in cities) - all elements deriving in some way from health and social care issues.



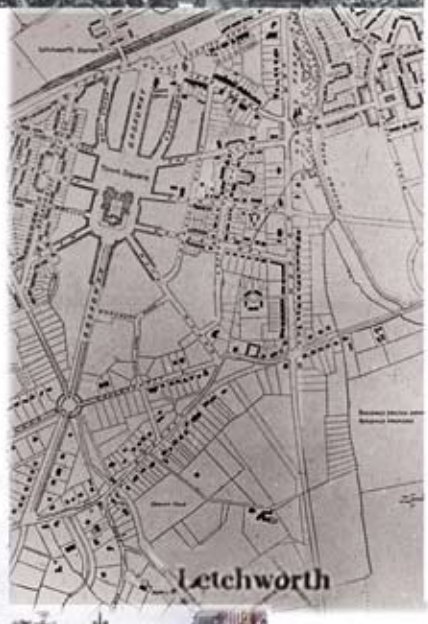
The Social City in its more limited realization in *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, (1902).

Garden cities as a concept were introduced by British philosopher Ebenezer Howard as an attempt to invent a new kind of city life, a reaction to the industrial cities of Europe. This called for a maximal amount of greenery located inside the fabric of the town, the latter of which had to be disrupted accordingly. Other theorists were Frank Lloyd Wright, with his wish to live in quiet rural surroundings, and Le Corbusier, who was for huge parkland dotted with skyscrapers. In retrospect, their collective invention was of one of residential suburbs, and had nothing to do with the advantages that city life had offered throughout its history of thousands of years. In fact, the theory of the Garden City ultimately became one of denial of cities and urbanity.

Today it seems obvious that the solution was easy. The city had to be dismantled, because of its evils, its density, the inhuman poverty it contained, its disregard of the poorer class, its unlivable sanitary conditions, bad air, crime, bad health, its poor design and layout in the built precincts.

The idea was to separate humanity from the industrial and commercial estates and bring it to nature, i.e. to parks in varying degrees of cultivation. In other words, to restore some environment worth living in and promote humanity's ability to benefit from the new prosperity it was producing at home, in the suburban outskirts, where land was cheap and readily available. New plans were to be invented and instituted, where the conditions stated above would flourish. Thus were formed the new “garden cities”, an example of which is Letchworth, England. It was founded in 1903, after some reformers and writers fought for its establishment as a model for the new century, and backed by various social and advanced movements like the Arts and Crafts. The concept was a new approach to both planning the urban context, and the design was detailed, taking into account the social aspects demanded by the area as well. It was assumed that cultural aspects would automatically take care of themselves, which of course they never did.

To attract the multitudes, Garden Cities were designed to be cheap for both the builder and the buyer, (like in their use of prefabrication, thought to help). The street array was radial rather than grid oriented. Only non-harmful industrial factories were allowed, and these were controlled. Control was also exercised over other social amenities, like pubs. This experiment was only mildly successful and remains suburban to this day.



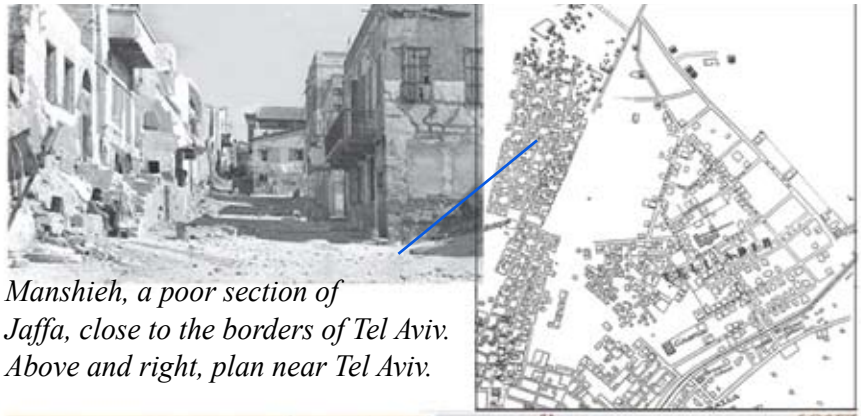
The cities planned by the Garden City movement did not succeed in being more than suburban. Letchworth is one example.

The innovators of urbanity brushed aside the cultural aspects of life, and invented a healthy "sanatorium" like concept to cure the ills of industrialization. The road pattern espoused by the movement was a random one, unlike any urban effort, and very rural in its minimal connectivity of 50% road junctions, standing in total opposition to the ease of navigation and orientation aspired to in a city. Indeed the very term ***'city'*** is wrong, ***'big village'*** being more appropriate.

Garden Cities, as a concept, were adopted very sporadically, and much imitated by sprawl, in its suburban attitude. Not a single new "city" of this type has managed to perpetuate a full life of its own. The concept was carried further into "modern" planning, and proved a dead end as far as real Urbanity is concerned, but went on for almost a full century.

Today we have seen a revival of sorts to the concept of 'healthy living', as if open spaces and greenery are in themselves more healthy, with the isolation of sprawl in its various forms and the resulting lack in urban 'life force' or spirit. New Urbanism activists try to convince us that there is such a thing as 'moderate' urbanity. To do that they promote suburbs slightly more dense than the suburbs we know, dotted with innumerable amounts of trees but void of urban intensity and therefore unable to serve as a city substitute. The movement has had its impact in the USA, and instead of two storey fronts, we now see three storey ones. This concession is very far from any urban vestige.

Geddes was influenced by the Garden City movement, and many of its aspects were in fact endorsed by him. But he also took urban life as axiomatic in its fullness, and did not see its annihilation as the vehicle for bettering social needs, as many other planners throughout the century did. In Palestine he was confronted by local examples on unsuccessful planning, in Rehavia, (Jerusalem) and Hadar HaCarmel in Haifa. Both were by the architect R. Kaufman, with low density, low rise cottages, and were not a solution suited to a central, high intensity situation, like Tel Aviv's.



Manshieh, a poor section of Jaffa, close to the borders of Tel Aviv. Above and right, plan near Tel Aviv.

The old city of Jaffa, with its port, citadell, and development of expansion.

LOCAL SITUATION

A brief description of the development of ***Tel Aviv,***
in connection with the ***Geddes Plan.***

By 1911, two years after its inception, 60 parcels (each measuring roughly 500 sq. m.) had been purchased in the first neighborhood of what would become Tel Aviv, but these were allotted in an ineffective array according to no manner of suitable plan (see part 2). The lack of planners was clear in those early days of the organized effort to establish a Jewish quarter near Jaffa. In that (pre Geddes) period one reads of curious and non professional "bylaws" that accompanied the building on the newly acquired land. Some include rulings as to the coverage of the plot by the actual area of a building (a third of the plot, indicating low density), paving materials, etc. All were reached by common consent, but without any administration to check them, and were ineffective.

Subsequently, hundreds of similarly sized lots (not a great deal for the inception of a sizable community) were purchased by various Zionist organizations. The plans of some of the better groupings followed the general directions of Jaffa's main diagonal roads, and thus were not exactly parallel to the sea. Up to the first world war, the total amounted to less than half of one square km, and so it still was at the declaration of British rule, circa 1920.

Over the next 15 years, however, the whole situation changed rapidly, with the help of The Balfour Proclamation and the British Rule (very different in its professional approach to planning from its indifferent Turkish predecessor). The Governor General of Palestine, Sir Herbert Samuel, was Jewish and sympathized with the Zionist movement. The immigration of European Jews were now encouraged, and the Jewish population of Tel Aviv was to swell to 50,000 persons by the thirties. This influx and the urgent need for planning and subdividing the land were the principal motivation behind the search for a suitable planner. The rule of the land was in the hands of a foreign power, with its own outlook on planning in its colonies (some examples of this are

The first Jewish quarter, Neve Zedek, was part of Jaffa. The old city of Jaffa, right and below, sand dunes in its north, and small villages surrounding it. New Tel Aviv, to its north east, was not connected to it or to the sea. It starts with Ahuzat Bait.

Air photo with marked conditions at the initial pre-planning stages.Future Tel Aviv is in the dunes. Note the border line of the Geddes Plan on Ibn Gvirol St.

Extent of Geddes plan, Jaffa not even shown or considered in planning terms.

extant in Jaffa, along with planners from Egyptian origins), and so the new planner had to be one of extraordinary status and vision.

By 1921 the displeasure of the local Arab population with the recent huge increase in Jewish presence had led to insurgences in Jaffa that did not bode well for a quiet future. Land was available mostly in the north, along sand dunes that could not be cultivated, and was being sold by local Arab land owners. The British rule authorized a separation from Jaffa into a separate self-administrative rule marked by a demarcation line that effectively determined the borders of the area to be developed. This action had to be officially proclaimed as a new Township and was affirmed as such by 1923.

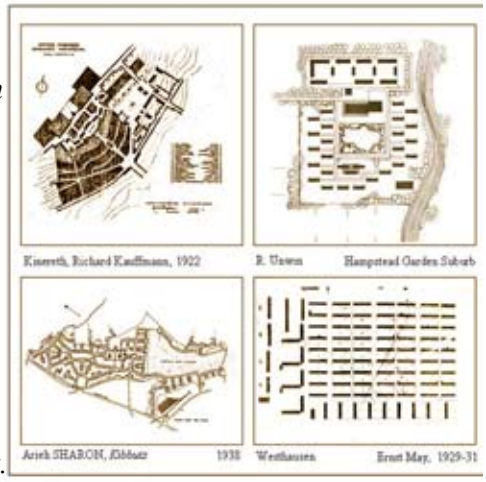
This proclamation made Tel Aviv the first Jewish self ruled town in Palestine. Its rapid incremental growth could not be well planned in a short time, and up to a thousand families had to live in makeshift shelters, (these remained in existence up to the sixties). By 1925 the influx almost doubled, and some governmental land, mainly on the shore, was transferred to Jewish ownership. The population was approaching the 50 thousand mark; close in size to that of the city of Jaffa. By that time Tel Aviv had acquired all the characteristics - commercial, financial, social, cultural, etc - necessary for its qualification as a town.

The need for a master plan had become obvious. The local town planning authority assigned the task to Patrick Geddes. By that time, however, little could be done about the quickly established built-up areas between the new city and Jaffa. These areas lie in a semi-dormant state to this day, with many half-baked planning notions imbedded in their bylaws. Geddes rose very well to the challenge, though his fervent desire to do something about bridging the gulf to Jaffa and its population was thwarted by the barrier various other plans had formed between the two towns. The necessity of the day was to determine the new northern part of the town, and this he quickly solved, in detail. By 1925, within a few months, a sketch plan was drawn up by him, adopted, and finally officially approved in two years.

The master plan took care of the northern parts up to the Yarkon river (a natural borderline) and had a rough orthogonal shape by necessity, parallel to the sea's orientation. The happy combination of other elements (to be looked into later in the book) made it a success.

Local planning competition does not exhibit much ability or understanding of town planning matters.

State of local building methods.



Arab villages, connected to the hills,bottom, and modern Jewish settlements, above. The nature of local planning at the time of Geddes' arrival, was such that modern planners did not even try to imitate existing cities, no street patterns, no urban cohesion. Arrangements look very much like army camps, right.

The housing shortage had caused a sharp rise in prices, and the approved plan alleviated this to a certain extent, but this was by no means a smooth process. The interests of various political and land owning groups, the lack of real self rule, the pace of building, instability, the imminent world war, the presence of enmity, the lack of real know how, and the low income level of the population were all obstacles. The lack of experience with land and built up property characteristic in the 1920s had repercussions that continued to be felt tens of years to come. Indeed, the changes Tel Aviv is undergoing now still show the above marks of quick development, and the city is in constant turmoil and change in many respects.

By 1933 the municipal area was extended again and the eastern border was marked as Ibn Gvirol str. - which was the extent of the plan provided by Geddes. The size of the whole city at the time was circa 8 sq. km. and had around 60 thousand inhabitants in its northern area and in the part located close to Jaffa. After the 1948 War it would become a township of 50 sq. km., housing close to 300 thousand residents.

Checking similar plans of the period, we are surprised that no alternatives were available, that no others had been submitted or attempted. Apart from some sketches by R. Kaufman, which are in fact meant for neighbourhoods, not towns, we witness rudimentary attempts, rows of blocks and garden city arrangements, all lacking any scale or scope. In view of the good quantity of able planners in central Europe who found success even in the new era, the fact remains curious. Some planning of the same period, especially by Austrian practitioners, was appropriated in towns and cities all over Europe and remains successful today. One may guess that the Zionists did not want the British mandate authorities to get too familiar with planning and land purchase matters, and were also suspicious of other mid-European planners. The fact that a war had just ended may have had some effect as well.

One may add that without a spring in the optimism of creation, the urban miracle would not have come about.

PART TWO

The Setting

SIR
Patrick
Geddes

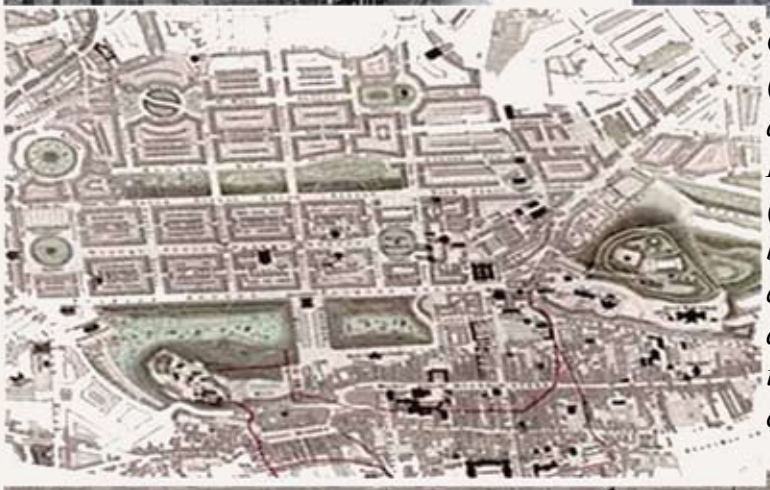
Sir Patrick Geddes

Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) is widely regarded as the founder of modern town planning. His interest in the natural sciences led him to a professorship in botany at Dundee University, after which he developed his interest in sociology and planning. He lived most of his life in Edinburgh during which he established the Edinburgh Social Union, promoted a wide range of renewal and conservation schemes along the length of the Royal Mile, mainly for university residential accommodation, founded a publishing company and the Franco-Scottish Society, developed summer schools, spent some time in India as Chair of Sociology at Bombay University, designed the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the mid-northern plan for Tel Aviv, and finally retired to France where he had founded the Collège des Ecossais in Montpellier. Geddes' final years were spent there in an institute established to train students in his ideas about sociology and town planning, though the place was not ultimately a success. He was knighted in London on the year of his death.

Geddes was the inventor of many key words and short formulas, intended to simplify his profession and make it accessible to the average layman. Unfortunately, such efforts - like his three Ss: ***Sympathy*** (for people and the natural world); ***Synthesis*** (of different parts) and ***Synergy*** (cooperative actions of people) - proved over-simple to a somewhat amateurish extent. His numerous brief sketches were of a similarly unrelated or systematized character. In one of his books he appeals to his readers to '*enter into the spirit of our cities, their historic essence and continuous life*', a request that aptly illustrates his wish to encompass everything in a sweeping motion. This "poetic vision", while inspiring, is unfit for general understanding.

Never a social or planning critic, Geddes' writings are in the main positive and creative. He was wary of faulty moves, and refrained from opposing anything directly or politically. One small digression from this rule is a statement in which Geddes claims that "when an engineer rushes into town planning he too often adopts the simple expedient of drawing straight thoroughfares on the drawing board across the town plan and then sawing them through the town, regardless of cost and consequence". He adds to this critique his own contrary opinion that "the task of town-planning is to find the right places for each sort of people; places where they will really flourish.

Edinburgh



Old (opposite) and New Edinburgh (upper and bottom) are very different and in planning contrast.

Cleveland Square, London.
One of the many **internal squares** *that could have been models to P. Geddes.*

The famous **internal closes** *in Edinburgh that are hard to navigate, also well known to P. Geddes.*

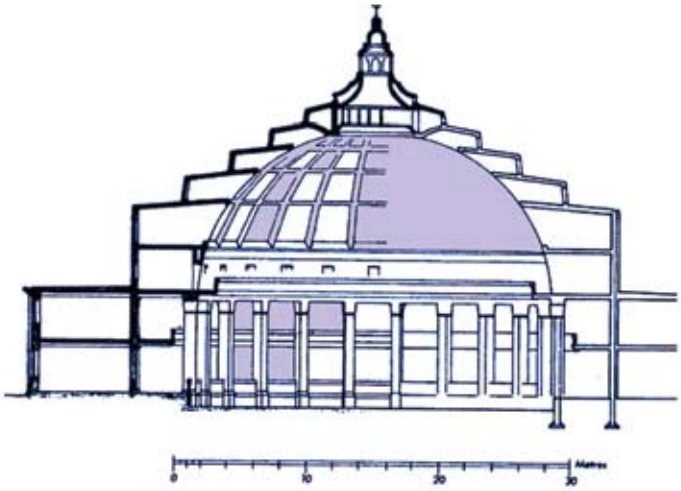
To give people in fact the same care that we give when transplanting flowers, instead of harsh evictions and arbitrary instructions to 'move on', delivered in the manner of officious amateur policemen".

Geddes also pioneered a sociological approach to the study of urbanization. He discovered that the city should be studied in the context of the region, and predicted that the process of urbanization could be analysed and understood. It is in such of his rare and more concrete exclamations that we may fathom his will or his modernity. But Geddes never achieved true understanding of how cities are planned; he even abstained from any interest in form. To him the human element was central, but he never acknowledged deeply that humanity changes, adapts, and is incalculable and unpredictable, even aware as he was of the enormous changes taking place before his eyes in his own city of Edinburgh.

One of Geddes' first reports as a town planning advisor, was on Dunfermine, Scottland. He published it as City Development in 1904, and it was rejected by the Dunfermline Carnegie Trust as an overly elaborate and theoretical work. This judgment was the first of a series of disappointments for Geddes as he attempted to secure employment as a social scientist. Most significant in this respect was his failed candidacy in 1907 for the first British chair of sociology.

Then, in 1919, Geddes left the UK to become Professor of Sociology and Civics at the University of Bombay, where he stayed until 1924. Although the job fulfilled his ambition of becoming a full-time social scientist and gave him opportunities to put his town planning ideas into practice, it also left Geddes feeling left out of developments in Europe and the USA. In an unexpected turn of events, however, he was contacted by a young American writer called Lewis Mumford who admired him (and also helped found the Regional Planning Association of America in 1929, influenced by Geddes' ideas) and became the most avid supporter of Geddes' ambitions.

By the 1920s, most European countries had national town planning legislation. Much of the US had already zoning. The development of planning practice encouraged the rise of planning theorists and training programs. The post-war city did not differ greatly in looks from its immediate predecessor, but two innovations were having a growing effect. These were public housing and



The architecture favored by P. Geddes is revealed in these sketches submitted for the Hebrew University, with a distinct oriental look.

motor transport, both present before 1914 but unimportant to the functioning of the city. The scale of the enterprises involved in public housing encouraged architects to develop new building forms and building methods and to join in the debates on town planning. The rising presence of motor vehicles in the streets also necessitated a remodelling. Modernism (like the International Style) was the main result, along with the practice of suburban plans, later to become what we know today as “sprawl”.

Many claims are made about the social thought and ideas of Patrick Geddes. From the vantage point of today he is viewed as the founding father of city planning and green politics, a social evolutionist, originator of sociology and promoter of a cosmopolitan view of life, with “back to nature” overtones (not always a contradiction in terms, as only the improper mixture of the two terms is the cause of harm).

The Urbanist in Edinburgh

Geddes' childhood home of Edinburgh bears a characteristic 'duality', with which Geddes was clearly struck. The clean open spaces of the New Town contrasted vividly with the dark overcrowded squalor of the Old Town. He was also aware that rent payments from the slum inhabitants helped to maintain the comfortable citizenry on the other side of Princess Street. Geddes also saw the University (located in the center of town) as a means of cultural renewal and he worked to bring students back to live in the Old Town where the great eighteenth century scholars had lived, in the true spirit of Urbanity. Geddes attracted a core of student helpers to assist him in his work, but unlike the Christian enthusiasm burgeoning around him at the time, Geddes operated from a worldly agenda that privileged art and culture as the civilizing agents to be harnessed as urban forces with which to move society forward. These two forces were destined to be forgotten by modernity, and many social movements have since regarded them as secondary at best.

The impressiveness to visitors of the aspects of Edinburgh shown above is thus not merely pictorial. Spectators, be they conscious or not of the city's duality, are primarily struck by the contrast between the mediaeval hill-city with its castle ramparts on the one hand, and the parks and boulevards, with their shops, hotels and railway stations on the other. The city itself, like many others, is to some extent a museum of the past. Its emblems include the Reformation assembly of divines, the Renaissance colleges and the speculative encyclopedists, among whom the most eminent are Hume and Smith. Later developments are also obvious: neo-classical architecture that dominated Europe after the French Revolution and during the First Empire,

A (little known) project by Geddes, where his ideas are clearly shown, and are in some formative state. The place contains an internal garden and a small boulevard, all 'off' the right angle of geometrical grids.

Tiberias (upper quarter) by Geddes & Gallaant, 1920.
Early air photo shows results of the plan above, illustrative of Geddes' ideas employed in Tel Aviv, a central garden formed by housing round it, a small boulevard, a local focal point (right).

Plan and result in Tel Aviv, as a comparison.

the next generation's reaction in the Romantic Movement, with the neo-Gothic monument of Scott as its most characteristic representative. The later periods such as Liberalism, the enthusiasms of the Empire, have each left their mark; and now in the dominant phase of social evolution came the banks and financial companies, with publishers as monument builders.

Old Edinburgh is thus the most condensed example of urbanity available for Geddes to follow; a clear microcosm of the social evolution that is manifest everywhere, a model of what urbanism is all about. The influence of this environment clearly remained with Geddes throughout his life as the basis of his planning, even if it was not mentioned as such explicitly in his writing.

In the following quote, Geddes reminds us how the vestiges of one civilization lie super-imposed upon another, like geological strata, and asks: "Understanding the present as the development of the past, are we not preparing also to understand the future as the development of the present?" To this he adds, "I venture to suggest that while the age in which we live is the age of the great, closely-compacted, overcrowded city, there are already signs, for those who can read them, of a coming change so great and so momentous that the twentieth century will be known as the period of the great exodus, the return to the land, the period when by a great and conscious effort a new fabric of civilization shall be reared by those who knew how to apply it". This, Geddes claims, will happen as a "Decentralization of Industry", a great, but as yet initial movement represented by the Garden City.

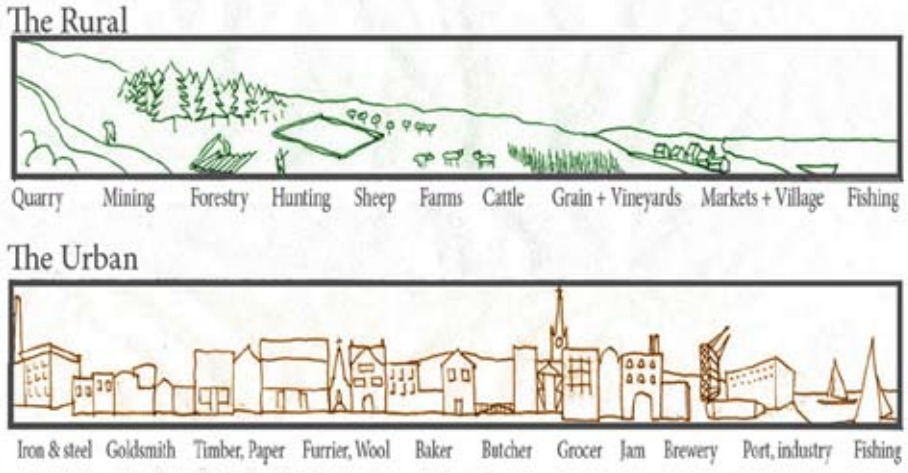
Instead of taking into account Geddes' own background and views as they appear above, interest in Geddes's work and thought has, at different times since his death, been inspired by a variety contemporary issues. Many mid-twentieth-century modern architects see Geddes as the "father" of modern post-war town planning, which he is not.

The environmental movement discovered Geddes in the 1970s and 1980s as one of its forerunners. On the other hand, in the 1970s some Israeli planners, led by Adam Mazor (and including the author of this book) were involved in town planning schemes in the east of Scotland. They found no mention of Geddes' name in any planning connection there, as he and his work were at the time quite forgotten.

A comprehensive view of Geddes' work and interests reveals them as incredibly interdisciplinary, and - as a result - as highly unfocussed too.

This rather novel interdisciplinarity needs to be kept in mind when looking at Geddes' espousal of "conservative surgery" in his many town-plans from Scotland, Cyprus, India, or Tel Aviv-Jerusalem, esp. the drawing of the master plan for mid-Tel Aviv (1925, realized) and his design for the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (1919, not realized).

As a city planner, biologist, historian and sociologist, Geddes had a multidisciplinary education, a feature that was readily apparent in his way of approaching city planning, and which had a muddling effect on his colleagues and assistants. As a historian, Patrick Geddes integrated duration, the slow action of time on the shape of the city, as its positive given attribute. That this 'renaissance man' was able to produce such a focussed, 'conservative' plan for the expansion of Tel Aviv is therefore something of an urban miracle.



The valley section, by P. Geddes

Sketches by P. Geddes of a proposed model of thought, comprehensive and marking his preferences for different qualities in Urban and Rural planning. What we see here is not a mixture of ideas. This little sketch by Geddes is more indicative than much of his 'obscure' writing. It shows he knew very well not to mix 'nature' with 'urbanity', to keep these essential qualities clearly defined. There are no trees in town, see URBAN sketch!
One sketch is better than a thousand words.

LOCAL CONDITIONS

Jaffa was connected to Palestine's rail system by a narrow gauge rail.

Central Jaffa and its spread, circa 1920.

Manshieh neighborhood, and north Jaffa.

Views of Jaffa end of 19th century and the present. Bottom shows the main radial roads, and in red, their principal orientation.

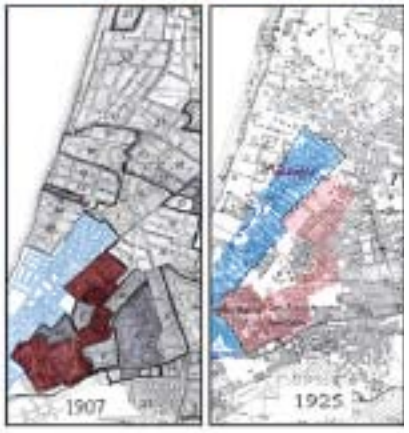
Jaffa

Tel-Aviv's neighbouring ancient city of Jaffa is at the same time both a small citadel and a port. Like many coastal cities, Jaffa's structure is basically on an angular radiating grid, not easily combined with more modern town structures, such as an orthogonal one. Jaffa gave birth to the beginnings of the Jewish quarters nearby, and then developed into something of an enemy at close quarters, as the new township of Tel Aviv grew and prospered.

In the mid-19th century Jaffa was a small town, but had a rising status associated with the cultivation of oranges. The old city was no bigger than 700 meters squared (bottom right and center), with the cliff overlooking the harbour. Its building methods were far from modern or technically sound. Its northern part (left middle), called Manshieh, protruded into the neighbouring inception of the new town, which was also lacking in a sound structural state. However, it is interesting to note that Jaffa's silhouette still dominates the bay today, somewhat symbolically, despite the fact that in the present state it is far from conservation or preservation on a serious scale. It is still a place that embraces many beliefs and creeds. Jaffa was not overlooked in the mind of Geddes, based on some available intimation that he wanted to bridge the serious enmity between the two towns, truly believing that planning could be a tool for instilling good relations.

Unfortunately, circumstances did not allow his wish to prosper, not even in planning terms, and this planning rift is present to this day, as we shall see further on.

Ammended plan south of Geddes



Start of Neve Zedek (right, in red) and blue plan of Manshieh, '07 and '25

Parts of Manshieh, Jaffa quarter, and general view of Jaffa's old city, with northern parts close to future Tel Aviv (bottom)

Local situation

Geddes found a planning barrier standing between Jaffa and the northern part of the new Tel Aviv, for which he was supposed to offer ideas for a future development. If examined carefully, this barrier is very much a compilation of ideas, pressures and land conditions that do not blend into each other very well. The plan for that area (officially "***Amendment 44***") has no direction, it is a composite of many smaller plans (opp. upper left) : a) the new Neve Zedek quarter, (left center), b) Florentin district (center, in red), a commercial hub mixed with housing at high density, c) same, bottom right, an expansion to the East, done awkwardly in the shape of the "Menorah" (the sacred candelabra of legend) d) Ahuzat Bait of initial Tel Aviv (center) with its orthogonal plan, producing the start of the Rotchild boulevard, (same, blank), e) Allenby road, which manages to be a much needed direction-setting street straight to the north and bent westward at its end to reach the beach. f) represents Jaffa's northern intrusion, Manshieh. King George street in a red line, crossing Allenby st. at a central square. Thus it is a mixed compilation of haphazard intentions, and shows a state of affairs crying loudly for a better guiding hand. It is a difficult plan to work with, even today.

By this time Geddes had seen many such locations, badly planned or containing mixed intentions, so the challenge was both well understood and well faced. Remedying or applying any plan related to the Jaffa link was hopeless. The **"44"** plan was an obvious case of a midtown makeshift mistake. It was better to go for a new, clear, "model town" that was easy to understand. It seems that Geddes wisely left the **'44'** plan alone and did not do much to it, but his own thoughts fit well into the mixed picture, compromising to form the best possible connections and helping to make some sense of it. Even to the untrained mind, the strange shape of '**Amendment 44'** is sure to raise questions about odd shapes in a new, empty place. Geddes, however did not attempt to revolutionize the existing concept so far as geometry was concerned, but was content with an attempt at a new and wavy grid to the north, very unusual for a planner in those times (see discussion of Geddes plan as a model in pt. 3). This choice proved lucky and is, as we shall see, largely responsible for the plan's success.

Plan '44," collection of early plans, that was going to block Jaffa.

On the left are shown early plans. Herzl street and the Gymnasium fronting it, are marked. Start (in green) of the Rotchild blvd.

Initial condition of Ahuzat Bait, pre Geddes times: (red) Jaffa radial rd. sets the angle of the grid, which will be turned in future, so as to align with the sea.

Tel Aviv – Local plans

Preamble

In 2009, as Tel Aviv began a series of celebrations to mark its 100th birthday, quiet and unassuming tributes were paid to the Scot who defined the shape and form of its north-central heart. Modern Tel Aviv would be an altogether different place were it not for the vision of Sir Patrick Geddes. Long ignored in his homeland and only now beginning to be recognized as one of the forerunners of modern town planning, Geddes – who was also known as a botanist, and sociologist – was known in his day by Albert Einstein and Charles Darwin, among others.

Geddes – who was also responsible for numerous civic improvements in Edinburgh's Old Town, delivered the plans that eventually helped establish Tel Aviv's White City as a Unesco World Heritage Site. Driven by his vision for "neotechnic order, characterized by electricity, hygiene and art, by efficient and beautiful town planning", Geddes introduced the idea of the public green space, allowing for a rural quality of life in an urban setting (reminiscent of central Edinburgh).

He drafted the master plan for a part of the Jewish city in 1925, enabling its expansion from a suburb of the Arab city of Jaffa into a modern city in its own right, absorbing Jewish immigrants throughout the subsequent decades.

This is a legacy that organizers of the Tel Aviv celebrations are quick to acknowledge. A brief history of the city, written to mark the centennial anniversary, states: "With the arrival of Geddes, the true development of Tel Aviv took off".

Today's Tel Aviv, with its approximately half a million residents, is to many Israelis the opposite of Jerusalem, a Western-looking beach front city full of pleasant cafés and pubs, a contrast to the hidebound traditionalism of the biblical holy city. The local situation found by Geddes when he arrived there in the 1920s is worth going into in detail, since this would go on to influence his thoughts, his plans and the future of Tel Aviv's development.

*Initial growth of Tel Aviv, at 1922 with boulevard in green, railroad (red) and Jaffa rd., future change in direction of the boulevard as indicated. Growth is undecided by 1930, as blocked partly by the amended **44** plan, to the south.*

Rough demarcation line between Jaffa and Tel Aviv, in red, above. Ammended 44 plan below.

*Scope of the Geddes plan and problematic relation to Jaffa in the south, blocked by the brown compilation known as the **44 amendment**, letting Geddes develop to the north only.*

Development

The first neighborhood founded by the new Jewish settlement in 1909, named "Ahuzat Bait", was located on the outskirts of Jaffa. As seen in the illustrations, Ahuzat Bait lay on a newly extended road (the future Herzl str.) running perpendicularly to one of Jaffa's radial main roads, the one leading North-East to the interior of Palestine, the future Jaffa-Tel Aviv road. It nestled closely beside the Manshieh Arab quarter, north of Jaffa, for which there was a rudimentary but well organized plan based on European lines of thought. The new road slanted some 45 degrees to the north. Its secondary streets, orthogonally disposed, formed a simple grid. The end of the main road was a cul-de-sac, blocked by an imposing Gymnasium, the pride of the new settlement. A detailed look at the plan, helps the clear orientation of this early plan, already in existence by the years Geddes was to visit the area. The future Rotchild boulevard is clearly marked in color.

The plan's only obvious flaw was the blocking of the main street, Herzl street, by the Gymnasium. This blockage hindered what would have otherwise been the street's natural progress in the years to come. By the sixties, the building was erased and the mistake rectified, but rather late in the day to really allow for a better planning alternative.

Another close look will reveal that due to the small size of the individual land parcels, the building coverage was considerable, close to 50% of the plot. This percentage is too high for achieving good ventilation in the prevailing climate, which relies on access to the sea breeze. The high utilization of land yielded a result dissimilar to the big gardens characteristic of such endeavours in both Germany and England at the time, and disclosed the fact that - though the neighbourhood contained no semi detached houses and maintained a maximal building height of two storeys - this was not to be a "garden city" after all. The causes for this deviation from initial intentions were most likely a shortage of both land and funds.

By 1925, the local situation had fast developed into a definite planning problem. It is useful to keep in mind, with the help of some maps, what developed in the brief years between the time when Geddes plan was drawn and the beginning of its implementation. Due to the city's urgent need of expansion, several indistinct developments continued to evolve.

Geddes found upon arrival in 1925 that a plan for continued Jewish settlement had already taken form south of the area he was to provide for, and that Jaffa too had expanded northward with the added precinct of Manshieh. This quarter connected old Jaffa to the Railway station, ending near Neve Zedek, which was itself a sort of an extension of the original Jewish neighbourhood of Ahuzat Bait. Ahuzat Bait also extended to the east (Florentin quarter), and north, close to the Aylon river.

Jaffa's Manshieh quarter included a group of official British public buildings, offices, a rail station, schools, and even an army base. The local Arab population was poor, and its buildings were badly built, based on a rudimentary semi organized plan. It bordered some Jewish extensions on its north, like the Yemenite quarter (today's "Kerem Hateimanim"), also not very well built.

At the center of this preexisting plan, various Jewish extensions to Ahuzat Bait in the form of new commercial streets, constituted a continuous barrier to Jaffa, better planned, and given official status.This plan survives to this day, as "Amendment 44", which, though officially established, is nevertheless clearly a makeshift solution. It contains many internal contradictins, mixed uses (some of them beneficial) but no persistent concept except basic health control.

It establishes the Allenby road, which was the base line for the new Geddes plan. Allenby's limited potential for development seems to have been worrying, as the future of Tel Aviv was not clear even in the minds of its leaders. It still had the feel of an addition to Jaffa.

In the meantime, Jaffa was filling in areas to the south and the east, plans were initiated by the ruling Mandate, and planners from Egypt were active in the growing town. Some empty ground in the region to the northeast of Jaffa was still being cultivated, and its fate was unclear. It was later to be filled in part by light industry.

The change of direction undertaken by Rothschild Blvd., its curving to the north-east to achieve a parallel direction to the shore, and to Allenby Rd. mentioned were to cause a mix of two fabrics in a square at the main junction of Allenby, the Magen David Square. This square was to serve as a central converging point, a focal traffic orientating crossing. It is also the starting

point of the northerly orientated street “King George”, initially a possible center of town, and a major connective axis to Jaffa. The place is a meeting point of ptterns. This latter road was never formulated as a tie to Jaffa (having instead become today's Carmel Market, south of the saquare). Originally this was impossible before the 1948 war, and the idea was then totally disregarded and neglected by planners after it.

It is useful to learn a little of what will the development be, early in our survey of the Geddes plan. At the outset (next spread, low left) the direction of the future plans and their main axis, was unsettled. It was clear though that the sea shore will set the main line in future, i.e. straight to the north. The problem was that by 1923 (see plan) the conglomeration of various attempts was more than harmful. The incoherence was settling in. The beginnings and vicinity of Arab quarters (Manshieh) had no influence in planning terms. The same applies to the south, with Florentin quarter, and eastern parts, Ahuzat Bait, as already mentioned. Allenby road and rail direction do not help in any axial direction. The King George axis, hope for a tie to Jaffa is discontinued. We see these facts as the problematic start of a new town, with many inherent problems and indecisions, bound to result in future in some unclear moves and decisions. By 1930, after Geddes, the city could expand, thanks to his directives to the north, with useful connective possibilities.

By 1938 Tel Aviv promised to need more land, and was successfully filling up. The year 1943 saw an extension of the Geddes plan in the north east, not well connected, but ambitious in scope. By 1950, with the newly acquired state’s independence and Jaffa surrender, we see Tel Aviv fully formed (see maps).

1965 shows the complete city, including the finalized Geddes plan, with the future problems of connectivity quite apparent: bad connection to Jaffa, no solution for the south east, eastern parts unrelated to the center in any way, and the unresolved barrier of the Yarkon river. These will be looked at in other chapters in greater detail.

A closer look at the compilation known as the *'Plan 44'*.

(Next spreads).

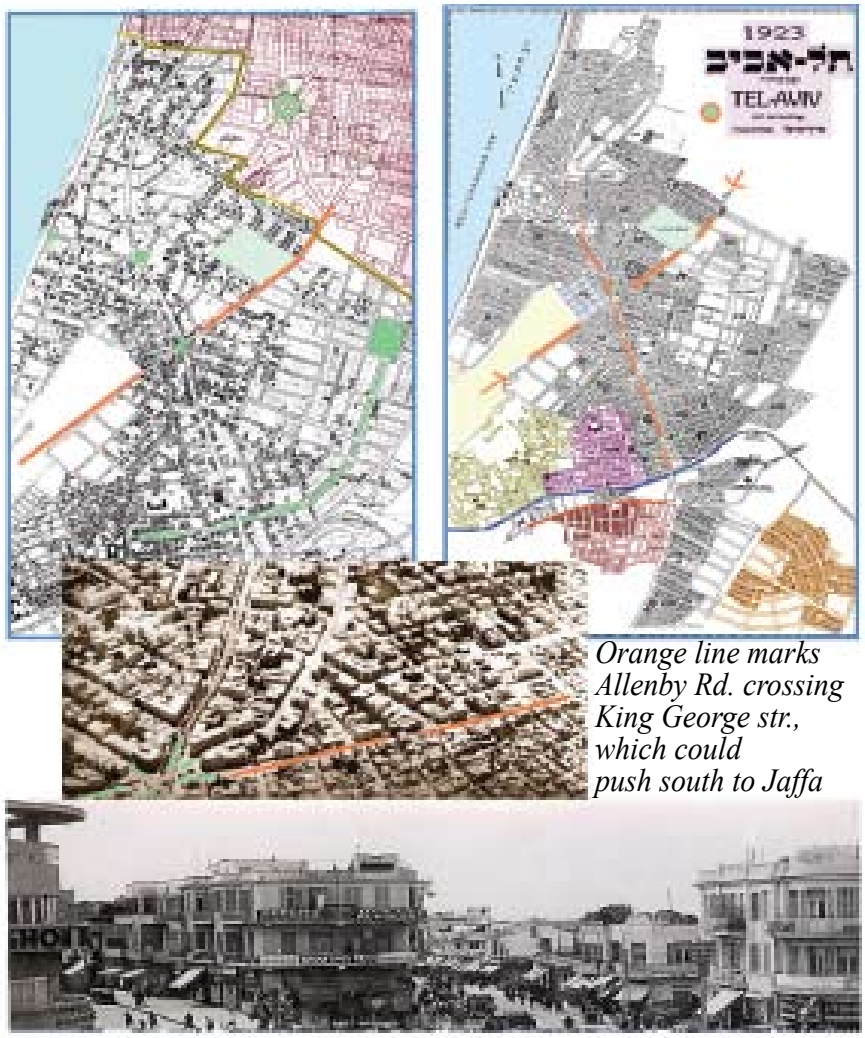
By 1926 (the drawing is of a slightly later date), many unrelated efforts are thrown together, joined under one heading, but are totally unrelated, both in form and in function. The early square of Magen David is clearly apparent, the crossing of Allenby and King George street.

The drawing of the plan, 1941, shows the disparate functions and zones of the plan. No attempt is even made to give a common sense of direction, use, heights, connectivity to the compilation. The plan has retained its unusual form to this day. It had created many diverse qualities in the developing city. The chief one is the contrasting character to the north part of Tel Aviv, as a definitely mixed commercial zone, with differing orientations. It does not connect to Jaffa, its star shaped (in brown) hub, is prevented of becoming a pivot to the south. It also fails to point to the beach, which is close by. Failing to find sense in this situation in planning terms, had also retarded its development, and it contains poorer parts, bordering slums conditions. No over all plan has managed the condition, and haphazard plans of local and isolated buildings groups continues.

On the left, white patches shows the extent and closeness of Manshieh, the Jaffa northern extension, that was very much alive during the fifties (inhabited by Jewish immigrants, in poor condition). It was completely wiped out in the late fifties, to become to this day a "no man's land." In the adjacent map, two red arrows point the direction of a connective route, existing in 1925, that could have been the lacking connection, but did not materialize. The Allenby road (marked green dot, and red line on the right) is the initial main thoroughfare of Tel Aviv, starting perpendicular to the boulevard and rail, (green and blue) and reaching the sea via Magen David Sq. and Mougrabi Sq. (green dot). The boulevard turns its quarter circle to the important Habima place (green rectangle). The south to the rail section (blue line) has two discrepant plans in brown, that were destined to become slums for the poor, totally different to their northern counterparts in Geddes' plan.

The city plan of 1930 shows the early effects of the plan done by Geddes. Tel Aviv is growing quickly (only five years have elapsed!), lands are bought, roads are extant, and progressively managed.

Mid section in sepia photo, and b&w view, the Magen David Sq. lined with shops that lead the way to the south, Jaffa, from the square, which was an initial central point. It connects pre Geddes Allenby Rd. (in red), to King George Str. with a northerly direction (and branching off to Jaffa). These connective possibilities were lost, and were never considered to help the urban fabric of Tel Aviv, with its discrepancies. See below photo, relative to plans, with partial view of the square.

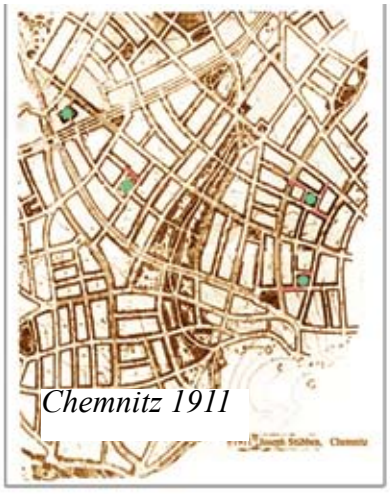


Orange line marks Allenby Rd. crossing King George str., which could push south to Jaffa

Note to the left, King George Str. in blue, approaching Magen David Sq. and Allenby str., white, the first focal point of town. See also photo, relative to plans, former spread. with a partial view of the square.

PRECEDENTS

The all too central question regarding the plan's originality. In urban planning, the sources of a plan are important, thus a glance at some possible sources is presented here showing planning precedents in other places.



Chemnitz 1911

Mews in London create internal, no through roads, difficult for traffic. Above and left.

Chemnitz, above right, and Marienberg right, contain elements of planning strategies that show in Geddes' attitude.

Various plans that show some resembling lines to Geddes' plan, such as gardens with no through road systems, early windmill shapes. Some were certainly known to Geddes.

Agra, India

World Precedents to the Geddes Plan

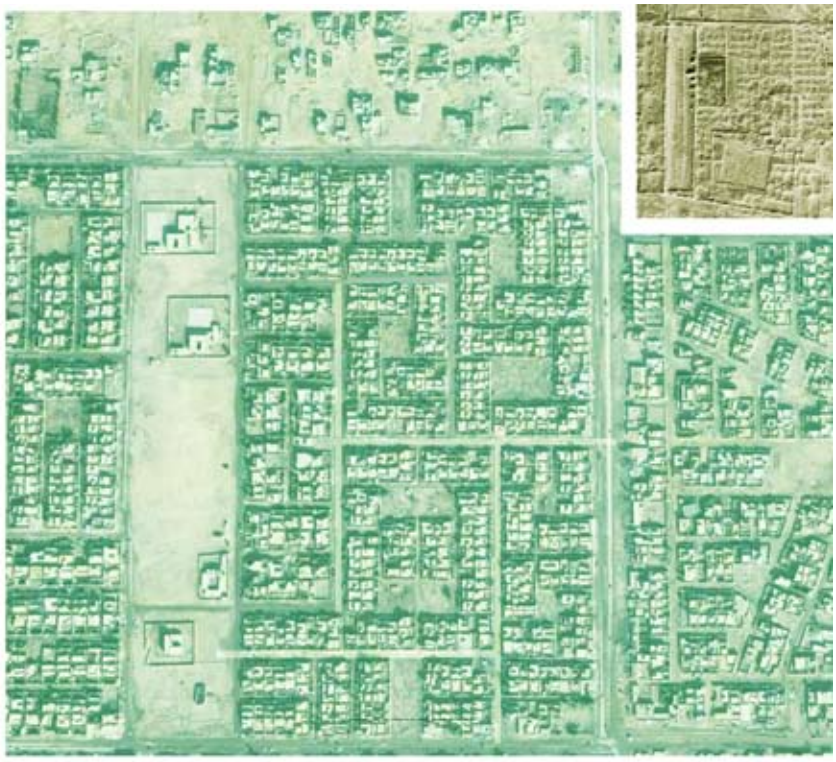
As planners, we are naturally curious as to what were the actual planning resources available to Geddes, especially for what is known as his “windmill” street arrangements (see pt. 3 for a fuller discussion of these). While no evidence in fact exists that Geddes was much interested in graphically represented and physically excuted plans (as opposed to the purely theoretical), it is nevertheless interesting to insist on the possible relevance of some potential sources, to note and compare some similarities.

First to come to mind are various examples of the nineteenth century cul-de-sac, commonly referred to as 'mews'. Initially used for carriages, they became inner streets, were barred to traffic, and enjoy a sense of quiet well-knit social standing in London. One might easily see them, in their many forms and variations, as forerunners of a traffic obstructing pattern.

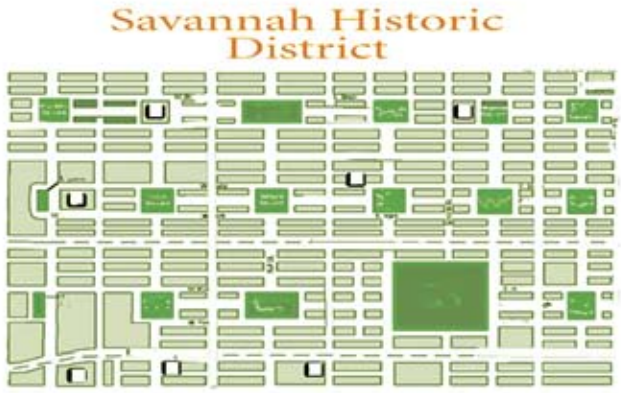
It is naturally not unthinkable that other planners in Europe will have had the same inclinations as those shown by Geddes in his plan for Tel Aviv. Random examples of this include the plan of Chemnitz from 1911, or the plans of northern Marienberg. Both visibly contain similar arrangements, reminiscent of Geddes' windmill patterns.

Some examples of possible influences follow.

The modern town of Chandigarh (the work of Le Corbusier around 1950) shows a moderation of the idea of the garden city concept. The gardens are a manifestation of the “back to nature” mode, trying to separate vehicles from pedestrians. As we know, this backfired and destroyed any urban quality, turning the planned space into a suburban affair, a village-like place that cannot ever substitute or approximate the diversity of city life. This plan is remarkable in our discussion, as it shows what developed of the “garden city” concept and the direction it took, after the times of Geddes.



SAMARRA, IRAQ



The city of Bahir Dar in Ethiopia, planned in the late 19th century, exhibits patterns of major blocks that contain secondary road systems, in a broken fashion reminiscent of Geddes' 'windmills'. This planning attitude, then, cannot be considered wholly unique to Geddes.

The city of Agra (India, famous for the Taj Mahal), must have been known to Geddes, being in the provinces where he had worked as advisor. It certainly combines, in planning terms, major access routes with quieter internal gardens, well disposed against traffic intrusion. Similar patterns exist in Delhi as well, where the influence of British colonial planning was significant. Methodically, these once again bear strong similarities to the Geddes model.

One possible source of inspiration for Geddes (in blue tint on the facing page) is the town of Samarra (Iraq), a town that prospered 1000 years ago and contains many relics of the past. Since the town was built on hard sand, the archaeological imprint of old configurations are visible in some of the aerial photos, and they bear a strong resemblance to modern patterns of planned urban situations. The windmill block arrangement is the one we are most interested in, as it was the mark Geddes left on Tel Aviv. The pattern is strongly noticeable in the outline used. Is it possible that Geddes visited this place? It was under British rule, close to Baghdad, and held a strong attraction for travellers. This is an instance worth remembering, as it points out that models of plans and peculiarities of urban strategy are to be found in human service in all periods and places, but have been much neglected in modern times.

Another potential inspirational spark is the plan of Savannah, Georgia, in the USA. Here one is struck by the proliferation of public squares, normally so lacking in most American planning. The square and gardens run a pattern all over the town, and are modern for their time in the 18th century. From the planning point of view, this method can be misleading in orientation, because of the monotonous repetition of one item and its accompanying streets. The only apparent variation is the blocks built along the squares, which may help. In our case, the variations in all the patterns of the Geddes plan, are ample, and repetition does not occur, each garden having its own character. The gardens could have some similar traits in Geddes' plan, but this did not happen.

It is possible to mention the presence of the 'close' in Edinburgh, in the various forms it takes, as another interesting example of Geddes' background in planning. The very fact that the close is an urban element, that encourages the pedestrian, could have had a role in his consciousness and aims in planning. The importance of the 'rambler' as another of the qualities in the city dweller is thus reinforced once more.

All these examples help underscore the precept that urban planning is a universal human need and carries similar physical attributes, even as it caters to differing social needs and creeds. Humanity has recognized the simple fact that the city, as the container of a perpetually changing civilization, must have a form fit for more than a passing trend, or a peculiarity of times. Humanity is charactaristically impossible to define, even socially, and its cultural evolution in time is proof of this. Recurring patterns can help us analyze their fitness, along with the manner in which they have evolved in humanity's variously differing civilizations and continued historical survival.

PART THREE

THE PLAN

Part Three

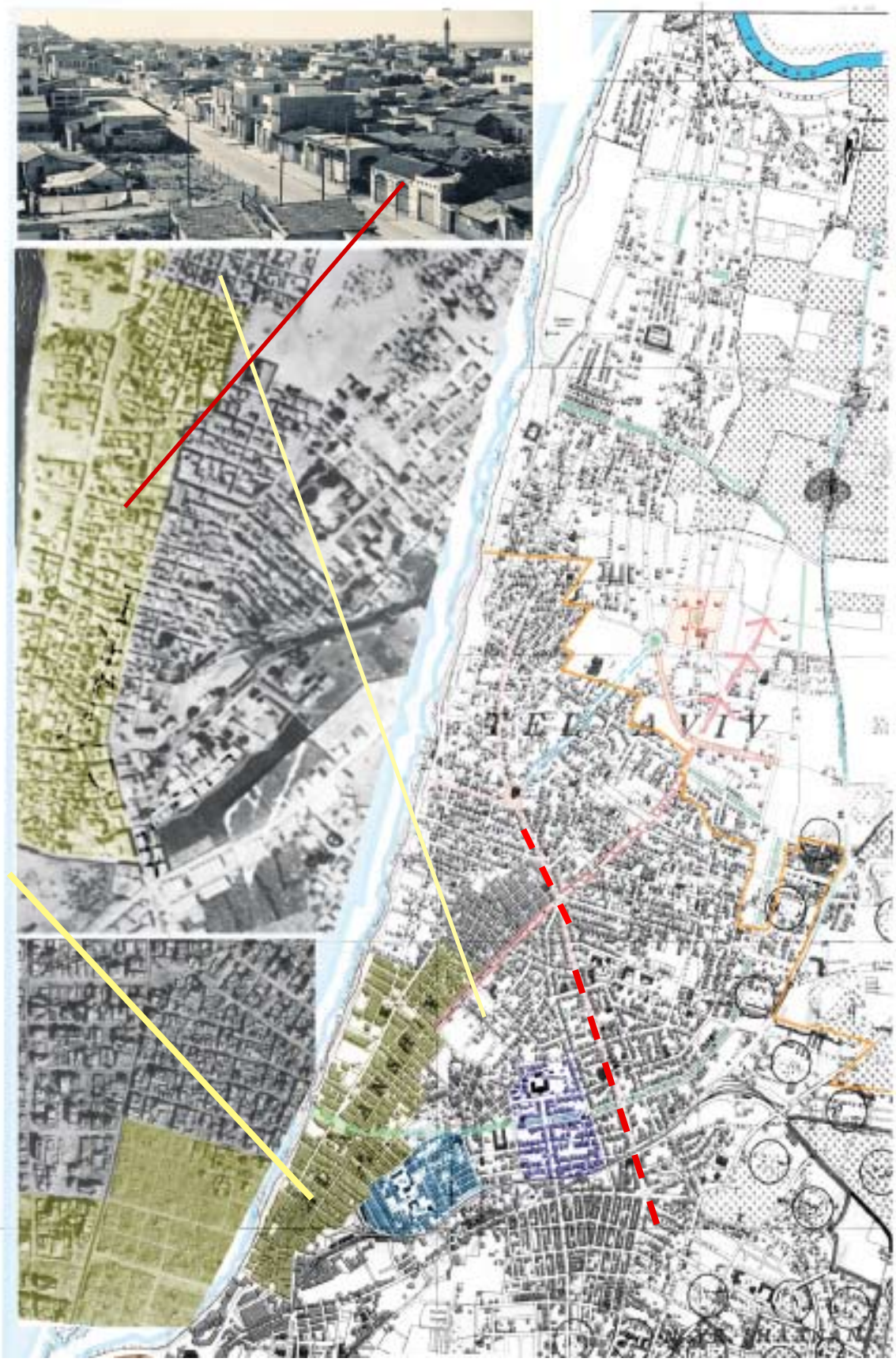
Introduction

The plan for the expansion of Tel Aviv hurriedly prepared by Patrick Geddes in 1925 was beneficial from the start. Some necessary order was put into practice, and the chaotic early plans of the central "barrier" that had sprung up north of Jaffa could be rectified to some degree. The early plans could not be abandoned, but a new and important direction had been set.

In retrospect it seems that Geddes did enjoy some esteem, despite the brevity of his stay in town. Furthermore, though the report he submitted was very vague in its bylaws and details of regulative measures, the plan itself looks coherent, sizable, applicable, and contains mature planning measures. The respect afforded to his efforts was necessary in that it allowed the local colleagues and planners to concentrate on putting the plan into action, rather than argue about it amongst themselves. The detailed and more precise outline took some years to become law, and other particulars had to be rectified throughout the years - a necessity that still persists even to this day. These amendments proved beneficial in time, as any plan needs (by definition) some resilience in the making. On the other hand, the amendments, improvements, additive measures, and plans to supersede ran over the next 50 years to fill hundreds of documents and elaborations.

Another limitation of the plan is that physically it was never imitated (or at best only slightly and half heartedly) in subsequent parts of the growing city, and its influence stopped for the most part at its near vicinity. Instead of consistent extensions, Tel Aviv is prone to recurring, sporadic applications for small and localized amendments (sometimes concerning tiny pieces of property that are applying for localized betterment, building rights or zoning). These very seldom show consistency of approach, and more often than not produce pockets of irregularity in the urban fabric. This instability shows the irresolute character of both planners and leaders, and a general disregard towards planning order in general. Phenomena of this sort tend to occur when planning is done in a hurry, causing loopholes in the plan.

Final Version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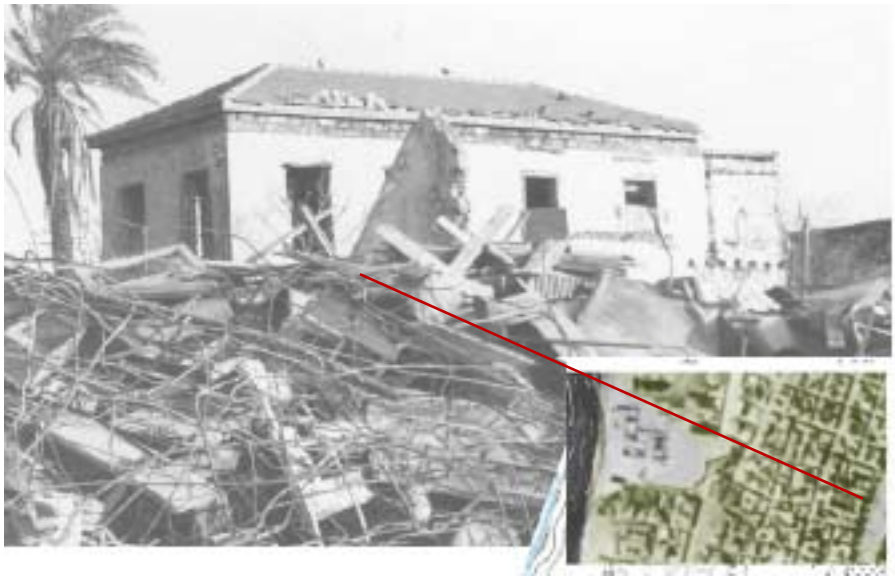

Start of Planning

The first results of the Geddes plans are shown here on a circa 1940 plan. It will serve, with the air photo adjoining it, to recapitulate some dilemmas. On the map, in orange, is the line where the Geddes plan begins, above it are the first results, a spread of buildings to the north, Dizengoff sq. (in green), and some boulevards coming into being. The pink arrows mark the possible connection to Jaffa that ultimately failed. At the bottom, in blue, Ahuzat Bait, the group that started Tel Aviv, and Neve Zedek, (below in cyan), which came out of Jaffa as a Jewish suburb. These notes are elaborated further up.

Yellow lines mark, on both the photo and the plan, the Arab quarter of **Manshieh**, still extant in the seventies, neglected and in very poor state. It has a distinctly clear plan and fabric. The brown photo, upper left, shows the state in which it was left to fend for itself after 1948 (being governmental property). Bottom of the opposite page shows that it has been completely cleared out, with no planning action being taken to this day to repair this urban blight at the very center of town, the result the Geddes plan's inability to overcome its southern shortcomings. Another instance of this southern failing is Allenby road (in red), which runs to the beach at an angle and cannot properly connect to the Geddes plan.